

SHRI K. S. CHAVDA: When, Sir?

MR. SPEAKER: Then the Secretary of Congress-O, my old friend Mr. Manubhai Patel met me. He was an hon. Member of the last Lok Sabha and an old friend of mine. He met me; he wrote to me. I wrote to him that normally the Speakers meet in the 'Presiding Officers' Conference and they can discuss about the procedures. But so far as this matter of the resignation is concerned, the Speaker of the Gujarat Assembly neither telephoned to me, nor met me. I had been expecting him—Mr. Patel and I told him that if he had met me, I would have advised him on the right lines. But normally, it is very embarrassing for the Speaker of the Lok Sabha when such things are stated in the Press, as if they are seeking my instructions. I am the last person to issue any instructions on such matters or give any guidance. They are purely within the State Speakers' jurisdiction and the rules are laid down on it; they are very clear rules. And, if he had met me, I would have just invited his attention to the rules. I am very lucky that he did not meet me. Otherwise perhaps, if he had taken any action on the matter, which may not have been pleasing to you, that would have been attributed to me, as to what had transpired between us! So, I am very happy that this is a good coincidence. I am going to advise our Speakers that on such matters, when the rules are very clear, I should not be involved in that.

But Mr. Madhu Limaye is not there. I do not know what he would have chosen to say on this matter. I have given my indication as to what I would have replied if I had been consulted.

SHRI P. G. MAVALANKAR (Ahmedabad): Is the Assembly Speaker obliged to get instructions like that?

MR. SPEAKER: Who am I to give these instructions? Of course, we do consult each other about our mutual problems—about the troubles you create! They come to Delhi sometimes to consult me or telephone or

write to me. We also meet once in a year to discuss problems on which we are not able to have certain clarifications and interpretations. But they are very harmless as well as important matters. This is a matter over which I need not advise him. If you send your resignation, I would not seek anybody else's advice!

SHRI P. G. MAVALANKAR: The matter has been referred to the Gujarat High Court.

MR. SPEAKER: I will not take a second to accept the resignation!

Now, coming to the business, there only a very short time left—2 hours and 35 minutes—out of which the Prime Minister or the Minister concerned would take some time to reply. How much time would the Prime Minister like to take?

THE MINISTER OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRI K. RAGHU RAMAIAH): The Prime Minister will reply to morrow.

MR. SPEAKER: I am very happy to hear this, because there are so many Members who are still on the waiting list.

If you want her to speak before the Election come, I can hear just now I think you should have enough time to discuss this.

So, we adjourn now for Lunch to reassemble at 2 P.M.

12.58 hrs.

*The Lok Sabha adjourned for lunch till Fourteen of the Clock.*

*The Lok Sabha reassembled after lunch at five minutes past Fourteen of the Clock.*

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

**MOTION OF THANKS ON THE PRESIDENTS ADDRESS—Contd.**

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Further consideration of the following Motion moved by Shri B. K. Daschowdhury

and seconded by Shri Amrit Nahata on the 25th February 1974, namely:

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

"That the Members of Lok Sabha assembled in this Session are deeply grateful to the President for the Address which he has been pleased to deliver to both Houses of Parliament assembled together on the 18th February 1974".

and the amendments thereon moved on the 25th February 1974.

Shri Dhamankar may continue his speech.

SHRI DHAMANKAR (Bhiwandi): While speaking yesterday in this House, I made a reference to certain remarks made by the hon. and respected leader Shri Morarjibhai Desai, when my hon. friend, Shri Dhote, objected to my reference and said that Morarjibhai did not say it. I have here the record with me which indicates what he said—"They were all people who were killed by bullets when they were actually looting and killing people not otherwise". His statement is obnoxious, offensive, incorrect and far from true. I know many incidents where innocent people sitting in their rooms, ladies and children, were killed in such cases.

SHRI K. P. UNNIKRISHNAN (Badagara): He was the most trigger-happy Chief Minister this country ever had.

SHRI DHAMANKAR: Not only that; he goes ahead and says that the Gujarat Government are not doing it efficiently.

SHRI P. G. MAVALANKAR (Ahmedabad): Do not follow in his footsteps.

SHRI DHAMANKAR: He referred to firing in Bombay and said that 105 or 109 people were killed and than

there was peace. That was the peace of the graveyard. He boasted of that also.

I know a college student, a very poor boy who was doing service for the whole day and attending college in the evening. When he was returning from the City and got out of Dadar station, immediately he was hit by a bullet and killed then and there. His relations tried to meet the Chief Minister, Shri Morarji Desai, to narrate their grievances and ask for justice. The interview was refused. This came out in the press, depicting all these ghastly incidents.

Shri Morarjibhai Desai went on to say that the Gujarat Government can not do these firings efficiently, cannot do the killings efficiently. What does it indicate? It indicates a total and callous disregard for human lives and human values. By this statement, Morarjibhai has offended not only the people of Maharashtra but also the people of Gujarat. I will restrain myself and say nothing more.

SHRI VASANT SATHE (Akola): He was boasting of being an efficient killer.

SHRI M. SATYANARAYAN RAO (Karimnagar): He established peace immediately.

SHRI DHAMANKAR: Some of my friends this side and opposite, those coming from Kerala, Andhra and other parts of the south, were rightly perturbed and agitated over the assaults made on the non-Marathi speaking people from the south in Bombay after the morcha of the Shiv Sena. It seems it has become a routine, but we, the MPs from Maharashtra share their grief and anxiety not passively but actively. We vehemently condemned all these atrocities. We met in Bombay before coming to the session and discussed the matter with the Chief Minister. The Chief Minister issued a statement in the Maharashtra Assembly giving a categorical

[Shri Dhamankar]

assurance that all these atrocities will not be tolerated and will be put down with a heavy hand. It is for the Maharashtra Government which is doing its best. But we, Member of Parliament, feel that we should sit together—Members from the south and from Maharashtra—discuss freely and frankly and create a congenial and healthy atmosphere where the people in minority in Bombay and other parts of Maharashtra, along with the Marathi-speaking people, will feel secure and protected.

**SHRI VARKEY GEORGE** (Kottayam): Why did you protest at the resolution by the Kerala Assembly?

**SHRI DHAMANKAR**: That was a different thing. I will come to that. But I will make one request. One suggestion was there, and that was to send a team of Members of Parliament to Bombay, and another suggestion was the intervention by the Central Government. May I humbly submit that these things are not going to help to solve the problem. I feel it may aggravate the situation.

With these words, I conclude.

**SHRI K. BALAKRISHNAN** (Amalapuruzha): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I rise to speak with a rather heavy heart, because apart from the speeches I heard on both sides, there is a certain difficulty for me when I attempt to speak about the President's Address. That is because I have come here as the candidate of a combination of parties. In my own native State, I belong to a party that is sharing power. Here, I actually do not belong to the party that is in power, but I cannot deny the fact that I have come here with their help also. So, when I speak, I must bear in mind that there are certain people who had been behind me when I came here and those people are responsible for certain things happening in this country. Those things that are happening are not to my taste at least in politics.

Here there are lots of complaints about the food shortage, about the way the different State Governments are trying to handle it, and there were replies that the whole thing is a world phenomenon. Supposing I accept both the arguments, let us absolutely be logical about it. The Government says that this year the yield of crops is better than last year and it has been a bumper crop. The Government says that procurement, though not absolutely efficient, was carried out to a certain amount of efficiency.

People find that when they go for their purchase of rationed, essential commodities, they not only do not get them but when they walk a few steps further, they get them at colossally high prices. When people face this situation, the Government says that there is enough grain in this land. When people go to the shops and find that they cannot get the grains, there is the reverse complaint. Let me ask the people in power, what have they done to feed the people. When you find that the people are hungry, when you find that there are cars, when you find that there is foodstuff available, and when they do not get it, how do you expect the people to thrive? You say "Tighten your belts". There is not even a belt to tighten. What are the people expected to do?

When there was the Negro rioting in the United States, the late-lamented Martin Luther King once made a very telling reference to the agony that they were facing. He said, "It is all right if I starve; it is all right if my wife starves. But my little child who goes to school and sees bright eyes, bright clothes; finds that we are being treated in society in a particular way, comes home and asks me, 'Daddy, why are we being treated that way in society, and what is it that I have done to be treated in a different way? I am isolated, segregated, why is it so.'"

' Now, in my own State, in my own country, my son goes to the school, and he sees the other people eating. Coming home back, he asks me, "Daddy, why am I not allowed to eat; why have I not enough to eat?"

Is the problem to be boasted about? They say, "You must suffer; you must tighten your belts." All these things can only be said. When you shout for food, you get bullets and *lathis*. What exactly do the Government expect the people to do?

In Cochin, when some soldiers landed and they molested women in the Cochin Harbour area, the people protested and asked Mahatma Gandhi "What is to be done about it?". He said, "Don't you have your nails and teeth. Bite and tear them." It is a question of life and death. There is no question of remaining non-violent or anything like that. You cannot take it jokingly.

What about Kerala? Ours is the only one State in the whole of India where there is universal rationing. In every suburban area, in every village there is a rationing shop. We are a deficit area, We are not getting the foodgrains that we used to get formerly. There is an open market. Because free movement of foodgrains is **not there, if the ration requirement is not supplied through the ration shop, the people have to starve.** There is no other way out for them.

There are quite a number of educated unemployed persons. They try to go out to find some employment. But now the thing like "Sons of the soil" has come in. In our place, there was a strike in the Thumba complex saying that the people employed there must be the sons of the soil. Not a single political party supported that demand. The Government of Kerala suppressed that demand with a heavy hand. The "Sons of the soil" struggle was suppressed with a strong hand.

What are we experiencing in places like Maharashtra? I have got scores

of letters coming to me from my friends living there. No less a person like Prof. Madhu Dandavate, when he came to Kerala, said in a press conference that what is happening in Maharashtra, what is happening in other places, to south Indians is inhuman and brutal. When such things happen, are we to remain calm and quiet and take it lying down because there is a world crisis? World is not the monopoly of the party in power. One scarce commodity in the human market is the commodity of conscience. Can anything with consciences say that people in any corner of the world would have tolerated this type of a thing?

What do they expected us to do? We have no work; we have no wages; we have no freedom! we have no food. We cannot get anything without going through what can be called hush money. I do not how long this state of affairs is going to continue in Kerala? See the writing on the wall. I personally had the same apprehension that comrade Indrajit Gupta had. A very non-political person in the Army, Gen. Maneckshaw, when he went to the Rotary Club in Bombay, he made a speech and said, "There is a scarcity of food; there is a scarcity of cement; there is a scarcity of fuel and all that and, if the scarcities are somehow overcome, these things cannot be transported because there is a scarcity of wagons. Even then, if these things are not available here, you can somehow import them from somewhere. But there is another scarcity, the scarcity of leadership. You cannot import leadership from somewhere else."

This is a very chaotic state of affairs. I think, if something is not done, the conditions will become worse. Something has got to be done strongly and effectively.

strongly and effectively. A military man has said that, in a country like India—and the military man being very very popular on his own right. Well, see the writing on the wall. If you do not see that writ-

[Shri K. Balakrishnan]

ing on the wall, like the Austrain boy who wrote on the wall some years back, the boys in Gujarat are writing on the wall. That, you have to see and you shall see.

श्री ब्रह्मचर्य जलेश्वर हजान (किशनगंज) :  
उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, सी पी एम ने सदर जम्हूरिया के खिताब पर जैसी हरकत की है उस से सारे मुल्क वालों को सदमा हुआ है। जब इवान में वह सारे लोग ऐसी फिजा पैदा कर सकते हैं तो आप जरा गौर फरमाइए, मुल्क की फजा को साजगार वह बना नहीं सकते और उन के लिए बड़ा आसान है कि मुल्क में एक नासाजगार फिजा हमेशा तैयार करते रहे अबाम ने उन लोगों को इसी हरकत की बिना पर खारिज किया है। आप ने देखा की बोटों में वह बहुत ज्यादा तादाद में पराजित हुए हैं। लोग यह समझने लगे हैं कि मुल्क की बका के लिए जम्हूरियत को रखना बहुत जरूरी है और इसीलिए तो अबाम ने जम्हूरियत को हमेशा सराहा है। मैं भारत के अबाम से यह उम्मीद रखता हूँ कि जम्हूरियत को वह हमेशा सराहेंगे और उस पर वह हमेशा अमल करेंगे। इस रास्ते को, इस सबको हमारे भरहुम गांधी जी ने, पं० जवाहर लाल नेहरू ने और मौलाना अबुलकलाम आजाद ने दिया है। अभी मौजूदा वक्त में मुल्क की लीडरशिप श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी के हाथ में है और वह एक सच्चा और अच्छा कदम मुल्क के लिए उठारही हैं।

इस में कोई शुबहा नहीं है कि मुल्क एक मुसीबत की घड़ी से गुजर रहा है और यह मुसीबत की घड़ी भारत पर ही नहीं बल्कि सारी दुनिया पर है। मैं एक दो मिसालें पेश करना चाहता हूँ। आप ने देखा होगा कि चाइना में एक दूसरे क्लचरल रेवाल्यूशन की तैयारी थी। आप ने दूसरी मिसाल देखी कि बर्तानिया का मल्के फिजा में भी ऐसी तब्दीली आई है।

जो घाब जाहिर होने वाली है। तीसरी बात मैं यह प्रार्थना करूँगा कि अमेरिका ने तो अपनी हठधर्मी की हद ही कर दी है। मेरे दोस्तों ने अबखबारों में उस के बारे में देखा होगा और पढ़ा होगा। मैं ऐसा समझता हूँ कि इस मुल्क में जो मुसीबत आई है और जो मुसीबत है वह कुछ खुद साखता भी है। उस में हमारे दूसरी तरफ के दोस्त जो आज बहुत कम नजर आ रहे हैं उनका भी कोई कम हिस्सा नहीं है।

यह बात जाहिर है कि मुल्क को सूखा, बाढ़, तथा लड़ाई और रेफ्यूजीज वगैरह का मुकाबिला करना पड़ा है और मुल्क में जो मन्नाशी बदहाली आई है इसके मुतालिक हमारी वजीर आजम ने पहले ही निशानदेही कर दी थी कि मुल्क एक भारी मुनीबत से प्रागे आने वाले सालों में गुजरने वाला है। पर यह देखना है कि जो दूसरी तरफ बैठने वाले दोस्त हैं वे इस मुसीबत को दूर करने में कितनी मदद करते हैं। मैं जहाँ तक देख पाया हूँ दूर करो के आशय वे उसे और सह दे रहे हैं, लोगों को बरगजा रहे हैं और दूर से खड़े होकर मुस्कराती हुई नजर से देखना चाहते हैं और अबाम की दूसर जिन्दगी का मुस्करा कर वे देख रहे हैं।

अपने एड्रेस में सदरे जम्हूरिया ने हर शोबे पर नजर डाली है और उस खिताब के पैरा 4 में एक्सपीट और इम्पोर्ट के बारे में भी बहुत तफसील में उन्होंने कहा है। जहाँ तक बिहार का ताल्लुक है वहाँ पूर्णिया जिले की खास पैदावार और कैश क्रॉप जूट है लेकिन बहुत अफसोस की बात है कि सरकार ने 157 रुपये कुछ पैसे फी क्विंटल जूट की दर मुकरर की—आप भी उस हल्के से प्राते हैं, आपने देखा होगा कि जूट कारपोरेशन किसानों को वह कीमत

नहीं दे रहा है । उसके सारे लोग मिल मालिकों की साजिश में हैं और नज़र भंदाजी करके किसानों को कम पैसे दे रहे हैं । इससे किसानों की इकोनॉमिक रीढ़ करीब करीब टूट चुकी है और किसान बदहाली के शिकार होते जा रहे हैं । सरकार को चाहिये कि वह इस पर गौर करे और उन अफसरों के खिलाफ कड़े से कड़े कदम उठाए ताकि वाकई में किसानों को राहत मिल सके और वे खुशहाली की जिन्दगी बसर कर सकें । मेरे इस पूरे जिले में कुल 4-5 सैंटर जूट खरीददारी के हैं । आप ताज्जुब करेंगे कि करीब 42 लाख आबादी उस जिले की है जिस में कुल 4-5 सैंटर हैं जो निहायत नाकाफी हैं । मैं तजवीज़ करता हूँ कि सरकार हर ब्लाक में कम से कम पांच पांच सैंटर इसके लिए खोले ताकि किसानों को जो कीमत मुकर्रर हुई है मिल सके । जो कम कीमत में खरीदते हैं उनके लिए सरकार कड़े से कड़ा कानून बनाए और उनको कड़ी सजा मिले ताकि किसानों को सही कीमत मिल सके ।

सदरे जम्मूरिया ने सेंट्रल पब्लिक सैंक्टर्ज का भी व्योरा अपनी स्पीच में दिया है । यह खुशी की बात है कि इस सैंक्टर में कुछ तरक्की हुई है । लेकिन इस सैंक्टर में क्लास 3 और 4 सर्विसिस में हरिजनों और मुसलमानों की बहाली तसल्लीबख़्श नहीं हुई है, वह तकरीबन निल ही है और यह बहुत ही ग़र मुनासिब बात है । मेरे खयाल से आबादी के लिहाज़ से इन दोनों को क्लास 3 और 4 की सर्विसिस में जगहें मिलनी चाहियें क्योंकि ये दोनों तबके आज देश की सियासत में बहुत जबदस्त रीढ़ की हड्डी हैं और उसको मजबूत करना निहायत जरूरी है । ये तबके गरीब से गरीबतर होते जा रहे हैं । इनकी ओर आप पूरा ध्यान दें ।

गल्ले के बारे में भी एग्जिस में इशारा किया गया है । उसकी पैदावार बढ़नी

चाहिये इस में दो रायें नहीं हैं । वह बड़ी भी है । लेकिन उसको बढ़ाने के लिए यह जरूरी है कि किसानों को बिजली, खाद, पानी, बीज वगैरह मिले ताकि पैदावार को बढ़ाने में आप्ने और मदद मिले । पैदावार बढ़ने से ही मुल्क में खुशहाली आ सकती है ।

एक और बात है मुल्क में सरकारी अमले को भी आपकी जिम्मेदारी समझनी होगी और जिम्मेदारी के साथ अपने काम को करना होगा । उनको भ्रवाम की मंशा के मुताबिक अपने को ढालना होगा । वे यह न समझें कि वे मुल्क के हाकिम हैं बल्कि मुल्क का हाकिम तो वह भ्रवाम हैं जिस के जरिये यह ईबान बना है । ब्रिटिश लेगेसी या ब्रिटिश जहनियत एक इम्मीरियलिस्ट जहनियत है । उसको उन्हें छोड़ना होगा । अगर नहीं छोड़ते हैं तो भ्रवाम उनको छोड़ना सिख एगा और वह उनको बख्शेंगे नहीं । जब जनता जागेगी और उसको यकीन हो जाएगा कि सरकारी अमले हमारी तरक्की के रास्ते में रुकावट हैं तो फिर वह उनको बख्शेंगे नहीं ।

जखीरान्दोजी की तरफ भी राष्ट्रपति जी ने इशारा किया है । मैं पहले भी इस बात को कह चुका हूँ कि जो दफ़त एसेंशियल कमोडिटीज़ एक्ट की हैं या फूड एडल्ट्रेशन की हैं उनको नानवेलवेंबल बनाया जाए । फूड एडल्ट्रेशन करने वालों को सजाए मौत दी जाए ऐसा कानून बनना चाहिये । होर्डर्ज को भी सजाए मौत देनी चाहिये क्योंकि इससे भ्रवाम की जिन्दगी और उनके जीने और मरने का ताल्लुक है । भ्रवाम की जिन्दगी को खुशी बनाने के लिए सरकार को हर वे कड़े से कड़े कदम उठाने चाहियें जिससे सही मानों में भ्रवाम की मदद हो सके और भ्रवाम के लिए जो बातें सरकार सोचती है वे उन तक पहुंच सकें ।

आखिर में मैं एक बात और कहना चाहता हूँ—सदरे जम्मूरिया ने पिछड़े

### [श्री मोहनमद जनीसुरंहाम]

इलाकों की बात की है। कौन नहीं जानता कि सारे भारत में उत्तरी बिहार में जिस में बिना पूर्णिया का इलाका भी शामिल है सब से पिछड़ा इलाका है। पटसन का जो हाल हुआ है, मैं पहले भ्रज कर चुका हूँ। वहाँ दूसरी फसल धान की है, उस की यह हालत है—बकत पर बीज खोजो तो बीज नहीं मिलता, खाद खोजो तो खाद नहीं मिलती, बिजली खोजो तो बिजली नहीं मिलती, पानी खोजो तो पानी नहीं मिलता। मेरी स्टेट में कोसी केनाल की बहुत चर्चा है, उससे कुछ फायदा तो हुआ है, लेकिन मैं जिम्मेदारी के साथ कह सकता हूँ कि यह इतनी बड़ी स्कैम है। करोड़ों रुपया इस पर खर्च हुआ है, लेकिन जिस तरीके से यह बनाई गई है, भ्रवाम को उस का पूरा फायदा नहीं हुआ है। लिहाजा मैं तजवीज रखता हूँ कि इस को इस तरीके से बनाना चाहिये जिस से किसानों को इस का पूरा फायदा मिल सके।

कोआपरेटिव सोसायटीज को मजबूत करना चाहिये। आज कोआपरेटिव सोसायटीज भ्रवाम की जिन्दगी हैं, बल्कि जिन्दगी का एक अटूट हिस्सा हैं। लोगों को जिन चीजों को देना चाहते हैं, जिन चीजों को जनता तक पहुंचाने के लिये सरकार कमिटेड है, उन को इन के जरिये आसानी से पहुंचाया जा सकता है।

एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन का ढांचा आप को बदलना होगा। भ्रवाम आज यह महसूस करने लगे हैं कि अफसरान अपनी जिम्मेदारी निभाने से कतरा रहे हैं, ये लोग भ्रवाम की जिन्दगी के साथ खेलने पर तुले हुए हैं, जिस को जनता हरगिज बरदास्त नहीं करेगी।

पढ़े-लिखे नौजवानों की तरफ भी मेरा इशारा है। जो लोग पढ़-लिख कर बेकार बैठे हुए हैं, उन्हें काम पर लगाना होगा, इस बात को नजरअन्दाज नहीं किया जा

सकता। मुल्क में फिरकापरस्ती का बड़ा जोर है, ऐसी फ़िजा इस मुल्क में बनानी होगी जिस में हर शक्स, हर तबका भ्रमन और चैन की जिन्दगी बसर कर सके। आज जो इदारे मुल्क में फिरकापरस्ती की हवा फैला रहे हैं, उन के खिलाफ़ सख्त कार्यवाही करनी होगी।

आज करप्शन, रिश्वतसितानी एक भ्राम बात हो गई है, नामसल जिन्दगी बन गई है। भ्रवाम की भलाई के लिये इस के खिलाफ़ जितना सख्त से सख्त कानून बनाया जा सकता है उस में देर नहीं करनी चाहिये। मेरा तो यह ख्याल है कि करप्शन के रोकथाम के लिये डैथ-पैनल्टी होनी चाहिये।

जिस इलाके से मैं आता हूँ—वह बाडर का इलाका है। डिप्टी स्पीकर साहब, आप भी बराबर मेरे इलाके से वाया किशन गंज हो कर आते जाते हैं। वहाँ स्मग्लिंग का बाजार बहुत गर्म है। जोगवनी, गलगलिया सहरसा और दूसरी चैक-पोस्ट्स पर इन स्मगलर्स का राज कायम है। अभी हाल में जब मैं उस इलाके के दोरे में गया था तो वहाँ के एक मुखिया ने कहा—एम०पी० साहब, आप को पता है यहां के लोकल जिम्मेदार आफिसर सीमेन्ट और पेट्रोल दूसरे मुल्क को भेज रहे हैं। आज जब कि ये चीजें मुल्क में मिल नहीं रही हैं, यहां के जिम्मेदार अफसरों ने चार चार सौ लिटर तेल और 20-20 गाड़ियां सीमेन्ट स्मगल कराकर दूसरे मुल्क को भेजी हैं—यह बहुत अफसोसनाक बात है। मैं सैन्डल व्यूरो आफ इन्टेलिजेन्स से कहूंगा कि वह इस पर ध्यान दें—क्योंकि प्राविन्शियल आफिसरज किसी की परवाह नहीं करते हैं। उन को परवाह नहीं है कि देश भक्ति क्या चीज है, देश को कैसे बनाना होता है, कैसे उठाना होता है, भ्रवाम के लिये क्या करना है। मैं इस मौके पर तमाम मेम्बरान से दरखास्त

کرنا چاہتا ہوں کہ ہمیں مل کر ملک کی ترقی کے لیے کوشاں رہنا چاہیے اور اسی لیے ہمیں سے آگاہ رہنا چاہیے جو اس بیان میں جو بات کہتے ہیں اور باہر جا کر دوسری بات کہتے ہیں۔

شری مصدق جہاں الملک (کشمیر)  
کشمیر): محترم قومی ممبر صاحب۔

سی۔ پی۔ ایم۔ نے صدر جمہوریہ کے خطاب پر جہسی حرکت کی ہے اس سے سارے ملک والوں کو صدمہ ہوا ہے جب ایوان میں وہ سارے لوگ ایسی فضا پیدا کر سکتے ہیں تو آپ ذرا غور فرمائیں۔ ملک کی فضا کو سازگار بنا نہیں سکتے اور ان کے لئے آسان ہے کہ ملک میں ایک ناسازگار فضا ہمیشہ تیار کرتے رہیں۔ عوام نے ان لوگوں کو اس حرکت کی بنا پر خارج کیا ہے۔ آپ نے دیکھا کہ روٹوں میں بہت زیادہ تعداد میں ہمارے ہوں۔ لوگ یہ سمجھتے لگے ہوں کہ ملک کی بقا کے لئے جمہوریت کو رکھنا بہت ضروری ہے۔ اور اس لئے تو عوام نے جمہوریت کو ہمیشہ سراہا ہے۔ میں بھارت کے عوام سے یہ امید رکھتا ہوں کہ وہ ہمیشہ سراہیں گے۔ اور اس پر وہ ہمیشہ عمل کریں گے۔ اس راستے کو۔ اس سبق کو ہمارے مرحوم گاندھی جی نے۔ پلڈت جواہر لعل نہرو نے اور مولانا عبد الکلام آزاد نے دیا ہے۔ ابھی موجودہ وقت میں ملک کی لہڈرشپ شریعتی گاندھی کے ہاتھ میں ہے۔ اور وہ ایک

سچا اور اپنا قدم ملک کے لئے اٹھا رہی ہیں۔

اس میں کوئی شبہ نہیں ہے کہ ملک ایک مصیبت کی گھڑی سے گزر رہا ہے۔ اور یہ مصیبت کی گھڑی بھارت پر ہی نہیں بلکہ ساری دنیا پر ہے۔ میں ایک دو مثالوں میں کرنا چاہتا ہوں۔ آپ نے دیکھا کہ چائنا میں ایک دوسرے گلچرل ریولوشن کی تیاری تھی۔ آپ نے دوسری مثال دیکھی کہ برطانیہ کی ملکی فضا میں بھی ایسی تبدیلی آئی ہے۔ جو آج ظاہر ہونے والی ہے۔ تیسری بات میں یہ عرض کرونگا کہ امریکہ نے تو اپنی ہمت دوسری کی حد ہی کر دی ہے۔ میرے دوستوں نے اخباروں میں اس کے بارے میں دیکھا ہوگا۔ اور پڑھا ہوگا۔ میں ایسا سمجھتا ہوں کہ اس ملک میں جو مصیبت آئی ہے۔ اور جو مصیبت ہے وہ کچھ خود ساختہ بھی ہے اس میں ہمارے دوسری طرف کے دوست جو آج بہت کم نظر آ رہے ہیں ان کا بھی کوئی کم حصہ نہیں ہے۔

یہ بات ظاہر ہے کہ ملک کو سوکھا ہوا بازو لڑائی اور دفعہ چھڑکھڑکے کا مقابلہ کرنا پڑا ہے اور ملک میں جو معاشی بد حالی آئی ہے اس کے متعلق ہماری وزیر اعظم نے پہلے ہی نشان دہی کر دی تھی کہ ملک ایک



[عربی معتمد جمہل الرحمان]  
 بہاری مصہبت سے آگے آئے والے بہالوں  
 میں گزرنے والا ہے۔ پر یہ دیکھا ہے  
 کہ جو دوسری طرف بیٹھنے والے  
 دوست ہیں وہ اس مصہبت کو دور  
 کرنے میں عوام کتنی مدد کرتے ہیں۔  
 میں جہاں تک دیکھ پایا ہوں دور  
 کرنے کے بجائے وہ اسے اور شہہ دے  
 رہے ہیں لوگوں کو ورگلا رہے ہیں  
 اور دور سے کھڑے ہو کر مسکراتی ہوئی  
 نظر سے دیکھنا چاہتے ہیں۔ اور عوام  
 کی دوہر زندگی کو مسکرا کر وہ  
 دیکھ رہے ہیں۔

ایسے ایڈریس میں صدر جمہوریہ  
 نے ہر شعبہ پر نظر ڈالی ہے اور اس  
 خطاب کے پیرا 4 میں ایکسپورت اور  
 امپورٹ کے بارے میں بھی بہت تفصیل  
 میں انہوں نے کہا ہے۔ جہانتک بہار  
 کا تعلق ہے وہاں پورنیہ ضلع کی  
 خاص پیداوار اور کھس کراپ چرت ہے  
 لیکن بہت افسوس کی بات ہے کہ  
 سرکار نے 157 روپے کچھ پیسے فی  
 کونٹل جوت کی در مقرر کی ہے۔  
 معتدوم ذیقعی سہیکر صاحب آپ  
 بھی اس حلقے سے آئے ہیں؛ ایسے  
 دیکھا ہوگا کہ جوت کارپوریشن کسانوں  
 کو وہ قیمت نہیں دے رہا ہے۔ اس کے  
 سارے لوگ مل مالکوں کی سازش  
 میں ہیں اور نظر اندازی کر کے  
 کسانوں کو کم پیسے دے رہے ہیں۔  
 اس سے کسانوں کی اکلماک رہوہ  
 قویب قریب توٹ چکی ہے۔ اور  
 کسان بدحالی کے شکار ہوتے جا

ہیں۔ سرکار کو چاہئے کہ وہ  
 فوراً کرے اور ان افسروں کے پتے  
 کوئے قدم اتھالے تاکہ واقعی میں  
 کسانوں کو سہولت دے سکے اور وہ  
 خوشحالی کی زندگی بسر کر سکیں۔  
 پورے اس پورے ضلع میں کل 4-5  
 سینٹر جوت خریداری کے ہیں۔ آپ  
 تعجب کریں گے کہ قریب 42 لاکھ  
 آبدی اس ضلع کی ہے جس میں  
 کل 4-5 سینٹر ہیں جو نہایت  
 نادبی ہیں۔ میں تجویز کرتا ہوں  
 کہ سرکار ہر بلاک میں کم سے کم پانچ  
 سینٹر اسکے لئے تاکہ کسانوں کو  
 جو قیمت مقرر ہوئی ہے مل سکے۔  
 جو کم قیمت میں خریدتے ہیں  
 ان کے لئے سرکار کوئے سے کوا قانون بنائے  
 اور انکو کوی سزا ملے تاکہ کسانوں کا  
 صحیح قیمت مل سکے۔

صدر جمہوریہ نے سینٹرل پبلک  
 سینکٹریز کا بھی بیورو اپنی سپیچ میں  
 دیا ہے۔ یہ خوشی کی بات ہے  
 کہ اس سینکٹر میں کچھ ترقی ہوئی  
 ہے۔ لیکن اس سینکٹر میں  
 کلاس 3 اور 4 سرورسز میں  
 ہریچلوں اور مسلمانوں کی بدحالی  
 تسلی بخش نہیں ہوئی ہے۔ وہ  
 تقریباً نل ہی ہے؛ اور یہ بہت ہی  
 غیر مناسب بات ہے۔ پورے خیال  
 سے آبادی کے لحاظ سے ان دونوں کو  
 کلاس 3 اور 4 کو

جگہیں ملی چاہیں کہونکہ یہ دونوں طبقے آپ دہلی کی سیاست میں بہت زیادہ سب سے زیادہ کی رہتی ہیں۔ اور ان کو مضبوط کرنا نہایت ضروری ہے۔ یہ طبقے فریب سے فریب تر ہوتے جا رہے ہیں۔ ان کی اور آپ کو دیکھنا دیکھنا دیں۔

فلے کے بارے میں بھی ایڈریس میں اشارہ کیا گیا ہے۔ اسکی پھدوار بڑھنی چاہئے۔ اس میں دو رائے نہیں ہو سکتی۔ وہ بڑھی بھی ہے۔ لیکن اسکو بڑھانے کے لئے یہ ضروری ہے کہ کسانوں کو بھلی، پانی، بیج وغیرہ ملے تاکہ پھدوار کو بڑھانے میں آگے اور مدد ملے۔ پھدوار بڑھنے سے ہی ملک میں خوشحالی آسکتی ہے۔

ایک اور بات ہے کہ ملک میں سرکاری غلے کو بھی اپنی ذمہ داری سمجھنی ہوگی اور ذمہ داری کے ساتھ اپنے کام کو بھی کرنا ہوگا۔ انکو عوام کی ملٹا کے مطابق اپنے کو ڈھالنا ہوگا۔ وہ یہ نہ سمجھیں کہ وہ ملک کے حاکم ہیں بلکہ ملک کا حاکم تو وہ عوام ہے جن کے ذریعے یہ ایوان بنا ہے۔ برٹش لیگسلی یا برٹش ذمہ داری ایک امپریلزم تک ذمہ داری ہے اسکو انہیں چھوڑنا ہوگا اگر انہیں چھوڑتے ہیں تو عوام انکو چھوڑنا سکھائیں گے اور وہ انکو بھڑکائیں گے نہیں۔ جب جلتا جائے گی اور اسکو پتہ ہو

جاننا کہ سرکاری غلے ہماری ترقی کے راستے میں رکاوٹ ہیں تو وہ پھر انکو بھڑکائیں گے۔

ذخیرہ اندوزی کی طرف بھی اشتہاریتی جی نے اشارہ کیا ہے۔ میں پہلے بھی اس بات کو کہہ چکا ہوں کہ جو دفعات اسمبلر کونٹریبیوٹ کی ہیں یا فوڈ اینڈ ڈسٹریبشن کی ہیں انکو نان بیلبل (non-bailable) بنایا جائے۔ فوڈ اینڈ ڈسٹریبشن کرنے والوں کو سزائے موت دی جائے۔ ایسا قانون بننا چاہئے۔ ہورڈرز کو بھی سزائے موت دی جانی چاہئے۔ کیونکہ اس سے عوام کی زندگی اور انکے جملے اور مرنے کا تعلق ہے۔ عوام کی زندگی کو سکھی بنانے کے لئے سرکار کو ہر وہ کڑے سے کڑے قدم اٹھانے چاہئے جس سے صحیح معلوموں میں عوام کی مدد ہو سکے اور عوام کے لئے جو ہانہیں سرکار سوچتی ہے وہ ان تک پہنچ سکیں۔

آخر میں ایک بات اور کہنا چاہتا ہوں صد جمہوریہ نے پچھڑے علاقوں کی بات کی ہے۔ کون نہیں جانتا کہ سارے بھارت میں اتنی بھاری جس میں ضلع پورنہ کا علاقہ بھی شامل ہے۔ سب سے پچھڑا علاقہ ہے پت سن کا جو حال ہوا۔ میں پہلے عرض کر چکا ہوں۔ وہاں دوسری فصل دھان کی ہے۔ اس کی یہ

[شری مصد جموں الرحمان]

حالت ہے - کہ وقت پر بھیج کر دیا جائے تو بھیج نہیں سکتا - گھاد گھوچو، تو گھاد نہیں ملتی - بدلی گھوچو تو بدلی نہیں ملتی - پانی گھوچو تو پانی نہیں ملتا - مہری سہمت میں کوسی، کھنال کی بہت چرچہ ہے - اس سے کچھ فائدہ تو ہوا ہے - لیکن میں ذمہ داری کے ساتھ کہہ سکتا ہوں کہ یہ انلی بڑی سکیم ہے - کروڑوں روپے اس پر خرچ ہوا ہے - لیکن جس تکمیل سے یہ بلانی گئی ہے - عوام کو اس کا پورا فائدہ نہیں ہوا ہے - لہذا میں تجویز رکھتا ہوں کہ اس کو اس طریقے سے بلانا چاہئے جس سے کسانوں کو اس کا پورا فائدہ مل سکے -

کوآپریٹو سوسائٹی کو مضبوط کرنا چاہئے آج کوآپریٹو سوسائٹیز عوام کی زندگی ہے - بلکہ زندگی کا ایک توت حصہ ہے - لوگوں کو جن چیزوں کو دینا چاہتے ہیں - جن چیزوں کو چاہتے ہیں - ان کے لئے سہولتیں کو ملنے سے ان کو ان کے ذریعے آسانی سے پہنچایا جا سکتا ہے -

ایڈمنسٹریشن کا ڈھانچہ آپ کو بدلنا ہوتا ہے - عوام آج یہ محسوس کرنے لگے ہیں - کہ افسران اپنی ذمہ داری نبھانے سے کترا رہے ہیں - یہ لوگ عوام کی زندگی کے ساتھ کوہنچے پر تلے ہوئے ہیں - جس کو چلتا مرکز برداشت نہیں کر سکتے -

پورے لگے نوجوانوں کی طرف سے! ادارہ ہے - جو لوگ پورے لگے ہو بہو رہتے ہوئے ہیں - انہیں کام پر لگانا ہوتا ہے - اس بات کو نظر انداز نہیں کیا جا سکتا ہے - ملک میں فرقہ پرستی کا بڑا زور ہے ایسی فصلیں اس ملک میں بلانی ہوئی جس میں ہر شخص ہر طبقہ امن اور چین کی زندگی بسر کر سکے - آج جو ادارے ملک میں فرقہ پرستی کی ہوا بھلا رہے ہیں - ان کے خلاف سخت کارروائی کرنی ہوگی -

آج کریشن - رشوت ستانی ایک عام بات ہو گئی ہے - نارمل زندگی بن گئی ہے - عوام کی بھلائی کے لئے - اس کے خلاف جتنا سخت سے سخت قانون بنایا جا سکتا ہے - اس میں بڑی نہیں کرنی چاہئے - میرا تو یہ خیال ہے کہ کریشن کے روک تھام کے لئے دیتو پھیلانی ہونی چاہئے -

جس علاقے سے میں آتا ہوں - وہ بارڈر کا علاقہ ہے - دہلی سے ایک صاحب آپ بھی برابر کے علاقے سے آیا کشن کینج ہو کر آتے اور جاتے ہیں - وہاں سنگلنگ کا بازار بہت گرم ہے - جوگ ہلی گلگاہہ مہرے اور دوسرے چوک پرست ان سنگلز کا راج قائم ہے - ابھی حال میں جب میں اس علاقے کے دورے میں گیا تھا تو وہاں کے ایک منشی نے کہا اہم ہی صاحب آپ کو

ہتے ہے یہاں کے لوگ دلہندار افسر  
 سماعت اور پھرتول دوسرے ملک کو  
 پہنچ رہے ہیں۔ آج جب یہ چھڑیں  
 ملک میں مل نہیں رہی ہیں۔  
 یہاں کے دلہندار افسروں نے 4-4 سو لاکھ  
 تھل اور 20-20 گزیاں سٹک سٹک  
 کرائے دوسرے ملک کو بھیجتے ہیں،  
 یہ بہت افسوسناک بات ہے۔ میں  
 سینٹرل بھرو آف انٹلی جنس سے  
 کہتا کہ وہ اس پر دھیان دیں  
 کہونکہ براونشیل آفسرز کسی کی  
 پرواہ نہیں کرتے ہیں۔ ان کو پرواہ  
 نہیں ہے۔ کہ دیہیں بہکتی کیا چھڑ  
 ہے۔ دیہیں کو کیسے بلانا ہوتا ہے کہسے  
 اتھانا ہوتا ہے۔ عوام کے لئے کیا کرنا  
 ہے۔ میں اس موقع پر تمام مدھیان  
 سے درخواست کرنا چاہتا ہوں کہ  
 ہمیں ملکر ملک کی ترقی کے لئے  
 کوشاں رہنا چاہئے۔ اور ایسے لوگوں  
 سے آگاہ رہنا چاہئے۔ جو اس ایوان  
 میں ایک بات کہتے ہیں اور باہر  
 جا کر دوسری بات کہتے ہیں۔ ]

SHRI FATESINGHRAO GAEKWAD  
 (Baroda): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir,  
 during my tenure in this august House  
 I have had the privilege of listening to  
 over a dozen Addresses but, I am  
 constrained to say that there has  
 never been a more insipid one than  
 this year's. If I had the time I would  
 give numerous examples to prove this  
 point, but I know that my time is  
 limited and, will therefore, concen-  
 trate on just one subject.

Sir, this House is fully aware of the  
 unhappy situation which continues to  
 exist in the State of Gujarat, and I  
 happen to have the honour to

represent the riot-torn city of Baroda.  
 More than fifty people have already  
 lost their lives, over forty of these  
 had died before the President's  
 Address to Parliament.

Everyone in the country knows that  
 the reasons for these disturbed condi-  
 tions have been spiralling prices and  
 non-availability of foodgrains and cer-  
 tain essential commodities—only the  
 Central Government still refuses to  
 accept this fact. This is evident from  
 the four line reference to Gujarat in  
 para 20 which reads as follows:

“Early this month, Gujarat has  
 come under President's Rule. It is  
 the responsibility of all citizens to  
 help in the establishment of a climate  
 of self-restrained and cooperative  
 effort so that the people's hardships  
 can be alleviated.”

There is no mention of the Centre's  
 failure to provide foodgrains and  
 essential commodities to the State, no  
 assurance of dissolving the Assembly,  
 and not even a message of sympathy to  
 members of the bereaved families.  
 This is certainly the most 'classic'  
 example of total apathy and callous-  
 ness.

I only have a few straight forward  
 question to which I want only straight  
 forward replies.

Firstly, does the Centre now accept  
 the root cause of the disturbances?  
 When people were practically on the  
 verge of starvation, why were food  
 supplies refused by the Centre? And  
 yet, in his first public pronouncement  
 after the imposition of Presidential  
 Rule, the Governor assured the people  
 and I quote:

“that the administration would en-  
 deavour to supply adequate food-  
 grains and essential commodities”.

In fact since then supplies have been  
 rushed to Gujarat. When foodgrains  
 and other essentials were not available  
 only three weeks or a fortnight before  
 the imposition of President's Rule,  
 where have these supplies suddenly  
 come from?

[Shri Patesingh Rao Gaekwad]

Then, there is this talk of corruption in high places. It was never heard of in Gujarat so far. Some people claim that they can prove these charges. The accused say that they can disprove the charges. The people have been considerably agitated over this issue. Even a sum of Rs. 25 lakhs is being freely mentioned. No one seems to deny the figure. The only thing in doubt seems to be the destination of the sum. The Gujarat leadership says it has been sent to Delhi, but Delhi says it has never arrived! Will not the Centre set up some proper machinery to go into these charges of corruption, thereby removing the doubts in the minds of the people and thereby also, giving an opportunity both to the accusers and the accused to settle the issue?

My third question relates to police excesses or what may even be called police 'violence' during the disturbances. There have been numerous incidents when the Police have used unjustifiable methods. One such incident happened in Baroda, when, alleging that the students of the M. S. University were stoning them, the police entered the campus and brutally beat up the students. There are responsible people in Baroda, including the Vice-Chancellor who are prepared to give evidence that they were witnesses to the police brutally assaulting the students, not only on the grounds of the campus but even on the first floors of buildings! The people want an assurance that a judicial inquiry will be initiated to probe into these charges of police excesses.

Finally, I come to the widespread and what I consider legitimate demand of the people for the dissolution of the Assembly. I can anticipate two arguments which may be used in countering this demand, firstly that this demand does not come from the vast majority of the people, is restricted and comes from a minority which lives in the cities and, secondly that if this demand is met, it would be tantamount to conceding or giving in to violence.

The first argument is not based on sound facts. The agitation started when conditions became unbearable. By offering this argument, is it being suggested that this demand for the dissolution of the Assembly will not be met unless there is evidence that the agitation has spread to rural areas as well? I partially agree with the second argument. Violence can never be tolerated and must always be condemned. There is no quarrel over that. But this should not be used as an excuse. If the Centre had had the courage to have faced facts at a much earlier stage this agitation would not have even started; but they had no time since they were very busy with more weightier matters.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker, I think it was the hon. Speaker who was reported to have expressed surprise at the happenings in Gujarat, ending up by saying that he wondered whether Gandhiji was ever born in that State. There is no doubt about the fact. We are a self-disciplined people who have always believed in non-violence. However, the question may easily be asked: Was there something cardinaly wrong in Gujarat which eventually pushed such people into this spontaneous agitation against the scarcity of food and essential commodities, alleged corruption in high places and the Centre's total apathy towards the legitimate demands and justifiable grievances?

Ever since the beginning of the agitation there has been a spate of sermons delivered to the people of Gujarat from distant places like Lucknow, Pondicherry, etc. and during the last three days in this House by Members of the Treasury Benches. But one may ask why no one has had the courage to visit the State to preach these pious sermons directly to the people? I now demand a categorical assurance from the Government that the Assembly will be immediately dissolved and that the people would be given a chance to elect their new representatives. Nothing sort of this would satisfy the people

now. Do it while it can still be done with a little grace. Justice delayed will be justice denied.

**SHRI BIREN ENGTI (Diphu):** I thank you, Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir for giving me chance to speak on the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address. It has been said by several Members on both sides this House that there is acute shortage of foodgrains and essential commodities in the country. It has been said by Members from the opposite side that it is because of this shortage of foodgrains and essential commodities that there are bandhs and strikes. I wish to say that these bandhs and strikes will not help in producing more food, neither this will help in building up our economy.

We have seen the country is suffering from natural calamities such as flood and drought. This has been happening for the last three years in many States in the country. This has affected agricultural production. Then again due to *bundhs* and strikes in many States, industrial production has also been affected.

To increase agricultural production people belonging to all political parties should co-operate with Government in policies of more production and procurement so that we can overcome the food crisis.

Due to hoarders, blackmarketeers and profiteers, there is scarcity of foodgrains and other essential commodities in the country. I would request Government to see that those who are hoarders and blackmarketeers are properly punished.

I represent one of the most backward constituencies in the country. The President himself has in his Address made a reference to backward areas in the country and said that such backward areas should be looked into. The hill areas are still more backward and Government should give more attention to such backward areas.

For the first time, the people were given the privilege of framing their own plan. I would say here that for the first time the people of the Mikir and N.C. hills, the most backward district in the country, have prepared a concrete and comprehensive plan and placed it before the State Government. I would urge the Government of India to accept all the proposals and schemes submitted by them because we have been saying here in Parliament that the backward areas should be developed. Until and unless we get more money, how can we develop our backward areas? Therefore, all plans and schemes submitted by the hill districts should be accepted. Not only that, The Government should take keen interest in other development because in the hill areas we are economically, socially and politically backward. For all round development of the economy, many things have to be done by the Government.

In the Fifth Five Year Plan we had suggested that we had to change the cultivation system prevailing in the hill districts and hill areas of the country.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir you know the agricultural system in our hill areas. The cultivation in the hill areas of Assam is a peculiar one. It is distinct and separate not similar to the plain areas of the other States. What is going on there is the jhuming system. I have been saying many times here that the existing system of cultivation should be revised and new and modern methods of agriculture should be introduced. In the fifth five year plan we have suggested that instead of allowing such destructive method of cultivation, we have to introduce a new method of cultivation like rubber coffee plantations, etc. For this purpose, we want more money but the State Government is not able to bear all the expenditure. It is completely dependent on the Central Government. So, in this regard I request the Central Government to see that the State Government is helped to develop the hill areas there.

[Shri Biren Engti]

There have been many instances in these two or three years, of atrocities and hooliganism committed against the Harijans and minorities in many parts of the country. These should really be banned. Instead of fighting for economic independence, here we are fighting amongst ourselves with the primitive and vague ideologies of casteism. All these things should be banned because we know that communalism and casteism are great evils which would dis-integrate our nation. Instead, this sort of fighting will dis-integrate our country and nation and this will prevent us from reaching our goal of socialism and secularism. So the Government of India should take strong measures so that no such further incidents can take place in the country.

As we know, the United Kingdom and the United States of America have agreed to jointly establish a naval base in the island of Diego Garcia in the Indian Ocean. This is a matter which causes great concern to us, because it really threatens to our security. So, the Governments of the USA and the United Kingdom should give up their policy to establish a naval base in the Indian Ocean and they should also agree with our viewpoint that the Indian Ocean should be kept as a zone of peace.

In the end, I would like to say that there are so many sick industries and sick tea gardens in the country which directly affected the employed labourers. Here, I would like to request the Government of India that such mis-managed sick industries and tea gardens should be taken over by the Government so as to give employment to those affected labourers whose livelihood is solely connected with such industries as well as tea gardens.

SHRI VARKEY GEORGE (Koottayam): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, the President's Address is expected to touch some of the acute problems of the country. As the time allotted to

me is very little, I would like to point out a few glaring omissions. I belong to a party in Kerala which has supported the Indian National Congress led by Shrimati Indira Gandhi. Sir, we supported this party with the pious hope that the Indian National Congress, with a good majority and under the leadership of Shrimati Indira Gandhi will lead this country to progress. But today when we go back to our constituencies and face the voters, they ask us one question: "Why did you advise us to vote for Shrimati Indira Gandhi's party and made her the Prime Minister of India? What are we getting return?"

AN. HON. MEMBER: They elected you.

SHRI VARKEY GEORGE: Kerala being a State with a lot of literacy and culture, our people go throughout India and even abroad to earn their living. But thousands and thousands of Keralites who are now in Maharashtra and Bombay are being driven out of that State.

SHRI VASANT SATHE: That is not correct. You can accuse the Shiv Sena. Nobody is driving out anybody.

SHRI VARKEY GEORGE: I happened to be in Bombay on the eve of the bye-elections held recently. I saw with my own eyes in same jeeps the flags of Shiv Sena and the Indian National Congress throughout the constituencies and both the parties were jointly canvassing votes. It has been denied even by the Prime Minister that there was any sort of alliance with Shiv Sena. Why did they then carry both the flags in one jeep and canvass votes?

Even after the elections, when I was in Bombay there were brutal attacks on the Malayalees. When I was coming out of the hotel where I was staying in my *dhoti* and *jhibba*, the chowkidar at the hotel said, "Please do not go out in this dress. You will be beaten up." This is the situation in Bombay. In the Marine Drive area of Bombay where you see hundreds of

Malayalees selling tender coconuts, today, they cannot wear a dhoti. They are to wear pants to show that they are not Malayalees.

What have we done for all these? Is it a crime on our part to have education, literacy and culture in our State, to work very hard and to earn foreign exchange for the country? Our State is a deficit State in food-grains. Unfortunately, whatever we were producing this year, due to some unusual pest disease, all our paddy crop has been destroyed. So, we have to depend upon the Centre to feed our people. There is a constant procession of our Ministers every month to the Centre to meet the Prime Minister and the Food Minister. But the Prime Minister is too busy to see them and the Food Minister is too busy to see them and they go back with empty hands. The people are starving; they are not getting even 6 ounces of ration. My hon. friend was saying that in Bombay and Gujarat they were not getting 12 ounces of ration. But keralites are not getting even 6 ounces of ration. This is the reward they get for earning foreign exchange for the country.

15 hrs.

This is a State with a lot of literacy. Thousands and thousands of boys and girls coming out of colleges are without a job. Previously because of their intelligence and integrity, they were taken in offices throughout India, in Bombay and Calcutta and other places. But now just because they are Keralites or Malayalees, the jobs are being denied to them. This is the bitter experience we have in Kerala. The Central Government must have a soft corner for us. Even though we are cultured and may not follow the example of the people of Gujarat, a time will come when we may have to rise against the Centre and ask for our just demands. As I said, unless food is rushed to Kerala in another couple of weeks our people will be starving. From the allotment that has been given to the Kerala State, we

will not be able to even distribute three ounces of ration. How long can Keralites wait for more food from the Centre? The people of Kerala are disappointed, because not a word has been mentioned about this in the President's Address.

With the foreign exchange that we earn for our country, if we are allowed to import food ourselves, we can get all the food that we want. In our neighbouring States of Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh, there is enough food and the kind people of Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh are prepared to send enough food to Kerala. But the Southern Food Zone has been abolished, and the Central Government has banned any sort of movement of rice or any other foodgrains from Andhra Pradesh or Tamil Nadu to Kerala. If we are allowed to buy our own food, we have enough foreign exchange and enough funds to buy whatever foodgrains we want. The only thing is that we are not allowed to do it. Why this discrimination? This is a great injustice that has been done to this State. With these few words, I conclude.

**SHRI HARI KISHORE SINGH**  
(Pupri): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir I rise to support the Motion of Thanks to the President.

From *New York Times* to Shri Morarji Desai, Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee in between, there seems to be a galaxy of prophets of gloom who think that because of the present difficulties our democratic structure is going to shatter. Sir, I just wonder why these prophets of doom are becoming panicky because of the temporary difficulties which our country is facing today. Which country in the world is not facing difficulties? Can our friends point out a single country, a single major country, in the world which is not suffering from internal, domestic problems? Have our friends not heard about the Watergate scandal in the United States of America? But what is happening there? Are the American people taking that issue to the streets as our friends have taken the issue



[Shri Hari Kishore Singh]

in Gujarat? I was listening to Shri Katesingh Rao Gaekwad; I was also listening to Shri Merarji Desai. What has been surprising is their approval of the events in Gujarat. Nobody is happy about the situation in Gujarat, the least of all our party and ourselves. But if pressure is to be utilised, if the battle of ballot is to be fought in the streets of Ahmedabad and other places in Gujarat, if the success of the battle of ballot is sought to be nullified in the streets, and this House succumbs to it, then that will be the end of democracy, and not otherwise, I do not blame them because they are the slaves of habit and it goes to prove the old saying that old habits die hard. They have been saying the whenever the country has faced any temporary difficulty. They had said in the Sixties, after 1967. But what happened? Our democratic structure, our democratic fabric, has more solid foundations than what our critics tend to think.

It has been pointed out in this House that the wave of popularity of the ruling party and of the Prime Minister is on the wane. All waves have their ebbs and tides but they never die. In that way they have tried to undermine the achievements of this country in the wake of the 1971 elections. If anything was achieved solidly, it is that the 1971 elections clearly proved that the people of this country have a clear, direct and firm faith in the democratic polity of our society. Secondly, it is very important that so far as the national security of our country goes, we did achieve the creation of Bangla Desh and but for the massive majority the people of India gave the Congress, Bangla Desh would not have been there. Is there anybody who can deny the enduring, durable and permanent services which the Party achieved by the creation of Bangla Desh to the national security and integrity of India?

Everything has a price. Bangla Desh also has a price. The present difficulties of the country are a by-product, not totally, but in part, a by-product of the Bangla Desh issue. And

what has pained me most to see is that listening to some of the opposition speakers, one would get the impression that we are a panic-stricken nation, that whenever some problem arises which poses a challenge to our democratic polity, that our democratic polity is going to shatter and our whole system is going to collapse. Now, the system which has a firm basis in our national struggle and in the experiences which the people have undergone in the last 26 years is not going to shatter or collapse because of certain temporary difficulties or some economic problems or because some people are trying to do something undesirable in the streets of Gujarat.

Now, I would like to say something on this economic issue because this is very important and in the context of the present crisis it is being sought to undermine the very basis on which this Party received a massive mandate in 1971.

Now it is being suggested that the present difficulties have arisen because of certain radical policies which this Government have undertaken. Now that is far from the truth. What the country needs to-day is forceful implementation of those policies and those pledges which the Party gave to the people in 1971.

First, I would say that the land reform measures must be expeditiously implemented without any hesitation and without any delay and should be pursued firmly. If necessary, the Constitution should be amended to the extent that it is not left to the whims of the State legislatures to undo the wishes and aspirations of the people so far as land reforms go.

Secondly, I would come to one of the most important problems in the field of economics in this country to-day. That is the ostentatious living and wasteful expenditure. I would request the Prime Minister and the Government to see that this is drastically, radically and forcefully curtailed and stopped by one stroke. In this context, I would suggest that no Indian national should be allowed to stay in

any five-star hotel in the country, no Indian should be allowed to host any party in any five-star hotel and no Minister or Member of Parliament should attend any reception hosted by any Indian national in any five-star hotel which the ITDC is constructing all round in the country.

Thirdly, I would also like to suggest that simultaneously with land reforms, a drastic, reasonable and meaningful ceiling should be put on urban incomes which include industrial and commercial wealth because there is an impression in the country that because the urban people have more voice, they have got the Press, they have got all the publicity media under their control, therefore only rural land reform measures are considered radical and progressive and not the urban land ceiling measures. Urban land ceiling measures and land reforms should simultaneously go hand in hand with rural land ceiling measures. Justice should be achieved in both the cases, because, there is an impression in the countryside that the Administration is partial towards urban people. This impression should not be allowed to continue and Government should impose urban ceiling along with land reform measures. Here I would suggest that urban ceiling should include industrial and commercial wealth that is generated in the cities.

I would suggest that there should be a ceiling on expenditure as well. No Indian should be allowed to incur an expenditure of more than Rs. 2,000 to Rs. 5,000 per month. This is my submission. I am not suggesting that there should be a ceiling on salaries. But I would be happy if a ceiling of Rs. 2,000 is put in regard to salaries. But what I would specifically like to suggest is that there should be a ceiling on expenditure as I have suggested if this country is to survive economically and face the various challenges which are there. There are various challenges, particularly the economic ones which we will have to face. The challenges are there; the people are with us. We have given pledge to the people that we will establish in this

country a just and equitable social order and I am sure that the coming events will prove that we are true to our pledge.

With these words I conclude. Thank you.

SHRI M. SATYANARAYANA RAO (Karimnagar): I am really sorry that I am not in a position to thank the President for his address. I have carefully listened to the speech he made. He has mentioned about so many difficulties facing our country but he has not suggested any remedy for solving these problem. Today you know, in our country, we have reached a stage where it is very difficult for Members of Parliament to go outside and say that we are Members of Parliament. The danger is there, I am telling you, the people are not tolerating us. The reason may be, we are not providing sufficient food for them; that is because of shortage of food, shortage of essential commodities.

Previously we have seen, Sir, only lower middle class persons were affected. But for the first time now we are seeing this that the common people and the poor people are affected by the rising prices, by shortage of essential commodities, which are not available in the market. That is the reason why they are angry with us. Naturally we will have to appreciate their difficulties. What are the reasons? So far as policies are concerned, there are no two opinions about them. The only difficulty is about implementation. For implementing the policies who is responsible, Sir? The Government is responsible. And because those policies are not implemented properly the people blame it. Don't blame any of the opposition parties saying they are responsible for this thing and that thing. It is very easy. I will give one example. What was your role when in Madras the DMK could not solve the important problem? Did you not take up the matter? After all,

[Shri M. Satyanarayana Rao]

it is the duty of the opposition to take up the matter of the people. And if opposition takes up the matter it is no use blaming them and saying that they are exploiting the situation. After all, everybody will exploit. Even if the Congress party is in opposition, it will do so. For that matter I do not blame these people and your people. But something is certainly wrong fundamentally.

You will have to think about it and try to solve the problem of shortage of essentials. Unless this is solved I doubt very much whether Parliamentary democracy will be able to survive. I am sorry to say all these things. This is the situation which is prevailing in this country—everything is in short and, nowadays, it has become a fashion for some people to speak against the farmers. Eighty per cent of Members of Parliament as well as the Members of Legislatures come from the agricultural classes. But they are hesitant to take up their cause simply because they have become very affluent. They think that everything is okay so far as their problem is concerned. As a matter of fact, no fertiliser is made available to them; there is no irrigation facility or electricity even made available to the farmers. Still, they are doing their best to produce sufficient quantity of food. Food is available in plenty. The only difficulty is in regard to the distribution of it equitably. There is no proper distribution machinery for the purpose. Also it has become a fashion to take over everything. Taking over by Government is all right. We also believe in that. Unless there is sufficient production where is the question of taking over of it? And how can it be equitably distributed? In factories or in industries, we see the labour is exercised so much that there is indiscipline. They are not working at all. They know their responsibility but they are not taught properly to do a thing. They are worried about their wages; but they are not worried about the production.

If you tell them that unless there is production, it is not possible to increase their wages, then they will definitely do something in the production of foodgrains. In this regard, not only the Members from the Congress Party but also the Members of the Opposition should think in these lines. I am sorry to state something about what has happened during Gujarat crisis. Shri Jayaprakash Narain made a speech in Gujarat—I read it also asking the students and teachers to boycott their classes for one year and to agitate against the Government. It is not good to do so. I am telling this because of my experience. There are no two opinions that something should be done in regard to Gujarat. Shri Jayaprakash Narain who happens to be a Gandhian and believe in non-violence should not have asked the students to agitate against the Government. He ought not to have asked the teachers, particularly, to come out of their classes and to agitate and adopt some violent methods to achieve the demands of the people of Gujarat. After all he is a national leader—an important leader. If their education is to be disturbed, what is the use of their going in for the B.A.B.Sc. or an engineering course?

**SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA:** What did you do with regard to Telengana?

**SHRI M. SATYANARAYANA RAO:** That is why I say here, as an experienced Member, that we should not encourage the people to agitate. Let us go to the bazar and let us agitate there. Don't encourage the students to come out of their classes and agitate. That will be a dangerous thing to do. To-day you may do it because the Congress Party is in a difficulty. You may also have to face the same difficulty when you come to power. I am also responsible because I also have agitated for Telengana. I wrongly supported the students in the agitation. What happened to them? Now they are completely ruined. When I see them sometimes I feel why they should have agitated for that? What have we

achieved because of that agitation? After all, the future depends upon these students. If their career is spoiled what can they do in future for the country?

I, therefore, request my hon. friends here not to encourage the youth to agitate. Why should Shri Jayaprakash Narain ask the teachers and students to boycott their classes and agitate? It is really a shameful thing on anyone's part to agitate. I am telling you from my experience. You should cooperate with us in this task. Otherwise, in future, you will realise the mistakes that you are committing.

The President has mentioned about the Telengana and the Andhra people also in his Address. He has said that he was happy that the problem had been tackled. I cannot say whether it has been tackled or not. But I am here to say that opportunity should be given to the present regime and the Central Government. The only thing that I would like to stress is that unless economic aid is given to Andhra Pradesh, it will be very difficult. After all, the agitation took place because of the backwardness of certain areas. The Prime Minister also has always made the statement here that apart from the question whether there should be separation or not, the problem mainly was one of backwardness. It is only if economic aid is given to develop these backward areas and establish more industries there that it will be possible to solve the unemployment problem and other problems. I would request the Government and particularly the Prime Minister to see that sufficient finances are provided to Andhra Pradesh so that the Telengana region and other backward regions are developed.

श्री शिवनाथ सिंह (मुंजमुंज) : उपाध्यक्ष जी, राष्ट्रपति जी ने हमारे सामने देश की एक तस्वीर रखी है। विरोध के बहुत से महानुभावों ने कहा है कि सही तस्वीर नहीं है। मेरे क्वाल में इस से अधिक सही तस्वीर नहीं हो सकती और राष्ट्रपति

जी ने देश के सामने आज जो समस्याएं हैं, इकनामिक क्राइसिस हमारे देश में है, जो डिफ्लैटरीज लोगों को है, जन्हीं से अक्षय भाषण शुरू किया है। बहुत से विरोध के माननीय सदस्य यह कहते हैं कि जितनी भी दिक्कतें देश के सामने हैं चाहे आर्थिक हों, चाहे दूसरी हों, वे वर्तमान नेतृत्व की वजह से हैं। मेरा विचार दूसरा है। आज देश का वर्तमान नेतृत्व ही ऐसा है जो इस तरह की समस्याओं में भी देश को आगे बढ़ा रहा है और देश को उभार रहा है। जिस प्रकार का रवैया विरोधी दल अख्तियार कर रहे हैं, यदि प्रशासक वर्ग भी इस प्रकार का रवैया अख्तियार करता तो आज देश के अन्दर डेमोक्रेसी नहीं रहती और देश के आगे बढ़ने की गुंजाइश नहीं रहती। इसलिये मैं उन से निवेदन करना चाहूंगा कि छोटी छोटी बातों के लिये आलोचना करना आसान है किन्तु देश के नव निर्माण में अपने सहयोग का हाथ बढ़ाना जो बहुत ही आवश्यक है, वह बढ़ाना चाहिये। देश के अन्दर दो प्रकार की शक्तियां हैं जो देश को तबाह करने पर तुली हुई हैं। एक है—प्रशासक वर्ग। हमारी सविस्तर चाहे वे बड़े अफसर हों, चाहे छोटे अफसर हों या छोटे कर्मचारी हों, वे देश को तबाह करने पर तुले हुए हैं। बड़े अफसर अष्टाचार में लीन हैं। किसी भी अफसर का नाम सामने आता है तो उस में अष्टाचार की बू आती है। छोटे कर्मचारी चाहे रेलवे के हों चाहे दूसरी जगह के हों वह स्ट्राइकों पर तुले हुए हैं और आज जो देश के अन्दर प्रगति होनी चाहिए उस को रोके हुए हैं। आज रेलवे का आदमी यह सोचता है कि रेलवे में जितनी आमदनी हो, उस को हम खा जाय और रेलवे के सुधार के लिये, देश के अन्दर नई नई रेलवे लाइनें डालने के लिये, यांत्रियों की सुविधा के लिये जितनी भी आवश्यकता हो, वह लोगों पर टैक्स लगा कर बसूल की जाय।

[श्री शिवनाथ सिंह]

भाब बड़े आश्चर्य की बात है—हमारे कर्षण हवाई अड्डा के कर्मचारी भी स्ट्राइक करते हैं। इस प्रकार का एक वातावरण बना हुआ है और उस में हमारे बिपन्न का सहयोग है। वे इस बात को नहीं सोचते हैं कि स्ट्राइक के अन्दर भाग लेने से उन को सहयोग देने से, प्रोत्साहन देने से देश बिगड़ रहा है। वे इस बात को नहीं सोचते हैं और अपना दोष गवर्नमेंट पर थोपना चाहते हैं।

आज देश के सामने उत्पादन बढ़ाने की समस्या है और उस उत्पादन का सही ढंग से वितरण करने की समस्या है। हमारा उत्पादन बढ़ रहा है। लेकिन जिस गति से बढ़ना चाहिये, उस गति से नहीं बढ़ पाया है। राष्ट्रपति जी ने कहा है कि हम उत्पादन पर अधिक जोर दें और उस का ठीक ढंग से वितरण हो, खास कर कमजोर वर्ग के लिये उसका वितरण ठीक तरह से हो। आज हमारे सामने समस्या है कि देश के अन्दर लोगों को दिक्कतें हैं, वितरण की व्यवस्था ठीक नहीं है। लोग तंग हैं, दुखी हैं और गरीब तबका बहुत ज्यादा दुखी है। लेकिन आज इस सब का फायदा उठाना चाहते हैं वे बिजनेस क्लास के लोग और एक बीच के वर्ग के लोग। उन्होंने इस क्राइसेस से फायदा उठाया है। आज गरीब आदमी दुखी है, दबा हुआ है लेकिन फिर भी उस को आज के नेतृत्व में विश्वास है। वह सोचता है कि आज का नेतृत्व ही ऐसा है जो हमें रिलीफ दिला सकता है। लेकिन जो बीच के आदमी हैं, जिन्होंने इस क्राइसेस से फायदा उठाया है वे चाहते हैं कि और अधिक क्राइसेस हो, ताकि वे और अधिक फायदा उठावें। देश के इण्डस्ट्रीयलिस्ट्स देश को सहयोग नहीं दे रहे हैं। उन की समझ में यह आ गया है कि हम जितना भी कम प्रोडक्शन देंगे, हमारा रेट अफ प्राफिट उतना ही बढ़ जायगा। आज हमारे रा-मैटीरियल अर फिनिश गुड्स के जो रेट्स हैं उन में

हीं पैरिटी नहीं है। रा-मैटीरियल का जो भाव है, किसानों को उसे पैदा करने का जो पैसा मिलता है, वह बहुत कम मिलता है, लेकिन वही चीज जब फिनिश गुड्स के रूप में आती है तो उस का भाव बहुत बढ़ा हुआ होता है और वह गरीब तबके को सहना पड़ता है। इस की ओर सरकार को अधिक ध्यान देना चाहिए

एक बात में यह निवेदन करूंगा कि चाहे हम किसी तरह भी रहें लेकिन हमारा देश खेतिहर देश है और इस देश के अंदर जब तक हम ऐग्रीकल्चरल प्रोडक्शन को नहीं बढ़ाएंगे तब तक सही तौर से वितरण करने के लिए हमारे पास कुछ होगा नहीं। आज हम पांचवीं योजना के अंदर भी हमने ऐग्रीकल्चर का प्रोडक्शन रेट पहले के बनिस्बत कम किया है। देश के अंदर एक या दो प्लान में ऐग्रीकल्चर को हमने अधिक इम्प्यारटेंस दी थी। उस की वजह से हमारे यहां ऐग्रीकल्चर बढ़ा, ग्रीन रेवोल्यूशन हुआ। लेकिन फिर भी देश की आबादी जिस दर से बढ़ रही है उस दर से ऐग्रीकल्चर का प्रोडक्शन नहीं बढ़ रहा है। इसी की वजह से हमारे देश के अंदर आज खाद्य की समस्या है। वरना कोई कारण नहीं हो सकता कि इतना बड़ा विशाल देश यह है, हमारे पास इतनी नदियां हैं, जमीन है, काम करने के लिए हाथ हैं, हमारा किसान बहुत मजबूत है, मेहनतकश है, लेकिन उस को साधन नहीं दिए जा रहे हैं, यह डिफेक्ट है हमारे प्लान का। प्लान के अंदर ऐग्रीकल्चर सेक्टर को जितनी इम्प्यारटेंस मिलनी चाहिए वह नहीं मिल पाई है। इसीलिए आज हमारे सामने समस्याएं हैं। सरकार इन बातों की ओर ध्यान दे। हमारे देश में बहुत सी नदियां हैं। उन से नहरें निकाल सकते हैं, बिजली का उत्पादन कर सकते हैं। हम किसानों को कुएं के लिए बिजली दें। इन बातों की ओर सरकार ध्यान दे।

मैं विपक्ष के साथियों से कहूँगा कि वे बार बार ध्यानीयता करते हैं सरकार की लेकिन आज की जो विकर्ण है वे ऐसी दिक्कतें हैं, दुनिया का कोई भी हिस्सा ऐसा नहीं है जो उन को फंस न कर रहा हो। लेकिन आज कौन से ऐसे विपक्ष के नेता हैं जिन्होंने यह कहा हो कि आयल का क्राइसिस एक वर्ल्ड क्राइसिस है और लोगों को सही स्थिति उस की उन्होंने समझाई हो? उस के विपरीत सस्ती वाहवाही लेने के लिए वह कहते हैं कि केरोसिन नहीं मिलता, पेट्रोल नहीं मिलता, डीजेल नहीं मिलता। यह तो हम सब जानते हैं कि नहीं मिलता है लेकिन क्यों नहीं मिलता है और उस का किस प्रकार से हल हो सकता है, इस के ऊपर विपक्ष के किसी नेता ने ध्यान आकर्षित नहीं किया है।

इन बारह महीनों के अंदर या उस से कुछ थोड़े अधिक समय के अंदर हमारे देश ने बहुत बड़ी प्रगति की है और खास तौर से अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय जगत में हमारी जो विदेश नीति है वह बहुत सफल हुई है। बंगला देश को पाकिस्तान के द्वारा मान्यता दिया जल्दा, पाकिस्तान और बंगला देश का आपस में नज़दीक आना, उन के अंदर आपस में सम्बन्ध स्थापित होना यह खुशी की बात है और यह हिन्दुस्तान की ही विदेश नीति है जिस ने ऐसा किया है। इन बारह महीनों के अंदर अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय जगत में हमारे देश का सम्मान बढ़ा है। अमेरिका जंसा देश जो अपने आप को एक बड़ा देश मानता है आज समानता के स्तर पर हमारे साथ व्यवहार करने लगा है और हम भी यह कहना चाहते हैं कि हम भी किसी से अधिक बड़े नहीं हैं लेकिन हम किसी से छोटे भी नहीं रहना चाहते। हम समानता का व्यवहार हर एक के साथ चाहते हैं। इस प्रकार की हमारी विदेश नीति है और हमारी विदेश नीति का दुनिया के अधिकतर देशों ने सम्मान किया है। वे

इस को मानते हैं। इसलिए मैं निवेदन करना कि जो देश की प्रसक्तियाँ हैं, जो हम ने कुछ हासिल किया है उस की धीरे से हम आँख न मीचें। उसकी धीरे से आँख मीचेंगे तो एक सही तस्वीर-जनता के सामने नहीं आएगी और जो जनता के अंदर एक विश्वास आ रहा है उस विश्वास को हम मार देंगे, उस विश्वास को हम बढ़ावा नहीं देंगे।

आखिर में दो शब्द मैं नवयुवक साथियों से कहना चाहता हूँ जो अपने आप को देश का पढ़ा लिखा युव कहते हैं। मैं उन से कहूँगा कि देश के अंदर युव वही नहीं हैं जिन्होंने स्कूल और कालेजों के अंदर जाकर दो अक्षर सीख लिया है। देश का युव गांवों में पड़ा हुआ है, झोपड़ियों में पड़ा हुआ है, वह देश के नवनिर्माण में लगा हुआ है, पैदावार बढ़ाने में लगा हुआ है। लेकिन ये जो हमारे पढ़े लिखे युवक हैं। उन को दिशा भ्रम हो गया है, वह गलत दिशा में जा रहे हैं। वह डिस्ट्रिक्शन में लगे हुए हैं। वह आज कहीं गुजरात में बंध करते हैं, कहीं आन्ध्र में रेल जलाते हैं, कहीं स्कूल बिल्डिंग जलाते हैं, उस घन्घे में लगे हुए हैं। लेकिन उन को सोचना चाहिए वह केवल एक परसेंट या दो परसेंट हैं। देश का वह युव जो गांवों के अंदर है जो खेती में लगा हुआ है, जो कपास पैदा करता है, गेहूँ पैदा करता है, बाजरा पैदा करता है, अपने खून का पसीना कर के इस देश को आगे बढ़ा रहा है, देश की बहुत बड़ी आबादी को वह खाना दे रहा है, यदि वह युव जागसक हो जायेगा तो इन पढ़े लिखे युवकों को बिलकुल टिकने नहीं देगा।

दूसरा निवेदन मैं अपने सविन क्लास के लोगों से करना चाहूँगा चाहे वह डाक्टर हों, इंजीनियर हों, स्कूल मास्टर हों या कोई भी हों, समाज ने उन के लिए बहुत बड़ा बलिदान किया है। वह आज जिस स्थिति में हैं पढ़े लिखे हैं, टेकनिकल एजुकेशन प्राप्त किए हैं उस के लिए समाज के बहुत

[श्री शिवनाथ सिंह]  
 बड़े वर्ग ने सैक्रिफाइस किया है। इसलिए वह भी अपना कर्तव्य निभाएँ। आज कहीं डाक्टर हड़ताल कर रहे हैं, कहीं इंजीनियर हड़ताल कर रहे हैं। वह यह नहीं सोचत कि आज डाक्टर्स की हड़ताल की वजह से कितने मरीजों का नुकसान होता है, कितने भाई बिना वजह मौत के शिकार होते हैं, इंजीनियर्स की हड़ताल से कितने किसान भाइयों की खेती बरबाद होती है। इसलिए उन लोगों को भी अपने कर्तव्य के प्रति जागरूक होना चाहिए और अपना कर्तव्य निभाते हुए देश की सेवा में अग्रसर होना चाहिए।

इन्हीं शब्दों के साथ मैं राष्ट्रपति महोदय के अभिभाषण पर धन्यवाद के प्रस्ताव का समर्थन करता हूँ।

THE MINISTER OF PLANNING  
 (SHRI D. P. DHAR): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I had the privileges of listening to some, and reading the record of many, speeches which have been made in this House on the President's Address.

Many uncomplimentary things have been said about the contents of this address. Many unfair adjectives have been used, but, as far as I think, the President's Address and the debate on it provide an opportunity for a national introspection, and this hon. House makes that introspection on behalf of the nation. It is not an occasion to find fault with some of the words which may have been used in the Address. This is not an occasion to enter into a semantic debate about the Address. What we have to see, in my opinion, is whether the Address adequately reflects a description, an enunciation, of the conditions which prevail in the country.

I would submit that in this Address the facts have been laid bare. These facts, unfortunately, in the present situation, happen to be rather gloomy; they happen to be in many ways rather awkward. But nothing has been glossed over. No attempt has

been made to conceal the truth. No endeavour on anyone's part is in evidence to show that the grim facts of the situation have not been traced before this august body.

We all know that we are passing through a difficult, even grim, phase in our economy. We all know that there are shortages, that there is scarcity that large sections of our people, unfortunately the poorer sections of the people, the more vulnerable sections of our people, people who do not agitate, people who suffer but do not grumble, people who still have faith in the destiny of this country suffer the most, and the Address is in tune with that suffering. It is not in contradiction with that mood of unrest of dissatisfaction.

These factors which are responsible for the maladies of our economy today have not to be analysed in a fundamental sense. In other words, if I may say, we have got to find the fundamental causes for these difficulties and also search for fundamental remedies.

One of the factors which has been located and held responsible for these difficulties is inflation, and rightly so. But we have to take into account the character of inflation in an under-developed or in a developing economy. The causes of inflation in an under-developed economy are essentially to be attributed to restrained, restricted or lack of production. The answer to these difficulties, therefore, of inflation, is greater production. And yet, I was surprised to hear voices in this House, and I have been hearing voices outside this House—a chorus of the—which have been advocating a pause in the planning process. Some have gone even further and have suggested that there should be no planning at all, but if we look at this remedy, what does it amount to? It amounts, in case a pause is to be accepted, to a reduction of investment. In case a cessation of the planning process has to be accepted, it amounts to a postponement and cessation of investments.

"If that happens, we may marginally, I have no doubt, be able to make some impact very marginally and very insignificantly in fact, on the current state of prices. But what will happen tomorrow, the day after? We shall face greater shortages, greater paucities and greater scarcities of food. Once again these shortages and these paucities will hit the poorer sections of our people. Therefore, the remedy of postponing investment or slowing down of investment is not the answer to the problem of inflation. We have, of course, taken into account the use of the instrument of annual plans for dealing with short-term problems. We propose to make use of this instrument by accelerating production in some of the more important sectors of our economy like agriculture, irrigation and power, core industries, etc. This sector of our production is going to be fully protected as will be revealed by an analysis of our annual plans. But, then it is true that we do not wish to do everything at the same time. We have got to be prepared to accept certain reductions, certain cuts, certain sacrifices, in some of the expenditures which are important but relatively less important in the present context of our economy.

When I talk of production, I should particularly draw the attention of the hon. Members to the area of agriculture. Here we have to restructure our entire structure, because this is related to the question of production of food. We have, over the years, been able to substantially increase our food production. When all the criticisms are levelled against the Government and its policies, it is easily forgotten that this country has made rapid strides in increasing the production, of cereals, foodgrains, each crops, etc. But an imbalance has arisen in the growth of the agricultural sector. This imbalance has to be corrected and this can be corrected only by bringing fruits of technology and investment and the necessary package of inputs to the door of the marginal and the small farmers, the

landless labour and also bring this class which has been so far not benefitting to the same extent as the richer farmer into the main stream of the production process in the agricultural field. Those of the hon. Members who have had time to look at the draft plan will see that this is one of the crucial steps we have introduced in the Plan itself, and here, though a good deal of emphasis has been placed on minor irrigation—it has worked wonders in many ways; it has contributed to the increase in agricultural production yet at the same time—I must confess that we have been somewhat remiss in making proper investment and utilising properly the potential that we have in the case of medium and major irrigation. I remember as a student of both history and economics that our late revered leader, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, was criticised for having built many dams, for having started many big projects, irrigation project and others. He was criticised for his vision, what was used to be called and is still called, gigantism. The critics are the same today. They speak the same language of criticism; they are in the same groups, in the same alignment even today. They speak the same language of realism now, that the whole strategy, the whole philosophy of Nehru with regard to agricultural production by building these large dams and by building a system of major and medium irrigation was to equitably distribute the benefits of the biggest catalyst for production, namely, water to the small, to the marginal, to the middle farmer in the land.

Now the focus has somewhat to be restored, and that we are trying to do. You will be glad to know that in the Fifth Plan by utilising mostly the investments which were already made and by the addition of marginal investments nearly 221 million hectares of land will be brought under irrigation through there means. This is a tremendous task and this task, I am sure, will be achieved.



[Shri D. P. Dhar]

In the field of industry, I must confess with some anguish that a new philosophy has seized the minds of some of us. I exclude no one. I do not think that some of my colleagues of my party are not also on occasions victims of the same philosophy. This is the philosophy of economism. This approach has completely warped the entire concept of the working class movement in this country. I am not thinking of a strike here or a strike there. I know, I am conscious, that our working class has played and has to play a conscious patriotic role. It has a great role to play in the building up of this country. But what I am submitting is that as the Prime Minister once said, what has become the most important motive in production today is the material motive. Now, that is not what is going to sustain our economy, that is not what is going to give new sinews, new strength to the process of increased production in this country.

We have to look at the political dimensions of the problem, and these political dimensions are very important because unless and until we produce more, unless and until we avoid interruptions in production, we shall be guilty of moving slowly and gradually in mortgaging the economic independence of this country. This is the question which my friends on both sides of the House have got to face squarely. In this process, again, we have to consider whether the present methods whether they are labour relations or industrial relations, whatever the whole gamut of it, whether they need a new look. If they do need it, we should have another look. We should correct the lacunae, the inadequacies, of the laws, of the procedures, by which industrial relations are not disrupted. But, nevertheless, the main issue that we have to look at is the issue of production in all its aspects, in the matter of relieving the shortages, in the matter of bringing succour to the vulnerable sections of our people, in the matter of sustaining

a self-reliant growth of our economy, in the matter of ceasing to depend upon external crutches, in the matter of giving a new dimension which is yet to be completed, of economic independence, of political independence that we have already achieved.

I am somewhat surprised when certain criticisms are levelled at the policies of the Government. I do not claim perfection for these policies. I do not attach to them any scriptural sanctity. I do not treat a policy as a dogma. A policy is as good as it is capable of being improved. It has been our endeavour to make our policies more in tune with the needs of the people. But looking at the question of shortages, again, when Mr. Atal Bihari Vajpayee and Mr. Jyotirmoy Bosu—I am sorry they are not present in the House—made references to the shortages and some how or other, they had to combine this unfortunate fact with the happenings in Gujarat. I was rather distressed to hear from Mr. Atal Bihari Vajpayee that the Prime Minister was bound to go the Chiman Bhai Patel way. I do not know whether the concluding sentence of Mr. Atal Bihari Vajpayee was a result of his deep reflection or it was merely a flourish of rhetoric phrase. Of course, I cannot accuse my hon. friend, amiable and cordial, Mr. Atal Bihari Vajpayee, of wasting his time in deep reflection and, therefore, I assume that it was a rhetoric phrase. But I did, and I must say this in all frankness, sense a warning from his concluding sentence. This is not a warning for me or for my party. But this is a warning for all those who cherish the values and the institutions which were built up over the years, who cherish the values of democracy, of socialism, of secularism. It is, as Mr. P. L. Mody has rightly pointed out in a whisper—I wish he had said it loudly—the method of destroying all these values and all these institutions.

Now, I was painfully surprised, I must say, when Mr. Jyotirmoy Bosu indulged in invectives in which I can

also indulge but, I think, it is not advisable to do so. Of course, I cannot match his power of lungs. But given a little effort I could do that also. But what surprised me, what distressed me, was that a representative of a party which claims to advocate the purity of Marxism should have faund the same wave length with Atalji on this issue....

**SHRI PILOO MODY (Godhra):** May be, it was the other way round.

**SHRI D. P. DHAR:** I was only giving the benefit of doubt to Mr. Jyotirmoy Bosu that he had entered this company unwittingly. But if it is deliberate, it is tragedy. But what is the result of this? Atalji said that the Prime Minister lacked foresight. I was surprised. I am rather embarrassed to point this out because the Prime Minister is present. I would like to say that the Prime Minister did not lack foresight in any crisis, not in 1969 not in 1971, not when we faced the greatest crisis that has been faced by any country, at the time of Bangladesh; she did not lose the foresight or the courage or the determination to face this. And I am very sure that she will have the same foresight, the party which she leads will have the same foresight and the same courage, to meet these incipient dangers which are looming large today against the democratic structure and the democratic values in this country. After all, what is the problem of Gujarat? The problem is, they say, of shortages. It has been caused by shortages. Now here is a situation where the speculative capital or the non-productive capital, the speculator, the hoarder and the rich farmer are colluding together to hold back stocks. This is one of the most essential facts which we have got to understand that unless and until we are able to break this link between these three elements, we shall always face shortages even in days of plenty in this country....

**AN HON. MEMBER:** How do you break?

**SHRI D. P. DHAR:** We did take a bold step. We took over the wholesale trade in wheat, and there was a chorus of voice resembling the one which you heard just now.

**SHRI PILOO MODY:** This was not a chorus.

**SHRI D. P. DHAR:** I thought it might develop into one.

**SHRI PILOO MODY:** It will.

**SHRI D. P. DHAR:** It was said that we had committed a mistake. And even that mistake did secure for Rs. 4.7 or a little more million tonnes of wheat. As I said, we do not believe in dogmatism, we do not believe in sticking to a policy. If in many voices people say both inside this House and outside that perhaps this policy was not good for the country, we relax it. We have a free-play to the pet objective of my friend, Shri Piloo Mody, the free-market mechanism and what is the result?

**SHRI PILOO MODY:** Zoning.

**SHRI D. P. DHAR:** It is this fact alone which is responsible for the shortage. Then we go for procurement. The gentlemen who are the loudest to condemn the shortages in this House and outside have dissuaded the farmers from offering their levies to the Government....

**SHRI PILOO MODY:** Why don't you persuade them?

**SHRI D. P. DHAR:** When they go to the towns where there are shortages, they tell them that the Government is responsible for everything. They tell them that the Government should give them foodgrains at cheaper prices. When they go to the villages, they say that the foodgrains should be procured at a higher price....

**SHRI S. A. SHAMIM (Srinagar):** That is the variety

SHRI D. P. DHAR: In this variety, there is a lack of principled approach to the problem and such a serious problem as food in this country.

I submit this for your kind consideration because unless and until we are able to have a dominion over the surpluses which are available in this country, we cannot feed the distribution system and unless we have a good, viable and vast network of the distribution system, we cannot protect the weak and vulnerable sections of our people from starvation. That is why I had to bring this to your kind attention.

This is the problem of Gujarat. As a great tragedy the students and the youth in Gujarat, urged by so many causes, some justified and some may not be so justified, rebelled. The youth of India is a heroic youth. The youth of India has an eye on the future of this country. It is a patriotic youth. But to-day, who is leading that youth movement in Gujarat? In whose hands has this so-called revolutionary movement gone? What are the objectives which this movement has now placed before itself? The objective that it has placed before itself today is to destroy the faith of the people in the system of government that you have evolved over the years....

SHRI P. G. MAVALANKAR: Quite wrong.

SHRI D. P. DHAR: I have great respect for Prof. Mavalankar, but I would beg of him to consider the implications of the situation as it is developing and unfolding in his State to-day. The implications are simple and straight. There are hooligans, hoodlums who are burning houses, who are threatening human lives, who are attacking public property and who are threatening the elected Members of the people to resign or to be killed....(Interruptions).

These are the people in whose hands that glorious movement which you

call 'a glorious movement' has gone and this is the movement of inglorious for the youth of India and for the youth of Gujarat. They must ponder, they must pause, they must think: is this the method and manner of change they want to bring in this country? I submit and as I said, it is the youth of our country on whom a good deal depends and I understand there, as I said, their anger and their wrath. I understand they were provoked quite possibly, unnecessarily. I understand the desire of the youth for change. I understand the right of youth to rebel. But I cannot understand one thing, that they should allow themselves to be misled and misguided into activities which will destroy the very objectives which they wish to serve. This is what I wish to say. Mr. Mavalankar, and I do hope you will..

16 hrs.

SHRI P. G. MAVALANKAR: You have not mentioned about corruption.

SHRI D. P. DHAR: As far as corruption is concerned, nobody, no person in his senses, can condone corruption. We must root out corruption wherever it exists from every sector of our society, in every segment of our society.

SHRI P. G. MAVALANKAR: But, how?

SHRI D. P. DHAR: How we do it, we can sit together; if there are any lacunae, if there are any deficiencies, any inadequacies, we might sit together and we must root out this evil; but you cannot root out this evil by destroying the only system where you and I can sit together....

SHRI PILOO MODY: Corruption is also destroying the system, corruption is destroying so certainly as you are speaking....

SHRI D. P. DHAR: Sir, I would not take more time of this House. But, I would make one very humble submission for the consideration of this

honourable House. It is my feeling and the feeling of many of us who think like me that the economic situation may be difficult, may be grave, but the overall economy and the capacities and the potentialities of this country are sufficiently great to overcome this difficulty; we have vast capacities which we can tap and which we are going to tap which will increase production, which will remove the shortages, which will enable us to overcome this hump. But what is worrying me, and as I said, many like me, are the dangers which are arising on the political horizon in this country.

I would, with all respect, appeal to my friends on both sides of the House, who believe in socialism, who believe in democracy, and who believe in secularism, to ponder and to think and to recognise these dangers. The loss will not be of a Government or a party: the loss will be of the country. And it is this apprehension which, in all humility and in all respect, I wish to share with my colleagues in this House. Thank you.

SHRIMATI M. GODFREY (Nominatad Anglo-Indian): I thank you Mr. Deputy-Speaker, for giving me the opportunity. First of all I wish to point out one thing. And, it is this. We all agree that there is something wrong in the country which we have to face. I think something is wrong in the distribution of food and, as a result, the poor people are suffering. I say that there is no shortage in the country as some people seem to imagine. Those who have money, can get anything, at any price. That is why the poor people are not getting even the food that they need. That is because the people who can afford to buy take away the food at any price at which it is sold in the market. This should be stopped somehow or other. I know that the President's Address in many respects tried to cover the shortage of food by saying that the gov-

ernment is getting enough food and it will distribute it. These are only words which will not satisfy our people. I am sure this will not satisfy anyone. By reading through lines we can say that this is only a hope that something will be done for the distribution of food to the poor people. Food, housing and clothing are the three requisites that the poor people need.

16.06 hrs.

[SHRI NAWAL KISHORE SINHA in the Chair]

If we give them these three essential things, I am sure that will bring peace and satisfaction among the poor people. It will also create an impression on the poor people that the ruling party is going out to help them in solving the food problem.

Food is a national problem over which neither the students nor any party should agitate because whatever we do in this regard we do it not as belonging to one party or another but we all belong to this country and we would like to see that everybody gets his normal needs.

We are not asking very much. What we are asking for is that this problem should be solved at any cost. I am sure that the country will soon settle down to peace, tranquillity and better norms of procedures in different parts and it will be easier for the Government to carry on in different States. I am sure that the Centre will really take this point seriously so that the people all over the country will feel satisfied.

As I have said already, there is no shortage in the country; we are producing enough. But the problem that the Government is facing is with regard to hoarders and blackmarketeers. Actually this is the point which I want to bring to the notice of Government. I hope that Government will take note of this point very seriously and stop the hoarders and blackmarketeers and will pro-

[Shrimati M. Godfrey]

wide food to the poor people so that they will feel satisfied about this. If this is done, we will soon see that the country will run on a much better line.

**SHRI K. RAMAKRISHNA REDDY:** Mr. Chairman, Sir, I rise to support the *Motion of Thanks* to the President's Address to the joint session of the Parliament.

While welcoming a number of developments in the country, he has stated that one of those in which the people of Andhra Pradesh have solved is the problem of inter-regional tensions. Since few years, there was a rigid tension in both the regions. The Central Government has formulated a Six Point Formula. All sections of the people are giving a fair trial to this Formula. But, this Formula has to be implemented in words as well as in spirit for the development of backward areas, particularly, in Telengana and Rayalaseema areas. If it is implemented in its true spirit, then all the backward areas of Andhra Pradesh will progress and development to some extent will stand on par with other States.

The President was kind enough to mention about the Central universities at Hyderabad and Pondicherry which will cater to the needs of the most of the student population of the areas. As mentioned already, Telengana being not only backward economically but also educationally, needs special attention. Due to lack of proper facilities in education, the people of this region are not on par with other regions of the State. As such special preference must be given to the backward areas with regard to the admission of the students into the Central University.

The President's speech has spelt out last year's achievements and the problems facing the country. But it did not contain solutions to

country is facing. Attention should be given in this regard.

The prices of food articles have increased three hundred per cent over the last decade, while the food-grains production has increased by 25 per cent and the population has also increased by 25 per cent. The reasons are mainly the increase in non-Plan expenditure, hoarding, black-marketing and black money. It is here that we should support our Prime Minister by allowing her to take stringent measures against those unsocial or anti-social elements. These people should not go untouched. For every action of these blackmarketeers and hoarders, large publicity should be given in the daily papers specifying their actions along with their names. Deterrent punishment may be awarded to them.

It is shameful on our part to import rice or wheat for meeting artificial scarcities. The present economists are not delivering proper advice to the Government at the proper time. Our Fifth Plan should be reoriented particularly towards agriculture, irrigation, power and family planning. All research which has been developed up to date should be given vast publicity and district crop planning should be formulated to suit and evolve proper cropping in the concerned suitable soils.

Exploitation of ground-water should be done to the maximum. Utilisation of storage capacities of dams should be accelerated. Command area development projects should be formulated fully and also likewise the areas under canal commands should be developed fully.

For the development of agriculture and increased production of agricultural products it is but necessary that some incentives should be given to the agriculturists to encourage them to produce more foodgrains. While fixing the prices of agricultural products, the prices of all in-

agricultural implements should also be kept in view. These prices have risen from 25 to 60 per cent whereas the agricultural prices have remained fixed at more or less the previous prices. The prices of all the inputs have increased within a span of four months. If a cultivator gets the manure, and other inputs at controlled rates, the cost of cultivation per acre will be about Rs. 750 per acre; otherwise, it will be more than Rs. 1000 per acre.

The items which are needed by the agriculturists such as small H. P tractors, power tillers, oil engines, electric motors and other agricultural implements should be exempted from excise duty.

The agriculturists are getting from the nationalised banks credit facilities to the extent of 6 per cent only whereas the national income from the agricultural sector is 50 per cent. So, at least 20 per cent credit facilities should be provided to the agriculturists from the nationalised banks.

Nationalised banks should be opened in the rural areas only. But we find that banks are competing with each other in urban areas, which should be prohibited. The restriction of 12 miles radius for providing credit facilities should be abolished till more branches are opened in the rural areas to cater to the needs of the public.

As regards the Indian Ocean, we should prevail upon the U.K. and the USA to see that the Indian Ocean remains a zone of peace.

As regards communications, particularly the DTC bus services in Delhi are in a most chaotic condition, whereas the transport facilities available in Hyderabad, Madras, Bombay etc., are more efficient. Special attention should be given to improve the transport system in Delhi.

Lastly, I pay my hearty thanks to the Chair for having given this chance to ventilate my views, on Trank giving Motion to the President's Address.

SHRI J. MAHTA GOWDER (Nil-giris): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I rise to say a few words on the Motion of Thanks to the President's Address, on behalf of my party, the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam.

The President in his Address has referred in great detail to the foreign policy of his Government and its resounding success. He has in total taken about 8 paras to talk about his Government's foreign policy and its success. It looks as though that the President seeks solutions to the daily problems of 56 crores of our countrymen through his Government's successful foreign policy. If he believes that his Government's foreign policy will yield solutions to the daily problems of our people, I have no hesitation in saying that he has been wrongly advised by his Council of Ministers. Besides, this kind of emphasis on the foreign policy of the Government reveals the utter bankruptcy of the internal policies of the Government. In addition, it also shows the lack of confidence on the part of the President in his Government's internal policies and in the people of our country. By over-emphasising the foreign policy, the President has created an impression that the Government also has lost its faith in its internal policies.

During 1973-74, Sir, the prices of essential commodities have gone up by 26 per cent. On the other hand, in real terms, the wages and salaries of workers and employees, who are the back bone of all economic activities in the country, have gone up by only 3 per cent. If the wages and salaries go up only by 3 per cent while the prices of essential commodities go up by 26 per cent, you can very well imagine the economic

\*The original speech was delivered in Tamil.

[Shri J. Matha Gawde]

health of the country and the physical well being of the people of our country. There is no doubt that this wide gap portends dangerous consequences for the future. This clearly indicates that the economic programmes of the Government have not succeeded. The planned economic progress of the country has received a set-back by the failure of plan schemes. Instead of engaging themselves actively and energetically every year in Elections, if the Government and the ruling party had put in the same amount of vigour and vivacity in executing successfully the plan programmes and such other economic activities, I am sure that the country as also our people would not have come to such a sorry pass. I charge that this Government has let down the country and the people by implementing the economic programmes in a halting and hesitant manner and by its financial mismanagement.

I happened to go through the Economic Survey submitted to this House recently. I would like to refer to one or two startling factors revealed in this Economic Survey. It is anticipated that last year the production of foodgrains would be of the order of 106 million tonnes. If in 1974-75 this quantum of production is to be sustained, then we would require 1 million tone more of fertilisers, in addition to what is produced within the country. You know, Sir, that within the country itself there is acute shortage of fertilisers. If we think of importing fertilisers, the price of fertilisers has gone up by 100 per cent. Can we try to produce this additional requirement of 1 million tonne of fertilisers by setting up factories in one year? That is also an impossible task. What are we going to do? We cannot also allow the production of foodgrains to slump down without adequate and timely supply of fertilisers. If that is done, what we now witness in Gujarat and Maharashtra

will spread throughout the country. What concrete steps the Government propose to follow to tackle this situation has not been referred to in the President's Address. Is this not more important than elaborate reference to the foreign policy of the Government?

Recently, we have entered into an agreement with Iran for the supply of oil on deferred payment system. I welcome this because we are not in a position to pay for the import of oil at our present economic plight. I would like to point out that Iran has not shown any concession to India in the price of oil because of our friendly foreign policy. The hon Minister concerned might say that the oil price rise is an international phenomenon. If we purchase oil at such exorbitant prices, will that not push up the price of products manufactured in our factories? Do our people have the purchasing power to buy such products at such exorbitant prices? I would like to know from the Government whether they have got any concrete proposals up its sleeves to tackle this situation, especially in the absence of any reference to such proposals in the President's Address.

Similarly, I welcome that the Government have come to an agreement with America regarding PL. 480 accuals. The Government seem to be keen in establishing friendly relations with America, an evidence of which is seen in the Presidents Address. But, America is determined to have a military base in Diego Garella Islands in the Indian Ocean, at the door step of India. Will such a step not endanger the security of India and other Asian nations? Is this the success of Government's foreign policy about which the President has spoken in his Address?

Sir though our exports have gone up last year by 21 per cent the foreign exchange reserve has come down by Rs. 70 crores. The main

reason for this is that our imports have gone up by 48 per cent. In such a critical economic situation, can the country afford such a huge import bill bringing a steep fall in valuable foreign exchange reserves? There is no indication as to what steps the Government proposes, to take for curtailing the imports and for augmenting exports substantially so that sizeable foreign exchange reserve can be built up to tackle the worsening economic crisis.

Again, Sir, while agricultural production last year went up by 1.3 per cent, the population of the country has also gone up by 2 per cent. The increase in agricultural production is not keeping pace with the increase in our population. How do the Government propose to tackle this situation? The President's Address does not refer to the need for bridging this gap. The unfortunate consequence of Government's in action is that in a bumper crop year the import of foodgrains accounts for 50 per cent.

In conclusion, I would refer to what the President has said about proper distribution. You know, Sir, that our Kerala friends referred to the grave foodgrains situation prevailing in Kerala. My State, Tamil Nadu, is surplus in foodgrains and my Government want to help the starving people of Kerala by sending foodgrains immediately. But the Central Government intervenes and directs that before sending foodgrains to Kerala the Tamil Nadu State Government should obtain the permission of the Central Government. The Central Government does not seem to be interested in saving the starving people of Kerala. It is more concerned with exercising its authority and power. I would like to know whether the President refers to the formulation of proper distribution policy in this manner.

Instead of trying to exercise its power and authority in such important matters involving the lives of crores of innocent people, the Government of India should formulate economic programmes to increase agricultural production, to augment agricultural production further even in surplus States and also to ensure that the distribution of foodgrains is not hampered by its undue desire to exercise its authority.

With these words, I conclude.

श्री स.ब. र.म (फिल्लोर) : धन्यवाद का जो प्रस्ताव रखा गया है उसका मैं समर्थन करता हूँ। लेकिन देश में गरीब लोगों की कुछ ऐसी तकलीफें हैं जिन्हें मैं आपके नोटिस में लाना चाहता हूँ। यह सही है कि देश बहुत बड़ा है और गरीब आबादी भी देश में बहुत ज्यादा है। उनकी तकलीफों को दूर करना कोई आसान काम नहीं है। फिर भी उस कदम पर चलना जरूरी है जिससे उनकी धीरे धीरे तकलीफें दूर होती जाएं। देश में शीड्यूल्ड कास्ट और शीड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स की हालत इस वक्त बहुत बुरी है। बेकवर्ड क्लास बहुत तंग है। लेबर क्लास भी बहुत दुखी है। छोटा किसान भी बहुत तकलीफ में है। इन सारी चीजों की गवर्नमेंट की जिम्मेदारी है। जहां तक एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन का तालुक है वह लोगों को तंग करने में खुश होता है। दूसरी चीज यह है कि चीजों की कमी भी है। उस कमी को पूरा करने के लिए उस प्लान में हमें पूरी कोशिश करनी चाहिये ताकि हम सैल्फ सफिशेंट हो सकें। गवर्नमेंट इस वक्त जो काम कर रही है वह अच्छा है लेकिन वह इतनी तेजी से होना चाहिये कि देश की तकलीफें दूर हों और हाहाकार मिट सके। बहुत सी चीजें ऐसी हैं जो जान-बूझकर ही जाती हैं। शीड्यूल्ड कास्ट और ट्राइब्स की आबादी देश में बीस करोड़ के लगभग है। लेकिन उनके लिए इस एड्रेस में या प्लानिंग कमिशन की रिपोर्ट में जो



[श्री साधु राज]

एक धाना चाहिये या कि वार फुटिंग पर उनकी तकलीफों का हल गवर्नमेंट करना चाहती है वह नहीं आया। उनको विश्वास तो है कांग्रेस पर, कांग्रेस में उन्हें पहले से मुद्दाहिदा कर रखा है कि वे कांग्रेस को ही वोट देंगे चाहे जितनी तकलीफें उन पर आ जाएं। दूसरी ओर कांग्रेस वालों ने ने भी हरिजनों से मुद्दाहिदा कर रखा है कि चुनाव तक तो हम आपको भाई भाई कहेंगे। लेकिन चुनाव के बाद हम आपका कोई काम नहीं करेंगे आप मर्जी आए सो कर लो। आज हरिजन सब से नंगे हैं, भूखे हैं और गरीब हैं। उनकी क्षोभड़ियां जलाई जाती हैं। यू०पी० में इलैक्शन हुआ है वहां के कुछ हल्कों से ऐसी इत्तिला मिली है कि बी०के०डी० और जनसंघ वालों ने उनको पोलिंग बूथ्स पर वोट डालने नहीं जाने दिया। इससे मालूम होता है कि इतनी बड़ी तादाद के लिए कुछ काम यदि न किया गया तो आखिरकार वे कब तक इस मुद्दाहिदे पर कायम रहेंगे। उनके पास न मकान हैं, न दुकान हैं, न जमीन है, न आसमान है। उनको कोई देखने वाला नहीं है। लेकिन फिर भी वे कांग्रेस जिन्दाबाद कहते जा रहे हैं। उन पर भी आपको कुछ ध्यान देना चाहिये। वे क्या चाहते हैं, उनकी तकलीफें क्या हैं? उनकी बेचबडईस को दूर करने के लिए वार फुटिंग पर गवर्नमेंट क्या कदम उठा रही है? इनके साथ बेइसाफी बहुत ज्यादा हो रही है। वह आण्डरनिंग की बजह से, अनटवेबिलिटी की वजह से हो रही है। इसका हल कुछ जरूर होना चाहिये। एक अजीब किस्म की प्रथा चालू है कि जो आदमी काम करता

है, जो फीज में देश की रक्षा करने के लिए जाता है वह गरीब का बेटा होता है, प्रोडक्शन बढ़ाता है तो गरीब बढ़ाता है, लेबर का काम करता है तो गरीब करता है, उपजाऊ भक्ति को बढ़ाता है तो गरीब बढ़ाता है लेकिन जो उसकी कमाई होती है उस पर छापा मारने के लिए एक बहुत बड़ा आदमी आ जाता है और वह गुलछर उड़ाता है, कारों में घूमता है उसका; बड़ा आदमी समझा जाता है और जो मेहनतकश है उसको छोटा आदमी समझा जाता है। क्या इस प्रथा को बदला नहीं जा सकता है? अगर नहीं तो समाजवाद और गरीबी हटाओ के नारे को हम पूरा नहीं कर सकेंगे। मैं समझता हूँ कि प्रधान मंत्री श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी और कांग्रेस गवर्नमेंट के सिवाय इस काम को कोई दूसरा नहीं कर सकता है। फिर भी कहीं कुछ करना तो जरूरी है। जब आदमी के पास रुपया बहुत हो जाता है तो वह शैतान हो जाता है और जब गरीब भूखा मरता है, रहने को मकान नहीं, पहनने को कपड़ा नहीं होता है तो वह हैवान बन जाता है। मैं यह अर्ज करूंगा, कि उस को न हैवान रहने दो, न शैतान रहने दो, इन्सान बनाओ—यह गवर्नमेंट का फ्रॉं है।

इसलिये मेरी यह इत्तिजा है कि गवर्नमेंट इन बातों पर जरूर ध्यान दे और जो इस वक्त के संकट हैं उन को दूर करने के लिये गवर्नमेंट को जल्दी कदम उठाने चाहिये। आज कोयला नहीं मिलता है, कपड़ा नहीं मिलता है, खाना नहीं मिलता है, ये सब गरीबों की तकलीफें हैं, इन को दूर करने के लिये गवर्नमेंट को कोशिश करनी चाहिये।

MR. CHAIRMAN: The debate on this motion is closed. The Prime Minister will reply to the debate tomorrow. We adjourn now till 5 p.m.

16.33 hrs.

*The Lok Sabha adjourned till Seventeen of the Clock.*

*The Lok Sabha re-assembled at Seventeen of the Clock.*

[MR. SPEAKER in the Chair]

GENERAL BUDGET, 1974-75

MR. SPEAKER: The Finance Minister.

THE FINANCE MINISTER (SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN):

Sir,

I rise to present the revised estimates for 1973-74 and the budget estimates for 1974-75.

2. This is the fourth regular budget of the Union Government which I have been privileged to present to this House. The principal concern of every Central budget has to be strike a proper balance between the requirements of accelerated growth, stability, greater social justice and self-reliance. In the long run, these objectives are self-reinforcing. In the short run, however, a reconciliation of these objectives is not an easy task even under favourable conditions. During the last three years conditions have not been favourable; in fact they have been far from normal in many ways. In each of these years, we had to face new challenges of extraordinary dimensions. We have tried to meet those challenges to the best of our ability. I shall, however, readily admit that, because of unusually severe strains caused by a combination of certain national and

international factors beyond our control, progress in achieving our objectives has fallen short of expectations.

3. I would like to state frankly that in the coming financial year the economy will be faced with even greater challenges. Its strength and adaptability will be severely tested. The steep rise in the price of crude oil and also some other commodities has turned the terms of trade sharply against us and has rendered our tasks exceptionally difficult. Recent developments must, however, be viewed in a wider historical perspective. Nowhere in the world has the process of social and economic change been smooth or free from ups and downs. I find no reason, therefore, to lose heart or to start questioning our basic goals and objectives. Our socio-economic objectives remain as before. Our commitment to our goals is as resolute as ever. We cannot give up the war against poverty, ignorance and disease because the going is more difficult than anticipated, though our tactics may need to be readjusted to changing circumstances.

THE STATE OF THE ECONOMY

4. As the House is aware, the Government has been deeply concerned about the acute inflationary pressures that have prevailed in the economy during the last two years. The measures that have been adopted to deal with these inflationary pressures are well known to the Honourable Members. It is a matter of deep regret to me that despite these measures prices have continued to rise. The House will appreciate that the pressure on prices was inevitable as a result of the unsatisfactory performance in the field of agricultural production in two successive years, 1971-72 and 1972-73. The steep fall of 9.5 per cent in agricultural output in 1972-73 was bound to upset the delicate balance between demand and supply. Because of a much sharper increase in international prices, the substantial