

ployees and the officers have worked with such team spirit that one of the visible benefits conferred on the country is punctuality of trains. Their commendable performance helped, in its own way, the great victory that was achieved by our Defence Forces against Pakistan. Co-operation of the Labour Unions has begun to operate in preventing thefts and claims on the Railways. The two recognised federations are doing well and are cooperating with the Administration in increasing efficiency. So far as the unrecognised unions are concerned, the question of prescribing criteria for recognition is, under the consideration of Government as a whole. Besides I understand a new labour policy is on the anvil.

51 Men and materials make the rail way system. Materials have to be renewed modernised. Men have to renew and reinvigorate their spirit of service. The performance of railwaymen in the matter of punctuality and defence efforts impels me to believe that they are doing so. The drives that I have initiated and the implementation of the recommendations of the Administrative Reforms Commission will put their spirit of service to test in the ensuing months. I hope we will all pass the test and present the House a better picture of our finances and performance in the next Budget.

52 Permit me, Sir, to thank you and the House.

MR SPEAKER Shri Alagesan may just move the next item and he can continue after lunch.

AN HON MEMBER He is not present.

MR SPEAKER After this wonderful budget presented by the Railway Minister, we adjourn for lunch to re-assemble at 2.15.

13.15 hours

The Lok Sabha adjourned for lunch till fifteen minutes past Fourteen of the Clock.

The Lok Sabha re-assembled after Lunch at eighteen minutes past Fourteen of the Clock

[MR DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

MOTION OF THANKS ON THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS

MR DEPUTY-SPEAKER The House will now take up the discussion on the Motion of Thanks on the President's address.

SHRI O V ALAGESAN (Tiruttam) Mr Deputy-Speaker, I beg to move,

"That an Address be presented 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 13th March, 1972.

At the outset, I would like to apologise most sincerely on behalf of the entire House for what happened yesterday at the time the President was delivering his Address to the joint session of both the House of Parliament.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU (Diamond Harbour) Oh! doctor, heal thyself.

SHRI O V ALAGESAN Though it may have been indulged in by a small section of the House, the whole House will have to hang down its head in shame. While I was sitting in the Central Hall yesterday, I transported myself a few thousands or years back to the Court of the Kauravas where a bad character tried to disrobe Draupadi when the entire assembly consisting of the wisest and the most powerful of men in Bharatvarsha were sitting speechless, motionless and helpless.

SHRI PILOO MODY (Godhra) But this was not the wisest assembly. It was speechless because it was dumb.

SHRI K. MANOHARAN (Madras North) : The maiden speech should not be disturbed.

SHRI O.V. ALAGESAN : It may be that at times the stentorian voice of the President was heard above the combined noise of the determined disturbers of peace.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU : Sir, on a point of order. It is his maiden speech ? Otherwise, he cannot read it out.

SHRI O.V. ALAGESAN : It is a serious reflection and a sad commentary on how we run our democratic institutions even after a quarter of a century of our independence. The President is above all political parties **SHRI PILOO MODY** : Question.) and no one party should seek to use an occasion like the one yesterday to show disrespect to the President in to settle its score with another political party **(INTERRUPTION)**. It is unfortunate that while the electorate which sends us here is growing more and more in maturity and understanding, some of their representatives here should exhibit an opposite trend. I can only hope what happened yesterday will not be repeated any more in future.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU : More often.

SHRI O.V. ALAGESAN : I feel particularly gratified to have the opportunity to speak on this Motion today, because we are at a great moment of history. Since that fateful July of 1969 up till now, in this period of less than three years, our leader and Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi has been making history.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU : And we have kept her alive.

SHRI O. V. ALAGESAN : No comparable period since independence has been packed with so many events of crucial importance. They have followed one another in such quick succession that the baffled onlookers were left with very little time to pause and think. Before they could assess, analyse and evaluate one event, another followed, throwing all their calculations into confusion. The timing of every

step was superb. The opposing forces, both inside and outside the country, were routed with such consummate skill and scientific precision that the world was left gaping with wonder and admiration. Here was history made before our eyes and not just witnessed. What was happened so far is enough to secure a permanent place in Indian history for our leader, Shrimati Gandhi.

The biggest events in this drama are, the liberation of Bangla Desh from the murderous tyranny of a military dictator and the defeat of the evil designs Pakistan against India. The biggest event after Indian independence is the liberation of Bangla Desh. If Banga Bandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rehman is the architect of free Bangla Desh, Shrimati Indira Gandhi made it into a reality with the full cooperation and assistance of the Indian people and the Indian army. Surely, there is magic in the name of Gandhi ! Mahatma Gandhi liberated India and it was given to Indira Gandhi to liberate Bangla Desh. It can be truly said that India has been blessed in the high quality of leadership that it has enjoyed since the advent of Mahatma Gandhi on the Indian political scene.

During the recent elections, many tried to minimise the role played by the political leadership of the country in winning the recent war with Pakistan and liberating Bangla Desh, by saying that it was a national victory and the credit should go to the fighting forces. I would like to ask them: If something had gone wrong somewhere, would they have held the political leadership of the country free from blame and attributed the fault to the fighting forces ? While we pay our tribute to the valour and heroism of our fighting forces, as the president has rightly done in his address, we should realise that ultimately it was the political directions that was responsible for our magnificent success in both the military and diplomatic fields. For instance, the unilateral declaration of cease-fire on the successful termination of the war in the East was a great act of statesmanship, inspired by the high purpose of peace.

Can we find any historic parallel to the recent happenings? At any time in the history of the world did 10 million people leave their hearths and homes and take refuge in another country which sheltered and looked after them? Can anybody show a single instance in history, where an army liberated another country from an oppressor and left that country in the record time of three months? Since we are not able to find such acts of high morality in recorded history we have naturally to turn our attention to the ancient epic the Ramayana where we find that Sri Rama travels over the Kingdom of Lanka to Vibishana after conquering the evil ruler Ravana. What India has done to Banga Bindhu Sheikh Mujibur Rehman leader of Bangla Desh under the leadership of Prime Minister India Gandhi is of epic importance and in keeping with her ancient spirit. Perhaps this is what is meant by the last sentence in the President's Address, which reads as follows -

'Left the nation heed the summons to greatness—a greatness not of conventional power but of the spirit

The President has paid a well deserved tribute to the gallantry of our armed forces who not only decisively defeated the Pakistani forces on the battlefield for the fourth time and re-wrote history but also made possible the emergence of a new independent State of 75 million friendly people. The war heroes, dead or living, have come from all over the country, from practically every constituency. My little home town of Chingleput can boast of a brigadier who has been awarded a Mahavir Chakra and a young doctor who lost his life and several others. So also my Tiruttani constituency which comprises parts of Chingleput and North Arcot districts has quite a few who have made the supreme sacrifice to its credit. All glory to the men and officers of the three services who astounded the world by the military history they made in the short span of two weeks.

We all look forward to the meeting between Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rehman, the Prime Minister of Bangladesh and our Prime Minister during this week when the people of Bangladesh and its

leaders will have an opportunity to show their affection and regard and gratitude to the Indian people and their supreme leader, Shrimati Indira Gandhi. It will be a meeting not merely of two leaders of two friendly peoples but a meeting of the hearts of 500 million people of India and 75 million people of Bangladesh. They will swear to eternal friendship and forge such ties as are necessary for their mutual benefit. While we hail the newly freed people of Bangladesh we have nothing but brotherly feeling towards the people of Pakistan. It is to be hoped that the appeal of the President for direct talks between our two countries will be heeded to by Pakistan and both our countries will have the wisdom to bring about an era of permanent peace in the sub continent.

During the recent critical phase of our history the Indo Soviet Treaty of peace, friendship and cooperation was a bulwark of strength for us. We are grateful to the Soviet Union for the understanding they have shown during all the phases of our thinking and action during the crisis. While we welcome the efforts that America and China are making to reach an understanding between themselves we have to be watchful that they do not use Pakistan once again to disturb the peace in the sub-continent. It will be pertinent to ask whether it is necessary for the American administration to gain the goodwill of China only at the expense of the goodwill of India. Will it not represent the high watermark of American statesmanship if they gain a new friendship with China while retaining the old friendship of India? We may hope the people of America will not fail to consider his aspect when the time comes.

The recent elections to the Assemblies of 16 States and 2 Union Territories cannot be regarded just as a routine exercise of franchise by the people concerned. There is something more to it. Only last year, the people of India supported the Prime Minister during mid-term elections to Parliament as one man and gave her a massive mandate for her programme of removal of poverty from the country. This time she appealed to the people for stability in the states and for smooth relationship

[Shri O.V. Alagesan]

between the Central and State Governments so that her progressive policies and programmes can be implemented in close cooperation between the Central and State Governments. The people of India have once again responded magnificently to the call of the Prime Minister. Almost everywhere they have given an assured majority to the Congress Party and thereby rejected the other philosophies that were placed before them as harmful. They have declared that they have no use for any foreignisms based on violence, political obscurantism, economic archaism and regional pettifoggery. In this connection it may be remembered that, soon after the conclusion of the 1967 elections, it was freely said that the future was with the regional parties only and not with the all-India parties. There were several voices heard in the Organisation Congress that they should convert themselves into regional parties if they should survive. The recent elections have given the lie direct to such propositions. Regional parties such as Akali Dal in Pnnjab, Shiv Sena in Maharashtra etc.....

SHRI PILOO MODY : What about D. M. K. ?

SHRI O. V. ALAGFSAN : I am coming to that.

...have been deprived of whatever political support they had previously. The result or the bye-election in Pondicherry also reveals the same trend. (*Interruption*) I hope that this will induce reflection in the parties concerned and drive them to a course of cooperation with the Centre instead of planning confrontation with the Centre.

The key-note of the President's address is self-reliance in the economic field to achieve 'arthik' Swaraj. The accent is on reduced reliance on foreign assistance and greater mobilisation of domestic resources for realising our economic goals.

A major premise of the Fourth Plan was that foreign aid, that is, foreign aid exclusive of repayments, should be reduced to one-half of the level attained in the Third Plan. Though foreign aid looms very large in the horizon of our planning

and affects our thinking, it is good to remember that, out of every Rs. 12 invested in the various projects of the Plan, Rs. 11 are contributed by domestic resources and only Re. 1 comes from foreign aid. We have now to enquire whether even this foreign aid is going to be healthy in view of the increasing tendency of some of the aid-giving countries to use their credits as an instrument for deflecting us from our chosen path and policies. The President's address gives sufficient indication of the specific measures that need to be undertaken in order to eliminate our dependence on foreign aid. Import substitution and export promotion are the two major elements in our programme of attaining greater self-reliance. It is a matter of gratification that we are on the threshold of doing away with foodgrain imports and left with a comfortable stock of several million tonnes of foodgrain on hand. When our consumption of foodgrains was 60.6 million tonnes in 1950-51, the percentage of our imports was 5.9. When the consumption increased to 107.2 million tonnes in 1970-71, the percentage was only 3.3. This has been the case with almost all our imports such as raw cotton, sugar and textile machinery, machine tools, iron and steel, fertilisers, etc.

In the important fields of steel and fertiliser production, we can bring down imports to a minimum; if not altogether eliminate them, if the full capacities of our steel and fertiliser units can be utilised. Only about two-thirds of the capacity of the steel plants in the country is now being utilised which led to imports of steel of the order of Rs. 150 crores in 1970-71. This can be obviated by bringing more and more capacity into production. Efforts to speed up construction of the three new steel mills will go a long way in filling up gaps in our steel production. Similarly, in the case of fertilisers, where only less than 50 per cent of the capacity is utilised, greater utilisation of the capacity will obviate imports of fertilisers, especially from America.

In the field of export promotion, our efforts have been well rewarded. Our exports during the last decade have increased from Rs. 1040 crores to Rs. 1535 crores, i.e., an approximate increase of 50 per cent.

In this connection it is heartening to recall that the results expected from nationalisation of banks which was the first major step that our Prime Minister took are being more or less realised. The initial fears expressed about nationalisation of banks were all belied. The total deposits of all public sector banks increased from Rs 4772.1 crores to Rs 5742.0 crores between the last Fridays of 1970 and 1971, thus clearly establishing that the depositors' confidence in the nationalised banks has actually increased and not declined. Similarly, in the matter of opening new branches, especially in the rural areas, the efforts of the nationalised banks have been commendable. From July 1969 up till end of 1971, as many as 4047 new branches have been opened of which more than 65%, namely 2755, are located in the rural areas. Similarly, the amounts advanced for agriculture, small scale industry, road transport operators, retail trade and small scale business, professionals and self employed persons and education rose from about Rs 760 crores to about Rs 960 crores, an increase of 26%.

I would like to end on this note of self reliance and the determination of our Government to make our economy move on its own. In this connection, I would like to share with the House, a quotation from Lord Tennyson, the English Poet. It runs as follows:

"Self-reverence, self-knowledge and self-control, These three alone lead life to sovereign power."

With due respect to the poet, I would like to make an amendment by adding the word 'self-reliance' as another virtue that leads life to sovereign power.

Sir, I commend my motion for the kind acceptance of the House.

श्री एच. के. एल. भगत (पूर्वदिल्ली)
उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, जो मोक्षन अलनेशन साहब ने इस सदन के सामने पेश किया है मैं उसका समर्थन करने के लिए खड़ा हुआ हूँ।

SHRI K MANOHARAN He is the secondor Is it his maiden speech ?

SHRI H K L BHAGAT This is not a maiden speech in any case

SHRI PILOO MODY (GODHRA) Do you want separate speeches for the maiden ? (Interruptions)

MR DEPUTY SPEAKER The hon Member may please address the Chair

श्री एच. के. एल. भगत राष्ट्रपति महोदय व इस ऐंजूस में भारत की एक तस्वीर, उस का एक चित्र पेश किया गया है जो अज्ञ है। जो भारत की नीतिशा है उन पर जितना बल देना चाहिए वह दिया गया है। भारत में जो कुछ पिछले वष में हुआ है उसके बारे में जो बातें कही गईं हैं वह सदा परस्परिक्रम में कही गईं हैं। जो कदम भारत को बनाने के लिए उठाए गए हैं उन पर जार दिया गया है और जो अज्ञाए भान वाले जमान में हैं उन का खचा किया गया है। राष्ट्रपति महोदय के इस ऐंजूस में तो कोई लम्बे फालतू वाक्ये किए गए हैं न कोई नारेवाजी भी गई है, बल्कि बहुत ठोस तस्वीर भारत की, भारत की नीतियों की, भारत के अचीवमन्ट्स की भारत, के गोल की हमारे सामने रखी हुई है और इसलिए मैं राष्ट्रपति महोदय को इस ऐंजूस पर बधाई देता हूँ और इस मोशन को मैं सेकेंड करता हूँ।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, पीलू मोदी साहब अच्छी अंग्रेजी बोलते रहेंगे, मजाक भी करते रहेंगे। वाजपेयी जी बड़ी अच्छी हिन्दी बोलते रहेंगे और यह सब कुछ होता रहेगा। लेकिन भारत का जो चित्र बन गया है, भारत की जो तस्वीर बन गई उस न इन का मजाक, न इन की अंग्रेजी, न इन की जोरदार भाषा, न कोई और चीज पलट सकती है। उसे कोई

[श्री के. एल. भगत]

नहीं बदल सकता है। ... (व्यवधान) ... न आप हमारी नीतियों को बदल सकते हैं आप में शक्ति कहा है हमारी नीति को पलटने की ? मेरा कहना यह है कि आज जो भारत की तस्वीर है वह एक वर्ष पहले क्या थी ? एक वर्ष पहले पीलू मोदी जी, बाजपेयी जी, निजलिगप्पा साहब 9 बजे उठने हैं, मिलते हैं, दस बजे एलाएंस बनाते हैं और फिर लडते हैं। बजारत बनती है, एक दिन बनी दूसरे दिन टूटी। वजीर कमरों के लिए लड रहे हैं। कमरा किस को पहले बुक हुआ है किस को बाद में बुक हुआ है, कौन जिले में कौन डो मी रखा जाय, यह लड़ाई चलनी थी और एक इम्प्रेशन था कि भारत कमजोर हो गया। ... (व्यवधान) — बविष्यवाणिया हो रही थी कि भारत में अब केन्द्र कमजोर हो जायगा। ग्रैंड एलाएंस बन रहा था, मेल हो रहा था पार्टियों का और दुनिया के कुछ अबबार लिख रहे थे कि भारत कमजोर हो जायगा, केन्द्र कमजोर हो जायगा। बटून सी रियासने भी कमजोर हो गई है और भारत की तस्वीर गिरेगी, यह आज से एक वर्ष पहले भारत की तस्वीर थी। और एक वर्ष बाद की भारत की तस्वीर है—एक उभड़ता हुआ, बढ़ता हुआ मजबूत केन्द्र, मजबूत रियासतें, और एक विचारधारा पर चलने वाले लोग। एक नये इतिहास के दौर और एक नये इम्तहान में से हम गुजर गए जिस में हमारी नीतियों की विजय हुई। यों तो हर देश की नीति का इम्तहान हर समय होता रहता है, लेकिन यह कुछ ऐसे ऐतिहासिक दौर राष्ट्र के इतिहास में आते हैं जब उस का इम्तहान होता है। और यह जो हमारी विजय हुई इस में हमारी फौजों की विजय तो थी ही, उस से बढ़ कर हमारी नीतियों की विजय थी। हमारा विश्वास प्रजातंत्र में और उस के मुकामिले में पाकिस्तान का विश्वास मिलिटरी डिक्टेटरशिप में, हमारा विश्वास समुभरिज्म में और पाकिस्तान का

विश्वास उस के विश्व कम्युनलिज्म में, उस के साथ ही यहां बैठी हुई कुछ पार्टियों का विश्वास खास तौर पर जनसंघ का कम्युनलिज्म में, हमारा विश्वास सेल्फ-सफिलेसी में, इडिपेंडेंट फारेन पालिसी में और इन का विश्वास दूसरे देशों की तरफ देखने में, यह स्थिति है। आज तो कहते हैं कि यह सब जो कुछ हुआ यह तो सारे देश ने किया है, सब ने किया है। वही लोग आज कह रहे हैं जो कल तक निन्दा किया करने थे और कहते थे कि भारत की नीति गलत है, वियतनाम में स्वामस्वाह बोलते थे, जो इस तरह की बातें करते थे कि भारत पर रूस का दबाव है। मुझे बाजपेयी जी का वह भाषण याद है। इस हाउस में उन्होंने कम भारत मधि पर बधाई दी और कहा कि इदिरा जी की यह बड़ी भारी प्रबन्धिमेट है। जब जीत हुई, तो प्रधान मंत्री और रूस को बधाई दी उसके दो दिन बाद वोट क्लब में बोले तो कहा कि इस में कोई छिपी हुई बात है। फिर चुनाव में कहा कि ग्लाइट पेपर निकालो और बाद में कहने लगे भारत रूस का गुलाम है। यह हमारी नीतियों की विजय थी और इस दौर में भारत की शक्ति का इम्तहान हुआ। पाकिस्तान सालों बेड़े की तरफ देख रहा था, कहीं चीन की तरफ देख रहा था और भारत को नेता प्रधान मंत्री इदिरा गांधी देश की जनता की तरफ देख रही थी और वह यही कहे जा रही थी कि आप इकट्ठे रहें, शांति से रहे मिल कर रहें और इतने में ही इस देश का ही नहीं दुनिया का और बगला देश का इतिहास बदल गया। इस छः महीने के अंदर हमारा जो इम्तहान हुआ उस ने यह बताया कि भारत की नीतियां सही थी, उस की फाउंडेशन सही थी। जो दुनियाद जवाहर लाल नेहरू ने डाली थी वह सही थी। अगर उन नीतियों पर चलते जो जनसंघ वगैरह की की नीतियां हैं जो वही हैं जिन पर पाकिस्तान के क्लस चल रहे थे तो भारत का वही हू

होता जो पाकिस्तान का हुआ। प्रधान मंत्री पर दबाव भी डालने की कोशिश की गई कि बंगला देश को अभी रेकग्नाइज करो, इसी स्टैंड पर करो। असल बात यह है कि इन पाटियों को, खास तौर से जनसब को यह ख्याल नहीं था कि बंगला देश के मामले में जो रिफ्यूजी यहाँ आए हैं वह वापस जाएंगे। जो खत बाजपेयी जी ने लिखा था जो कि सेंट्रल हाल में पढ़ कर सुनाया गया, उस में उन्होंने यह लिखा था कि मुझे आशा है कि ये वापस नहीं जाएंगे और उस के बाद उन्होंने प्रशंसा भी की। लेकिन उन्हें यह आशा थी, यह उन्होंने लिखा था। अमन में इन को यह आशा थी कि देश इस में कामयाब नहीं होगा और अपने कार्यकर्ताओं की सभा में उन्होंने कहा कि बंगला देश प्रधान मंत्री के लिए वाटरलू साबित होगा। वह वाटरलू हुआ, लेकिन वाटरलू बाजपेयी जी का हुआ, उन की पार्टी का हुआ और दूसरी पार्टियों का हुआ। दिल्ली में से जनसब का सफाया हो गया।

SHRI JAGANNATHRAO JOSHI (Shajapur): It is we who insisted upon taking action for liberation of Bangladesh. Why is he quoting wrongly?

MR DEPUTY-SPEAKER - You will get your chance when your turn comes

SHRI JAGANNATHRAO JOSHI He is misquoting, Sir, unnecessarily

SHRI PILLAY MUDY. That is permitted. (*Interruption*) In Parliament misquoting is permitted; it is going on everyday.

SHRI JAGANNATHRAO JOSHI - He is making specific charge. Why is he misquoting it? We have every right to protest at least.

श्री एच० के० एल० भगत उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं कोई मिमकोटेशन नहीं कर रहा हूँ, जो बात कह रहा हूँ ठीक कह रहा हूँ।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, जो कुछ पिछले एक साल में हुआ या पिछले 6 महीनों में हुआ जिस तरह से मुल्क की तसवीर बदनी, जब पहला चुनाव हुआ, लोक सभा के चुनाव में जब ये लोग, मेरा मतलब है जनसबवाले हार गये, तो इन्होंने त्रिभाग लगाया और कहा कि बैलेट पेपर्स कमिक्नी ट्रीटेड थे, इस वजह से हार गये। जब पिछले चुनाव में हारे तो इन्होंने कहा कि परस्नेलिटी कल्ट की वजह से हार गये। उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, परस्नेलिटी कल्ट अगर किसी पार्टी में है तो सब में ज्यादा जनसब में है जहाँ परस्नेलिटी की पूजा होती है, गुरू की पूजा होती है, गुरू का हुकम सारी पार्टी पर लागू होता है। पार्टी अगर किसी बात को तय करती है, लेकिन उस के ऊपर अगर गुरू का हुकम आ जाता है, तो पार्टी कुछ नहीं है और जिस का कोई डेमोक्रेटिक फन्क्शनिंग नहीं है, इस लिये परस्नेलिटी कल्ट सब से ज्यादा जनसब में है। परस्नेलिटी कल्ट सब से ज्यादा बनाने की किस ने काशिश की? जनसब ने कोशिश की।

लेकिन, उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि किसी की परस्नेलिटी या परस्नेलिटी कल्ट किसी की पूजा से नहीं बनती है, करीबो लोगों के दिलों में विचारधाराओं की चमक और ज्योतिर्पदा करने से बनती है। देश के लोग अगर प्रधान मंत्री के साथ घायले तो सिर्फ उन की नीतियों के कारण घायले। बाजपेयी जी ने प्रधान मंत्री जी से ज्यादा जोरदार आभण दिल्ली में किया, लेकिन उस के बावजूद भी उन की पार्टी का दिल्ली से सफाया हो गया, इस लिये कि प्रधान मंत्री जी के एक शब्द पर करोड़ों लोगों की बिश्वास था और बाजपेयी जी

[श्री एच० के० एल० भगत]

के हज़ारों शब्दों पर भी जनता को विश्वास नहीं था।

मैं कह रहा था कि राष्ट्रपति जी के इस एड्रेस में जिन चीजों को देश में सुधारने की जरूरत है, उन का जिक्र किया गया है। इस एड्रेस में बहुत आम्बिग्विटी पर यूजल हमारे देश की स्थिति का किया गया है हमारे देश के इण्डस्ट्रियल ग्रोथ में जो कमी है, उक की चर्चा की गई है। पब्लिक सैक्टर अण्डरटेकिंग में जो इम्प्रूवमेंट की जानी चाहिये, उन कमियों को दूर करने के लिये जो स्टेप्स लिये गये हैं, उन की चर्चा की गई है। पिछले दिनों में हमारी इकानामिक स्थिति पर जो बाम् पडा, हमारे देश को, हमारी सरकार को जिस तरह से उसे फ़ैस करना पडा, उस की भी चर्चा की गई है इस में जो कमिया है, जिन सुधारों की इस में जरूरत है, जिन नई दिशाओं की हम में जरूरत है, उन तमाम चीजों का इस में जिक्र किया गया है इस समय हमारे देश के सामने जो समस्यायें हैं, प्राइसेज की समस्या, अग्र-एम्प्लायमेंट के बारे में, गर्जेंसि तमाम चीजों के बारे में इस में जिक्र किया गया है।

इसी तरह से हमारी विदेशी नीति के बारे में यह कहा जा रहा था कि हमारी विदेश नीति बड़ी गलत है, लेकिन हमारी विदेशी नीति सही साबित हुई। आज हमारी जीत इस लिये नहीं हुई कि हम होशियार थे या चालाक थे, बल्कि हमारी नीति इस लिये कामयाब हुई कि हम सच्चाई पर थे, हम सत्य के लिये लड़ रहे थे। आज हमारे पड़ोसी देशों के साथ हमारे ताल्लुकात अच्छे हैं और आगे भी बढ़ावा अच्छे हो, मजबूत हो, इस बात पर खास तौर से इस एड्रेस में बल दिया गया है। आज कुछ लोग प्रचार करते हैं कि भारत महान हो गया है, बड़ा हो गया है, शक्तिवान हो गया है और अब भारत छोटे छोटे मुल्कों को दबा देगा। लेकिन प्रधान मंत्री जी ने ठीक

कहा है और इस एड्रेस में भी ठीक लिखा है कि भारत की महानता इस बात में नहीं है कि वह किसी को ताकत से दबा ले। भारत की महानता इस बात में है कि वह सब के साथ प्यार और मोहब्बत के नाते जोड़े, सब देश अपनी विचार-धाराओं के मुताबिक अपने देश को बनाये। इस में सीलोन, नेपाल और दूसरे देशों के साथ ताल्लुकात सुधारने की चर्चा की गई है, ताल्लुकात बनाने की चर्चा की गई है। यह सबूत है कि हमारी विदेश नीति सफल हुई हमारी जम्हूरियन सफल हुई है, अपने देश को मजबूत बनाने और तगडा बनाने में हम सफल हुए हैं—इन सब बातों की इस में चर्चा है।

कई बार यह कहा जाता है कि यह सरकार तो स्लोगन-मोगरिंग में यकीन रखती है, स्लोगन लगा रही है। आप आज जिस को स्लोगन कहते हैं, अगर सिर्फ नारों पर जाय तो पिछले 20 सालों में मिल कर और अकेले-अकेले अपोजीश पाटियों ने जितने नारे लगाये, अगर कोई नारों से ही जीतता तो आप जीत सकते थे, लेकिन भारत की तामीर का काम जिस बक्त प० जवाहर लाल जी ने शुरू किया तो उन्होंने साफ साफ बह दिया था कि रचना का काम एक-एक ईट जोड़ कर होगा, एक-एक ईट जोड़ कर ही इमारत बनती है और ईट लागाने वालों को उस के लिये पसीना बहाना पडता है, मेहनत करनी पडती है और इसी लिये कस्ट्रक्शन का काम उन्होंने प्लैण्ड तरीके से किया और हमारी प्रधान मंत्री जी ने भी उसी रास्ते को अपनाया। उन्होंने अपने भाषण में कहा है कि अगर हम को भारत को बनाना है तो उस के लिये हम को बहुत सी दिक्कतों, तकलीफों को सहन करना पडेगा, अपनी मेहनत और परिश्रम से उस को बनाना होगा। इस में नारे की कोई बात नहीं है, हम तो भारत को बनाना चाहते हैं और राष्ट्रपति जी के एड्रेस में इसी बात की तस्वीर है कि हम को भारत

मेहनत से, परिश्रम से, ताकत से बनाना चाहते हैं। बहुत कुछ अब तक हो चुका है और कुछ भी करना बाकी है।

कल मेरे भाई ज्योतिमय बसु का गला बैठ गया, बहुत जोर जोर से बोल रहे थे, उन्होंने सोचा कि बाहर जनता में उनकी बात को कोई नहीं सुनता तो यही सुनाओ मैंने अखबार में पढ़ा कि इन की पार्टी ने कहा है कि अब हम को पालियामेन्ट्री मेथड्स के बा जाय कोई दूसरा मेथड सोचना पड़ेगा। भाई, अगर दूसरा मेथड सोचोगे तो समझ लो कि भारत में सब से बड़ी शक्ति जनता की है, जब जनता को चुनाव में नहीं जीत सके तो फिर एक्स्ट्रा पालियामेन्ट्री मेथड्स को डील करना जनता जानती है और उसका जवाब भी आप को मिल गया है। बंगाल की जनता ने आप को जवाब दे दिया है, वहाँ आप नाकाम हुए हैं और इस लिये नाकाम हुए कि आप का फक्शनिंग डेमोक्रेटिक नहीं था। आप का थिंकिंग एक्स्ट्रा पालियामेन्ट्री मेथड्स पर आधारित था, इसी लिये बंगाल की जनता ने आप को रिजेक्ट किया। अगर अब कुछ और करोगे तो जो आप के बैठे हुए हैं, वे भी साफ हो जायेंगे।

इस लिये मेरा कहना यह है कि राष्ट्रपति जी का एड्रेस हमारे देश को सही दिशा की तरफ ले जाने के लिये पूरा संकेत करता है, पूरा इशारा करता है, देश को बल देता है। मैं राष्ट्रपति के इस एड्रेस के लिये उनको बधाई देता हूँ।

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU On a point of order For his knowledge, I am quoting from the *London Economist* which says "Indira calls in the toughs to win back West Bengal" This shows how the election has been rigged, how the whole thing is a farce

SHRI H K L. BHAGAT He is reduced to such a position that he has to quote a London paper I would not be surprised if he now starts quoting Nixon papers.

इन शब्दों के साथ इस एड्रेस के लिये मेरे साथी ने जो प्रस्ताव रखा है, उसका समर्थन करता हूँ।

MR DEPUTY-SPEAKER Motion moved

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

"That the Members of Lok Sabha assembled in this Session are deeply grateful to the President for the Address which he has been pleased to deliver to both Houses of Parliament assembled together on the 13th March 1972"

PROF S L SAKSENA (Maharajgauj) I beg to move

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

'but regret that there is no mention in the address of practical schemes to eradicate unemployment that is rampant in all sections of the people in the country' (1)

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

'but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the need to remove corruption and nepotism which is rampant in the country' (2)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the need to nationalise the foreign banks in the country" (3)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of specific steps to lower-land ceilings and to distribute land to the landless" (4)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of any steps for the nationalisation of the sugar industry" (5)

[Prof S L Saksena]

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

“but regret that there is no mention in the Address of any proposal for appointment of Third Sugar Wage Board” (6)

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

“but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the grave injustice to sugarcane growers who are being paid a sugarcane price of Rs 10 - only in East U P when sugar is selling over Rs 3/- per kilo” ()

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

“but regret that there is no mention in the Address of any specific measures proposed to be taken to enforce a need based minimum wage in industry” (8)

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

but regret that there is no mention in the Address of a dozen deaths due to forcible vasectomy operations in one month camps in Gorakhpur district from 27th January to 27th February 1972 during which period the entire normal administrative work of the district was at a standstill and patwaris, lekhpals, gramsewaks, quaq-amins, primary school teachers and other Government employees were ordered under threat of suspension and dismissal to procure ten to twenty persons for vasectomy operations’ (9)

SHRI N SREEKANTAN NAIR
(Quilon) I beg to move

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

“but regret that no effective steps have been proposed to eradicate poverty”
(10)

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

“but regret that no weightage is given to the State of Kerala which had been badly neglected in the successive Plans in the matter of Central investment in the Public Sector and in railway lines and workshops”

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

‘but regret that the Union Government has taken no effective steps to revitalize the traditional industries of Kerala, like coir, cashewnut and handloom” (12)

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

“but regret that the fall in the prices of coconut pepper and other products of Kerala is not countered by effective steps by the Central Government”
(13)

SHRI K S CHAVDA (Patan) I beg to move

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

“but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the steps to be taken by Government to stop the lotteries in the whole country” (14)

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

“but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the need for introduction of prohibition throughout the country”
(15)

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

“but regret that there is no mention in the Address of any steps to remove the shortage of small coins in the country”
(16)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of any steps to reduce the cost of living and to raise the standard of living of the people in the country "

(17)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of any steps to be taken to increase the electric power supply in those States which usually experience shortage of power supply "

(18)

श्री जगन्नाथ राव जोशी (शाजापुर) में प्रस्ताव करता हूँ: कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात्.

"किन्तु यह सदन इस बात पर खेद व्यक्त करता है कि राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण में बढ़ती हुई कीमतों को काम करने के लिये कोई ठोस आश्वासन नहीं दिये गये है।" (20)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात्.

"किन्तु यह सदन इस बात पर खेद व्यक्त करता है कि राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण में विशाल पैमाने पर फैली हुई बेरोजगारी को दूर करने के लिये न तो कोई निश्चित योजना का उल्लेख है और न कोई क्वथि बताई गई है।" (21)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात्:

"किन्तु यह सदन इस बात पर खेद व्यक्त करता है कि राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण में तृतीय वेतन अयोग की सिफारिशों से केंद्रीय सरकारी कर्मचारियों की वर्तमान आर्थिक कठिनाइयों में कड़ से राहत मिलेगी-इस का कोई आश्वासन नहीं है।" (22)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् :

"किन्तु यह सदन इस बात पर खेद व्यक्त करता है कि राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण में सुरक्षा कर्मचारी तथा रेल कर्मचारियों के वेतनमानों में वृद्धि किये जाने का कोई स्पष्ट उल्लेख नहीं है।" (23)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात्

"किन्तु यह सदन इस बात पर खेद व्यक्त करता है कि राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण में हाल ही के चुनाव में किये गये शासन तंत्र के दुर्बल-योग और राजनीतिक हत्याओं की कोई निन्दा नहीं की गई है।" (24)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात्

"किन्तु यह सदन इस बात पर खेद व्यक्त करता है कि राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण में छाछरो सिन्ध तथा छम्ब जम्मू क्षेत्र से आये हुए विस्थापितों की समस्याओं और उस के सम्बन्ध में की जा रही प्रभावी कार्यवाही का कोई उल्लेख नहीं है।" (25)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात्:

"किन्तु यह सदन इस बात पर खेद व्यक्त करता है कि राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण में पाकिस्तान के बलात् कब्जे से काश्मीर के भू-भाग को मुक्त करने का कोई आश्वासन नहीं दिया गया।" (26)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात्:

"किन्तु यह सदन इस बात पर खेद व्यक्त करता है कि राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण में 1962

[श्री जगन्नाथ राव जोशी]

में चीन दुबारा लिये गये भारतीय भू प्रदेशों को वापिस लेने के संसद में संकल्प को पूरा करने का कोई उल्लेख नहीं है।" (27)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात:

"किन्तु यह सदन इस बात पर खेद व्यक्त करता है कि राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण में हाल ही के भारत-पाक युद्ध में भारतीय सेनाओं द्वारा जीते गये पाक-प्रदेशों को लौटाये जाने की संभावना तथा इस सम्बन्ध में सरकारी नीति का स्पष्टीकरण नहीं है।" (28)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात:

"किन्तु यह सदन इस बात पर खेद व्यक्त करता है कि राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण में बंगला देश के प्रश्न और भारत-पाक युद्ध के विषय में संसार के देशों के रवियों का अनुभव करने के परिणामस्वरूप विदेश नीति में आबद्धक परिवर्तन का कोई उल्लेख नहीं है।" (29)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात:

"किन्तु यह सदन इस बात पर खेद व्यक्त करता है कि राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण में एशिया महाद्वीप में चीन के बढ़ते हुए खतरे को ध्यान में रखकर, भागन की सुरक्षा के किये आणविक बम्ब तथा आयुध बनाये जाने का कोई आश्वासन नहीं है।" (30)

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA (Alipore): Some amendments were tabled this morning at Ton. They may not have been circulated.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: In the bulletin dated March 7, it had been intimated that amendments were to be tabled by 5 P. M. yesterday. In view of the fact that

this debate will be resumed a fortnight later, he might kindly represent to the Speaker to extend the time. I cannot just accept them now.

SHRI A. K. GOPALAN (Palghat): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, I am sorry to say that I have no thanks to offer either to the President for delivering this speech which is before me or to those who have written the speech and given it to the President, a speech which does not represent the realities in the country and which contains as many untruth as possible.

I do not go into the questions referred, to here concerning implementation of land reform measures and other problems because there are things said which are untrue. There are things like that. I do not want to go into them. It is said here that the implementation of land reform measures has gained momentum. Kerala is cited as one of the States in regard to this.

The Kerala Government's budget itself shows, and both the Revenue Minister and the Finance Minister have said, that only one-third had been implemented, because there is no money. They have asked the Planning Commission for money, and the Planning Commission has refused to give money. So, it is impossible to implement it. There are so many things regarding which I do not want to refer.

But I am very sorry to say that the President has said in paragraph 25—I do not know how they came to this conclusion about the elections—that "the elections have just taken place in 16 States and two Union territories, and the peaceful manner in which they were held has again demonstrated the maturity of our people and their enduring faith in parliamentary democracy." Sir, when so many people are killed, when even the Polling officers are killed and when hundreds of voters are killed, and also when everybody knows that there were so many clashes, the President says it was a peaceful manner in which the elections had been held. What is the peaceful manner in which the elections were held? What has happened. According to you, monthing has happened. I do not quote Nixon's papers; I do not quote London papers. I am quoting from a paper in India; it is not our paper. What it has said, I want to point out.

"Bangal; gunners grab votes." A report on West Bengal elections has appeared in the *Economic Times* of March 12th, 1972; by the paper's Calcutta Bureau. I want only to quote certain paragraphs from it. If it is a London paper or an American paper, you can also say that it is false. If it our paper, you can also say that. But it is the *Economic Times*, and what is it that they have said? It says that the Calcutta voters "in over 20 constituencies in west Bengal had a new experience of having their votes cast by armed gangs on Saturday."

Then, it says that in Tollygunge two women voters standing in the queue succumbed to bullet injuries. Bunches of ballot papers were snatched from the custody of the Presiding Officers, stamped out and put into the ballot-boxes in Chanditala, Gandhi colony and Bejoogarh in this constituency." In North Beliaghata, Mr. Kalias Malakar, polling agent of Mr. K. P. Ghosh, was shot dead in a polling station. In the morning, Mr. Ghosh sent polling agents to 23 booths with police escorts, but goondas controlling the booth did not allow them to enter, and the police expressed their inability to protect them.

Another very important thing is this. Where this correspondent toured different areas in Baranagore at about 2 p.m., polling had practically stopped. On the east of B.T. Road, only CPI Congress workers existed, and according to them, Polling was nearly 90 per cent by 1 p. m. On the streets, this correspondent's car had to stop before surging crowds who complained that they could not exercise their franchise as they were scared away by armed gangs. From their account, it was gathered that after two hours of polling, armed gangs raided polling booths located on the west side of the B. T. Road.

This is the report from a paper which is not our paper which is against us or never supports us. It is a paper which supports the Government always and in such a paper, its correspondent has written that this has happened.

And yet the President says that there has never been a polling which was so peaceful as in the last election. A very peaceful polling. It is just like saying that a man fell from a tree and when the people

asked what had happened, it was said that nothing very serious happened; only the head and the body were separated; nothing very serious. But the paper says what has happened. I have to say something more from what I have got. The paper said that a surging crowd came to the correspondent and said that they were not allowed to go and vote. So many people were killed; there is not even a mention of that in the Address. What is said is, "the peaceful manner in which the elections were held has again demonstrated the maturity of our people and their enduring faith in parliamentary democracy." I say that the Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, has murdered parliamentary democracy in this country and buried it. How can there be faith in parliamentary democracy?...(*Interruptions.*) Never after Independence have I heard of an election on the eve of which so many people were killed. So many persons were killed on the polling day, on the counting day also. What has happened? I have got information from Mr. Jyoti Bosu. Counting agents had been driven away and we had to withdraw from the counting centres because we do not want to remain a party to this manipulation of ballot papers and ballot boxes. When polling was taking place, the agents were driven away. People should not think that our Party has not got the support of the people in places where they have not won. It is because of their manipulation of vote and manipulation of votes ballot boxes. That is what has happened.

15 hrs.

First of all I wanted to quote the *Economic Times* which says that this election had been fought with guns. To say that parliamentary democracy is there is not only a falsehood, it is a fraud on parliamentary democracy, an unshamed fraud on parliamentary democracy. So many persons had been killed on the eve of the elections. Even polling officers had been killed. For the President to come and say two days after such an election that there has been a peaceful election in this country! We have to say that the President's Address is below the dignity of the President or of parliamentary democracy.

[Shri K. Gopalan]

I want to place before you certain facts about the elections. About 35 persons had been killed on the eve of the elections. I have got the names of the people killed but do not want to take the time of the House in reading the names. In the 24 Parganas alone 17 persons were killed, five were killed in Burdan and three in Nadia... (Interruptions.) Who, my friend asks. I say: our people. On the day of elections two persons were killed; one of them is comrade Alok Majumdar who was killed at Baranagar. On the eve of the elections, candidate Gangadhar Naskar of Sonarpur was wounded. Candidate Prasanta Sur, former Mayor of Calcutta was shot at; he did not die; he escaped. Comrade Babu Datta Roy was killed by the bullet and comrade Sur escaped. I know that because I went there. The cars of Bijoy Modak M.P. and Shri Somnath Chatterjee. M.P. were attacked with bombs. Comrade Samar Mukerjee was wounded in the forehead in front of the headquarters of the Divisional Commissioner and his wound which you can see shows how parliamentary democracy has functioned.

Rape has become so common; I shall give you some instances. Ashima Poddar was arrested and violated in police lock-up. In Sonarpur, 24 Paraganas Comrade Nirmal Chatterjee was killed and his widow, a mother of four children, was raped during the same night by Congress goondas. Then in Birbhumi village Saraswathi Bhagdini and Subhadra Bhagdini were raped by police and Congress goondas. They were later found unconscious in the room where they had been locked up and raped. Will anybody say these things, if these were not true? This is what has happened, and it has become a common thing today. After all this, it is no use denying the electoral rolls were not properly revised, the names of so many people who were entitled to vote were removed. Before the date of the elections there were so many attacks. I will give you some instances.

On 10.3.1972 at about 10 p.m. police raided Jhingri Mohalla, Baluatala, Mahudanga, Bastin Bazar, all Muslim areas and arrested nearly 100 Muslims including our polling agents, booth volunteers. On

the following day, i. e., on the date of polling, police also arrested many of our supporters. Voters were also chased from the polling of this, by police and Congress-CPI volunteers. Many voters who came to cast votes were also arrested. Voters were threatened with pipe-guns, revolvers by these armed goondas. Practically twelve booths in Muslim areas were captured by armed CPI-Congress volunteers. Police helped them directly. The whole Muslim area was seized panic and terror. In this area, nearly 80 per cent voters could not cast their votes. Taking this opportunity, CPI people cast bogus votes in large numbers. The total number of votes in these booths was 11,000. This is about Asansol constituency.

In Durgapur constituency, in "C" Zone, two polling booths at Durgapur project were practically captured by nearly 50 Nabe Congress Volunteers armed with revolvers, pipeguns, bombs etc. Most of these volunteers are known anti-social elements. Many of them are wanted on murder charges. In the morning they stabbed three voters including one female voter near the polling booths. Thereafter they continuously threw bombs near the polling booths to create panic and terror. As a result, genuine voters could not come to the polling booths to cast their votes. Large number of bogus votes were cast in favour of Congress in these of polling booths.

As far as Burdwan is concerned, we know what happened there even before. Voters of four polling booths of Kurmum village were attacked by bombs and pipe guns and the goondas dispersed more than the thousand voters. Congress workers Kidnapped Ananta Mondal from Kurmum. Kaligram, Daskur, Mirzapur, Hatadewar, Rian and 20 other booths were captured and the polling agents of CPI (M) were driven out, Congress workers and bogus voters cast votes openly. Thus, total number of voters affected were about 30,000.

In Faridpur Constituency, at Sarti booth, our election agents and booth volunteers were forcibly turned out by Naba Congress armed volunteers. At Ichadore and Benagram booths, the Police Superin-

tendent threatened our booth volunteers with open revolver and forced them to leave the booths. All these booths were practically captured by Naba Congress volunteers armed with pipe guns, bombs etc. In Titghur, Muslim workers' bustees were burnt.

These are some of things which happened. This has happened not only in West Bengal. I know personally that this has happened in Andhra and in Bihar also. In Andhra, in Nalgonda and Khammam districts these things have happened. I saw some of the workers who had been beaten. They were in hospital. I went to the Nalgonda hospital and saw them. I also went to the villages and there I found that the houses of Harijans had been burnt on the suspicion that they would not vote for the Congress. Never in the history of elections have you ever seen so many burnings, murders, turning away of polling officers etc. I wrote to the Collectors of Nalgonda, Miriyalguda, Krishna and other districts. I told them that in the last elections we were not allowed to go to our agents in the polling agents, and so something must be done to protect them, so that they can enter the polling booths and so what is happening there. Is it an election? Do you want the people to go and cast their votes according to their choice?

The President says

"The peaceful manner in which the elections were held has again demonstrated the maturity of our people and their enduring faith in parliamentary democracy."

But after this elections, even those belonging to the Congress will have no faith in parliamentary democracy because they know what has happened. That is why after the ticket mela in Delhi—just as there Kumbh Mela, there was a ticket mela—so many of them returned from the Mela and resigned. They have made statements saying that the candidates selected by the Congress are those who have no faith in democracy and who are not progressive. As far as two or three candidates in Andhra are concerned, I know they are first

class goondas and do not know politics. Is it a success of parliamentary democracy? Is it a success of the policy and programme of the Congress? Does the election result in West Bengal, where there was a strong united left opposition, show that the policy and programme of the congress has succeeded? No. Their policy and programme has not succeeded. It is the money they spent, the terror they let loose, the rape and killing and manipulation of ballot boxes—it is this that has succeeded. Everything including the State Machinery has been used. That is why the *Economic Times* correspondent wrote like that. I do not know what has happened to him, whether he is alive after this report. They have openly said that there was absolutely no valid election and by these election results, if anybody thinks that the Congress has succeeded, he is wrong. It is not the success of the ballot. The Prime Minister will be responsible for making the people understand that democracy by the ballot is over and recourse to bullet must be taken. She has driven the people to that position, because openly everywhere it is done and the papers also write about it. On the twelfth day when the elections were there, it has been done like that.

Two things are clear. The Prime Minister has murdered parliamentary democracy in this country. The faith that remained in parliamentary democracy has gone. The Prime Minister has also shown to the whole world that there is a woman Fascist dictator who has done all these things. The slogan was, "There should be a stable Congress Government. Wipe out the opposition." Inside the Congress also, there is no opposition now. The heads of Chief Minister have been cut off.

Not only that. In Kashmir, from 1953 onwards, there has been no free and fair election. What was done in this election? Opposition parties had been banned. Arrests were made and internment orders were served. If you do not give them an opportunity to partake in the elections by going to the people and appealing to them, what is this election? We blamed Yahya Khan for not allowing the Governments to be formed after elections. Here in the

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elections we do not give an opportunity to the people. We beat the people and kill them. Beating and killing is not done after the election but before the election. By beating and killing the people and by driving away the agents, they say, "We have won the elections. Parliamentary democracy has succeeded. We have got so many seats" So far as this election is concerned, the people will judge for themselves whether it was a free and fair election. They have also to be prepared for such election taking place in the future. A few members have been elected, sometime only one or two, so that they will sit in the Assembly in the opposition and it can be said that there is parliamentary democracy with Congress in power and we in the opposition. So, deliberately a few members have been elected. It was a conspiracy from above, whose chief architect was the Prime Minister, who was assisted by the Governor and other officials. It is not something which took place all on a sudden; it was something which was pre-planned. It was an unashamed rape of parliamentary democracy in this country.

Even the slogan of the Prime Minister was "smash the opposition so that there will be a stable Congress Government in the States". Now that the elections are over, I do not know whether the partners or allies of the Congress like CPI will be allowed to continue as partners in the State Assemblies or whether they will also be smashed. That is yet to be seen.

It has been reported, not by us but by papers belonging to others, that polling officers have been shot, ballot boxes have been snatched away and polling officers threatened. All this has been done openly and people have seen it. So, people know well that it was not a free and fair election and parliament democracy has been butchered in this country.

So, the reference in the President's Address to "peaceful election" should be removed because there was not only no peaceful election but no election at all. We do not consider this election, at least so far as West Bengal is concerned, as an election. Since parliamentary democracy has been

butchered, we as the opposition do not want to say anything because whatever we say will not be heard. So, I have nothing more to say except to protest very strongly against the way in which the elections have been held. The President in his Address refers to "enduring faith in parliamentary democracy". Let us see whether the people really have enduring faith in the present parliamentary democracy. Otherwise, they will have to decide what they have to do.

SHRI C. M. STEPHEN (Muvattupuzha): Mr Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I rise with a deep sense of gratification and happiness to support the motion of thanks which is before the House. I was listening with a deep sense of sympathy, and my heart was going out in an emotion of condolence, when Shri A. K. Gopalan was making a speech, which is almost an epitaph on the well-deserved demise that the Marxist Communist Party is undergoing.

The President's Address is a solemn occasion for a nation. The President as the head of the nation attempts a review of events of the the year past, assesses and evaluates them, and tells the nation what the achievements and shortfalls were and tries to project before the nation the challenges which it has to face in the ensuing year. To a nation an occasion cannot be more solemn than the one when the head of the nation, the Rashtrapati, addresses the entire nation. The nation had considerable expectation on that occasion and the Members of both the Houses went to the Central Hall to listen to the President's Address. It really gave a deep sense of pain and disgust not only to the Members of the House but to the entire nation to see the acrobat and the melodrama enacted by a bunch of discredited people rejected by the people, disowned by the people, judged and adjudged as undeserving of their support and confidence. It was really shocking to see in a large house like that a bunch of 20 or 25 people standing out and shouting against the President.

SHRI R. S. PANDEY (Rajnandgaon): Next time there will be none.

SHRI C.M. STEPHEN : They started challenging the President, the entire House and the entire nation.....(*Interruption*). They started threatening that they would stay on until the President's Address was over but they did not have the stamina. They wavered and finally one by one they limped out of the House. This scene of a gallant beginning and an ignominious retreat of the Marxist Communist Party staged in the Central Hall is symbolic of their performance ranging from 1967 to 1972.

When I was listening to Shri Gopalan I was reminded of 1967, when after going into the ministry in Kerala and in Bengal, Shri E.M. Sankaran Namboodiripad and Shri A.K. Gopalan announced from the house top that in 1972 they would hoist the red flag of their brand on the Red Fort of Delhi. Bengal saw enough of them; Kerala saw enough of them and of the non-violence posed by these sweet sounding sheep. The entire nation knew how they behaved. They did not have the patience to remain in that garb. What happened? Not by any liberation struggle but as a result of their stewing in their own juice the Marxist Communist Party and Shri E.M. Sankaran Namboodiripad had to find their way out to remain in wilderness.

The people of Kerala went into an election, judged them and rejected them as unwanted elements on the political scene of Kerala. Was there any rigging of elections in Kerala? Was there no free election in Kerala? There was no such allegation. They were judged by the people, condemned by the people, rejected by the people and cast out to serve their period of imprisonment in the wilderness.

What happened in West Bengal? The West Bengal people know who these new type of non-violent lambs are. Who bred the cult of violence in West Bengal? Who is responsible for the murders that were committed there? Who begot the Naxalite brand of violence in West Bengal? They did.....(*Interruption*). Is it not a well-known fact?

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU : Congress.

SHRI C.M. STEPHEN : The Marxist Communist Party is not known for its non-

violence. They preach the cult of violence without any shame and without any disguise at all. They swear by violence and they swear by the Mao dictum of capturing power by the barrel of the gun. They do. Swearing as you do by violence, even if for argument's sake one may concede that your violence is countered by violence in retaliation, are you not cowards to mourn that you are being stoned? When you start stoning, you must be prepared for being stoned back. When you start stabbing, you must be prepared to receive the stab back. You can stab back, of course, but do not, like the coward, mourn before the nation and say that you have been stabbed. That is absolute cowardice. They do not have the guts. That is what was witnessed in the Central Hall yesterday. They started shouting; they lost their voice and only gesticulation remained. And then they started trooping out. They did not have stamina to stay through. The entire House was looking on with indifference, with insulting cold indifference—the reception they had never expected. That is symbolic of the reaction of the nation to what they did in the Central Hall yesterday. The entire nation ignored them; they looked down upon them with a cold insulting indifference. Their fumbling retreat was symbolic of their final fate of exit from the natural scene if they persist in this sort of dirty gimmicks.

Mr. Gopalan was speaking about rigging of elections. He characterised Mrs. Indira Gandhi as a fascist woman. My own congratulations to Mr. Gopalan. Here is a Gandhian, absolutely non-violent, absolutely non-fascist, absolutely democrat and absolutely parliamentary. What a type of super being he is! The people must be laughing at it. (*Interruption*) You have been condemned by the people. He is now condemning everybody, saying this and that. I raise my head in thankfulness to God that there is no allegation of any invisible ink. It is only an allegation of rigging of elections. The margin is not of one; the margin is not of a hundred; the margin is not of five hundreds and is not limited to West Bengal alone. From Kashmir down to the south, from east to the west, State after State, constituency after constituency, the people have asserted themselves. Why? Not because somebody capitalised on the

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Bangladesh issue; not because violence was perpetrated. The people judged the type of parties in juxtaposition. The Opposition was in hegemony from 1967 to 1971. They saw what their brand is. They saw and judged how democracy will be safe in their hands. They made their judgment and they declared what they wanted the nation to be. Their judgment came in 1971.

Were the 1971 elections rigged? Was there any violence during the 1971 elections? Nothing of the sort. No allegation at all. Was there any capitalisation of a particular thing? No. The people asserted themselves. Forget about the parties; forget about the limited vision. But look at the nation, the way the nation has grown up on the form of the entire world. Be it a Communist Party man, be it a Congress Party man, be it a R.S.P. man, be it any party man, was there any period in the history of this nation when an Indian could get up and say, "I am proud to be an Indian because my achievements are commendable"? That is the sum-total of the achievements of the year we have passed through.

The unity of the nation was never at such a peak as it was in 1971-72. The discipline of the nation was never such as it was in 1971-72. The coordination between military forces, the civil forces, the jawans and the Kisans was never so completely united as a single body and soul as it was in 1971-72. The economic sector never asserted itself if with such self-confidence at it did during 1971-72. We faced the greatest of challenges which a nation had ever to face. Last year, in 1971, when this house assembled we heard rumblings on our border and as days went by we had to face the challenge of 10 million people coming into our country. May I remind you that never in the history of the whole world, never in the history of the refugee problem, the refugees, once come, have ever gone back. That is an event which has never occurred in the history of the entire world. Refugees, once they come, settle down and their returning is a problem which remains unsolved. That has been the history throughout. The beginning of this Parliament saw the coming of the refugees, and the Prime Minister said that the refugees would not be here and that

they would go back. The Prime Minister had her own timings, her own schemes and her own ideas, and the nation put full confidence in her. She did not betray the nation. She proved herself worthy of the confidence of the nation. Now, after one year, there is not even one refugee on the soil of India. The entire refugees have gone back without any price having had to be paid.

We faced the greatest international conspiracy. The Marxist Communist Party took its birth from its extra-loyalty to China. They said, "Although China had attacked you, this is not an attack, because a socialist country will never attack." Therefore, by that dictum, you cleft the great Communist Party in two. They said it because of their loyalty to China. And that China, during the course of this one year, has come to arrangements with America. An international conspiracy has taken place against India between America, China and Pakistan. Should not be proud of having faced that conspiracy? The non-alignment concept asserted itself and asserted itself in active force. The Indo-Soviet Treaty was formulated where under socialist forces of the entire world mustered up to face this international conspiracy. The result is that the international attack on India has been repelled and we are now victorious. That is why I said that, if for no other reason, at least for this reason the year 1971-72 is a year about which it should be said, to quote Churchill: even if India would live for a millennium, this was the finest hour in the history of India. That was the year that has been passed through, and during that period, in spite of the challenges we had to face, prices did not soar up, discipline was maintained, production was on an even keel and our military forces were perfectly in good moral. And that was indeed a great showing. It is that assessment that the President has sought to make. And should not the Parliament turn to him and say "Thank you, President, for making this truthful this assessment; thank you, President, for making truthfull evaluation; thank you, Government, for leading this nation through this difficult period? That is why I said, "I rise with a sense of gratification to support this particular motion which is now before the House".

Now, looking ahead, there are certain problems. The problems are that communal forces are still on the horizon. In the last year's address the President mentioned about communal forces, but in this year's address no mention is made. Let it not be taken that communal forces are down and out. Communal forces are still here. I am making an allegation, an open allegation that in my own State the Marxist Communist Party is engaged in nothing except fomenting Communal agitations....(*Interruptions*) Everywhere, be it in Tellicherry, be it in Poovar, they are going round fomenting communal tension and Marxist Communist Party men have been caught redhanded in their nefarious tactics of fomenting communal tension as between Hindu and Muslims. They have lost everything else (*Interruptions*) They know that, on the front of socialism, they have no chance; they know that, by Parliamentary democracy, they have no chance; they know that by practical socialism they have no chance. This great Indian National Congress, along with its allies in socialist struggle, are going ahead leading the people to their goal and to their destiny. (*Interruptions*) They know that they have no chance and, therefore, they are raising the other slogan pulling out people on communal basis hoping that the Congress could be emaciated and they could stage a come-back. What I am saying is that communalism is still rife and forces are there to foment communalism. That is the danger we have to be aware of. We have two parties in India; one says that they represent the entire Hindus and the other says that they represent the entire Muslims. Both the parties opposed the Indian National Congress. The population of India consists mostly of Hindus and Muslims. And what was the result of the elections? Both the parties who swear by community have been set aside and the Hindus and Muslims of India said, "We repose our confidence in the secular party to protect our interests". Let the communal Parties take a lesson from it. I must submit it is time that the Government take not of their nefarious activities. Communalism has been rejected by the people and the lesson of this election is a call to the Government to give a lead to the nation in this respect that communalism may be combated and secular forces may be fostered. That is the call given to us.

Challenges there are and the challenges we are facing with a sense of confidence. Self-reliance is the key-note of his entire Address and self-reliance is the motivating force for the entire nation. We are today proudly conscious and confident that India has got the resources, the man-power, inherent strength, the unity, the sagacity and the agility to move forward face up any challenge. That is the lesson we have learnt from the events that have taken place in the course of 1971-72. Enriched by this lesson emboldened by this experience having confidence that the nation if being led by a leader who has got the sagacity, almost unparalleled in memorable times, we are getting ahead facing the challenges.

Thus, with that confidence, a few sentences are made about America and about Pakistan, not with a sense of supplication, but with a sense of confidence and assertion of our manliness, America is advised that if they choose, still the hands of friendship is here. Along with that it is stated, "No aid, no assistance which has got strings or which will end in the barter in away of the fundamental principles that we are nurturing". With that note of confidence we have got to go ahead.

One sentence and I have done. In the statement mention is made about a moratorium on strikes and lock-outs. I do not want to sound discordant note. Of course, there must be production and there shall not be strikes if that can be avoided, but industrial disputes there will be and the crux of the question is how the industrial dispute will be handled. Be it remembered that the worker is not necessarily the guilty person. Industrial disputes will have to be traced to the other party also and the Government must take a decision and make a declaration that if the management is responsible for creation of any industrial dispute or industrial strife, the management, will be handled with the firmness they have never known. If that is done, I think, there will be no need for strike. Strikes can be avoided not by dictates, not by ordinances but by understanding and co-ordination and by evolving an industrial labour policy which will wipe out the reason for the strike.

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Sir, the workers of this country are conscious of their rights. They are getting ahead with a sense of responsibility too.

Therefore, I place on record my thanks to the President for the correct evaluation he has given us, for the note of self-reliance that he has sounded and for the call to the nation that they have got to rely on themselves and go ahead and for the inspiration and the confidence with which this nation is led and for the unity of the nation ready to face any challenge however big and however formidable.

Now, war against poverty is as great and as important as the war against the enemy and enriched by that experience, we have absolutely no doubt that this nation under this leadership will certainly be upto the task of facing the challenges and surviving the challenges.

I am conscious that my friends on the other side still remain to be a nuisance... (*Interruptions*) Shri A. K. Gopalan said before coming here that he would not make it possible for, and he would not allow, the Parliament to function..... (*Interruptions*) Now, it was published in the papers. He will not allow the Parliament to function. Who says? Shri A. K. Gopalan. He saw the heyday of his time. He knows where he is now... a puny party rejected completely by the people and yet he has got the temerity to say that he would not allow the Parliament to function. Sir, the Parliament will go on and the Parliament will function because the Parliament represents the people of India. We will go on with our deliberations in spite of one thousand A. K. Gopalan. The Marxist Communist Party, completely rejected, will remain to be of nuisance value but the people of India will have no patience for senility and political impotency which, in frustration, will be celebrating out things which no responsible person will ever think of calling out. Adventurism had its day. Adventurism has ceased now to be able to cut any ice here after because the people of India are mature enough. The Marxist Communist party with their extra parliamentary aerobats will

wait to see that they are making the exit from the political scene the same way they did from the Central Hall. With a sense of gratification and pride and happiness, as a Member of this House, I support this Motion and commend it to the acceptance of the House.

SHRI H. N. MUKEKJEE (Calcutta-North-East) : Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, my main grouse against the President's Address is that there is very little evidence of a practical realisation of an intention to implement the mandate which this House had been given during the last elections, a mandate which has been supplemented and strengthened by the results of the State Assembly Elections which have just concluded. I find that while there is a qualitative change in the atmosphere of our country, so far as national and international postures are concerned there is no indication in so far as the President's Address is concerned, of policies and programmes to be pursued which would bring about a true reflection of that change.

I can understand something of the euphoria which has affected Members of the Congress party. I can understand that they have many a good reason for jubilation. But this euphoria alone should not be the only capital which they present. Things have to be done and done soon in the case of our people, the mandate which our people have given, but, I don't see yet any indication of that mandate being sought to be implemented practically in the near future.

I am also rather disturbed to discover another thing for instance. My friend Mr. Alagesan—when he was a Minister we used to say, he was making too many allegations said in the course of his speech which was very carefully read out from manuscript or typescript. He said that Mahatma Gandhi liberated, India and Shrimati Indira Gandhi liberated Bangla Desh. Now, Sir this House knows very well that this House, no section of this House, including my friends on this side, have ever been parsimonious in according to the Prime Minister the credit which undoubtedly belongs to her in so far as the emergence of Bangla Desh is concerned. But it is a little too much particularly on the eve of her forthcoming

visit to Bangla Desh to have it on the record of this House, a statement made by a former President of a State Congress Committee and a former Minister of the Government of India that Shrimati India Gandhi had 'liberated' Bangla Desh. I think I can put it in the form that the Prime Minister has sufficient sense of proportion and of decency to put her foot down on the recently flourishing and pernicious practice of flattery in her party ranks among people who delight from time to time unnecessarily in fullsome flattery and refer to her as "Supreme leader" of their party. Of course, she is supreme leader, but this practice of flattery is something which goes against the grain. I think she would understand this and I hope that something is done in regard to this matter.

SHRI PILOO MODY : Spank them.

SHRI H. N. MUKERJEE : My friend A. K. Gopalan has given a certain direction to the debate, and I am afraid I have to make some reference to what he has tried to point out. I have a rooted disinclination to hit a man when he is down. I do not like to kick a person when he is too busy licking his wounds. I do not want to say harsh things. But it is rather ironic for my friend Shri A. K. Gopalan to come forward today and say that everything in this country has been vitiated because of certain circumstances which he reports from his lately acquired friends the capitalists of India who run a paper called the *Economic Times* from Bombay, a paper which has singularly identified itself in a very peculiar fashion as far as West Bengal is concerned with the interests of the party to which my friend Shri A. K. Gopalan belongs.

It is a little too much for Parliament to have to hear that the tremendous elections that have been held in this country, whether we like its results or not, have been vitiated because of violence having broken out on a scale which is unspeakable. When violence is practised by certain people, it is all right, but when violence is practised by certain other people, it does not seem to be all right. I do not wish to put it in this fashion, but we remember what happened in the last Lok Sabha election also. I am a very inoffensive sort of person, and in my part of the country I do happen to

command, a certain respect as far as my audiences are concerned, and when my election meetings in a part of the Calcutta city itself were bombed, I did not come whining and weeping before this House, because that was part of the set up which was prevailing in those days.

In the case of the West Bengal election this time, on the day before the elections, on the 10th March, statements were being issued and proudly broadcast by leaders of the party of Shri A. K. Gopalan to the effect that they were absolutely sure about having a majority, and now the day after at eleven o'clock, in the morning of the 11th March, they come out and discover that everything is not so lovely in the garden.....(*Interruptions*) I have been reading the Calcutta papers and whatever these gentleman might choose to say, they were meeting friends in the Central Hall and elsewhere, a practice to which I am not particularly prone, and they were telling people about their prognostications about the elections which showed very well what kind of calculations they had made. That is a fooling little matter, but now they jump to the conclusion that everything had been vitiated, because they have lost the game altogether. I am sorry to have to say that these friends of mine have sought to arrogate to themselves the label of Marxism; it is a libel on Marxism that this party calls itself the Marxist Communist Party. Unable to make up its mind about the evaluation of the revolutionary situation in this country in the manner in which the Naxalites interpreted, is unable to go beyond the ballot box, unable to go to the barricades, unable to have a revolution of the classical fashion in this country reconciled to the practice of Parliamentary proficiency, they now come forward to say the kind of things which Shri A.K. Gopalan has chosen to say today. I do not understand it. I do not wish to refer to particular constituencies in West Bengal, merely because some prominent CPM candidates were involved. But in so far as the Barangar constituency is concerned, you know who stood there, and who withdrew practically or theoretically; I do not quite know what they do or do not do—where their leader Mr. Jyoti Basu was the candidate, our candidate, a young man who contested him this time, Shri Shib Pada Bhattacharya'

narrowly escaped being killed in the early part of the day by people who were reported to have armed themselves, and who pulled him out of a car...(*Interruptions*)...

SHRI DINEN BHATTACHARYYA (Serampore) : It is a story concocted by the IG of police.

SHRI H.N. MUKERJEE : This may be a concocted story. But people of Calcutta and other places in West Bengal watched Mr. Jyoti Basu coming to public meetings, guarded by an array of CRP personnel ; was that also a concocted story ? This man, Shivpada Bhattacharyya, was hurt two years ago, in 1969, when Shri Jyoti Basu was the Police Minister in West Bengal. Shri Jyoti Basu refused to take action against his partymen in Baranagar who had tried to murder Shivpada Bhattacharyya. He had been left in the street, left for dead. He wanted to make his dying declaration and Jyoti Basu prevented a Magistrate taking down his dying declaration (*Interruptions*). As I said earlier, I do not want to kick a man when he is down. I never wanted to say a word, not a syllable, about the CPI (M)'s performance in the last election. Many of them are very good personal friends of mine and I never talk to them about election results, fearing that that might hurt their sensitivities. But after all, when you talk in Parliament, there must be a sense of propriety in regard to the country and its interests. This is the party—Shri Stephen's speech reminds me—which did not hesitate during election time—and I am personally witness to that—to refer to that nefarious issue of the so-called Bihari Muslims in order to vitiate the atmosphere in West Bengal and in the rest of the country, for anywhere in Calcutta in the Muslim areas, I know for a fact, that hundreds of things of this sort had been said by these people. This is the party which says goodbye to all scruple, to all principle, who now try to pose, even now, in spite of the thorough going trouncing that they have received in the last election, at the organ voice of the people. If you are the organ voice of the people, why are you afraid ? Why don't you say ? 'Our people are magnificent. Our people do not hesitate to discard a party whom they had clasped to their heart a little while ago'.

In 1967, our Party threw out the Congress in so many States. Our Party in 1969 in West Bengal welcomed the United Front with a gusto, with an exhilaration, which had to be seen to be believed. And we discover now thanks to the CPI (M)'s nefarious activities, that leftism has come to stink in the nostrils of our people. We have discovered that these people talk of leftism and do nothing about it, whereas we see young chaps who gave their life—they were absolutely misguided, no doubt about it ; at least they had the guts and the gumption to jump into the revolutionary fray, to stake everything that they had, to die for it. I can understand that sort of revolutionary zeal to which I was witness ; but I cannot understand this kind of neither-fish-nor-flesh variety of Marxism, which does not try to interpret objectively the present-day situation of our country, which does not see that the national democratic phase of our revolution has got to be completed, which does not see that our people are ready and willing to thread the non-capitalist path of development, which does not see the revolutionary spirit and perspective of newly emergent Bangla Desh, which does not look at the picture in Chile and other countries of South America, which does not understand how by the practice of democracy, even though it is truncated, we can go ahead in effort towards socialist achievement. This is the party which for swears Marxism, which has no international affiliation to speak of whatever, this is the party which has been taught a real lesson by the Indian electorate.

I am glad that Shri Gopalan has devoted his speech entirely to a discription of how his party was maltreated by the Government or whatever it is. We know what happened last time. We know this time also their leaders were saying 'We are being attacked, we are being attacked'. When their leader had said when one of our men was killed in his own home in the presence of his wife and little child—I do not want to name that leader, because the name stinks—'If we are hurt with bombs and swords, do we throw rasgollas back at them' ? This is the kind of people who have been shown what was what by the people of our State and by the people of the country.

I never wanted to put it in this way. But there should be some trepidation, some dismay, some idea, some realisation that when the people overthrow them in this fashion there must be something wrong as far as their party is concerned. Why can not there be some little scope for self-introspection in the minds of those stalwarts who after all at one time did sterling work for their people? Otherwise, they would not have been returned by so many hundreds of thousands of people. But why is it and how is it and what kind of peculiar perversity has now overtaken these friends of mine? That is what I do not understand. I have a genuine feeling that after all our people determined to vote in a particular way; after all we need not fear that because this time the Congress has got a tremendous majority therefore, our people are going to let them have the run of the show all the time. In 1967 what happened? In 1969, what happened? In 1972, something else has happened. Therefore, something else again may happen later unless the Congress behaves, unless those who are in power to day behave in the manner in which they are expected to do.

That is why I am not happy. The President has referred to Bangla Desh of course in terms which are unexceptionable. He refers to certain other things, but he does not show, his Government does not show the slightest realisation of what can be done or what ought to be done.

What about the problems of poverty, of unemployment, of high prices, the problem of agricultural deprivation, indebtedness and that sort of thing? There is no time, and there is no mood here, it seems, even for listening to whatever might be said. (*Interruption*)

AN HON. MEMBER : Speak what you like. (*Interruption*) We want to hear.

SHRI H.N. MUKERJEE : Thank you for your compliments. (*Interruption*) Here in the Address, we find for instance, that here is no reference to the Plan so being an utterance. On the contrary, the only reference to anything to do with the Plan I find is in page 4 which says that a Plan Investment Board will soon be set up to provide a forum for the scrutiny of major

public sector investment proposals through joint discussions". It is amazing. We find at this particular point of time the Minister for Industrial Development holding discussions with British capitalists and trying to palm off the idea of the transfer of derelict, unless British industrial junk to this country on terms which go against the Principles and formulations of our industrial policy resolution. That is only illustrative of the kind of things which they are trying to do.

There is no reference to the idea that in regard to land reform it is not stable Government alone which do can do the trick because in Maharashtra, in Mysore, in Andhra Pradesh and in so many other places you had stable Governments for a very long time. Nothing happened because the non-implementation of land reforms is built-in, in so far as Government administrative personnel are concerned. There is no reference to that sort of thing.

The President talks about the allocation to the Calcutta Metropolitan development schemes a great deal of money, and he says that "in the current year, over Rs. 40 crores are expected to be spent on water supply transportation, housing and other developmental activities." There is not a hint that in the last year they could not spend the allocation which was given to it and the allocation that was given was even short of what was supposed to have been given; if the total of Rs. 150 crores was going to be spent. That money had to be spent on a war emergency basis; monies cannot be spent because of administrative difficulties, and yet, the President, when he had direct charge of West Bengal, could do nothing about it. And he does not take Parliament into confidence, ask Parliament's advice as to what should be done in this regard.

There are so many matters in regard to internal policy to which I need not refer. The debate would be resumed later on and those thing would be mentioned, but in regard to international policy, our own external policy, what do we find? There is not a mention of what has happened in regard to the question of the recognition of the German Democratic Republic. Towards the end of the last session, nearly 500

Members of Parliament presented to the Prime Minister a memorandum asking for the immediate and full diplomatic recognition of the German Democratic Republic, and nothing has happened and nobody has told us why nothing has happened. I interpret that as a continuation of Government's frightened policy in so far as the western powers are concerned and that is seen over and over again in the President's Address.

16.00 hrs.

I think the prize for the greatest under statement of the year should go to the President of India when he says on page 9 :

"There was great disappointment in our country at the lack of sympathy displayed by the Government of the United States of America towards the struggle of the people of Bangla Desh for their democratic rights and fundamental freedom."

Oh, there was "great disappointment" in our country that the Government of the United States did not show sympathy towards democratic rights and fundamental freedom! Perhaps this is a hangover of those days in 1966 when the Prime Minister went to the United States of America and said about President Johnson that he was "a man of peace" when President Johnson was behaving in just as dastardly a fashion as President Nixon is behaving today. I do hope that she has given up renounced that hang-over. I am happy that from time to time she gives the right kind of appropriate answer to Nixon's kind of intransigence, arrogant and insolent attitude towards India. We are all happy that the self-respect of India can find expression in the statements of the Prime Minister. But here is a statement of the President himself before the two Houses of Parliament which indicates that we still continue to have that hangover in so far as our evaluation of the United States as a country, as a Government devoted to the idea of peace is concerned.

There are so many other matters which can be said in illustration of this very same thesis. In relation to Viet-Nam for example, the President says :

"My Government hope that the attempts to arrive at a peaceful settlement in Viet-Nam and West Asia will bear early fruit. The intensified bombing in Viet-Nam is not consistent with the desire for peaceful negotiations."

I do not want the President to use the kind of language which you and I might choose to use from time to time. But this is not the language in which the Government of this country should characterise what is happening in Viet-Nam, particularly at this point of time, when a terrible conspiracy is going on—everybody knows all about it—in order to throttle the freedom of Viet-Nam to the extent it is possible in the year of grace 1972.

I do not think I should take up more of your time referring to all sorts of statistics. I think, as Mr. Gopalan said very rightly to that extent, that repeatedly every time this kind of a proposal is discussed we refer to the failure of the Government in regard to the implementation of its assurances; its declared policy and objectives. That is an old story. But it is only a pity that that old story continues even now, after Bangala Desh has written as with a sun-beam on the rolls of history, after India has had the glory and gratification of participating in the struggle of the people of Bangla Desh for liberation, after all that has happened in our part of the sub-continent, after our discovery that the socialist countries are ready to help us not only with words but also with objective assistance in every imaginable way, after we have discovered who are our enemies and who are our friends, after we have discovered what we should do in order to raise our head high in the company of nations, do we have this kind of a statement as a directive to Parliament, as a sort of a guideline to Parliament for the rest of the the session ?

Self-reliance is mentioned here. But where is any thing like indication of what is actually going to be done in order that we can have a truly self-reliant economy ? Where is the indication of the fact that an attack is going to be made really and truly at long last against the interests of monopoly ? Where is the indication that in 72

far as agrarian reforms are concerned, things are going to be taken up in right earnest? Where is the indication that the problem of unemployment is going to be tackled, and not merely to be dovetailed into some docket, as far as the Secretariat is concerned. A Committee has produced some sort of an interim report, but is that all there is to be? Where is the indication that the Government desires to go ahead? In the absence of such an indication I feel rather unhappy that the President has chosen to address the House in this fashion; I wanted a very different manifestation of the new spirit, that is in the air of India.

I wish to say in conclusion that we need not fall fowl of our people because of electoral reverses having happened in a particular fashion.

On the contrary, as I said, we have a grand people who understand their mind who are mature enough not to reveal what exactly they are going to do at election time, a people who know their interests, who, at the same time, can sense the winds of change which are blowing all over the world today in spite of whatever illiteracy and other handicaps which they suffer from, a people who, therefore, can discard a party which they had at one time taken to their heart, a people, therefore, who are putting the Congress Party on their examination, people, therefore, who would like the Congress Party to proceed not only on the basis of their election programme which falls short a great deal in so far as radical reconstruction of society is concerned. Our people would expect them to go ahead in a very different fashion, so that the national democratic phase of the Indian revolution can be completed and India can go ahead as so many other countries are showing it possible to go ahead, on to the non-capitalist path of development. It is time, now that we know that the socialist world will help us, now that we know that inveterate imperialist Governments of the Nixon brand are going to do their damndest for as long as they are capable of hurt our interests, now that we know what is what that we go ahead in that manner and form that sort of consolidated national movement without which we cannot perform the promises which we are giving to the people on this occasion,

In this perspective I look at the President's Address as a rather inadequate document, and I say that the people will hold this Government to its trial, and it will have to come out with a much better showing in so far as objective results and implementation of its policies are concerned.

***SHRI SAKTI KUMAR SARKAR** (Joynagar) : Mr Deputy Speaker, Sir, while rising to support the President's address, I would like to say that the hopes and aspirations of the people have been rightly reflected in the address and a correct assessment of the matter has been made. There is no over statement of facts. The courage, bravery and sacrifice of our jawans has been justly recognised. It also acknowledges the different provisions that have been made and the steps that have been taken to tackle the problem of unemployment in the country. Therefore, when Shri Gopalan rose to criticise the President's address, it appeared as if he was scared by a ghost.

16 07 hrs.

[SHRI K.N. TIWARY *in the Chair*]

During the course of his speech, far from touching upon the subjects that have been dealt with in the address, Shri Gopalan talked more of politics and the burden of his speech was that the democracy that prevails in the country and the massive victory that has been won by the Congress party are more farce. Unfortunately, we do not agree with his assessment. Today, Shri Gopalan laments from the ramparts of the citadel of his own creation which lies crumbled completely. His lamentation is pathetic. I would like to tell him that he and his party are really responsible for the crimes that have taken place in West Bengal because they had bred the cult of violence. Can they ever deny that in 1969 after they were returned by the people with a massive majority, they had brought into play the game of violence? Again in 1969 they were returned to power with a big majority. But did they ever think that the opinion of the people can change? They were har-

*The original speech was delivered in Bengali.

[Shri Sakti Sarkar]

bouring the mistaken notion that the will of the people can be suppressed with violence and terror? But they were wrong in their judgement. Today the public opinion has completely rejected their cult of violence, their bluff, and their negative approach to the problem and this has been fully reflected through the massive support that the people have given to the Congress party not only in West Bengal but all over the country and that indeed is the essence of democracy; that is the decency of democracy. While we should not feel complacent about this victory we can nonetheless ignore the fact that the people are mature enough to take a right decision—to distinguish between the right and the wrong, between the good and the evil. It was because of this sense of discrimination between the good and the evil that the soul of India will ever remain immortal. This is not a mistake on the part of Shrimati Indira Gandhi. It must be acknowledged that we are functioning under a democratic set up under a democratic set the party functions and the administration runs on the confidence of the people. Today the Congress party has won the confidence of the people and this is reflected in the large number of seats that they have won in this election.

My friends in the opposition had thought that they would be able to lead the people of India to their political ideology but that has not happened. The opposition friends must take lesson from this election.

Many incidents have been referred to by Shri Gopalan and Shri Hiren Mukherjee has already dealt with them. It has been alleged by Shri Gopalan that in the Sonarpur area some Congress workers had killed a CPM worker and raped his wife. Firstly, I would like to point out that the person whom they claim to be their worker is actually not their worker. Secondly, it has not been established that the assailant was a Congress worker either. So far as the rape case is concerned, from the proceedings of the court case and the medical report it is clear that such a case had not occurred. But the CPM tried to capitalise this incident and they had let loose a smear campaign all over the State that the Congress *goondas* had indulged in dacoity, killing and rape. But none of these allegations were proved. They further said that

the Congress party had tried for the bale of the culprit. This again is a greater lie. They repeated these false allegations in many public meetings but the truth of the matter is that the culprit is still in jail and is rotting there. The CPM party tried to catch votes by spreading these false propaganda but they have been completely frustrated in their efforts. They also indulged in another nefarious propaganda. They had propagated among the muslims that Shrimati Indira Gandhi had dismembered Pakistan and therefore they should not repose faith in her Congress. But fortunately our muslim brethren were wide awake and they could distinguish between the good and the evil and once again they frustrated the CPM move to collect votes by exploiting the sentiments of the minority community. I will therefore urge upon my opposition friends that they must take a lesson from this election and benefit from it for there is no other way left for them.

The massive majority that has been gained by the Congress party all over the country should not make us self complacent. While the President's address makes a realistic portrait of people's hopes and aspirations I would like to submit in all humility that the victory has bestowed upon as a great responsibility too. Our leader, the Prime Minister of India, has given some pledges to the people and we have to rise to occasion to redeem them. But in fulfilling these pledges we have to cut our dependence on bureaucracy to the minimum because there is a gulf of difference in their way of thinking and in our way of thinking. We have also to bring about changes in the national planning. We have to resort to micro-planning and regional planning also. We cannot formulate plans merely on the availability of resources, man power and statistics etc., but we have to think of the men who will give shape to these plans. The biggest snag in our planning has been that our thinking about such men has never been complete. Unless we are able to realign our thinking on the correct lines about these men.....

SHRI PILOO MODY : On a point of order, Sir, there should be at least a Cabinet Minister present. There are 17 or 18 of them on the muster rolls to whom we

are paying very handsome salaries. The least they can do is to come here and earn their salaries.

समापति सहोदय : स्टेट मिनिस्टर बैठे हुए हैं ।

SHRI SAKTI KUMAR SARKAR : I, therefore, say that we are saddled with a great responsibility. "Garibi Hatao" is a pledge that we have given to the people and we have to fulfil it. We have to move forward fearlessly for we have the massive mandate of the people with us but we can be successful in our mission if we can keep it in mind that "Man is above all". If we fail to enthuse the people and fail to enlist their cooperation, then no plan can ever be successful. Many learned people have acknowledged that elimination of human element from planning had to be paid in results and this has been amply proved in our country.

While supporting the President's address I would submit that we have to recast the plan; we have to make it micro oriented and enlist the cooperation of the people to make it a success. I would once again say that the President's address is a truthful assessment of the hopes and aspirations of the people of India and I support it. With those words I conclude my speech Sir.

SHRI K SURYANARAYANA (Eluru): Mr. Chairman, while supporting the motion of thanks on the President's Address, I want to make a few observations, not meant for other parties but my party because the people have put us in a responsible position. In the 1971 elections and also in the present elections we have promised that we will not only enact laws but will also implement some schemes to remove poverty as early as possible. The President has rightly appealed to all members of Parliament, not only to the members belonging to the party in powers, as follows in para 43 :

"Hon'ble Members, in conclusion, may I remind you that the war against poverty is no less heroic than military action?"

We have won the military action to help a neighbouring country, namely, Bangla

Desh. Perhaps Professor Mukerjee has not understood what Shri Alagesan has mentioned. Mahatmaji, the father of the nation, has liberated the country with the satyagraha movement in which Professor Hiren Mukerjee and Shri Gopalan have also participated. After our getting independence, when a neighbouring country was in trouble, the leader of the nation, not only the leader of the Congress Party, Indiraji, helped that nation to become free and we are proud of that. We are also proud of the fact that at the time of the war the other parties also recognised her as a national leader. So, Shri Alagesan has rightly presented her as the leader of the nation who has helped a neighbouring country to achieve independence. I hope they will not grudge her the phraseology the leader of the nation, and not merely of the Congress Party.

Coming to land reforms, that is the burning issue which we have to face now, particularly after the 1971 elections and the verdict of the masses. It is true that several States have enacted land legislation in their own fashion. We have to see that ceiling laws on land are not only enacted but properly implemented. This is very much necessary because 80 per cent of the people of our country are depending on agriculture and 90 per cent among them are landless people. Unless land reform legislation are implemented fairly quickly we cannot remove *garibi*.

All the parties, including Jan Sangh have agreed in principle to the land reform policy. We cannot depend entirely on the State Governments to implement the land reforms. Whenever we raise this point with the Central Government the reply is that it is a State subject. But the States do not have enough resources to implement them. Even though the banks have been nationalised, they are not advancing loans to the small farmers. At the time of nationalisation of banks we were all thinking that the middle class farmers will be given financial assistance to grow more food but that hope has not come true. Even now we are not able to meet, through the nationalised banks and even the cooperative banks, even ten per cent of our requirement of our farmers, particularly small farmers.

[Shri K. Suryanarayana]

The land ceiling in some States is 30 acres, in some other States 15 acres and in some States 40 to 30 acres also. We are glad to note that land ceiling laws in all the States have come to bring down the limit to 15 to 18 acres only. According to Government accounts only 1,651,000 acres are available for distribution, but so far as my State is concerned, even though surplus land is there, not even one acre has been taken from the landlords in the last 15 years. Andhra Pradesh is the biggest surplus State in paddy but in land reforms so far we are very backward. We are not eager to implement our own Acts. That is why all the ministers, who were not properly implementing the schemes, as far as the Prime Minister knew, have not been given places this time. Some mistakes may be there.

16.21 hrs.

[SHRI R. D. BHANDARE *in the chair.*]

We need not count those who were left without our knowledge. But wherever wrong things were brought to her notice, she took keen interest and removed whomsoever was there in power. Now that the elections are over I appeal to all the parties whether it is the Communist Party, or the Socialist Party or any other party, as the President has appealed, let us all jointly go to remove poverty. It is not a war against any political party which will come to power. We fought through the ballot boxes. Shri Gopalan, when he was a satyagrahi in the 30s believed in non-violence but fortunately or unfortunately now he has no belief in non-violence. He has changed his views and he is now the master of violence. But he has not succeeded in that also. He has mentioned Nalgonda and Mriyalguda in my State. In the 287 booths in Nalgonda things went off calmly, except, only in some fraction. Our people were also beaten in some places. Shri Brahmanad Reddy was also stoned at Kalahasti. It is not the Government's business to cover all the violence in the elections. The people may go in the wrong way. They were taught violence by the communist Party. But Shri Mukerjee has come to the conclusion that violence is not the thing to get our independence or to remove poverty from our country. That is why they have joined with the Congress, at least to remove vio-

lence in the country and to maintain democracy to serve the people. We welcome any party and any individual to join with the Congress to maintain peace in the country and to remove poverty, as the Prime Minister has said. They helped in Bangla Desh getting independence. In the same manner, after the elections, all the parties should together help the Congress Party in removing poverty from the country, as the President has appealed.

Banks have been nationalised but the nationalised banks have not come to the help of the poor man and the small farmers in growing more food. Even though I belong to the party, in power I want to bring one instance to the notice of Government. We agree that there are certain instances.....(*Interruption*)

SHRI MADHURYYA HALDAR (Mathurapur) : On a point of order, Sir. There is no quorum in the House.

MR. CHAIRMAN : The quorum bell is being rung.....Now there is quorum. The hon Member may continue his speech.

SHRI K. SURYANARAYANA : I was saying that the financing by the nationalised banks, particularly, the State Bank of India, to the farmers has also failed. I want to bring to the notice of the Government only one instance. A man has secured 500 acres of land in the name of one *dharmasanstha*. He is a M.L.A. also and now minister in Andhra Pradesh. He belongs to my party. Taking advantage of the party and personal affiliations in the State, he has secured 500 acres of Government land and he has taken a crop loan also to the tune of nearly Rs. 5 lakhs without any proper security. When I asked about it, the reply given by this Government was that according to the State Bank Act, it cannot be revealed.

It is not a party question now. The removal of poverty and the implementation of land reforms is not only my party question. It is an all-party issue. It is a national issue. The Government should enquire how these nationalised banks are advancing money. A man having substan-

tial property, in the name of some *dharma-sanstha*, is given so many acres of Government land. In my opinion, the biggest landlords are now the State Governments. They are not properly distributing their Government land, their *banjar* land. It should be given to the landless poor people. The landless poor people and small farmers are not given any financial assistance. The landless poor people and small farmers are driven to financial companies and in the name of forming cooperative societies, they are being exploited by big people. A poor man does not get his share. He gets one or two bags of gram.

In my constituency, there are nearly 60,000 to 70,000 acres of *banjar* land. I have given several schemes to the State Government and the Government of India also. Dr. K. L. Rao has given a plan for Rs. 3 crores financing through the World Bank in Kolleru area. But the State Government has no time to consider the suggestion. They are going according to the local considerations, local affiliations and personal things. In a way we have now been elected on the promises through our Prime Minister. As Prof. Mukerjee said, she is not only our party leader, she is a national leader. She has promised to all the parties that if they cooperated with her, she would be prepared to implement all the schemes which were promised to the people. All the parties have to join together to remove poverty, as our President said in the last paragraph. All the State Governments have agreed to the Union Government's land reforms policy. The Land Reforms Committee has given certain suggestions to the State Governments and the Central Government. In almost all the States, Congress has now come to power and so there will not be any difficulty in implementing the schemes. Whoever is not implementing the land reforms and who are involved in getting loans by way of influence should be brought to books and inquiries should be instituted against them.

I live on land and if I go out of Parliament, I depend on my land income; unless I get something from my land, I will not be able to maintain myself and my family. But, unfortunately, those persons who do not depend on land income or rather who do not know the income on land are put

on the committees on land reforms and they are not interested in implementing land reforms schemes. Some of the Ministers are also there; they have been elected by the landless poor, but they are not looking after the landless poor after their election.

I appeal to the State Governments through our Central Government to strictly enforce the land reforms. No land-owner is bothered about the land reforms; some of the people have sold away their lands. Now the land for distribution is very little. I do not know the position in the other States, but I know that, in Andhra Pradesh, except government land no other land is available for distribution, only government land is to be distributed properly. I appeal to the Central Government to insist that all land reform schemes should be implemented immediately, they should have a programme to implement all land reforms schemes, say in one or two months, otherwise there will not be any salvation for the poor people in the country. As our friends said, if there are no valid promises, there will be revolution in the villages. The poor people are promised so many things—that poverty would be removed in one or two years. Already one year has passed and we have entered 1972. There is not much time. That is why I appeal to the Central Government and the State Governments to take up the question of land reforms and give loans properly at least from the nationalised banks. I want to cite an instance where one bank has given loan to one individual without any proper security. There must be some CBI inquiry into this. I appeal to the Government to hand over this case to the CBI. At Tadepalligudem in my constituency which is a big commercial place, the State Bank of India has given a loan of Rs. 5 lakhs without any proper security to one individual in the name of one *Dharma-sanstha*. The land does not even cost Rs. 5 lakhs and that is also an undeveloped land, a submerged land and is government land taken on lease. The loan was given for raising crop. But if I ask the bank for loan, they are not giving me. One bank, of course, sanctioned to me, but another bank did not give me even Rs. 10,000 crop loan to raise tobacco. Tobacco prices had gone down. I waited for some time but still they were not giving me. Now I have pledged my gold to get a loan this

[Shri K. Suryanarayana]

month to clear the bank loans. People who manoeuvre and who influence the State Government, the Ministers or banks, are getting all the benefits, but the common man is not getting any benefit from the State Government or from the nationalised banks. I appeal to the Government to take proper action against those who go wrong in nationalised banks.

SHRI H.N. MUKERJEE : Mr Chairman, no Cabinet Minister is present. President's Address is being discussed in the House. Not one Cabinet Minister is present.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Two Deputy Ministers are there.

SHRI H.N. MUKERJEE : That is a new innovation, Sir.

SHRI AMRIT NAHATA (Barmer) : There is no leader of any Opposition Group either.

SHRI H.N. MUKERJEE : Do we accept that on an important occasion like this, the Cabinet Ministers, all of them, including the Minister of Parly. Affairs who is a Cabinet Minister should be absent ?

MR. CHAIRMAN : I will convey it to the Government.

डा० कौनास (बम्बई दक्षिण) : मुझे राष्ट्रपति जी को उनके योग्यतापूर्ण भाषण पर धन्वाद देने का जो प्रस्ताव रखा गया है, उसका समर्थन करने में बड़ी प्रसन्नता हो रही है ।

देश के सामने आज बहुत सी समस्याएँ हैं फिर चाहे वह जमीन की मर्यादा से सम्बन्ध रखती हों, चाहे उद्योग और व्यापार बढ़ाने के सम्बन्ध रखती हों, चाहे विदेशों से हमारे किस प्रकार के सम्बन्ध होने चाहियें, उससे सम्बन्ध रखने हों या यों कहिये कि दूसरे राष्ट्र हमें जो कर्जा देते हैं, उस कर्ज को हम किसी प्रकार को बंधनों

में लें या न लें, इससे सम्बन्ध रखती हों या वह समस्या बेकारी की हो, बेरोजगारी की हो, और वह समस्या जिस का नारा श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी ने आज नहीं पिछले डेढ़ साल से दिया है और देती आई है कि हमारा देश स्वबंणुर्ण बने, सैल्फ सफिशेंसी की तरफ जाए और उत्पादन से वह सम्बन्ध रखती हो, उन सभी का राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने भाषण में जिक्र किया है ।

राष्ट्रपति जी ने ठीक ही कहा है कि कुछ समस्याओं को केन्द्रीय सरकार ने कुछ कदम बढ़ा कर उनको सुलझाने के प्रयत्न शुरू कर दिये हैं । लेकिन कुछ ऐसी समस्याएँ हैं जिन का उन्होंने उल्लेख करके मार्ग दर्शन के रूप में कुछ कदम बढ़ाने की आवश्यकता है इस पर बल दिया है ताकि उन समस्याओं को भी हल किया जा सके ।

भारत देश गाँवों का देश है । जब हम प्रगति की बात करते हैं तोयह आवश्यक हो जाता है कि हम हमको भली प्रकार समझ लें कि प्रगति तभी हो सकेगी जबकि गाँवों के अन्दर बिजली पहुँचा दी जाए । अगर गाँवों में बिजली पहुँचा दी जाती है तो वहाँ उससे पानी निकाल कर सिंचाई की व्यवस्था की जा सकती है, वहाँ उद्योग धंधे स्थापित हो सकते हैं तथा और भी वहाँ पर सुविचार्यें उपलब्ध हो सकती हैं । इसी उद्देश्य से कूरल इलैक्ट्रिफिकेशन कारपोरेशन का जन्म हुआ है । राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने भाषण में यह बताया है कि कूरल इलैक्ट्रिफिकेशन के लिए 106 करोड़ रुपये दे दिये गये हैं और उस में से 43 करोड़ रुपये गाँवों में बिजली जल्दी से जल्दी पहुँचाने पर खर्च होंगे । मेरा सौभाग्य है कि महाराष्ट्र जहाँ से मैं आता हूँ—वहाँ के बिजली उत्पादन मंत्री, वहाँ के इलैक्ट्रिसिटी बोर्ड के चैयरमैन तथा अन्य कलैक्टरेटो से बातचीत करने का मुझे मौका

मिलता रहता है। करल इलेक्ट्रिकेशन के जो बेयरमैन हैं उन से भी मिलने का मुझे मौका मिला है। उनके सामने मैंने यही समस्या रखी है और उन से अनुरोध किया है कि वह इस प्रकार का चित्र बनाए जिससे गाबो में जल्दी बिजली पहुंच सके। चाहे राजस्थान के मुख्य मंत्री हो, चाहे उत्तर प्रदेश के हो और चाहे महाराष्ट्र के हो, इन तीनों, मुख्य मंत्रियों से भी जा कर मैंने यही प्रार्थना की है कि वे इतना धन करल इलेक्ट्रिकेशन के लिए अर्पण रखें ताकि गाबो में बिजली जल्दी पहुंच सके। अगर ऐसा हो जाता है तब इलेक्ट्रिसिटी बोर्ड के बेयरमैन की यह जिम्मेदारी हां जाती है कि वह गाबो तक बिजली पहुंचा दें। तीनों प्रान्तों के जो प्रलग अलग बिजली बोर्ड हैं उनके जो बेयरमैन हैं उन से भी मुझे मिलने का मौका मिला है और उन्होंने मुझ से यह कहा है कि उन्होंने जितना भी सामान बिजली पहुंचाने के लिए आवश्यक है चाहे वह तारों की शकल में हो या खम्भों की शकल में हो, काफी मिकदार में रखा हुआ है, उसकी काफी मिकदार में व्यवस्था कर ली है और ज्यों ही उनके पास रुपया आ जाएगा, वे गाबो तक बिजली पहुंचाने के प्रयत्न आरम्भ कर देंगे। यह समस्या महाराष्ट्र की ही नहीं है बल्कि सारे देश की है। कई सालों से विभिन्न प्रान्तों में इलेक्ट्रिसिटी सप्लाय कम्पनिया सिमितेड भिन्न भिन्न नामों से चलती आ रही है। महाराष्ट्र में इस तरह की दो इलेक्ट्रिसिटी सप्लाय कम्पनिया चल रही हैं। उनके एग्जिमेट 1973 और 1975 में समाप्त होने वाले हैं। मैंने वहां के मुख्य मंत्री से प्रार्थना की है कि वे इसकी योजना बनायें ताकि इलेक्ट्रिसिटी बोर्ड को इतना रुपया मिल जाए जिससे कि कम्पेक्षन के रूप में जो भी रुपया उन कम्पनियों को देना है वे कर उनका प्रबन्ध अपने हाथ में ले सकें। वे कम्पनिया ऐसी बात ही नहीं है कि सिर्फ धहरों में रहने वाले कम्प्यूज से ही ज्यादा

बिजली दर बसूल करती हैं लेकिन गाबो से भी, इंडस्ट्री वालों से भी और छोटे उद्योग घंघे करने करने वालों से भी ज्यादा दाम लेती है और नफा कमाती जा रही है। सिरोही में मेरा जन्म हुआ था और वहां के कलेक्टर से भी मैं मिलने गया था और मुझे पता लगा कि भावु इलेक्ट्रिसिटी कम्पनी जो एक प्राइवेट कम्पनी है उसका मार्च 1972 के अन्धर लाइसेंसिंग पीरियड समाप्त होने जा रहा है। जब सुखाडिया जी वहां के मुख्य मंत्री थे तब मैं उनसे भी इसके सम्बन्ध में मिला था। वर्तमान मुख्य मंत्री श्री बरकत साहब के पास भी मैं गया था और उन से भी मैंने वही गुजारिश की थी कि पहले से ही वह इतने रुपये का बन्दोबस्त करके रखे कि भावु इलेक्ट्रिसिटी का पीरियड एक्स्टेंड करने जरूरत न पड़े। उत्पादन बढ़ाने के लिए ही बिजली की व्यवस्था करने की जरूरत नहीं है, स्वयं-पूर्णाता खाने के लिए ही बिजली की व्यवस्था करने की जरूरत नहीं है बल्कि बेकारी और बेरोजगारी की समस्या को भी अगर हम हल करना चाहते हैं—यह प्रश्न केवल भाषणों से हल नहीं हो सकता है—तो हमें गाबो में बिजली की व्यवस्था करनी होगी ताकि स्वचालित यंत्रों द्वारा वहां पर कारखानों को चलाने की व्यवस्था हो सके, छोटे छोटे उद्योग घंघे वहां पर चालू हो सकें मैं समझता हू कि राष्ट्रपति जी ने ठीक ही अपने भाषण में बहुत सुन्दर कहा है कि करल इलेक्ट्रिसिटी कारपोरेशन अब इस तरह प्रयत्न होता जा रहा है।

जब मैं यह बात कहता हू कि हम स्वयं पूर्णाता की ओर जाए तो आवश्यक हो जाता है कि प्राज जो इंडस्ट्रीज चल रही है या उद्योग घंघे चाहे वे प्राइवेट सेक्टर में हो या पब्लिक सेक्टर में हों, वे भी सुव्यवस्थित ढंग से चलें। लेकिन जब मालिक और मजदूरों में अज्ञानिता हो, तो यह आवश्यक हो जाता है कि राष्ट्रपति

[डा० कैलास]

जी अपने भाषण में इस का जिक्र करें। उन्होंने पिछले साल भी इस का जिक्र करते हुए कहा था कि इस देश में मालिकों और मजदूरों के बीच कोई लड़ाई नहीं होनी चाहिए। लेकिन उसी साल में उन्होंने यह भी कहा था कि मजदूर कुछ मांगों को लेकर हड़ताल करते हैं और उन्हें इस का पूरा अधिकार है, जो कुछ उन्हें चाहिए, जब केन्द्रीय सरकार या राज्य सरकारें उन्हें वह दिग्गम में समर्थ नहीं होती हैं, तो उन्हें हड़ताल पर जाना पड़ता है। राष्ट्रपति जी ने मजदूरों को सम्बोधित करते हुए कहा कि अगर वे हड़ताल न करें, तो उन की जो कुछ भी मांगें हैं, उनको पूरा कराने के लिए वे भरसक प्रयत्न करेंगे।

इसी तरह मालिक भी जब चाहे लाक-आउट कर देते हैं। यह प्रथा भी बहुत गलत है। लेकिन जब हमने मजदूरों को हड़ताल करने का हक दिया है, तो जब मालिकों को किसी प्रकार की तकलीफ होती है और जब वह समझता है कि सच्चाई पर है और उस पर अन्याय हो रहा है, तो उस को लाक-आउट करना पड़ता है। उस को सोचने या समझने में गलती हो सकती है। राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने भाषण में कहा है कि लाक-आउट भी नहीं होने चाहिए। इस का अर्थ यह है कि राष्ट्रपति जी ने मालिकों से कहा है कि वे लाक-आउट न करें और मजदूरों से कहा है कि वे देश के उत्थान के लिए, देश के उत्पादन को बढ़ाने के लिए हड़ताल न करें।

हमारे देश के कारखानों में प्राइवशन उन की इनस्टाल्ड कंपैसिटी से कम होता है। राष्ट्रपति जी ने इस का जिक्र करते हुए कहा है कि केन्द्रीय सरकार और राज्य सरकारों की यह नीति होगी कि कारखानों में उन की इनस्टाल्ड कंपैसिटी के अनुसार प्राइवशन हो। श्री हिरेन मुकर्जी ने कहा है कि इस भाषण में बेकारी की समस्या का जिक्र नहीं है। लेकिन राष्ट्रपति जी

ने जो यह कहा है कि देश में हड़ताल और लाक-आउट न हो और कारखानों में उन की इनस्टाल्ड कंपैसिटी के मुताबिक प्राइवशन हो, तो उस का अर्थ यही है कि हम बेकारी और गरीबी को हटाने की दिशा में जा रहे हैं।

राष्ट्रपति जी ने प्राइवेट सैक्टर को आह्वान करते हुए जो कुछ कहा है, जाहिर कि वह पब्लिक सैक्टर पर भी लागू होता है। सोभाग्य से इस पार्लियामेंट की पब्लिक अडरटेन्सिज कमेटी का एक सदस्य होने के नाते मुझे काफी पब्लिक अडरटेन्सिज को देखने का अवसर मिला है। देश में आज 109 पब्लिक अडरटेन्सिज चल रही हैं। हम उन में से 22, 23 को दब सके हैं। हमारे सामने हम बारे में यह नक्शा आता है कि वही पैसे की कमी है, कहीं टेकनिकल नॉन्-रूज की कमी है, कहीं प्राइवेट सैक्टर ने, चाहे वह हिन्दुस्तान का हो, या बेलजियम, रशा, इंग्लैंड, अमरीका या इटली का हो, बड़ा धोका दिया है। जब इस बारे में रिपोर्ट पेश होगी, तो सदस्य यह जान सकेंगे कि पब्लिक सैक्टर में 60 परसेंट नुकसान की जिम्दारी अगर किसी की हो सकती है तो वह प्राइवेट सैक्टर की है। एग्जीमेट में लिखा हुआ है, लेकिन उस में समय पर इन्वेंच्यु एग्जिक्शन्स नहीं दिया है। वह पब्लिक सैक्टर को बर्दाना करना चाहता है वह नहीं चाहता है कि पब्लिक सैक्टर सफल हो।

राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने भाषण में कहा है कि जितनी पब्लिक सैक्टर इन्वेंच्यु चल रही है, उन के लिए हर एक मंत्रालय में एक टास्क फोर्स होगी। वह टास्क फोर्स बतायेगी कि कहा रुपये की कमी है और कहा कच्चे माल की कमी है। पब्लिक अडरटेन्सिज में को-आडिनेशन करने, जिस के न होने के कारण उत्पादन में कमी हो रही है और घाटा हो रहा है, इस टास्क फोर्स का एक कर्तव्य होगा।

राष्ट्रपति जी ने पश्चिमी बंगाल के बारे में भी कुछ जिक्र किया है। पिछले तीन बार वर्षों

में किलने ही उद्योग और व्यापारिक संस्थान वहां से हट भये हैं या बन्द हो गये हैं। राष्ट्रपति जी ने कहा है कि वहां के उद्योग और व्यापार को बढ़ावा देने के साथ साथ एक सोलह-सूत्री कार्यक्रम को अमल में लाया जायेगा। राष्ट्रपति जी ने यह भी उल्लेख किया है कि इंडस्ट्रियल डेवेलपमेंट एक्ट में रद्दी-बदल किया जा रहा है, ताकि जो कारखाने बन्द हो जायें, उन को राज्य सरकार या केन्द्रीय सरकार ले ले। इस का अर्थ यह है कि हम बकारी को खत्म करने कागिषा कर रहे हैं और सैल्फ-सफिशेंसी को और बढ रहे हैं।

राष्ट्रपति जी ने कहा है कि हमारे गरीब हरिजन भाईयो और खेती में काम करने वाले मजदूरी की बड़ी दुर्दशा है। केन्द्रीय सरकार ने तय किया है कि उन्हें राज्य सरकारी के द्वारा मुफ्त जमीन दी जायेगी और वहां पर उन्हें बसने में सहायता दी जायेगी।

लोहा या स्टील किसी भी देश की जान होती है। हम ने स्टील के लिए अरबों रुपये खर्च किये है और खर्च करते चले जा रहे है। सी० पी० (एम०) के भाईयो ने हमारे स्टील के तीन कारखानो को बन्द करने की ठानी थी। मैं समझता था कि श्री गोपालन जैसे अनुभवी नेता और पार्लियामेंट के मेम्बर राष्ट्रपति के भाषण में बताई गई समस्याओ का जिक्र करेंगे, लेकिन बहु इत बात में उलभ गये कि वे बगाल में क्यों हारे और इधर उधर की कहानियां सुनाने लगे। मैं उन को उत्तर नहीं देना चाहता हूं, क्योंकि मेरे मित्र, माननीय सचस्य, श्री हिरेन मुकर्जी, ने उन बातों का करारा उत्तर दे दिया है। इस का नतीजा यह हुआ कि श्री ज्योति बसु सदन में उठ कर चले गये। वे लोग स्टील के कारखाने बन्द कर नहीं सकेंगे क्योंकि अब बन्द करने की उन की शक्ति ही खत्म हो गई है। लेकिन सरकार ने

तीन कारखाने चलाने की किन्मेदारी ले ली खेलम, बिशाखापट्टम और विजयनगर में।

इसी प्रकार केन्द्रीय सरकार ने जब बात की है कि देश का उरथान हो तो उस के लिए एक बीज और की गई है। हम फर्टिलाइजर करोडों रुपये का पर.शो स भगते रहे है और हमारे काश्तकार इधर उधर दौडते रहे है, उन्हें खाद मिलती नहीं। तो इस के लिए दो कारखाने तो बना दिए गए है और तीसरा कोलबेस्ट का बारग्वाना बनाने जा रहे है जिस के द्वारा इतनी खाद वहां पर पैदा हाने वाली है कि इस देश की खेती जो आज लहलहा रही है और हम स्वय-पूर्णा तो खेती में हो ही गए है लेकिन अब उम से भी बहुत आगे बढ़ सकेंगे।

हम पिछले वर्ष यह कह रहे थे कि हमारी कपडे की मिलें बन्द हो रही है इसलिए कि रूई नहीं मिल रही है। हम मिश्र से रूई मगानी पडती है। हमारे पास अच्छी जाति की रूई पैदा नहीं होती। इस लिए राष्ट्रपति जी ने जानबूझ कर हाइड्रिड-4 काटन बेराइटी के लिए कहा है। सन् 1973-74 में 4 लाख हैक्टर के ऊपर यह हाइड्रिड-4 बेराइटी काटन की लगा दी जायेगी और पैदा की जायेगी।

पर राष्ट्र नीति के बारे में मुखर्जी साहब ने ठीक ही कहा है कि ईस्टर्नजर्मनी को क्यों नहीं मान्यता दी जा रही है ? मैं भी ऐसा चाहता हू कि जब कि पाच सौ सभासदो ने इस प्रकार की सूचना हमारे प्रधान मन्त्री को भेजी है तो यह आवश्यक हो जाता है कि हम ऐसे मोके हर इस बात की याद दिलाएं। देश की परराष्ट्रनीति के बारे में हमें बहुत सजग रहना चाहिए। मेरा यह कटु अनुभव रहा है कि जो राष्ट्र हमारे नजदीक भी है वहां हमारे फारेन सचिस वाले जो डिप्लोमेट्स बैठे है, चाहे एम्बैसेडर कहिए, चाहे हाई कमिश्नर कहिए, उन्होंने जो इज्जत आज बड़ी है उस को बनाने

[डा० कैलाश]

में कभी भी सहकार नहीं दिया है। तो मेरी प्रार्थना है एक्सटर्नल अफेयर्स मिनिस्टर से कि वह रुपा कर के इस बात का बराबर ध्यान रखें और मैं जानता हूँ कि जब पाण्डुपति जी ने यह इशारा किया है कि हम सब से प्रेम भाव से मिल कर आगे बढ़ना चाहते हैं और जब देश की इतनी इज्जत बढ़ी है तो मैं समझता हूँ कि हमारे जो राजदूत वहाँ बैठे हैं वह हमारी नीति को सक्सेसफुली इम्प्लीमेंट करने के बाद में इस देश की इज्जत को बढ़ाएँगे।

SHRI PILOO MODY (Godhra) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, as I was listening to the President's Address to the joint session of Parliament yesterday, I was rather distressed at the spectacle that I saw even though, year after year, I resolve to myself that the next joint session of Parliament I will not attend. But there must be something about the pageantry that attracts me year after year that I come back to the same spot to go away disappointed as I was on the last occasion.

I remember last year, during the President's Address to the joint session, Mr. Raj Narain of the SSP behaved atrociously.** But on this occasion I am told that the President has been given plaudits for**

7 hrs.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Mr. Mody, you cannot refer to the President in a derisive manner.

SHRI PILOO MODY : I have checked the rules. You also check the rules and do whatever you think is right; you have complete freedom(Interruptions)

SHRI R. S. PANDE : On a point of order. He criticised the behaviour of Rajnarainji.

* *

That means that he is criticising the behaviour of the President.....(Interruptions) He should maintain decorum in this House.

MR. CHAIRMAN : That portion will be expunged.

SHRI PILOO MODY : I have asked you to check the rules and do whatever you think is fit.

MR. CHAIRMAN : I have already taken action.

SHRI PILOO MODY : I then recommend to you to recheck the rules.

On this occasion, the President has been applauded for** how many of them are there, there were thirty or forty.

THE MINISTER OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS, AND SHIPPING AND TRANSPORT (SHRI RAJ BAHADUR) : That is also wrong.

AN HON. MEMBER : 24.

SHRI PILOO MODY : You correct me. This is what the papers reported.

SHRI R. S. PANDEY : He said that he was there and he was listening.

SHRI PILOO MODY : Anyway I came away as disappointed as before because I neither heard what the President had to say nor did I hear what the Marxists had to say. So, I came home and got myself, not one but two copies of the Presidential Address. I have read through it and I finally decided that neither of them had anything to say.

If you look at the Presidential Address this year, I think it is the bottom in Presidential Addresses. Apart from a lot of back-patting that goes on at these presidential functions where the President is forced, whether he believes it or not, to pat the Government on the excellent work that it has done in the past year or making future promises—promises that we have been hearing for the last 25 years,—they occasionally slip up and you will find little sentences like this occasionally peeping out of the presidential propaganda and I shall read you some of these. It says :

"The tempo of growth and development was maintained." I have been thereafter

reading not only the mid-term appraisal of the Fourth Plan but also the Economic Survey that has been presented to the House yesterday and I do not think that the statement of the President can be substantiated.

Then it says :

"Special measures for the creation of additional employment in rural areas and for the urban unemployed have made some progress."

I do not know what the President considers progress, but I know that last year, that is the year before the current budget, Rs. 25 crores were sanctioned for this particular purpose and at that time I had drawn the attention of Mr. Chavan that when he had budgeted Rs. 25 crores and not succeeded in spending even Rs. 7 crores for that purpose, it was ridiculous to budget Rs. 50 crores the next year because from what I heard in the one year that is almost over, out of Rs. 50 crores they had not succeeded in spending anything like Rs. 50 crores and out of Rs. 2.5 crores that went to Gujarat as its share for this particular purpose, not even Rs. 10 lakhs were spent in Gujarat. So, when the President says that there has been some progress it must have a particular meaning to him and the Government.

Then he says that the price situation "did not go out of control". We are supposed to be an intelligent Parliament, intelligently debating a situation that is facing the country. I cannot understand when statements like this are made : "The price situation did not get out of control." What does he anticipate would be out of control as far as prices are concerned ? All I can say is that in the last ten years prices have risen more than hundred per cent on all items, and there are certain for which prices have risen 200 and 300 and 400 per cent .

He goes on :

"The Mid-Term Appraisal of the Plan has shown that social welfare schemes tied to be given low priority in the course of implementation".

So, when it comes to propogande, they always receive high priority, but when it comes to implementation they certainly receive low priority and here is the omission by the President. Then he says :

"This is being rectified".

This is the promise for the future ! further he says, and this is really a candid admission :

"The new Governments which will take office in different States in accordance with the choice made by our People ...

That means on this occasion it was our people who made the choice, and in the past occasions it was somebody else's people who made the choice --

"... will receive the whole-hearted support of my Government in our common task of eliminating poverty and achieving social justice."

At last, the Central Government has agreed to co-operate with the State Governments in achieving the dual task of eliminating poverty and achieving social justice-- a very candid admission.

And finally I must take you to the last paraaraph which, at least for literary value, will pass muster, if not for its content. The final dying refrain of poverty all of a sudden takes a leading part, and it says that the war against poverty is no less heroic than military action. I do not know what their concept of heroism is, but it seems that in disposing of this President's Address it would appear that merely elevating poverty to heroic proportions-- of course it is there in heroic magnitude--and crying the cries that we have been hearing for so long about the poor has taken the place of any constructive programme being laid out in the President's Address for the eradication of poverty.

There is a little grocer's list and the end of the Address, of all manner of inconsequential legislation that the promises the Government will pass. And the first one is The Antiquities and Art Treasures

[Shri Pillo Mody]

Bill, and it ends with the Disturbed Area (Special Courts) Bill. Then there is something about control of excise and gold control and income-tax and wealth-tax.

If you look at the Mid-term Appraisal, it also has certain candid Admissions to make. On page 11 it says :

"The sectors which are lightly taxed are growing faster".

It is bemeaming the fact that there are certain sectors of our economy that are growing faster, and therefore finds fault with the fact that they are being lightly taxed. It is evident that when you are taxed lightly, you develop resources for reploughing. It does not require any genius to realise that it is from re-investible surpluses that progress is made.

And then it goes on to say :

"Their relative contribution to public disposable income remains modest even though Government assets and enterprises have greatly expanded during the last 15 years. If public assets and enterprises could earn an adequate return, it will be easier to bring about the needed increase in public disposable income."

Here is a candid expression of what we have been saying from our party benches for many years, that if you want to make progress in this country, there are certain sectors of the economy that you will have to attack, and the first sector of the economy that you have to attack is the public sector enterprises. And for this we have been shouted down time and again because they think that we represent an archaic philosophy, but the simpleness of the statement that we make is that the country, that is the body politic as a whole, has invested Rs. 3,000 to Rs. 4,000 crores in the future of India, and unless we manage it properly, and unless we can make profits from it, you might as well say that you have thrown this money down the drain, that it is not going to yield any investible surpluses for the future. Therefore, the

crux of the development of this country is that the public sector must make profits which the Government thereafter can reinvest in other sectors of the economy where it is sorely needed.

But for stating this simple economic truism, we have always been criticised as being something that came out of another century. I would like to tell those gentlemen who come here in such vast hordes that if they are intent on developing this country, they should understand the very simplistic argument of economics that it is resources that generate profits, that generate development. It is a simple argument you cannot take something static and expect it to invest and not to make profit and then think you will have development. *Garibi Hatao* may be a very attractive slogan but what are the real facts? The Reserve Bank of India towards the end of 1970 published some figures in which it said that in the last six years, poverty has increased by 22 per cent in this country. That means from 50 to 72 per cent of the people in this country live below the poverty line, which was defined as being Rs. 42 per month per family in urban areas and Rs. 18 in rural areas. I would like to know who was the Prime Minister of this country during the last six years. It was certainly Mrs Indira Gandhi. And, all of a sudden, last year just before the elections, she had a dream in which she realised there were a lot of poverty-stricken people in this country for which she had to do something and finally invented this slogan.

This is not the substance of development I have said many times and I have said it to Mrs Indira Gandhi also that you cannot cry about the poor. You have got to work for them. If you want to work for them, you have to know what to do. I submit that you do not know. This is the tragedy of the country. You talk about unemployment. Unemployment is the basis of starting life. Jobs are not created by sentimental slobbery, but by hard work, by increasing production, by increasing investments. Unless you create jobs, you are going to have a backlog of people who will swallow you and all your massive mandate. The unemployment figures are rising month by month, day by day and I

see no serious effort. All these ministers who are responsible for the destinies of the country—what do they do from morning to night? Are they applying their minds to how employment can be increased? All they do from morning to night is to see who is going to be the Chief Minister here or a Minister there. This is their employment. Unemployment in the last year has reached gigantic proportions. It is not possibly in the neighbourhood of three crores of people accounted, not to speak of those unaccounted.

Coming to inflation, prices keep going up from year to year and the President says, the price-level was maintained! I would like you, the House and the people of India to realise that inflation is the most cruel tax on the poorest people in this country. I will illustrate, so that even the ministers will understand. Ten years ago a beggar outside Parliament House could remove four annas from his bowl and by two chapatis with it. Today with the same amount he will be able to buy only one chapati. I would like to ask, who ate the other chapati? The only answer to that can be Mrs Gandhi and her government; it is the inflationary policies followed by this Government; it is the deficit financing indulged in by this Government. This is the person who ate that second chapati. If inflation is anything at all, it is the most cruel tax on the poorest persons in this country.

Go to the rural areas and ask any farmer in this country what is it that he wants. He will immediately say "give me water in my field" so that with that water in his field he will be able to produce. Then his production will go up, money will jingle in his pocket and he will be able to buy the wherewithal of a decent life. He will be able to buy steel and cement for building his house, he will be able to buy cattle for milk and other activities, he will be able to buy radios, transistors and even jewellery. After twentyfive years of self-determination and selfgovernment, this government has not been able to provide simple water to a farmer. Why? It is not because that problem cannot be solved

Are you suggesting that a country which can make aeroplanes and tanks, motorcars

and trucks cannot dig a well in a particular village? And yet there are over 50,000 villages in this country without a single glass of clean water. This is the achievement of this government. When it is a question of industrial goods to push up our industrial production by so many million tonnes, we have enough money. But whenever money is required for digging a well in a village the government comes back with a stock answer "sorry, funds are not available". For producing a clean glass of water in a village no funds are available; for watering the fields of the smallest farmer no funds are available; for rural development no funds are available; but when it is a question of industry enough funds are available.

We have heard our friends here talking about Sankar hybrid-4. We have also heard a man boasting about the fact that steel is the heart of the nation. I can understand him having a heart of steel; many people in those benches, including the leader may have it; but I cannot understand steel being the heart of the nation. It cannot be; it is water; water in the fields of the farmer. That is the heart of the nation and there is never enough money for it, even though when Rs. 1500 crores are required for the Bokaro Steel Plant that is immediately sanctioned. And they are now talking about three other steel plants. But when it comes to providing Rs. 2 lakhs 5 lakhs or 10 lakhs for minor irrigation schemes in the little villages all over the country, there is always one reply "no funds". Why? Because, Shri Subramaniam and the likes of him are sitting in the ivory towers of the Planning Commission planning the destinies of the nation, while the farmers in the villages from day to day go through the dreary drudgery of producing food.

Then, is there anything in this country which promises to the people of this country a good government? For 25 years we have steadily seen a gradual deterioration in the quality and content of government. Any citizen of India who comes in contact with the government of this country comes back bruised, hurt, insulted and humiliated getting a treatment which is worse than that of a cut in the street. We talk about

[Shri Piloo Mody]

this being a great democracy and we talk about how the people are becoming mature. Let the mature people of this country realise that ultimately they need a little amount of self-respect in order to manifest that maturity. Ask them anywhere in the village what is the treatment they get from the government, they will all come back with one answer "we detest this government."

MR. CHAIRMAN : He should conclude now.

SHRI PILOO MODY: Sir, you will please appreciate that some of us over here have very little time left. Most of us do not know when we also will be chopped down. So, you should show a little indulgence to us. Because, the way things are looking you will continue to adorn that chair, these Ministers may continue to adorn these benches, although there may be no Parliament in this country except this building and the tamasha that goes on within it. The way things are going in this country, some of us may not be here for long. Therefore, please listen to us with a certain amount of indulgence.

Ultimately, I saw what the debate really is all about a little earlier this afternoon. We heard Professor Hiran Mukerjee referring to a slinging match between my friends on the left here and my friends on the right there. It is rather regrettable that the Communist Marxists at this point of time should be regretting the fact that they have been hoist by their own petard.

I still sympathise with them, I never sympathised with what they did in the past and, therefore, I cannot sympathise with what these people are doing to them today, because to do either would be to have double standards and this I and my party will never accept.

Violence is bad anywhere, any time. We have changed the concept of our society over a period of time which has finally rested with Democratic Socialism. Let us not end it with Democratic Violence.

SHRI SHYAM SUNDER MOHAPATRA (Belasore) : Mr. Chairman, coming

after Shri Piloo Mody. I feel that he was representing the real business tycoons of India.....(Interruption)

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE (Kanpur) : Exactly; you are correct.

SHRI SHYAM SUNDER MOHAPATRA : Shri Mody has criticized what our ministers were doing for the last 20 years. I will have to tell him what his Swatantra ministers were doing in Orissa for the last six years. They have ruined the entire State of Orissa. They have brought two crores of people to the stage of the utmost distress frustration, misery, trials, tribulations and poverty and the entire State is completely ruined.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE : And *et cetera*.

17.22 hrs

[SHRIMATI SIEILA KAUL *in the Chair*.]

SHRI SHYAM SUNDER MOHAPATRA : The country is indeed passing now through a stage of transition and we were need of a supreme leader to lead the fate of 55 crores of people in India.

SHRI PILOO MODY ; Heil Hitler !

SHRI SHYAM SUNDER MOHAPATRA : You may think so, but we give supreme power to our Prime Minister, Shrimati India Gandhi, to lead the destiny of 55 crores of people.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE : Fifty-five crores and one !

SHRI SHYAM SUNDER MOHAPATRA : You may not be safe but the people of India are very much safe.

The President of India has devoted a paragraph on the sense of supreme sacrifice, unity and coordination that the three military departments had shown. Probably for the first time in the history of India and in the military history of India, the three departments have worked in strict coordination under the supreme command of the Prime Minister.

When the war of liberation Bangla Desh came to be discussed in this Parliament, many really were very much anxious about the results. But, as Shrimati Indira Gandhi, said that she would take action at the most opportune and right moment, the country was very much pleased to see that at the right moment she took the right action and Bangla Desh was liberated. It was a war of liberation.

In many countries and in many newspapers, many plenipotentiaries, diplomats and political persons created misgivings in the minds of the people that it was a war and that India had jumped into a problem in Bangla Desh which India should not have done. It was a war of national self-determination.

We know in political history that if a country, a nationality, is trying to achieve national independence and national self-determination, it is necessary for the people of that country to rise in revolt against the Government which has denied them national self-determination. When the Italian war of independences came, Count Cavour thought for six months whether to enter into war and unite all the Italian nationalities into a grand nationality. Count Cavour made Italy a great nation. It also came to Bismarck when he thought of uniting all the small nationalities in Germany to make a supreme German nation. He also thought in terms of war and the State of Germany was created. Similarly, India also thought that the legitimate demands of the people of Bangla Desh deserved consideration. India thought that in the interest of more than 7 crores of people in Bangla Desh, in the interest of the freedom loving people of Bangla Desh, India should go to help them. It was a type of genocide. About 30 laks of people were killed; about 6 laks women were raped and we do not know how many thousands of illegitimate children are going to be produced. The entire economy was shattered. Shri Mody also sympathised with the people of the Mukti Bahini. What Indira Gandhi did was in the interest not only of the people of Bangla Desh or the people of India but in the interest of entire mankind. So, in the President's Address, the reference to the military personnel deserves utmost appreciation.

Our C. P. M. leaders were really working under a sense of agony. I must say today is a great day of jubilation, and a day of judgment, for the people of West Bangal because they are saved from the hands of tyrannical C. P. M. people. In 1967, when the U. F. Government came to power in West Bengal, I thought, and for that matter everybody thought, that probably for all times to come the Congress has been crumbled to dust, that for the first time a socialist Government was in the offing. What happened? After that, it was a reign of terror, a reign of individual terrorism. After that the Marxism was thrown to the winds. After that, it was not a question of dictatorship of the proletariat. It was a dictatorship of Shri Jyoti Basu and the C. P. M. and the people were taken in to custody without any trial or anything.

It is fortunate that Prof. Mukerjee today replied to his comrades in the C. P. M. with whom he was once upon a time in one party. Instead of ourselves replying to the C. P. M. Prof. Mukerjee replied to the C. P. M. benches.

Our country today is indeed passing through great poverty and unemployment. There are 49 lakhs of people, educated people, already in the register of the employment exchange. I come from Orissa and I know 1,40,000 people, educated people, are already on the register of the employment Exchange. What is the remedy? The remedy is to create jobs for them. It was not possible for the Government to create jobs for them because we were spending Rs. 3 crores every day on the refugees. No one knows how much we have already spend on the war. It is fortunate that our country was saved from the devastation of war within hardly three weeks. Probably, this may be the first time when such a war was won with almost little sacrifice on our side. Wars have been fought for years. There was a war which lasted for a century. The two great Wars were for more than 4 years each. In almost three week' time we won the war and brought up the prestige of the nation and boosted up the morale of the people. For the first time probably, after the State elections, we will find that there is perfect coordination between the Centre and the States which was very much lacking

[Shri Shyam Snder Mohapatra]

In India, we cannot progress unless there is perfect coordination between the Central Government and the State Governments.

There are parties which are clamouring for regionalism. There are parties which are asking secession. There are leaders who are now trying to boost up the angry sentiments of the people on regional basis. The remedy is that we have one type of Government throughout the country. It is a massive mandate that the people have given to our Prime Minister who is the supreme leader of the people and now she can shape the destinies of 55 crores of people the destiny of our future economy and given to the people whatever she has in her mind.

Then, there are references to irrigation, water potential and power generation. There is a reference to Gandhiji's *Arthik Swaraj*. Pertinently, it has been referred to because it was Gandhiji, the Father of the Nation, who really spoke of *Arthik Swaraj*, who thought of decentralised economy, village economy and who thought that every village should be a self-sufficient unit with electricity, irrigation and everything so that the people will not depend on others, so that the village people will not be exploited by the urban people, so that the Indian people will not be exploited by the foreign capitalists. That is why probably Gandhiji also thought of self-reliance and *Swadeshi*.

Now, a time has come when we are going to go ahead without the help of the United States of America, when we are going to do away with foreign aid. Whether the foreign aid comes or not, we will have to have self-confidence. After the last World War, when the entire German nation was almost crumbled to dust, when the Japanese people had not even the soup to drink, not to speak of lunch or dinner, these two nations have now come up to the level of progressive nations like the United States or Russia; that was because, by the spirit of self-reliance, the spirit of *swadeshi*, the spirit of supreme sacrifice, they wanted to build their nations so that they could come up to the level of bigger States in the world. We have to have that spirit now. If a small State like Japan can give aid or States like East Germany or West Germany who had nothing after the two World Wars

are now ready to give aid, why cannot we, the biggest democracy? We are now in a position to do that under the leadership of our Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi. If, by the grace of God, she continues for another three terms, i.e., for 15 years, we will be in a position to give aid not only to the United States or the U.S.S.R. but to all the States in the Far East. We may have to wait for that day.

There is a reference to many progressive things. But I have every doubt that bureaucracy in India will not allow us to go ahead. I am very much cynical about this bureaucracy and the bureaucrats who have been bred under the British system. It is the legacy of the British Raj. Bureaucrats will never allow us to implement any socialist schemes; socialism is foreign to them. The other day a retired I.C.S. officer told me that, in those days, they were going to their home. I asked him, 'Which home'. He said, 'England'. By 'home', he meant 'England'. That is the spirit of these bureaucrats and if we are going to man our public sector undertakings with these bureaucrats, if we are going to man all our industrial installations with these bureaucrats all these Secretaries, Additional Secretaries, Joint Secretaries and Chief Secretaries—who have this type of attitude, this type of spirit, I am sorry India's socialism will be thrown into the cold storage. People should rise in revolt against the bureaucrats, against injustice, against 'Anyay' as Shrimati Indira Gandhi said in Calcutta the other day. If we can do that, then probably every thing will be alright.

Then there is a reference to lock-outs and strikes in the President's Address. It has been said that there should be a call for moratorium on strikes and lock-outs, I entirely agree with that. I am a trade-unionist. I am a leader of the working class. I personally feel that the country is passing through the stage, rather the time has come, when there should be a call for moratorium on strikes and lock-outs. But we want human relations between the management and the workers. We want the bureaucrats who are manning the public sector undertakings to have a human approach towards the labour; if they behave with the labour people in the same way as

they be have with dogs, the labourers will not be happy. We can worship our Prime Minister, we can worship our President; we can carry out their dictations, but we certainly cannot worship the bureaucrats who have vested interests and not the interest of the country. I would like to bring it to the notice of the Government that this is possible only when there is a thorough overall change in the attitude of the bureaucrats to the people.

17.34 hrs.

**BUSINESS ADVISORY COMMITTEE
EIGHTH REPORT**

THE MINISTER OF PARLIAMEN-
TARY AFFAIRS, AND SHIPPING AND
TRANSPORT (SHRI RAJ BAHADUR):
I beg to present the Eighth Report of
the Business Advisory Committee

**MOTION OF THANKS ON THE PRESI-
DENT'S ADDRESS *Contd.***

श्री नाथूराममिश्रा (नागौर): सभापति महोदय, राष्ट्रपति जी ने कल जो अभिभाषण एक-साथ समवेद समंद की दोनों सभाओं के समक्ष दिया उस को पढ़ने के बाद मुझे ऐसा लगा कि सचमुच देश के जो हालात हैं उन के बारे में एक बहुत अच्छा विश्लेषण हुआ है।

देश के अन्दर इन पिछले 12 महीनों में जो कुछ भी अच्छे काम हुए उन का भी उस अभिभाषण में जिक्र है। देश में और आगे जो कुछ करना है उस के बारे में भी दिशाओं का मान कराया गया है और खास तौर से अभी जो हमारी मंजिल बहुत दूर है उस चीज का आभास भी इस अभिभाषण को पढ़ने से होता है।

सदन में जो बहस आज हुई उस को मैं सुन रहा था। मॉरिस्ट कन्वेंशन पार्टी के लोग खासतौर से इन चुनावों के बाद उन की पार्टी के बारे में खी वातावरण बना है, उस से यह बड़े उठे लित थे। उन को इस

बात की चिन्ता है कि आज उन की पार्टी की सारी की सारी स्थिति बदल गई है जो कि एक समय वहां पर सुप्रीम थी और पूरी ताकत के साथ अपने तरीके से शासन चनाती थी। स्वतन्त्र पार्टी के श्री पीलू मोदी जब भाषण दे रहे थे उस को भी मैं सुन रहा था। उन के दिमाग में भी एक तरह का फन्टेशन है। जिस तरह से हिन्दुस्तान की जनता प्रधान मंत्री के मेन्टव को मान कर आगे बढ़ना चाहती है और बढ़ रही है, उस से उन को आगे के लिये भी खतरा लगता था कि उन का और उन के दल का क्या होने जा रहा है। बीच में श्री हूरेन मुकर्जी बोल रहे थे। वह जरूर कुछ रियलिज्म के नजदीक आ रहे हैं। वह महसूस कर रहे हैं। कि हिन्दुस्तान अपने तरीके से दुनिया का सबसे बड़ा लोकतन्त्र है, और उस लोकतन्त्र से हिन्दुस्तान की आम जनता का बड़ा विश्वास है। उस के हिसाब से जो आर्थिक विकास और सामाजिक परिवर्तन हमें इस देश में लाना है और उस को जिस तरीके से हमारी प्रधान मंत्री लाना चाहती है उस में श्री मुर्जी अपने तरीके से अपने और अपने दल की ओर से सहयोग और सहायता का वातावरण बना कर चलना चाहते हैं। इस लिये मार्क्सवादी कम्युनिस्टो ने जो भी दलों के अपने भाषणों में दी थी—ऐसी वतें कहीं जिन में उन्हें तथ्य नहीं लगा—उन के बारे में उन्होंने जबाब भी दिया।

आज वास्तव में विरोधी पक्ष की बड़ी अजीब हालत है। यहां पर दूसरे दल लोग भी बोलेंगे, खासतौर से जनबंध के लोग, उन से आप को उस का पता लगेगा। खास तौर से जो हालत चुनावों के बाद पैदा हुई है उस का थोड़ा बहुत रिकॉर्ड दिया गया, कोई डिटेल्ड विश्लेषण नहीं मगर वह बात अब देश के सामने आ चुकी है। जितने भी चुनाव विधान सभाओं के के हुए हैं उन में बहुत जबरदस्त सर्वर्न कांग्रेस को निता है लोगों की तरफ से। जो भी वाता-