

करते हैं। उससे प्रच्छन्न पैसा कमाया जाता है। हम चाहते हैं कि ऐसी व्यवस्था की जाये, जिससे पैसा करने वालों को ठीक काम मिले।

श्री ललित नारायण मिश्र : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, माननीय सदस्य, श्री कछवाय, ने सिल्क और कार्पेट की बात उठाई है। हम सिल्क के बारे में सिल्क बोर्ड से बात करेंगे और देखेंगे कि उत्पादकों और मजदूरों के लिए क्या किया जा सकता है।

मिर्जापुर के कालीनों का प्रश्न राज्य सभा में उठाया गया था और हमने यह आश्वासन दिया था कि हम वह व्यवस्था करना चाहते हैं कि उनको यार्न, सूत, ठीक कीमत पर मिश्र और अन्य प्रकार से उनकी मदद की जाये ताकि कालीनों का एक्सपोर्ट बढ़े। इसमें हमारी पूरी दिलचस्पी है। हम समझते हैं कि अगर इस विषय में थोड़ी सी मदद की जाए, तो उनका एक्सपोर्ट बढ़ाया जा सकता है।

माननीय सदस्य, श्री ज्योतिर्नाथ बसु, ने टी पेंकेजिंग कार्पोरेशन के बारे में कहा है। वह सबन में नहीं हैं। इस बारे में हमारे सारे कामकाज तैयार हैं। हम कार्पोरेशन को जल्दी बनाना चाहते हैं। हमने कहा है कि हम इसको पहले सेशन से पहले बना देंगे। पटसन के बारे में हमने कई वक्ता कहा है कि अभी तक उसकी रिपोर्ट नहीं मिली है। रिपोर्ट मिलने पर हम देखेंगे। हम लोगों ने जो बूट कार्पोरेशन बनाना है हमारा ख्याल है कि इससे बूट उत्पादकों और मजदूरों की बहुत सी समस्याओं का समाधान हो जायेगा।

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : The question is :

"That the Bill be passed."

The motion was adopted.

15.12 hrs.

MOTION OF THANKS ON THE
PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : The House

will now take up discussion on the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address. Shri B. K. Bhagat.

श्री बी० आर० भगत (आहुदाब) : उप-
ध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं प्रस्ताव करता हूँ :

"कि राष्ट्रपति श्री सेवा में निम्नलिखित
शब्दों में एक समावेदन प्रस्तुत किया जाए :-

'इस सत्र में समवेत लोक सभा के सदस्य राष्ट्रपति के उस अभिभाषण के लिए जो उन्होंने 23 मार्च, 1971 को एक साथ समवेत संसद की दोनों सभाओं के समक्ष देने की कृपा की, उनके अत्यधिक आभारी हैं।'

15.12 hrs.

[Shri R. D. Bhandare in the Chair.]

आज जब वह अभिभाषण राष्ट्रपति जी का हुआ तो हमारे देश में एक बहुत बड़ा ऐतिहासिक अवसर आया है। लोक तंत्र की प्रक्रिया को एक बहुत मजबूत शक्ति मिली है और वह शक्ति मिली है। हिन्दुस्तान की गरीब जनता की ओर से। कुछ दिन पहले इस सबन को मालूम है और सारे देश को मालूम है कि दावपेंच की राजनीति या अस्थिरता की राजनीति के कारण प्रजातंत्र की प्रक्रिया को एक धक्का सा लगा था। जनता ने उसको आज दुरुस्त कर दिया है। यद्यपि की आज कांग्रेस पार्टी का एक प्रबल बहुमत है मगर इसे हमारे विरोधी दल के भाई कोई चयस्कार नहीं समझें या गलत फहमी में जो सत्र तय की बातें बैलट पेपर्स की ओर दूसरी उकाई जाती है, वह नहीं समझें बल्कि असन्तुष्ट को संभूर करना चाहिये और असन्तुष्ट क्या भी कि भीमती इंदिरा गांधी के नेतृत्व में जो सवाल देश के सामने खड़ा क्या था वह जनता की अज्ञान थी। नेतृत्व को एक काम होता है—जनता की आशाओं को सही समझना और उसे एक संघीय रूप देना। इस

[श्री बी० आर० भगत]

मामले में इंदिरा गांधी जी ने जो जनता की आवाज को समझा और देश के सामने रखा उसी का यह खास कारण हुआ कि उनको इतना बड़ा समर्थन मिला। हमारे विरोधी दल के नेताओं ने चाहे वह ग्रेड एलायेस बढाये या दूसरी कोई बात बनायें, उन्होंने जनता की आवाज को समझने में बहुत बड़ी गलती की और जनता को सही नेतृत्व बही दे सके। वही कारण है कि आज उनको जनता का समर्थन नहीं मिला और इसको उन्हें स्वीकार करना चाहिए। इसलिए आज यह नया युग जनता का युग आरम्भ होता है। और इस युग की नेता श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी ने जनता की आवाज को जनता की बातों को समझने का, उनको सही नेतृत्व देने का जो काम किया है और उसके कारण आज जो समर्थन मिला है उसने देश के अन्दर एक नये युग का आरम्भ होता है और वह युग है राजनीतिक शक्ति का, राजनीतिक स्थिरता का। अभी कुछ दिन पहले हमारे यहां पोलिटिकल इनस्टेबिलिटी थी और दावपेच या इंटीग्रेस की राजनीति चलती थी आज उस युग का अन्त होता है और आज देश के प्रजातंत्र में एक शक्ति आई है, एक राजनैतिक स्थिरता आई है। इसका हमको स्वागत करना चाहिए और इसमें हमको लाभ उठाना चाहिए। प्रजातंत्र में सबल नेतृत्व की जरूरत होती है। लोग यह समझते हैं कि सबल नेतृत्व डिक्टेटरशिप के लिए ही लागू है। लेकिन सबल नेतृत्व की प्रजातंत्र में बहुत ज्यादा जरूरत है और खास करके हमारे ऐसे बड़े देश में जहाँ सभी विचार-धाराओं के लोग हैं, इतनी बड़ी संख्या है, इतने बड़े बड़े सवाल हैं, वहां जब तक सबल राजनीति और सबल नेतृत्व नहीं होगा तो प्रजातंत्र नहीं चल सकता है इसलिए आज हम इसका स्वागत करते हैं कि इस देश में श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी के नेतृत्व में एक सबल नेतृत्व का जन्म हुआ है और इंदिरा जी आज न केवल इस देश की सर्वप्रमुख राष्ट्रीय नेता हैं बल्कि दुनिया के

डेमोक्रेटिक लीडर्स में उनका एक प्रमुख स्थान है। इसलिए इस का हम स्वागत करते हैं। आज देश के सामने बहुत से सवाल हैं और पिछले चुनाव में जो सवाल आये, हम लोगों को सब को मालूम है, जनता से सीधा हमारा संपर्क रहा है और हम जानते हैं कि देश के सामने कितने बड़े बड़े सवाल हैं।

उन सवालों को हमें हल करना है तो हम इस नयी शक्ति का, प्रजातंत्र और लोकतंत्र की इस नई शक्ति का स्वागत करते हैं।

वह सवाल राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने भाषण में जो एक संक्षिप्त भाषण है, और भाषणों की अपेक्षा राष्ट्रपति जी का यह भाषण बहुत छोटा है, मगर उसमें साफ तोर से चुनाव के बाद इस बात का जिक्र किया गया है कि जनता की मांगे क्या हैं और जनता के प्रति हमारा कर्तव्य क्या है और हम कौन से कदम उठाना चाहते हैं। यह बात मही है कि इस छोटे से भाषण में उन सब कदमों की रूपरेखा नहीं दी जा सकती थी। केवल एक इशारा या डायरेक्शन बताया जा सकता था। इन मामलों में यह सही रास्ता है जो राष्ट्रपति जी ने बताया है और हमें उस रास्ते पर चलना है। मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि अमल में चुनाव में जनता के प्रति हमने कौन से वादे किए। हमारे घोषणा पत्र में वह मौजूद है। जनता की क्या मांगें हैं, जनता क्या चाहती है? इस चुनाव में देश की गरीब जनता जो आज सभी तरह से परेशान है संगठित हो कर के देश में एक प्रबल लोकतंत्र स्थापित करने में सफल हुई है। मगर आज हमें इस लोकतंत्र को मजबूत बनाना है, इस लोकतंत्र में हमें एक प्राण डालना है, इसे सक्रिय बनाना है, सक्षम बनाना है तो हमें वह जो सवाल आज उठ खड़े हुए हैं उन सवालों की तरफ ध्यान देना होगा। राष्ट्रपति जी ने इसकी तरफ इशारा दिया है और यह कहा है कि आज जो सर्व व्याप्त गरीबी है, मास पावरटी, और

सामाजिक और आर्थिक प्रत्याय जो होता है, भिन्न-भिन्न लोगों में, भाई भाई में सोशल और एकोनामिक डिस्क्रिमिनेशन है, और आज देश में जो बेकारी है, बेरोजगारी है, इनका हमें हल ढूँढना होगा और उन्होंने इस का हल ढूँढने के रास्ते भी बताये हैं। एक ही रास्ता है कि हम देश की गरीबी को दूर करने के लिए कौन से कदम उठाये और देश की गरीबी को दूर करने के जो कदम उठाये तो देश के जो सबसे गरीब लोग हैं, जो गरीब इलाके हैं, जो गरीब वर्ग हैं उनको सबसे पहले फायदा किस तरह पहुंचे। इसको हम समाजवाद की रूपरेखा या जो चाहे कहें मगर असली कसौटी यह है कि हमें अपनी नीतियों को, अपने प्रोग्राम्स को, अपने दृष्टिकोण को, पालिसीज, प्रोग्राम्स, परस्पेक्टिव्स, सब को इस नुक्तनिगाह से बदलना पड़ेगा क्योंकि हम जो कुछ भी करें उसका फायदा जो सब से गरीब लोग है और जो सब से गरीब इलाके हैं उनको होना चाहिए अगर हम यह नहीं कर पायेंगे तो हम जिन सवालों को हल करना चाहते हैं वह सवाल हल हो नहीं सकते हैं। और इसलिए मुझे जरा एक धक्का सा लगा जब मैंने वित्त मंत्री के भाषण में सुना कि रूरल वर्क्स प्रोग्राम के लिए जो बेकारी गांवों में है सब से ज्यादा और सब से गरीब इलाके वाले गांवों में हैं, जिनकी गरीबी का अन्दाज हम यहां बैठ कर के नहीं कर सकते, वहां उन इलाकों के लिए, रूरल विकास प्रोग्राम के अन्तर्गत इस साल 50 करोड़ रुपया खर्च किया जायेगा। लेकिन मैं समझता हूँ कि 50 करोड़ रुपया तो दाल में नमक के बराबर है। यह ठीक है कि इस रकम को हमारे एक प्रोग्राम के अन्तर्गत इसमें रखा गया है, कुछ बड़े अफसरों ने इस को बनाया होगा, उनका दृष्टिकोण बहुत व्यापक नहीं होगा, उस प्रोग्राम का उनको अन्दाजा नहीं होगा जिससे सरकार बेरोजगारी को खत्म करना चाहती है—यह बात उसमें होगी, इसलिए मैं उनको ज्यादा दोष देना नहीं चाहता हूँ। फिर भी यह चीज इसमें आई

है, इस लिये इस का स्वागत करता हूँ कि हमारी चौथी पंचवर्षीय योजना का नये रूप में मूल्यांकन हो रहा है, अप्रैजल हो रहा है और प्लानिंग कमीशन के बारे में भी मैंने अखबारों में पढ़ा है कि सारे प्लानिंग कमीशन को बदला जाएगा और जो हमारे बड़े-बड़े सवाल हैं, हमारी जो योजनाएं हैं, उनको भी नये ढंग से, नये नुक्तनजर से बनाया जायेगा ताकि इन बातों का हल हो सके और हो सकता है कि जो नया मूल्यांकन योजना का हो रहा है, उसमें जो बड़े बड़े सवाल आगे आयेंगे—जैसे बेरोजगारी का सवाल है—उसको वे देखेंगे कि इन सवालों का हम जल्दी से जल्दी कैसे हल कर सकते हैं। तो यह पचास करोड़ रुपये वाली बात नहीं है, इस में एक बहुत बड़ी राशि की जरूरत होगी और मैं समझता हूँ हमारे देश की आर्थिक स्थिति ऐसी है—उस दिन वित्त मंत्री जी ने बताया कि पिछले साल और इस साल में भी योजना के अनुसार साढ़े पांच प्रतिशत की हमारी आमदनी में, राष्ट्रीय इंकम में वृद्धि हुई है। इसी तरह से 1971 में भी हम देखेंगे—अगर भ्रगला मानसून भी ठीक हुआ तो हमारी राष्ट्रीय आय में और ज्यादा वृद्धि हो सकती है। तो फिर आज कौन सी ऐसी रकामें हैं कि हम अपने प्रोग्राम को पूरा न कर सकें। इन बड़े सवालों को हल करने के लिए हमें अपने प्रोग्राम को बड़ा बनाना होगा, उसका डायमेंशन, उसका दायरा बड़ा करना होगा और डायमेंशन बड़ा करने के साथ साथ हमें उन प्रोग्राम्स को लाना पड़ेगा, जिनसे जल्दी ही हम फायदा उठा सकते हों। इन दो दृष्टिकोणों से—क्वालिटेटिवली और डायमेंशनली—जब तक हम इन बड़ी चीजों को नहीं लायेंगे, तब तक हम इन सवालों को हल नहीं कर पायेंगे। इसलिये सर्व-व्याप्त गरीबी और बेरोजगारी के सवाल को हल करने का अर्थ यह होता है कि हम अपनी योजनाओं को मौलिक रूप से बदलें। हमारी आय में जो वृद्धि है, श्रेय है, उसके विकास की गति को और ज्यादा

[श्री श्री० कानू० अग्रवाल]

बढ़ावें और तीसरे हमारे काम करने का जो तरीका है, प्रयासन की मशीनरी है उसे थोड़ा और कुशल बनायें। जब तक ये तीनों बातें हम नहीं कर पायेगे, तब तक हमारी समस्या हल नहीं होगी। इन बातों का इशारा राष्ट्रपति जी ने भी किया है, लेकिन जब हम इनकी छानबीन करते हैं तो वे सवाल बड़े गहरे प्रतीत होते हैं, हमें बड़ी गम्भीरता के साथ इनको लेकर आगे चलना पड़ेगा।

सत्रय थोड़ा है इसलिए मैं दो तीन बातों की तरफ इशारा करना चाहता हूँ। जहाँ तक विकास के प्रोथ का सवाल है, आज हमारी इकानमी में, हमारे आर्थिक तंत्र में इतनी शक्ति है कि हमारे विकास की गति और ज्यादा बढ़े लेकिन वह ज्यादा नहीं है। विशेषकर गावों में ज्यादा क्यों नहीं है? इस लिए नहीं है कि हम ने जो कुछ भी प्रोग्राम बनाये है—खेती की बात को ले लीजिये, साठे पाच प्रतिशत है, अच्छा प्रोथ है, लेकिन और भी ज्यादा हो सकता था अगर भूमि का इन्तजाम ठीक होता। गेहूँ का उत्पादन उन्ही क्षेत्रों में ज्यादा बढ़ा है, जहाँ सिंचाई की व्यवस्था है, लेकिन उन इलाकों में जहाँ पानी की व्यवस्था नहीं है, हम तेजी से वृद्धि नहीं कर सकते हैं। भूमि सुधार में भी हम पिछड़े रह गये। इस सम्बन्ध में कई कमेटियाँ बनी, अभी भी एक कमेटी फूड एण्ड अग्रीकल्चर मिनिस्टर के नेतृत्व में बनी हुई है, वह कमेटी काम करना चाहती है, लेकिन एक मासूलों की बात है, जो छोटे किसान हैं, जिनके पास इतनी जमीन नहीं है कि वे तकनीकी सुविधाओं का सहारा ले सकें, उनकी जमीनों को इकट्ठा करके ज्वाइंट फार्मिंग की व्यवस्था होनी चाहिए, कन्सोर्वीटेशन आफ होल्डिंग हो सके, यही नहीं बटाईदारी के हक या दूसरी मासूलों की चीजें भी नहीं हो पा रही हैं।

मैंने पिछले चुनावों में देखा—मेरे अपने चुनाव क्षेत्र की स्थिति यह है कि खिल गरीब

लोगों ने, हरिजन भाइयों ने हम को वोट दिया, पिछड़े भाइयों ने, ग्राम मतवाले भाइयों ने हम को वोट दिया, उन का पानी तक बन्द कर दिया गया। गाव के हरिजनो को पानी नहीं भरने दिया जाता, उनकी लो खेती थी, जिस को वे लोग जोतते थे, उनसे छीनी जा रही है ऐसी बातें आज हो रही हैं और सिर्फ मेरे ही क्षेत्र में नहीं, सब जगह ऐसा हो रहा है। इस लिए मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि खेती की प्रगति तेजी से हो सकती है, अगर हम अपने भूमि सुधार के प्रोग्राम को तेजी से बढ़ाये। हम समाजवाद ला नहीं सकते, जब तक गावों में बड़ी मजदूती के साथ इस रास्ते पर आगे नहीं बढ़ेंगे। अगर इस काम को नहीं किया गया—मैं जानता हूँ कि प्रधान मन्त्री जी और केन्द्रीय सरकार इस मामले में बहुत कुछ करना चाहती है, लेकिन बहुत सारी राज्य सरकारें इसमें रुकावट डालती हैं। इस लिए भूमि सुधार के हमारे जो प्रोग्राम हैं, चार-पाच प्रोग्राम हैं, उन्हें 6 महीने या साल भर में पूरा किया जाना चाहिए, अगर वह नहीं किया जायेगा तो एक नई क्रान्ति का गांवों में जन्म होगा, इस लिए इस बात को हमें करना है। खेती में ज्यादा वृद्धि हो, विकास की गति तेज हो—उसके लिये जरूरी है कि हम लैंड रिफार्मिंग के प्रोग्राम को आगे बढ़ाये, वर्ना विकास की गति तेज नहीं हो पायेगी और गावों की शक्ति भी भंग होने लगेगी।

दूसरी बात है—नान-एग्रीकल्चरल सेक्टर की। इसमें इस समय 6 प्रतिशत का प्रोथ है, 6 प्रतिशत प्रोथ से हमारा काम नहीं चल सकता है। 6 प्रतिशत नान-एग्रीकल्चरल सेक्टर में हो, सारे में 5 प्रतिशत हो, पैयुब्लिक 3 प्रतिशत बढ़े, रीयल इकम 2 प्रतिशत बढ़े—कैस से हमारा सवाल हल नहीं हो सकता। इस लिए जरूरी है कि नान-एग्रीकल्चरल सेक्टर और आजा कर इंडस्ट्रीजल सेक्टर में, शिवांगिक

क्षेत्र में हमारे विकास की गति कम से कम 10 प्रतिशत होनी चाहिये और 10 प्रतिशत हो सकती है। आज पब्लिक सैक्टर में या प्राइवेट सैक्टर में आप देखेंगे—जितना इन्वेस्टमेंट लगा हुआ है, उससे पूरा फायदा नहीं होता है और यही कारण है कि यद्यपि एक तरफ हमारा ग्रोथ अच्छा है, विकास की गति अच्छी है, तीन मानसून अच्छे हुए हैं, साढ़े दस करोड़ टन अनाज पैदा हुआ, उसके भाव गिरते हैं, लेकिन दूसरी चीजों के दाम बढ़ते हैं, एक तरह से सारा ग्रोथ ऊंचा नीचा है, अन इवन है। इसका कारण है कि इंडस्ट्रियल सैक्टर में, कामशियस और फाइबर के सैक्टर में ग्रोथ ठीक नहीं हुआ है। इसलिए मैं यह मानता हूँ—एक अर्थ शास्त्री के नाते—मनी सप्लाय बड़ गई, बैंक क्रेडिट बड़ गया, इस लिए इनफ्लेशन बढ़ा है, लेकिन हमारे तन्त्र में हमारी जो स्थिति विकास की है कि सिर्फ मनी-सप्लाय बड़ गई या बैंकों का क्रेडिट बड़ गया, इस लिए कीमतें पिछले साल में 6 परसेंट बढ़ी और इस साल 4 परसेंट बढ़ रही हैं—यह बात सही नहीं है। आप बोलें—किन चीजों के दाम बढ़ रहे हैं? अनाज के दाम गिरे हैं, मगर कपड़े के दाम बढ़े हैं, क्यों? इस लिये कि हम अपने यहां कपास नहीं उपजा सकते। डाल्बन या दूसरी चीजों के दाम बढ़ रहे हैं—क्यों? इसलिये कि हम आयल सीड्स, तिलहन उपजा नहीं सकते, इनकी कमी के कारण दाम बढ़ रहे हैं—औद्योगिक क्षेत्रों में सब चीजों के दाम क्यों बढ़ रहे हैं—क्योंकि हमारे यहां इस्पात की कमी है और अधिक चीजों में इस्पात लगता है। और इस्पात की प्रगति जितनी तेजी से होनी चाहिये भी वह नहीं हो पाई। उसी तरह से आप यहां जहां देखेंगे और सैक्टरों में जैसे औद्योगिक सैक्टर है वहां चूँकि हमारा उत्पादन बढ़ा नहीं है, बढ़ सकता था, इन्वेस्टमेंट लगा हुआ है और पब्लिक सैक्टर में बड़े इन्वेस्टमेंट्स लगे हुए हैं लेकिन वहां पर भी हम पूरा फायदा नहीं उठा सके। इस तरह से एक तो ज्यादा इन्वेस्टमेंट

हुआ और उनका रिटर्न नहीं आया, दूसरी जिन चीजों की जरूरत है उनका उत्पादन हुआ नहीं तो नतीजा यह हुआ कि प्रगति होने पर भी, विकास होने पर भी, 105 मिलियन टन की कृषि में पैदावार होने पर भी आज कीमतें बढ़ती जा रही हैं। इस का एक ही रास्ता है कि हम उन सैक्टरों की तरफ देखें। जब तक हम इंडस्ट्रियल ग्रोथ को 10 परसेंट नहीं करेंगे मैं यह नहीं कहता कि यह 6 महीने में हो जायेगा, हो सकता है इस साल में 8-9 परसेंट बढ़े लेकिन जब तक औद्योगिक क्षेत्र में हिस 10 परसेंट की विकास की गति नहीं बढ़ायेंगे तब तक हम इन सवालों को हल नहीं कर सकते हैं। साथ ही साथ हमें यह भी याद रखना चाहिए कि नान-एग्रीकल्चरल सैक्टर में एम्प्लाय-मेंट ज्यादा होता है। इस लिये जब हम इसमें विकास की गति को बढ़ायेंगे तभी हम बेरोजगारी के सवाल को हल कर सकेंगे। इसलिये आज सब से बड़ा सवाल यह है कि यदि हम अपने वायदे पूरे करना चाहते हैं जो वायदे हम ने मतदाताओं को दिये हैं तो इस सारी ग्रोथ और विकास की गति को बढ़ाना होगा—औद्योगिक क्षेत्र में, खेती के क्षेत्र में और दूसरे क्षेत्रों में। इसके लिए जो प्रशासन है, जो एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन है—चाहे वह पब्लिक सैक्टर का एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन हो, चाहे इंडस्ट्रियल लाइसेंसिंग का एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन हो या दूसरे एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन हों—उन्हें एक कुशल एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन बनाना होगा। मुझे खुशी है कि प्रधान मंत्री जी ने यह निर्देश दिये हैं कि जो कुछ भी प्रशासन में बेरी हो रही हो, जो भी डिजेल है किन्हीं कारखानों से उनका अध्ययन किया जाये और जल्द से जल्द ऐसा रास्ता निकाला जाये कि प्रशासन वास्तविक मामलों में तेजी से आगे बढ़े...

श्री विप्लव सिन्ध (भोनीहारी) : स्टेट्स में कितने दुकानें करिये ?

भी बी० आर० भगत : स्टेट्स में मजबूत सरकारें बनाइये तो वहां भी ठीक हो जायेगा ।

दूसरा पहलू यह है कि बेरोजगारी के सवाल को कैसे हल किया जाये । मैंने जैसा कहा कि 50 करोड़ के रूलर वर्क्स प्रोग्राम से यह सवाल हल नहीं हो सकता है । मैं तो समझता हूँ कि हमारे आर्थिक तंत्र में, हमारी एकोनामी में इतनी ताकत है कि हम कम से कम दो साल में एक हजार करोड़ रुपये का प्लान बेरोजगारी दूर करने के लिये बना सकते हैं । अगर एक हजार करोड़ का हम उचित ढंग पर प्लान चलायें तो यह सम्भव हो सकता है । यह बात सही है कि अगर मैं यह कहूँ कि सड़कों को बनाने के लिए भी इसका इस्तेमाल करें तो हमारे बजट से अर्थशास्त्री कहने लगेंगे कि उससे इंप्लेशन आयेगा लेकिन मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि जो ऐसे इलाके हैं जो कि बिल्कुल पिछड़े हुए हैं, आदिवासी इलाके हैं और दूसरी जगहें हैं जहां पर कोई सड़क नहीं है, वहां पर अगर आप सड़कें बनवाते हैं तो जैसा कि एक्सपर्ट्स ने अध्ययन किया है, वहां पर आप को 15 या 20 परसेंट का रिटर्न मिल सकता है । इसलिए मैं ग्राम सड़कों की बात नहीं करता बल्कि उन इलाकों में ही सड़कें बनाने की बात कहता हूँ जहां कि प्रोडक्टिव कंपैसिटी बढ़े और आपको पूरा रिटर्न मिले । तो इन बातों की तरफ भी ध्यान देने की जरूरत है । सड़कों की बात मैं इस लिए करता हूँ कि सड़कों में या दूसरी कंस्ट्रक्शन एक्टिविटीज में अगर हम दो हजार रुपया खर्च करते हैं तो उससे एक आदमी काम में लगता है जबकि दूसरे बड़े बड़े उद्योगों में अगर हम एक लाख खर्च करते हैं तो भी एक आदमी ही काम में लगता है । इसलिए इस तरफ हमें ध्यान देने की जरूरत है । इस प्रकार से ग्राम तौर पर इस रुपये से माइनर इरीगेशन या इस तरह की दूसरी चीजों को लेकर प्लानिंग कमीशन प्रोग्राम बना सकता

है और फिर उसको चलाया जा सकता है । इस से काम भी बढ़े और उत्पादन भी ।

अब सवाल उठता है कि यह एक हजार करोड़ रुपया दो साल में आयेगा कहां से ? तो यह भी कोई ऐसी कठिन बात नहीं है । दो साल में एक हजार करोड़ रुपया उठाना, बिना किसी आर्थिक गड़बड़ी के, बिना मुद्रा स्फीति के या बिना किन्हीं अन्य कठिनाइयों के सम्भव हो सकता है । अभी जैसा कि आप सभी देशों में देखेंगे, उनके मुकाबले में हमारा रेट आफ इंट्रेस्ट बहुत कम है । कई देश ऐसे हैं जिन्होंने बड़ी तेजी से प्रगति की है लेकिन उनके यहां इंट्रेस्ट रेट ज्यादा है जबकि हमारे यहां कम है इस का कारण यह है कि ब्रिटिश बैंकिंग के हिसाब से हमारे यहां हमेशा रिजर्व बैंक चलती है, उसका दिमाग ब्रिटिश बैंकिंग के पैटर्न पर ही काम करना है कि रेट कम रखा जाये वरना एडवान्स रेट और लेडिंग रेट बढ़ जायेगा । लेकिन मेरा कहना है कि आपको इंट्रेस्ट रेट को बढ़ाना पड़ेगा यदि आप चाहते हैं कि हर तरीके से गांवों से भी धन लिया जाये । बैंकों को गांवों तक ले जाने के लिए 10-12 परसेंट का रेट आफ इंट्रेस्ट करना ही पड़ेगा । और यह इस लिये करना पड़ेगा कि जब हर साल चार, पांच या छः परसेंट दाम बढ़ जाते हैं तब अगर किसी से हम यह कहें कि तुम 5 या 6 परसेंट पर अपना रुपया दो तो वह तैयार नहीं होगा बल्कि वह मोना खरीद लेगा । इस लिए यदि इस देश में हम चाहते हैं सही मायनों में कि गांवों से रुपया आए हमारी बैंकों में और दूसरी जगह तो फिर रेट आफ इंट्रेस्ट बढ़ाना ही पड़ेगा । और इस प्रकार से हम एक बहुत बड़ी राशि निकाल सकते हैं जिसको कि ग्राम-एम्प्लायमेन्ट को दूर करने के काम में लाया जा सकता है ।

इसके अलावा एक चीज आप यह देखेंगे कि हमारे यहां इम्पोर्ट ड्यूटी कहीं 20 परसेंट,

कहीं 30 परसेंट और कहीं 35 परसेंट है। मैं कहता हूँ कि हमको इम्पोर्ट इयूटी हर चीज पर यूनिफार्म ढंग से 50 परसेंट करना चाहिए। इसमें दो बातें हैं। आज एक तरफ से प्रीमियम होता है जोकि बाहर से मशीनों आदि मंगाने में प्राप्त होते हैं। यह नायलान और इलेन बगैरह जी चीजें है उनमें बहुत प्राफिट होता है। इसी कारण से हमने इस बात को शुरू किया है कि पब्लिक सेक्टर में इसको लिया जाये। आज अगर हम इसको करेंगे तो एक तो बाहर के फारेन एक्सचेंज का कितना एप्रिसिएशन है, हम रुपय का दाम देते हैं बाहर के मूल्यों में, वह ज्यादा रेफ्लेक्ट होगा, उसको हम ज्यादा रेफ्लेक्ट कर सकते हैं। जो बाहर से सामान आए उस पर 50 परसेंट इयूटी लगे तो उसका दाम रुपये के मूल्यों में ज्यादा रेफ्लेक्ट कर सकते हैं। इससे हम एक बड़ी राशि एम्प्लायमेंट के लिए ले सकते हैं। इन दो बातों को करने से हम यह सारी की सारी रकम इकट्ठा कर सकते हैं।

दूसरी बात वह कि इसको करने से हम जो चाहते हैं, हमारे जितने प्रोजेक्ट्स हैं उनपर हमारा ज्यादा जोर पड़ना चाहिये और उन चीजों पर ज्यादा से ज्यादा जोर पड़ना चाहिये जोकि ज्यादा लेबर सेविंग डिवाइस की न हो कर ज्यादा से ज्यादा लेबर—एम्प्लायमेंट वाली हों। अभी हमने इम्पोर्ट सब्स्टीट्यूशन का एक रास्ता दिया, ठीक है लेकिन एक हद तक वह आगे बढ़ा। और अब उन प्रोग्राम पर जो इवैल्युएशन होगा, मेरा पूरा विश्वास है कि प्लानिंग कमीशन इवैलिगेशन करके कोई नया प्रोग्राम बनायेगा जिसमें कि ज्यादा से ज्यादा एम्प्लायमेंट मिल सकें, जिसमें कि हम ज्यादा से ज्यादा लोगों के लिये इंतजाम कर सकें। जब हम इन बातों पर ज्यादा से ज्यादा जोर देंगे और 50 परसेंट इम्पोर्ट इयूटी लगायेंगे तो लेबर सेविंग वाली मशीनों या तकनीकों पर एक रुकावट लगेगी। इन सारी बातों से रोजगार देने

का एक रास्ता निकलेगा। इसलिये इन बातों को हमें देखना होगा। यह बातें मैं समझता हूँ बहुत जरूरी हैं अगर हम जनता के दिमाग पर एक बड़ा इम्पैक्ट करना चाहते हैं। हमें दो साल के लिए एक हजार करोड़ का प्लान बनाना ही पड़ेगा।

मैं ने जो ये दो एक सुझाव दिए हैं, हो सकता कि बहुत से लोग इसमें काट-छांट करें और नुक्स निकालें—वह भ्रमल बात होगी, लेकिन मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि एम्प्लायमेंट के लिए एक हजार करोड़ रुपया निकाला जा सकता है और हमें उम्मे निकालना चाहिये अगर जनता का ध्यान इस तरफ करना है कि यह सरकार सर्व-व्याप्त गरीबी और बेरोजगारी मिटाने के लिए कटिबद्ध है।

साथ ही साथ हमने जनता से यह वायदा किया है कि हम देश में समाजवाद लायेंगे। समाजवाद लाने का अर्थ क्या होता है? एक तरफ विकास की गति को बढ़ाना होगा और जो आदमी आज गरीब है या जिनके पास काम नहीं है, या जिनके पास आधा काम है या जो ऐसे किसान हैं जिनके पास दो तीन बीघे जमीन है जिससे उनकी रोजी नहीं चलती उन लोगों की आमदनी बढ़ानी होगी—मैं समझता हूँ इसी रास्ते पर चलकर हमें समाजवाद लाना होगा और साथ ही अमीरी गरीबी का भेद मिटाना होगा। लेकिन जब तक हम मौलिक रूप से उत्पादन के साधनों को जनता के अधीन नहीं बढ़ायेंगे और वितरण में परिवर्तन नहीं करेंगे तो फिर जैसा कि हमारे राष्ट्रपति जी ने कहा है कि हम शान्तिमय ढंग से परिवर्तन करें—उस परिवर्तन की तरफ हम नहीं जा पायेंगे। इस लिये आज जरूरी है कि जो भी उत्पादन के साधन हैं उनका हम हर क्षेत्र में उपयोग करें और वे समाज के द्वारा नियन्त्रित हों।

इस पर हमें मजबूती से कदम आगे बढ़ाना होगा। साथ ही देश में जितने रिसोर्स हैं, रिडिस्ट्रिब्यूशन और रिसोर्सिंग, टैक्सेशन एक

[श्री बी० शर्मा० मन्त्रालय]

तरह का रास्ता होता है बजट में और जाहिर है कि बजट एक अल्प मीका है। हम लोको अभिमान प्रगति बजट पर ध्यान है कि वह बजट समाजवाद का बजट होना चाहिये। चुनाव के बाद जो नये युग का प्रारम्भ हुआ है, समाजवाद के युग का जो प्रारम्भ हुआ है उस का वह बजट होना चाहिये बाकी हम यह मानते हैं कि बजट एक समिति रूप से ही टेक्नेशन के जरिये उसमें आगे बढ़ सकता है। किन्तु जो हमारी मौलिक आर्थिक नीतियाँ हैं जिन्हें कि हम बजट में रखते हैं उन नीतियों में इसका निर्देश होना चाहिये कि हम किस तरीके से इस अन्तिम परिवर्तन की तरफ जाना चाहते हैं और देश में एक ऐसी समाज बनाना चाहते हैं कि जिस समाज में सभी वर्गों के साथ सामाजिक व आर्थिक न्याय हो और सब लोग सुखी होकर आगे बढ़ सकें व देश में से गरीबी और बेरोजगारी दूर हो सके।

सभापति महोदय, इस सरकार पर एक बहुत बड़ी जिम्मेदारी आई है और वह जिम्मेदारी इस कारण है कि जनता का अल्प समर्थन इस सरकार को प्राप्त हुआ है। हमने मजबूती से कदम बढ़ा कर आगे अपने ध्येय की तरफ चलना है। आज के हालात में हमारे लिये यह कहना सम्भव नहीं है, अज्ञेय में जिसे कहा जाता है, एलिबी, तो हम अब सरकार की कोई एलिबी नहीं है और हम कोई बहाना नहीं दूढ़ सकते। इस देश की जनता ने जितनी शक्ति इस सदन को और इस सरकार को देनी थी वह दे ली है। उसने सारी आवश्यक शक्ति सरकारी पार्टी को प्रवाप्त हम लोको की पार्टी के नेतृत्व को दे दी है और ऐसी स्थिति में अब हमारे लिए जरूरी है कि हम अपना काम पूरा करके दिखा सकें।

मैं जनता से कि हमारे देश के गरीब लोग परवाना व दुखी है और फिर भी वे समझदार हैं अपना मत बुरा समझते हैं उनके साथ है

और वह जानते हैं कि एक रात में एक दिन में या एक सप्ताह में हम उस गरीबी के नक्शे को सम्पूर्ण रूप से नहीं बदल सकते। अगर सब से अधिक आवश्यकता इस बात की है कि हम जो रास्ता पकड़े वह रास्ता सही हो। जनता के अन्दर यह विश्वास हो कि सरकार मजबूती से जितनी ताकत है और जितने साधन हैं उन साधनों का सहारा लेकर जो वायदे हमने किये हैं गरीबी दूर करने के लिये बेरोजगारी दूर करने के लिए और देश में समाजवाद लाने के लिये उम पर हम आगे बढ़ेंगे। जनता को जब इस इसका विश्वास दिला देगे तो जनता हमारे साथ मीलो का सफर तूफान में तय करने को तैयार हो जायेगी और रास्ते में पड़ने वाली तमाम तकलीफों को सहने को वह तैयार हो जायेगी क्योंकि वह समझेगी कि उसे अपनी मजिल पर पहुँचना है और उसे आगे ले चलने के लिये सही रहनुमा मिला हुआ है। जनता अपने उस रहनुमा के साथ जाने को तैयार रहेगी। आज जरूरत इस बात की है कि हम इन बातों का अध्ययन करें क्योंकि पुराना युग मिट गया है और नये युग का आरम्भ हुआ है और जैसा कि राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने अभिभाषण में कहा है नई नीतियों का नये दृष्टिकोण का और एक नये प्रोग्राम का आरम्भ होना चाहिए। उसका आरम्भ और उसकी शुरुआत उन्होंने की है। हमें उसको बढा कर आगे चलना है। जनता ने जो हमें शक्ति दी है उस शक्ति का उपयोग करके हमें एक ऐसा वातावरण पैदा करना है कि उनका विश्वास व मनोबल बढता जाये। बिना जनता के सहयोग के हम इन कामों को पूरा नहीं कर सकते हैं। हमें अगर भूमि सुधार को गाँव, गाँव तक पहुँचाना है तो हमें जनता को संगठित करना होगा और जनता को साथ लेना पड़ेगा। हमें विकास की गति को बढाना है तो जनता को साथ लेना पड़ेगा। हमें सभी वर्गों और हर जिले में बेरोजगारी खत्म करने के प्रोग्राम को बढाना है और इसके लिये हर

जिले में वहाँ की जनता को अपने साथ लेना लगेगा। उसके लिए जरूरत है कि जनता के मनोबल को हम बढ़ायें। मनोबल बढ़ाने का सबसे अच्छा तरीका यह है कि हम उन्हें वह रास्ता दिखायें कि इस रास्ते से हम चल रहे हैं और वह जनता के सामने हम ठोस और बिल्कुल सफाई के साथ अपना प्रोग्राम रखें। जब हमें कोई बहाना छूटने का मौका नहीं है और इस लिए मैं समझता हूँ कि राष्ट्रपति जी ने जो एक निदेश दिया है, जो भाषण दिया है वह सही तौर से उन्हीं कदमों की ओर इशारा करता है। मुझे विश्वास है कि सरकार इन बातों को सोच रही है और आगे सदन में एक ठोस कार्यक्रम गरीबी और बेरोजगारी दूर करने का और देश में विकास की गति को बढ़ाने का लायेगी और उसमें हम आगे बढ़ सकेंगे।

समय हमारे पास अब नहीं है। जनता ने एक बार सम्पूर्ण समर्थन दिया है और उसने श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी का विश्वास करके दिया है। इस उम्मीद पर दिया है कि उन्होंने उनकी बातों को सही समझा है और देश की जनता को एक सही और सबल नेतृत्व प्रदान किया है मुझे विश्वास है कि वह सफल होगी। हम सब लोगों को और सारे सदन को उनको सहयोग देना है व उनकी मदद करनी है ताकि वह अपने काम में सफल हों क्योंकि उनके सफल होने में ही देश का भविष्य है और प्रजातन्त्र का भविष्य है। देश में प्रजातन्त्र कायम करने के लिये और समाजवाद लाने के लिये और यहाँ से गरीबी और बेरोजगारी दूर करने के लिये हमें उनको सफल बनाने के लिये अपना पूरा पूरा योगदान देना चाहिये।

SHRI A. C. GEORGE (Mukandapuram): Sir, I wholeheartedly associate myself with this Motion of Thanks and gladly second it. The great people of India have done their job, the President has made his keynote Address and now it is for us to take up the responsibility and to pursue the mandate.

This year the President's message is

thronging with a tone of optimism, a real tone of optimism truly reflecting the expectations of the teeming millions of our rural population. The general elections have in a sense been a revolution of rising expectations. It was a new declaration of independence by the new generation, a generation born after independence. The older generation revolted against the foreign oppressors; the new generation revolted against the internal oppressors, the enemies of the toiling masses, the vested interests and right reactionaries and the agents of imperialism who go in the disguise of left extremists or counter-revolutionaries.

It is interesting to think in retrospect that a boy or a girl born on or after 15th August, 1947 could not vote in the Fourth General Election. They attained the age of 21 only on 15th August, 1968. So, this was the first general election in which the post-independence generation participated.

There is a very interesting figure which has been submitted in this House earlier this day. During the last general election the voting population was 250 million; in this general election the voting population was 275 million, which means an addition of 25 million. If you split it up into 500 constituencies, we find that the new generation's voting strength was on an average 50,000. This is a very important figure because it speaks a lot. In this youth wave so many, who were studying in the nursery class on Independence Day of 1947, have been swept into this House and are doing their job in an excellent manner.

I may add that the new generation does not boast of years of imprisonment during the freedom struggle or of days of suffering. The new generation is boasting only of an unerring urge to serve the nation and to rise up to the occasion.

Some people, when they discuss the general elections, speak of the invisible ink or the magic ink. I may say that this invisible ink that made a great victory possible is red because it is the boiling blood of the millions of the rural population of the entire country that is responsible for it.

They speak of the magic ink which disappears and which re-appears. They say that some marks disappear and some marks re-appear. I think, they are speaking about this House. I remember the days, though

[Shri A. C. George]

I had a short span here during the Fourth Lok Sabha, when some people were here. But now they have disappeared. Some people were never here. And they have appeared here. It is not a magic but the will of the people. Let them not be guided by a few technicalities of the chemical analysis.

Now, I would like to submit that we have come here because of the people of India, the masses of India, who made a decision that they want to be governed by their will. Some people speak about the conspiracy. I have read in some newspapers and weeklies that there was a conspiracy which led to this huge majority. It is only a conspiracy of the poor villagers, millions and millions, who conspired in a very mute language in the lowest voice possible because they thought *rajās* and *maharajās*, and their traditional oppressors and ruling classes were their enemies and so they could speak only in the lowest tone possible. That is the conspiracy which has led to this huge majority.

Now, I remember the days, about a year back—you may also be remembering—when the general talk in thousands and thousands of parlours of India was as to what has happened to our country, that we are heading for doom, that everything that has happened is against us and that every headline in newspapers is against us. That was the tone last year. Now, in every houses, in every place, we find people with a beaming face. They have a smile on their face. There is a tone of optimism. And we hear—you have all heard it; some liking and some not liking—"She will do something." That is the sentence that goes round every parlour of India, that she will do something. That is the one sentence on the lips of everybody, on the lips of millions and millions of people. That is the prayer in every heart. We do hope that this prayer and wish will really come true.

I may add, now-a-days, the nation is guided by the tone of optimism. Wherever we turn, there is a trend in our favour. The only thing is that we have to live upto the expectations of the people who have voted us in power. As was correctly pointed out by my hon. friend, the mover of the Motion, the people of India have left us with no excuses. There is a saying going round that the masses are asses. I feel that the people who

believe that the masses are asses are themselves asses. (*Interruption*) This time, the masses of India have seen to it that we the ruling party are left with no excuses.

We spoke about a stable Government. The people gave that. We spoke about a two-thirds majority to amend the Constitution. The people gave that. We are now left with absolutely no excuse. Either we win the people or we lose the people. So, it is obvious that it is for the ruling party to see that the work is done. As my hon friend Shri Bhagat pointed out, the people understand it and they are realistic enough to judge us. Maybe, we do not perform miracles in a short span of a year or two or three years. But before we go back to the electorate—I think, it is after five years only—then we will have to give them a proper account. (*Interruption*) I know the people there are more afraid about the mid-term poll, not we.

So, I may add that in the President's Address, key-note Address, he has really assured us in a different tone, the common talk in the parlours that she will do something. He has pointed out that his Government is going on with steps which really mean socialism, will build up socialism and will rise upto the expectations of the masses.

Here, I may add a few more things, especially about para 10 of his Address. He has come to the correct point, especially, about the salaried people. Sir, the salaried people in the Central Government and State Government services or in the industries or whichever walk of life they are engaged in, got apparently wage increases. Sir, people talk of wage freeze on the one hand and there is a clamour for further increase on the other. The result is or the obvious factor is that whatever increase the salaried people get is really eaten away in a big chunk by rent alone. That is why I refer to para 10 because, the poor salaried people, whatever the wage increase they get then they go to towns, a major silce of their pay goes towards rent. In actual figures, the rent may work out to as much as 35 or 40% of the pay of the Central Govt. or the State Government employees. So, what is the real benefit of the wage increase? Here and now I will say that during the next five years, it must be our earnest endeavour to see that a

housing programme is taken up as crash programme and implemented in an intensive manner, on war footing, I may add, because when we go round the city of Delhi—we are all MPs going round only North Avenue and South Avenue and we see bungalows which are situated in areas of 3 or 4 acres—but when we go to the outskirts of the capital, we see a different picture of stinking slums, although we may see signs of ostentatious spending which is more in the heart of the civic administration. Here, I am not pointing my finger against anybody. I would say that we ourselves set an example and not occupy so much of land in the heart of the city. Though bungalows are taken up by Ministers and senior M.Ps, we poor MPs are getting only flats.

Next, I come to the point of workers' participation. I am not elaborating on the economic factors which are explained at length by my learned colleague. I want to pinpoint one particular factor. For a growing public sector economy, workers' participation in management is essential and they should really feel enthused to work. Every day we hear about strikes, lock-outs and innumerable problems in the public sector as well as in the private sector. Unless the worker in this year of 1971 feels enthused and unless he is given a sense of participation and made to feel that he has got to do something for the national economy, that he is working not for bread alone but for national industry, things may not improve. I don't think sufficient mention has been made about it here. I think workers' participation in management of industries has to be particularly stressed and this year must be a year for implementing the idea of workers' participation in management.

16.04 hrs.

I come to another point about Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. We are consoling ourselves by saying that in the past 23 years we have done a lot for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. So many stipends and so many allowances and so many encouragements are being given. But the social aspect and the social environment of the Harijans is not taken into account. Of course, the fact remains that the scheduled castes and tribes are given allowances and stipends but we must

remember the social environments wherefrom he is coming. A poor boy is there; 10 of his neighbouring boys are not having education. They may be doing some menial jobs and getting 50 paise or 25 paise or 60 paise per day, or less than a rupee per day. A boy with the so-called stipend goes up to the 8th standard. These people, his other neighbouring boys, tell him, we are getting 50 paise or 60 paise. Those boys tempt him by saying, what is the use of your education and all that. So, he does not continue with his education. So, this affects the very fabric of education.

Therefore, I am suggesting an 'operation head-start' which should be made. In the United States the Negro boys are given allowances, stipends etc. Just like our Harijans, there are also drop-outs. This drop-out problem is there. For what the US Government have started a programme called 'Operation head-start'. We should see that these drop-outs do not take place and we should see that they reach completion of the middle school education.

The endeavour of the Government must be to see that not only doles or stipends and allowances are given, but to see that the children are really properly educated and do not drop out. He should not fail in the company of the social environment in which he is born. This is a very important aspect.

We go on saying that the Central Government extends so many facilities; the Central Government is doing a lot, etc. But we have to see that he completes his school education and does not drop out. So, I suggest that an Operation Head-start should be started. I am just giving a technical name, a crash programme started, to see that the maximum benefits are given and that the benefits already given are properly utilised so that they get proper school education and proper college education and do not drop out in the middle.

Before I conclude, I have only a few things to point out. The President has spent so many years in Kerala. I thought he would have made a special mention of Kerala; I would not have raised this point but for the fact that has devoted two paragraphs for one State, that is, West Bengal. I have great sympathy for West Bengal and I love Bengal, especially more so now that Bangla Desh is coming. The President knows the problems of Kerala more than any one of us. I

[Shri A. C. George]

thought he should have devoted some paragraphs to Kerala. This morning we heard about the closure of cashew factories throwing out of employment so many workers, and their families are suffering. Educated unemployment is there in higher proportions. We should see that this rising problem of unemployment is checked in Kerala.

The masses of Kerala have come out with a massive support for the good Government and stable Government and a socialist Government. They have rejected the reactionaries as well as the counter-revolutionaries and transferred many of them to their proper places.

It is the desire of the Kerala people, and the right of the Kerala people, that they want a steel mills. There are 4 southern States, Mysore, Andhra, Tamilnadu and Kerala. The three other southern States are already having steel mills. I hope this demand of Kerala will be considered with sympathy. When I say this, I am not against any other State. Kerala has got the best quality of iron ore in the entire south of India.

So, I think that it was time that we thought about it, apart from the petrochemical complex which could be developed by the fast expanding refinery located near the Cochin port.

Special mention ought to have been made in the Address about the fishing industry also. I am not referring to Kerala only, but to the entire coast of India. The fishing industry which offers great potentialities of expansion has not been sufficiently mentioned in the Address. In Bengal, Tamil Nadu, Orissa, Andhra Pradesh, Mysore, Gujarat or Maharashtra, and in all States, except Punjab and Haryana, the fishing industry offers very vast potentialities for expansion. I hope this matter will engage the attention of Government.

I would also like to point out that the Cochin port has got a share of 87 per cent in the export of marine products. I would request that early steps be taken to see that a Marine Exports Development Corporation be started at Cochin as early as possible.

In conclusion, I would just say a word about foreign policy. I am in complete agreement with the foreign policy of the Government of India. Since the President

has devoted one full paragraph to this, and since my hon. friend who precoded me did not mention about this, I am referring to this. While I am in complete agreement with the foreign policy, I would, however, like to point out one very serious omission. There is a huge continent called Latin America, right from Mexico down to Chile and Argentina with 27 votes in the UN, which is important for a nation like ours. I had been to Mexico and the Latin American countries myself, and I have found that they have got the greatest of goodwill for us. We are spending huge amounts in public relations activities in some continents where, let me tell you frankly, we have got only the best of enmity from them. The reasons may be different and beyond our control, but the fact remains that some of them have got real animosity against us. But here is a continent which is completely comparable to our country in the social aspects, in the development aspects, in regard to the problem of the unemployment, and the problem of the Campesinos which is quite comparable to what prevails in our continent. I would submit that it is time that we extend our hand of good-will to these Latin American countries and see that the people of the Afro-Asian and Latin American continent are brought together in all common causes and in the interests of a peace-loving world and a thriving society.

With these words, I whole heartedly second the Motion of Thanks.

MR. CHAIRMAN : There is a large number of amendments to the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address. Hon. Members present in the House who are desirous of moving their amendments may send slips to the Table within 15 minutes, indicating the serial numbers of the amendments which they would like to move.

SHRI MADHU DANDAVATE (Rajapu) : May I point out that we have already sent the amendments and sent our names? Let there not be a formality again of sending the names and the numbers of the amendments. Those amendments might be treated as moved.

MR. CHAIRMAN : It is possible that hon. Members may like to pick and choose.

and, therefore, hon. Members may send slips indicating the numbers of the amendments which they would like to move. This will save the time of the House.

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 practical schemes have been formulated to raise the living standard of the common people and to eradicate unemployment that is rampant in all sections of the people in the country.” (1)

SHRI SARJOO PANDEY (Ghazipur)
I beg to move :

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

“but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the need to remove the 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 about the communal riots in Aligarh and Muradabad in U.P.” (3)

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

“but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the nationalisation of the rest of the Banks in the country.” (4)

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

“but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the nationalisation of the foreign trade.” (5)

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

“but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the nationalisation of the education in the country.” (6)

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

“but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the protection of the Urdu language.” (7)

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

“but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the creation of Special Development Board for the Eastern U.P.” (8)

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

“but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the creation of special force to control the communal riots in the country.” (9)

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

“but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the uplift of poor and Harijan in the country.” (10)

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE (Kanpur) : I beg to move :

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

“but regret that there is no mention of payment of unemployment allowance to the registered educated unemployed youth.” (12)

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

“but regret that there is no mention of granting a need based minimum wage to workers both in public and private sectors.” (13)

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

“but regret that there is no mention of participation of labour in management.” (14)

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

“but regret that there is no clear indication about amendment of Constitution regarding right to property.” (15)

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

“but regret that there is no mention of giving Urdu Language a proper place in the country.” (16)

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

“but regret that there is no mention

[Shri S. M. Banerjee]

regarding nationalisation of General Insurance, Export and Import Trade and Foreign Oil Companies." (17)

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

"but regret that there is no mention about the naked aggression in Viet Nam." (18)

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

"but regret that there is no mention of effective steps to be taken by Government to bring down the prices of all essential commodities." (19)

SHRI K. M. MADHUKAR (Kesaria) :
I beg to move :

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

"but regret that the interference by Imperialistic Powers in the West Asian Crisis has not been condemned." (24)

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address about the indifferent attitude adopted by the various State Governments in regard to the land reforms." (25)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of necessary assistance to be given to State Governments for the implementation of Gandak, Western Kosi, Upper Seim, Bagmati, Western Koyal Hydro-electric Projects, full development of Rajasthan Canal and other river projects." (26)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of any effort to check the huge damage being caused by floods and soil erosion every year." (27)

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

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

remove the continued power shortage in Bihar and other States." (28)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of payment of crores of rupees due to the sugar cane growers from sugar mill owners as also the nationalisation of sugar industry in the country." (29)

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

"but regret that there is no mention has been made in the Address of nationalisation and socialisation of basic industries and tea plantations." (30)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of any change in the election laws with a view to avert the incidents to capturing of polling booths, and use of lathis and guns." (31)

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address about development programmes for backward areas specially in Bihar, U. P. and Assam." (37)

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address of any programme to accelerate the pace of economic advancement of backward classes, especially Harijans and Adivasis and to ensure for them social and economic justice." (58)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of any specific programme for distribution of land among landless and to save them from the atrocities committed by landlords." (59)

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

"but regret that no motion has been made in the Address about enacting such

laws which may remove the obstacles coming in the way of Government in fixing ceilings." (60)

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address of any scheme to nationalise all foreign banks and other Indian banks." (61)

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address about the measures to be taken to check bureaucracy prevalent in the nationalised banks and to change credit policy of such banks." (62)

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address about any programme for all round development of rural life." (63)

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address of any scheme to nationalise the wholesale trade and import and export trade." (64)

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address about the establishment of a proper labour machinery in public sector undertakings and control over them." (65)

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address about the measures to check anti-labour attitude in private and public sector establishments." (66)

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address about the policies to be adopted to put an end to retrenchment of labour and lock outs in Private and Public Sector Establishments." (67)

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address about the need for reforming the education policy in order to achieve an overall improvement in the educational system in the country." (68)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about any concrete programme for achieving the co-operation of students in the educational institutions and to direct their trend of mind to constructive channels and to remove unrest prevalent among them." (69)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about any time-bound and phased programme to remove unemployment among the educated and uneducated youth." (70)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about amending the Constitution with a view to achieve the goal of socialism in the country expeditiously." (71)

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address of the need to democratise the administrative machinery which may conform to the achievement of the objectives of socialist economy." (72)

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address of any new steps to be taken to eradicate corruption rampant in the entire administrative set up." (73)

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the address of any steps for bringing about austerity and economy in the expenditure on Ministers." (74)

[Shri Kamla Misra 'Madhukar']

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address of the need to establish full diplomatic relations with the German Democratic Republic." (75)

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address about the policy of Government of India in regard to the European Security Pact." (76)

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address about the policy of Government of India in regard to immediate withdrawal of armed forces of imperialist powers from Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, etc. and anything about the vacillating policy of India towards Vietnam." (77)

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address about India's sympathy for the popular agitation launched by the people in East Pakistan—Bangla Desh." (78)

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address of the need to normalise the relations with People's Republic of China in the interest of peace in Asia on honourable terms." (79)

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address about the withdrawal of cases filed against thousands of farmers for harassing and suppressing them, who took part in land agitations and anything about providing them with legal aid." (80)

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

"but regret that no mention has been

made in the Address about any policy in regard to providing legal aid and other assistance in courts to the landless persons and labour." (81)

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address about devising ways and means to check the misuse by farmers of raw materials and the steps to ensure-balanced price line." (82)

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address for bringing down the prices of chemical fertilizers so that these could be made available to the farmers easily." (83)

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address about determination to check the influence of monopoly capital." (84)

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address for the removal of cultural backwardness of rural life." (85)

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address about determination to ban communal parties, communal propaganda organisations and literature." (86)

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address about making an appeal to all the progressive forces to unite in order to defeat the apartheid policies." (87)

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address about the clear-cut policies of socialism." (88)

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

“but regret that no mention has been made in the Address of the need to ensure the preservation of language, culture and other rights of the minority communities.” (89)

SHRI MADHU DANDAVATE (Rajapur) : I beg to move :

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

“but regret that no reference has been made to the urgent need of restoring to the Parliament through appropriate amendment to the Constitution, the sovereign right to amend the constitution so that it may reflect the people's will to accelerate social change.” (111)

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

“but regret that no mention has been made of the measures to prevent politics of defections and piracy which is undermining the democratic fabric of our political life.” (112)

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

“but regret that no mention has been made of the need to ensure greater economic equality which must remain the basic tenet of socialist policies and programmes.” (113)

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

“but regret that no mention has been made of the recent developments in East Pakistan.” (114)

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

“but regret that no mention has been made of the socialisation of wholesale trade in food and other essential commodities and also external trade.” (115)

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

“but regret that no mention has been made of the need to ensure a need-based minimum wage to the industrial and the agricultural workers.” (116)

SHRI RAM RATAN SHARMA (Banda) : I beg to move :

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

“but regret that the address fails to refer to the serious misuse of the Governmental machinery particularly All India Radio and Television for the promotion of the electoral prospects of the ruling party at the centre and the steps taken by Government to allay public misgivings in this regard through a high powered independent probe.” (118)

SHRI S. P. BHATTACHARYYA (Uuberia) : I beg to move :

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

“but regret that while upholding the cause of Parliamentary Democracy throughout India, democratic verdict of the people of West Bengal is being crushed by Central Government through Police, CRP, Military, hired goondas and bureaucracy ; various ways and means are being tried to bring back Presidential rule or direct or indirect Congress rule in West Bengal by any means whatever”. (119)

DR. LAXMINARAIN PANDEY (Mandsaur) : I beg to move :

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

“but regret that no mention has been made in the Address about the concrete measures to be adopted to solve unemployment problem and the programme whereby unemployment problem could be solved within a certain fixed period and about the provision of certain fixed amount to the unemployed persons in the form of subsistence allowance till they get employment.” (130)

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

“but regret that no mention has been made in the Address about educated unemployed persons and fixing any time limit within which they would be provided with employment to solve the problem and about effecting any changes in the educational system from this point of view.” (131)

[Dr. Laxminarain Pandey]

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

“but regret that no mention has been made in the Address about land reforms, clear-cut guidelines to solve the problems of small farmers and conversion of un-economic holdings into economic ones.” (132)

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

“but regret that no mention has been made in the Address about the failure of nationalised banks to provide benefits to ordinary peasants and suitable procedure to be adopted in this regard.” (133)

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

“but regret that in the Address no mention has been made of the failure of the supplying of power pump sets to the farmers for irrigation purposes to render any benefit in far off villages due to centralisation of such schemes.” (134)

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

“but regret that no mention has been made in the Address about any time bound programme for construction of sanitary dwellings in cities, small towns and villages instead of enhancing slums as also for providing houses to the homeless persons.” (135)

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

“but regret that no mention has been made in the Address about a definite programme under which residential accommodation will be provided to the landless people within a stipulated period.” (136)

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

“but regret that no mention has been made to ensure a healthy competition between the private and public sectors so as to boost industrial production while dwelling on the need to speed up the investment programme in these two

sectors for the purpose of increasing industrial production.” (137)

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

“but regret that no mention has been made to ensure a reasonable price of agricultural products to farmers while referring to the technical know-how in agriculture.” (138)

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

“but regret that no mention has been made to streamline the procedure regarding the constitution and recognition of trade unions and about the share of the workers in profit of the industrial production through a declaration to improve the industrial relations.” (139)

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

“but regret that no mention has been made about the procedure to be followed to gear up the administrative machinery and about the time-limit within which such toning-up is to be accomplished.” (140)

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

“but regret that no mention has been made about the procedure to be followed for the formation of the managerial cadre.” (141)

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

“but regret that no mention has been made in the Address of the measures to check the rise in prices, economic imbalances and the requirement of commodities to be imported and time-limit of such import.” (142)

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

“but regret that no mention has been made in the Address about the disorder and violence in West Bengal and other parts of the country resulting in a sense of insecurity among the countrymen and failure of the Government to protect the countrymen.” (143)

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

“but regret that no mention has been made in the Address of any steps to get the Indian territory forcibly occupied by China as also other border areas of the country under the occupation of foreign countries vacated.” (144)

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

“but regret that no mention has been made in the Address about the programme to manufacture atom-bomb with a view to increasing the defence potential of the country.” (145)

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

“but regret that no mention has been made in the Address about the industrial development of backward areas.” (146)

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

“but regret that no mention has been made in the Address about the expeditious introduction of Hindi as an official language and action proposed to be taken in this regard.” (147)

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

“but regret that no mention has been made in the Address about India's attitude and relations with foreign countries in future and lack of concern on exodus of Indians from neighbouring countries.” (148)

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

“but regret that no mention has been made in the Address about future relations with Pakistan following the recent hijacking of an Indian aeroplane.” (149)

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

“but regret that no mention has been made in the Address about the misuse of Government machinery and All India Radio including television service by the party in power during the

mid-term elections to Lok Sabha.” (150)

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

“but regret that no indication has been given in the Address to appoint an enquiry commission to go into the charges levelled by the prominent personalities in the country regarding misuse of Government authority and rigging of election results during the recent General Elections.” (219)

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

“but regret that no mention has been made in the Address of the measures to be taken in respect of transacting business in our national language only within the country and outside the country.” (220)

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

“but regret that no indication has been given in the Address of the measures to be taken about labour participation in management and making them partners in mills and factories.” (221)

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

“but regret that the Address does not spell out the measures to be taken for the defence of the country keeping in view that China is in possession of atom bomb and nuclear missiles and her friendship with Pakistan.” (222)

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

“but regret that no mention has been made in the Address of the fact that national income could be increased by 10 per cent, by recasting the Plan into Swadeshi Plan and not by depending on foreign money for its implementation.” (240)

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

“but regret that no mention has been made in the Address about giving voting right to the persons between the age group of 18 and 21 years.” (241)

[Dr. Laxminarain Pandey]

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

“but regret that no mention has been made in the Address about the steps proposed to be taken in regard to the hijacking and burning of plane of the Indian Airlines and Pakistan's refusal to hand over the hijackers to India and to pay compensation for the plane hijacked and burnt.” (242)

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

“but regret that no mention has been made in the Address about the procedure to be adopted in providing loans to small farmers, small entrepreneurs and to others who want to start their own business but are not in a position to arrange security for obtaining loans.” (243)

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

“but regret that no mention has been made in the Address about the supply of electricity at cheap rates to farmers and villagers.” (246)

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

“but regret that no mention has been made in the Address about the measures to be taken to ensure fair price to the agriculturists for their produce as in the case of non-agricultural products” (247)

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

“but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the steps to be taken by India to retrieve thousands of miles of our territory under China's illegal possession.” (249)

DR. SARADISH ROY (Bhojpur) : I beg to move :

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

“but regret that the Address gives no indication of abolition of the post of Governors and of President's rule in the States.” (151)

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

“but regret that the Address makes no reference about the revision of the allocation of powers and functions between the States and Centre with a view to making the State's power real.” (152)

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

“but regret that the Address gives no indication of most of the subjects in the concurrent list of the Seventh Schedule to the Constitution to be transferred to the States” (153)

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

“but regret that the Address gives no indication of complete control by the State Governments over all its officials, including those who belong to All India Services” (154)

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

“but regret that the Address gives no reference about overhaul of the policies of taxation with a view to make the burden on the rich heavier while giving substantial relief to the poor” (155)

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

“but regret that the Address makes no reference about the complete elimination of all feudal and big landlord interests in the countryside including the abolition of all the privileges and privy purses of the princes without compensation, annulment of compensation amounts which are still due to the Zamindars and other feudal landlords, take-over large estates held by big landlords.” (15)

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

“but regret that the Address makes no mention about a total reversal of the procurement and price policies in such a way as to benefit the poor and middle peasants on the one hand, and to the mass of consumers on the other.” (157)

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

“but regret that the Address gives no mention of any immediate solution to tackle the problems of inflation and rising price.” (158)

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

“but regret that there is no indication in the Address in regard to the granting the right of franchise to persons in the age group of 18 to 21 years.” (159)

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

“but regret that the Address does not throw any light on the problems of poverty and unemployment which are the outcome of 23 years of Congress Rule.” (160)

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

“but regret that the Address makes no mention about the serious nature of growing defection and action to be taken to curb the defection.” (161)

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

“but regret that the Address makes no mention about the non-fulfilment of the commitments made to the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Backward Classes in the country.” (162)

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

“but regret that the Address does not mention about Government of India's ban on trade with North Vietnam and steps to promote trade with Democratic People's Republic of Korea and Cuba.” (163)

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

“but regret that the Address does not mention about the question of quitting the British Commonwealth even after the Rhodesian issue and the arms aid to South Africa and racial immigration laws.” (164)

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

“but regret that the Address does not mention about the threat to peace and independence of the people around Indian Ocean due to the establishment of British and American bases in that area.” (165)

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

“but regret that the Address does not mention about the measures to be taken by the Government to reopen the closed factories all over India.” (166)

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

“but regret that the Address does not mention about the crash programmes for relieving rural unemployment.” (167)

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

“but regret that the Address does not mention the steps to be taken to curb the rise in prices, black marketing, hoarding, etc.” (168)

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

“but regret that there is no indication of repeal of all repressive laws including the Preventive Detention Act, the Industrial Security Act.” (215)

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

“but regret that the Address makes no reference about putting an end to the practice of resorting to prohibitory orders, security proceedings to prevent workers' strikes and other popular struggles.” (216)

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

“but regret that there is no reference about the necessary amendments to the fundamental rights laid down in the Constitution so as to make it possible for Parliament and the State Legislatures to legislate against the private property of foreign and Indian monopolists and big landlords and other top strata society, together with measures which will further strengthen the democratic rights of the common people, including their right to the land, instruments of

[Dr. Saradish Roy]

production, and other small property they won." (217)

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

"but regret that the Address gives no indication of nationalisation of all the heavy industries and other key sectors of the economy, whether they are owned by foreign or Indian capitalists." (218)

SHRI A. K. GOPALAN (Palghat) : I beg to move :

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention any intention on the part of the Government to curb the right to compensation by the feudal property owners and big monopoly capitalists." (169)

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention any measures to abolish foreign private capital." (170)

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

"but regret that the Address does not refer to the measures to be taken to curb expansion of Indian big business houses." (171)

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention any measures for granting the States the widest measure of autonomy so that they can develop without being dependent on and restricted by the Centre." (172)

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

"but regret to note that the Address has failed to mention the fascist type of repression let loose on the people of West Bengal and the politics of murder and assassination initiated by the Government of India under President's Rule against the democratic forces in that State." (173)

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

"but regret to note that the Address does not mention the Government of India's policy on land reforms in concrete terms and has not declared a moratorium on peasants' indebtedness." (174)

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention any steps to amend the electoral laws to provide for proportional representation which only can ensure a democratic Parliamentary system." (175)

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

"but regret to note that the Address does not make any mention of the question of abolition of the post of Governors in States and measures to stop the imposition of President's Rule." (176)

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

"but regret to note that the Address does not make any reference to the increasingly frequent use of the Armed Forces for suppression of democratic movements." (177)

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

"but regret to note that the Address does not mention the question of abolition of privy purses of former rulers without compensation." (178)

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

"but regret to note that the Address ignores the question of full diplomatic recognition of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the German Democratic Republic, in subservience to imperialist pressure and blackmail." (179)

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

"but regret to note that the Address fails to condemn U. S. aggression in Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia and the military occupation of South Korea." (180)

SHRI RAMAVTAR SHASTRI (Patna) :
I beg to move :

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

“but regret that there is no mention of unsocial elements and armed hooligans who at the instance of the Four Party Alliance (Grand Alliance) captured polling booths, ran away with the ballot boxes and forcibly prevented the Harijans, Muslims and other Scheduled Castes voters from voting at Begusarai, Maharajganj, Aurangabad, Mujaffarpur, Patna, Navada and in many other areas of Bihar during the recent mid-term election to Lok Sabha.” (181)

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

“but regret that there is no mention of illegal intervention and misuse of Government machinery by the Ministers in the S. V. D. Government of Bihar and by the State officials and Police during the mid-term elections to Lok Sabha.” (182)

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

“but regret that there is no mention of communal propaganda openly made by the Jan Sangh candidates during the mid-term elections.” (183)

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

“but regret that there is no mention of the failure of the S.V.D. Government of Bihar to provide facilities to Harijans, Muslims and Scheduled Casts for casting their votes in spite of an announcement to this effect made by the Election Commission.” (184)

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

“but regret that there is no mention of any sound and clear cut programme for liquidating poverty from the country.” (185)

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

“but regret that no mention has been made in the Address of adopting a non-capitalistic policy by deviating from the

capitalistic one pursued at present for the development of the country.” (186)

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

“but regret that no mention has been made in the Address about breaking the monopoly capitalism.” (187)

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

“but regret that no mention has been made in the Address of providing employment or unemployment doles to unemployed persons in the country.” (188)

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

“but regret that no mention has been made in the Address about making it a Constitutional right to have employment or an unemployment stipend.” (189)

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

“but regret that no mention has been made in the Address about setting up big industries to banish poverty.” (190)

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

“but regret that no mention has been made in the Address about laying a network of industries in the public sector, instead of the private sector for the rapid development of the country.” (191)

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

“but regret that no mention has been made in the Address about nationalisation of basic industries.” (192)

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

“but regret that no mention has been made in the Address regarding nationalisation of foreign banks.” (193)

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

“but regret that no mention has been made in the Address about nationalisation of general insurance.” (194)

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

“but regret that no mention has been

[Shri Ramavtar Shastri]

made in the Address about nationalisation of foreign trade." (195)

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address about nationalisation of foreign oil companies." (196)

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address about any effective measures to check the rising prices." (197)

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address about any action to be initiated against those responsible for rising prices and black-marketing" (198)

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address about any steps to check price rise or to pay dearness allowance in proportion to the rise in prices" (199)

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address about providing need based wages to Government or private employees or to the labourers." (200)

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address about any effective measures to check corruption." (201)

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address about checking the increase of corruption in the nationalised banks." (202)

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address about any measures to stop loans to black marketers." (203)

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address about granting most of the loans to farmers, unemployed engineers and other unemployed persons, small entrepreneurs and cottage industries." (204)

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address about any steps to unearth black money from the safe deposits of monopoly capitalists and to use the same for development purposes" (205)

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address about any measures to recover arrears of tax amounting to about 500 crores of rupees outstanding against the big capitalists and big businessmen." (206)

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address about any measures to prevent foreign capitalists from remitting their profits to their countries." (207)

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address about any steps to nationalise foreign industries." (208)

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address about setting up an Inquiry Commission to enquire into the unfair means adopted in Bihar during the last mid term elections to Lok Sabha." (209)

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address about banning communal propaganda and communal parties." (210)

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

“but regret that there is no mention of doing away with the import of food-grains.” (250)

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

“but regret that there is no mention of nationalisation of sugar industry.” (251)

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

“but regret that there is no mention of any provision to supply fertilisers, seeds, power and other agricultural implements to cultivators at cheap rates.” (252)

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

“but regret that there is no mention of any provision to check the eviction of cultivators from their holdings by the Landlords.” (253)

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

“but regret that there is no mention of fixing a ceiling on the land-holding and a time limit for the distribution of fallow land among landless and poor farmers.” (254)

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

“but regret that there is no mention of distribution of public fallow land among the Harijans and the landless.” (255)

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

“but regret that there is no mention of exempting the unprofitable holdings from land revenue and gradual introduction of agricultural wealth tax.” (256)

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

“but regret that there is no mention of stopping litigation proceedings relating to peasant and labour movements.” (257)

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

“but regret that there is no mention

of time limit for fixing a ceiling on urban property.” (258)

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

“but regret that there is no mention of opening a branch of nationalised banks at all places having a rural population of 25,000 people.” (259)

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

“but regret that there is no mention of lowering the rate of interest for the loans granted to peasants by the nationalised banks.” (260)

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

“but regret that there is no mention of cent percent grant to the State Governments for slum-clearance.” (261)

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

“but regret that there is no mention of owing the responsibility for the development and rejuvenation of other State capitals like that of Calcutta city.” (262)

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

“but regret that there is no mention of checking the corruption, nepotism, favouritism, casteism in the distribution of housing units constructed by various State Governments.” (263)

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

“but regret that there is no mention of any provision to allot constructed houses to landless agricultural labourers.” (264)

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

“but regret that there is no mention of granting more amount to State Governments for the construction of housing units.” (265)

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

“but regret that no mention has been made in the Address about the abandonment of the old anti-labour policy of the Government.” (266)

[Shri Ramavtar Shastri]

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

“but regret that no mention has been made in the Address about introducing secret ballot system in determining the representative character of labour unions.” (322)

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

“but regret that no mention has been made in the Address of the need for bringing about a change in the attitude of the managements of industrial institutions.” (323)

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

“but regret that no mention has been made in the Address about putting an end to the tendency of bureaucratism prevalent in the administrative machinery.” (324)

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

“but regret that no mention has been made in the Address about abolishing the privileges of I.C.S. officers.” (325)

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

“but regret that no mention has been made in the Address about abolishing Privy Purses of the princes without paying any compensation.” (326)

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

“but regret that no mention has been made in the Address about condemning the bombardment by America on Vietnam.” (327)

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

“but regret that no mention has been made in the Address about a concrete suggestion for the solution of the Indo-China problem.” (328)

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

“but regret that no mention has been made in the Address about the settle-

ment of disputes with Peoples republic of China and Pakistan.” (329)

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

“but regret that no mention has been made in the Address about strengthening and increasing friendly relations and trade with Socialist countries.” (330)

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

“but regret that no mention has been made in the Address about amending the Constitution for putting a ceiling on the right of personal property.” (331)

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

“but regret that no mention has been made in the Address about the major irrigation schemes such as, Kosi, Gandak, Sone, Swarna Rekha, Nagarjun, Rajasthan Canal, etc., for eradication of famine from the country for ever.” (332)

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

“but regret that no mention has been made in the Address about the measures for removing corruption, provincialism, casteism and losses which are prevalent in the public sector enterprises.” (333)

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

“but regret that no mention has been made in the Address about adoption of standards of exemplary austerity and economy by the Members of the Cabinet.” (334)

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

“but regret that no mention has been made in the Address about adopting the policy of economy in the administration.” (335)

SHRIMATI BIBHA GHOSH (Nabawip) : I beg to move :

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

“but regret that the Address gives no indication of bold initiatives to bring

India's relation with peoples' China and Pakistan back to normalcy." (211)

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

"but regret that the Address gives no indication of all the cultural agreements with foreign countries with a view to eliminate all those provisions that enable foreign powers to penetrate into the social and cultural life of the nation." (212)

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

"but regret that there is no reference about a firm line of struggle against imperialist (particularly American) policy in relation to the three Indo-China States, to Korea to West Asia, to Germany and Cuba ; full recognition by the Government of Vietnamese, Koreans, the G.D.R. and Cuban Government with exchanges of Ambassadors between each of these countries and India and recognition of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam." (213)

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

"but regret that the Address makes no reference about new initiative to be taken by the Government to organise common struggle of all the anti-imperialist countries." (214)

SHRI LALJI BHAJ (Udaipur) : I beg to move :

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

"but regret that no light has been thrown in the Address on the malpractices and irregularities such as misuse of money, publicity on radio and television in favour of the New Congress, late starting of counting of ballot-papers by the Election Commission, all of a sudden change in the system of counting of ballot-papers, non-availability of correct electoral rolls, ignoring the use of force in the election and absolute lack of arrangements for peaceful, fair and fearless voting, committed during the last General Elections." (223)

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address about the grave malpractices and irregularities committed in the recent mid-term elections, particularly misuse of Government machinery by the party in power in the Centre and very defective electoral rolls." (226)

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address about the number of educated persons, specialists and others who are unemployed or under employed in the country and the measures proposed to be adopted for providing them employment instead of resorting to slogan mongering." (244)

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address about the steps proposed to be taken to check the entry of great powers into the Indian Ocean." (245)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the steps to be taken to check the efforts being made by the Ruling Party at the Centre to encourage defections." (248)

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

"but regret that the Address has failed to give any indication of the measures to check the increasing violence in the country and the encouragement being given by Government to communal and fissiparous tendencies." (268)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the measures to solve the problem of non-availability of drinking water in lakhs of villages in the country." (308)

(Shri Taj Bahadur)

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

"but regret that there is no mention of any scheme to advance interest-free loans for a period of five years to farmers for the purchase of implements, seeds and fertilizers so that the country could become self-sufficient in a short period" (309)

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

"but regret that no light has been thrown on the measures to be adopted for solving the problems of poverty and unemployment which has resulted from 23 years' rule of Congress and to include the 'Right to Work' in the Fundamental Rights enshrined in the Constitution, by amending the Constitution for the purpose" (310)

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

"but regret that the Address has failed to present a programme for flood control, provision of irrigational facilities, checking of soil erosion, fisheries, development of navigation and for digging canals alongwith preparation of a Master Plan in respect of Ganga River passing through area of 1500 sq miles and influencing the lives of 21 crores of people." (311)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the measures to rehabilitate the persons affected by soil erosion on the river banks and to provide housing facilities to Jhuggi dwellers near the places of their employment in cities" (312)

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

"but regret that the Address has failed to mention the facts that the New Congress has prepared the ground for the further division of the country by catering into an alliance with the Muslim League during the last General Elections." (313)

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

"but regret that there is no mention

in the Address about the constitution of a high-power Commission to allay the fears of the people by holding an impartial enquiry into the allegation that Government machinery like A.I.R. and Television were widely misused to improve the chances of the victory of the Ruling Party at the Centre" (314)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the fact that the electoral rolls used in the recent mid-term elections were very faulty as a result of which lakhs of genuine voters were deprived of the right to exercise their franchise" (315)

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

"but regret that the Address has failed to mention concrete measures to be adopted for solving the problems of unemployment and spiralling prices" (316)

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

"but regret that no mention has been made of the steps to be taken by Government to compel Pakistan to pay compensation for the hijacked plane and to hand over the hijackers to India" (317)

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

"but regret that there is no mention of formulation of an independent foreign policy" (318)

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

"but regret that the Address has failed to mention the necessity of India becoming a nuclear power in order to have an independent foreign policy and independent defence policy." (319)

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

"but regret that there is no mention of reorientation of the Fourth Five Year Plan to achieve self-sufficiency, dynamic status and plan-oriented country." (320)

SHRI VARKEY GEORGE (Kottayam)

I beg to move

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

“but regret to note that no mention has been made about the Marine Resources and hence, efforts should be directed to fuller exploitation of marine resources to augment our sources of food supply and to earn foreign exchange through export of marine products” (372)

SHRI KATHAMUTHU (Nagapattinam)

I beg to move

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

“but regret that no mention of concrete schemes has been made in the Address about the uplift of poor and backward classes especially the Harijans in the country.” (376)

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

“but regret that the Address has failed to mention of any programme to fix wages for agricultural workers and its implementation in all States” (377)

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

“but regret that no motion has been made in the Address regarding disputes over inter-States rivers between Tamil Nadu, Mysore, Kerala such as Cauvery” (378)

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

“but regret that no mention has been made in the Address of any concrete programme about rural housing and providing social insurance scheme for the agricultural workers.” (379)

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

“but regret that no mention has been made in the Address regarding extension of credit facilities to small peasants at cheap rate of interest.” (380)

SHRI MUHAMMED SHERIFF (Periakulam) I beg to move

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

“but regret that there is no mention

in the Address about the communal riots in Aligarh and Miradabad in U. P.” (381)

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

“but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the protection of the Urdu language” (382)

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

“but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the creation of a special force to control the communal riots, in the country.” (383)

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

“but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the uplift of poor and Harijans in the country” (384)

SHRI ERASMO DE SEQUEIRA (Marmagao) : I beg to move :

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

“but regret that the Address contains no mention of any intent, to recognise that national progress is the responsibility of the entire nation, and to define the nationalized, retracted, and credible sphere, in which Government will assume responsibility” (400)

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

“but regret that mention is made in the Address merely of massive majority, without simultaneous statement of welcome to constructive criticism, and respect for dissent” (401)

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

“but regret specifically the absence in the Address of any concrete plans to :

- (a) turn the national Council of Ministers into an efficient team of national management ;
- (b) re-mould planning ;
- (c) revitalize the bureaucracy ;
- (d) turn the mobilization of resources into an instrument of change ;
- (e) re-allocate revenue between the Centre and the States commensu-

[Shri Erasmo De Sequeira]

rate with respective responsibility ;

(f) re-cast priorities in investment : and

(g) provide Parliament with opportunities of contribution and instruments of control." (402)

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address of intent to grant statehood to the Union Territory of Goa, Daman and Diu." (491)

SHRI KALYANASUNDARAM (Tiruchirappalli) : I beg to move :

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

"but regret to point out that the Government of India has failed in the matter of rehabilitation of Indians, particularly Tamils, repatriated from Burmah and Ceylon, which is casting undue burden on the Government of Tamil Nadu." (411)

SHRI CHANDRAPAN (Tellicherry) : I beg to move :

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address about the question of eradication of rural unemployment and also of the unemployment among the educated youth." (412)

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address about the effective control of monopolists in our country." (413)

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address regarding the nationalisation of export and import trade." (414)

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address about the nationalisation of foreign banks in India and also the general insurance." (415)

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address of any measures to ensure any effective check on and to arrest the galloping prices in India." (416)

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address about the removal of regional imbalances in economic growth." (417)

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address of any scheme to introduce meaningful structural changes in the administration by which the socio-economic changes can be expedited purposefully." (418)

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address about representation of students in all the administrative and academic bodies of all the universities in our country." (419)

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address of the need to ensure the full democratic rights of the students in all the educational institutions." (420)

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

"but regret that more employment opportunities are not visualised in the Address by effective curbing of overtime work in factories, mines, railways, administration, services, etc. and also by employing new hands." (421)

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

"but regret that no effective proposal has been suggested in the Address for eradication of illiteracy, by appointing

part-time teachers from among the educated unemployed youth and by promoting adult education through official, non-official and voluntary agencies." (422)

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

"but regret that there is no concrete suggestion in the Address for a rapid meaningful and thorough reform of our present system of education, which is outdated, unrelated to life and insufficient to meet the requirements of a modern society." (423)

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

"but regret that there is no concrete proposal in the Address to introduce measures by which communal and reactionary organisations like R. S. S. and Siva Sena, be banned in the interest of perserving communal harmony and unity of our country." (424)

SHRI S. L. SAKSENA (Maharajanj) :
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 ways and means to eradicate rampant corruption both in Government and in public life." (435)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about any definite plan of distributing land to the landless by reducing ceilings on land holdings and distributing surplus Government lands." (436)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of nationalisation of the sugar industry in the country as was decided by the Bombay Session of the Congress presided over by Shri Jagjivan Ram in December, 1969." (437)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the failure of the

Government to enforce Sugar Wage Board recommendations by refusing to pay arrears of increment in wages since November, 1969, and to announce that sugar labour shall be paid 50% wages in the off season." (438)

SHRI BHOGENDRA JHA (Jainagar) :
I beg to move :

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address of immediate nationalisation of three foreign oil companies." (459)

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

"but regret that no motion has been made in the Address of any proposal to immediately nationalise all the private banks including foreign banks." (460)

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address about immediate nationalisation of entire foreign trade." (461)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about immediate nationalisation of general insurance." (462)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address to maintain constant balance between the prices of industrial products and agricultural produce." (463)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address to provide employment or unemployment allowance immediately to all the educated and uneducated unemployed persons." (464)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address to grant loans to the farmers and the agricultural labourers from banks without asking for any

[Shri Bhogendra Jha]

gurance of their property with a view to increase production." (465)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about fully checking the rise in prices." (466)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address to show sympathy for the valiant struggle being launched by the people of Bangla Desh for their democratic rights." (467)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of any decision to establish full diplomatic relations with Democratic Republic of Vietnam." (468)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the renewal of the trade pact treaty with Nepal." (469)

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

"but regret that the Address has not termed the setting up of a Naval base by America in the Indian Ocean as a hostile act." (470)

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address to quite the British Commonwealth." (471)

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address about the demand for early withdrawal of entire American troops from Indo-China." (472)

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address for immediately establishing full diplomatic relations with the German Democratic Republic." (473)

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address of the decision to grant recognition to the provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam." (474)

SHRI A. K. GOPALAN (Palghat) : Before I come to the President's Address proper, I would like to draw the attention of the House to an important and serious development taking place in East Bengal or East Pakistan. This was not there at the time of the Address by the President. The situation has developed rapidly, and the People's Republic of Bangla Desh has been declared and a provisional government formed.

16.09 hrs.

[Shri K. N. Tiwary *in the Chair*]

Fierce fighting is going on, with the people of Bangla Desh fighting heroically against the West Pakistani aggression. In this strange situation, it is not enough to give lip-sympathy to the people of Bangla Desh. We have expressed our moral support already, but now the time has come for concrete action and material support.

We demand that the Government immediately recognise the Republic of Bangla Desh and provide all moral and material help to the fighters of Bangla Desh. We should actively intervene in mobilising support among other countries of the world and in the UN.

In India, we have got a history of support to people fighting for freedom and democracy against fascist repression. It has been a glorious tradition during our national struggle. We expressed our sympathy and support to the Republican forces in the civil war in Spain and extended our help to many Afro-Asian countries in their fight for freedom. If we are not to besmirch this great tradition, let us rise up and be one with the people of Bangla Desh in word as well as in deed.

Coming to the President's Address, it is a futile exercise in evasion. It conceals the deep economic crisis we are passing through,

a crisis generated, fostered and deliberately imposed on the people of India by the Congress Government. It is an excellent illustration of the bankrupt policies of the Congress Government from which we have suffered for the last 23 years. The President's speech is full of empty promises and platitudes. It states that the Government have got a massive mandate for change, a change which must come swiftly. Yes, the masses also want swift and radical changes; if we delay, the masses will take their own course, whether peaceful or non-peaceful.

The Address gives no indication of how the ruling Congress proposes to fulfil its promises. However, it is crystal clear on one fact, that the basic policies of the last 23 years are not going to be changed, policies that have admirably served the monopolists, the landlords and the bureaucrats. The Indra Government has come out with a slogan, *garibi hatuo*, but in practice, the result of the policy followed is: *garibon ko hatuo*.

The Address contains many vague promises to eradicate poverty and unemployment. This has also been mentioned in the Budget presented a few days ago. I also looked into the President's Addresses from 1952 up to date and, fortunately, in every Address there is a paragraph about unemployment and a promise that unemployment would be eradicated.

In the Budget, the Government have increased the expenditure on the Central Reserve Police by Rs. 9.5 crores. It has also announced a decision to raise two more battalions of the notorious CRP and expand the Central Industrial Security Force. Is this the fulfilment of the pledge to usher in progress and social justice? To help the toiling masses of India, who have faced the barbarities of the CRP, who are their sworn enemies, this is the step Government have taken.

As far as the promises are concerned, I am not simply saying that they will not be implemented or fulfilled. I am saying this because of my experience in this House for the last 18 years and the fate of promises made here and outside.

A promise was given to the people of Kerala that there would be a second ship-building yard. It was only a year ago when

the people of the locality of Ernakulum, launched a boat not made by Government but by themselves, not of steel but of paper, to celebrate the 10th anniversary of the promise. So every year, they will celebrate the anniversary by launching a paper boat.

From 1952 onwards, every session we had put questions on this and the answer given every time was the somebody will go to Japan immediately and find something. Shri Raghuramaiah was busy going to Japan every now and then. Now he is not there. I do not know who will go now. That is how the promises are kept.

As far as the phyto-chemical factory is concerned, not only was a promise given but they advanced a little further. The land was also acquired and so the people were satisfied, but now there is only the land, no phyto-chemical factory. In the case of the precision tools factory also, land was similarly acquired and even some work was done, but after that it went to some other place.

SHRI K. MANOHARAN (Madras North) : No provision.

SHRI A. K. GOPALAN : So, if you think that the people in the country will feel satisfied by your promise that something will be done, the people, as well as we here, know that these promises will not be kept.

The Congress has declared its policy of fighting unemployment and the President's Address talks of a scheme to provide for employment opportunities, but this is a mockery of the realities that exist in India today, because the Government's figures themselves show that there were over 200 lakhs of unemployed in 1970 and that this would increase to 315 lakhs by the end of the Fourth Plan. This does not include disguised unemployment and under employment. The Congress now promises five lakhs additional jobs every year whereas the labour force is increasing at the rate of 57 lakhs every year. So, this will not deceive the people,

The problem of unemployment is worsening. Apart from fresh entrants to the ranks of unemployed, thousands of workers in existing employment are being thrown out of their jobs. The coir mat, cashew, handloom and textile industries are being

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destroyed because the Government refuses to get rid of the monopolistic traders, exporters and middlemen. In the case of textiles, because of blackmarketeers, the yarn prices have gone up by Rs 20 in the last four months, an increase of 50 per cent. This has led to distress sales and closure of factories in Tamil Nadu, Bengal, Maharashtra and other places. Thousands of workers have been thrown out of their jobs.

In Kerala, the coir industry which supports six lakhs of workers and their dependents is suffering a slow death. Despite the struggle of the workers, the Central Government has callously evaded the question. Two months back the Minister from Kerala came here and asked for Rs 15 crores, at the rate of Rs. 5 crores per year for three years, so that they might revitalise the coir industry. That was not given. Now 1,25,000 workers are unemployed. Now there is a promise of Rs 52 crores to be set apart for solving the question of unemployment, but these 1,25,000 workers are going to be saved because by the time they do anything, these workers will not be there, they will die. From the Assembly proceedings I find that the Labour Minister in Kerala has said that they had asked the Central Government for some help but this was not given.

When the coir revitalisation scheme was submitted by the Kerala Government requiring Rs. 15 crores from the Centre, this was rejected despite repeated pleas. Now the Budget allocates Rs. 52 crores for employment programmes, when a whole industry could have been saved by the timely expenditure of Rs. 15 crores.

As far as the cashew industry is concerned, it is similarly in doldrums not only because of money but because the Government is not willing to break the grip of the monopolistic traders and exporters. We demand that these traditional industries should have intensive care from the State and the export-import trade in these products be nationalised.

Till the schemes mooted by the Address come to fruition, there is no suggestion of relief for the unemployed. We demand that relief of at least Rs. 50 per month be given to every unemployed person till he is gainfully employed.

I think the Minister is aware of the pro-

blem faced by the handloom industry. In many States even handloom co-operative societies have been closed down. In Kerala alone about 15 lakhs are employed in the handloom industry, it is a major industry. The workers are starving because the Government is not able to control blackmarketeers, profiteers and monopolists and the price of yarn goes up and cotton price also has gone up. Unless and until the Government could control these things and also evolve a machinery for the distribution of yarn the problem of the unemployed persons in the handloom industry cannot be solved.

Rural Unemployment is more chronic than urban unemployment. Here the Government by encouraging mechanization is actually swelling the ranks of the rural poor and destitutes. Mechanization through tractors in agriculture is creating havoc in the countryside. Moreover even in industries like Coir, mechanization of threshing husk is throwing thousands of women labourers out of work. In this industry alone there are 1.25 lakhs who are out of jobs. The Government while talking of fighting unemployment is by its policies of mechanization and automation creating unemployment.

My request to the Government is that they should not create unemployment. Instead of solving the problem of unemployment they are today creating unemployment by allowing mechanization in these industries. Until some alternative jobs can be provided automation and mechanization should not be introduced.

Next, I come to the question of land reforms. It is a very important question. In every session we had been talking about land reforms. The Presidential Address has shown no awareness of the seriousness of the agrarian crisis and the uselessness of paper legislation on land reform. The Address has said that a Committee on Land Reforms is to be instituted under the Union Minister of Agriculture. Every time you are faced with a problem a Committee will be appointed and then it is forgotten. After some time when it comes up again another Committee will be appointed. So many panels and Committees had been there. What is the use of these panels and Committees if they do not solve the land problem? I was my-

self a Member in one of the panels. They had so many panels and then they had some agricultural commissions. Now also they say that they will appoint a Commission. I want to point out that at the conference of Chief Ministers which was held last year when the Prime Minister said that the land ceiling must be reduced atleast two or three Chief Ministers openly said that they could never lower the ceiling. Ceilings have not been lowered. If I refer to the land reforms and say how it has been implemented it might be said that we are attacking the Government because we are in the Opposition. There is a report of a study group set up by the Home Ministry. It is a big report of about 100 pages and I hope the hon. Ministers have read it. It says that nothing had been done about the implementation of the land reform legislation. We also know that nothing would be done if we depend upon bureaucrats and also do not want to change the system that exists today. This is an extract from the Home Ministry's report.

"No fixity of tenure to 81 per cent of the tenants. About 82 per cent of the total number of tenants mainly in the States of Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Tamil Nadu, Punjab, Bihar, Haryana and West Bengal do not enjoy fixity of tenure. They are either tenants-at-will or subject to landlord's right of resumption or enjoy a temporary protection only."

Secondly, large-scale forcible ejection of tenants is there. In several States, particularly where attempts are made to prevent eviction, the ejections of the tenants have occurred on a large scale under the guise of voluntary surrenders. Certain States like Gujarat, Kerala, Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Manipur and Tripura, have made provisions for verification of surrenders by the revenue authorities.

As far as the most down-trodden people the agricultural labourers, are concerned, it is said here that no material change in the conditions of agricultural labour has been there. "The condition of agricultural labour has not changed materially and in some respects has worsened." This is not what I say. This is what the Home Ministry, Mr. Chavan, says. If I say that, it may be denied. But this is what Mr. Chavan says : that "the condition of agricultural labour has not changed materially, and in some

respects has worsened in spite of land reform." The incidence of unemployment is as high as 15 per cent for agricultural labour as compared with three per cent among the other rural households. What about minimum wages ? It is a dead letter. That is what it says. They are not implemented. It is a dead letter. That is what the Study Group report says. As regards minimum wage in agricultural labour, the report says that the Commission came to the finding that the Minimum Wages Act remains a dead letter, because wages were fixed about eight to 10 years ago and have not been revised. The ruling wages in some cases are higher than the statutory wages. The rural labour is mostly ignorant of the Minimum Wages Act.

So, they have come to this conclusion. What is the conclusion ? As now, the land reform measures have not benefited the actual tiller in all cases. There is considerable concentration of ownership. Much of the land is cultivated in small holdings by tenants and share-croppers who have no security of tenure and who have to pay exorbitant rents.

The conclusion of the Study Group has been cared for by the Government at all, because the officers who went there gave a warning ; they said that "the problem, in other words, has to be tackled on a wide front effectively and imaginatively. Failure to do so may lead to a situation where the discontented elements are compelled to organise themselves and the extreme tensions building up with the "Complex" molecule that is the Indian village and in an explosion." That is what has been said by them. I see you are going to put your hand on the bell. Please give me some more time.

MR. CHAIRMAN : You have already taken 20 minutes.

SHRI A. K. GOPALAN : The Mover and the seconder have taken more than one hour, you must also give me one hour.

Our party believes that there can be no real land reform with the bureaucracy and the courts. Unless they are changed, land reform will remain a dead letter. The Kerala High Court has blocked the Kerala Land Reform Bill. Only two days back, the Supreme Court passed a stay order, staying the clause in the Kerala Land Act

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saying that the land that is in excess should not be given. It must be stayed. Why talk of land reform? Where is the land reform? Where is the legislation? What happens to the legislation. I want to know from the Government. Before talking of land reform legislation and implementation of the legislation, either you spell out what you are going to do and allow those who are benefited and implement the land reform legislation and help them for implementation of that legislation, or else, see that the Constitution is changed. Every day, whatever the important clauses are there concerning the small peasants and agricultural labourers and hutment dwellers, they are scrapped by the high courts and the Supreme Court.

It is only three days back, before the President's Address, that the operation of the Kerala Land Reform legislation, which is very important because it is taking away land above the ceiling was stayed by the Supreme Court. How can the government implement it when it is stayed by the courts? Even if the government want to implement it, they cannot do so because of the hindrances placed in their way by the Supreme Court and the High Court. Government should change the Constitution so that once a legislation is passed, however ineffective or meagre it is, it can be implemented by the State without any hindrance from the judiciary. Unless that is there, what is the use of having a land reform legislation because it cannot be implemented. So that problem has to be tackled at the root.

Coming to the implementation of land reforms, a decision was taken in Kerala that 10 cents of land would be given to the hutment dwellers. But when the hutment dwellers tried to occupy land, government did not permit them. In fact, the government in co-operation with the landlords prevented them from occupying lands or evicted them and there are 50,000 cases pending against them in the courts. When the government itself is against the land legislation, how could it be implemented.

It was only the other day that in Edvankadd a landlord shot a labourer and inflicted injuries on others. Yet, no case was filed against him. On the other hand, 120 labourers were arrested.

We demand that the land ceiling should be reduced at least to the level as in West

Bengal and Kerala of five hectares of irrigated land per family, cultivated with their personal labour. We also demand that the landlord terror which is taking place in Uttar Pradesh, where gram panchayat land has been in possession of landlords and agricultural labourers are being terrorised by armed bands backed by the police of the State Government should be put an end to. Similar events are happening in Andhra, Ganganagar of Rajasthan and Andhra Pradesh. We should not allow the police, CRP and army to help the landlords to beat down the toiling masses. There should be a curb on the powers of the court to give injunction, as far as land reform legislations are concerned.

Coming to Centre-State relations, which is a very important problem, the Central Government has concentrated on itself all powers, financial, legislative and executive. Under this system the State Governments are nothing more than glorified municipalities. Through the institution of Governors it summarily dismisses and installs Ministries regardless of the popular mandate. Non-Congress Governments are treated as poor relatives and their demands for finance, aid etc. are lightly dismissed. We would like to affirm the multi-national character of the Indian Union and demand autonomy for States and their rights should be recognised by drastically amending the Constitution.

For making the powers of the State real we demand that 75 per cent of all the Centrally collected taxes should go to the States and most of the subjects in the Seventh Schedule to the Constitution should be transferred to the States. The Centre should essentially confine themselves to the coordination between different States, foreign affairs, defence, currency and similar all-India subjects.

The President's Address is surprisingly silent on this issue, when right now the Centre is trying to suppress the people's movement in West Bengal by sending its Central police and troops to murder and violate the basic rights of the people.

Coming to Kashmir, the President has spoken of democracy as if the Ruling Congress were the sole repository of democracy. The conduct of the elections in Kashmir, where the respected leader of the Kashmir people, Sheikh Abdullah, was prevented from entering Pakistan, and the

illegal banning of the Plebescite Front shows the respect for democracy of the Ruling Congress.

The problem of Kashmir will not be solved by military means and semi-fascist methods. Elections won by jailing one's opponents cannot still the grievance of the people of Kashmir. We say, give the State of Kashmir full autonomy as per the Instrument of Accession ; allow Kashmiris to run their affairs through their freely elected representatives. What is happening today in Bangla Desh is a lesson to our Government. They should see that not in Kashmir but in other parts also full autonomy is given to the States and they help in developing those States with coordination by the Centre.

About nationalisation of industry, the Government boasts of nationalisation of 14 banks and of its determination to do away with privy purses and princely privileges. That is good, but the nationalisation of banks has not been followed by taking over the monopoly concerns, nor have the foreign banks been nationalised. The credit policy of these banks, in essence, continues in favour of the big business concerns and the landlords and not in favour of the small industrialists and the poor. If you only go to the Reserve Bank in Haryana, you will see that about 80 per cent of the amount is given to the big people and small industrialists and farmers do not get loans and credits.

The Government refuses to take over foreign banks and nationalise the British and American concerns and plantations. Nationalisation is a meaningless slogan with heavy compensation. We demand that all foreign concerns and Indian monopoly houses be taken over without compensation. Do away with privy purses but we would welcome that if compensation is not paid. The Supreme Court should not stand in the way of these measures. For this it as to be drastically overhauled.

The Fundamental Rights should be so amended that the right to work, education and health is guaranteed as also the right to enjoy personal property while those of big business and landlords are abolished. That is how the Fundamental Rights should be amended.

Instead of taking over foreign firms and monopoly houses in India the Government is actually strengthening them by patronising

them with licences. Monopolies have grown enormously. Between 1963-64 and 1967-68 the assets of the top 20 houses increased by 54.6 per cent while the real wage of the workers was declining. The Government was using repression and the police to crush the workers, the peasants and the middle classes.

About foreign aid, we are mostly building up on foreign aid. Foreign aid has become the mainstay of our development programme. Our foreign debt has increased from Rs. 32 crores in 1951-52 to over Rs. 7,000 crores in 1970. Foreign collaborations have increased to 3,151 industrial ventures by September 1970. We now collaborate with the Americans also to produce chewing gum, biscuits, cosmetics and to build luxury hotels. What a terrible distortion of our economic perspective ! The same government uses CRP and the police force to beat down the workers when they demand an increase of a pittance in their wages. Of what use can these collaborations with foreign monopolists be to the starving coir, cashew and textile workers except to appease the profit-hungry monopolists ?

As far as foreign policy is concerned, the Government promises non-alignment and an independent foreign policy but in action it is not so. The dismal record of our foreign policy is a record of capitulation and weaknesses in the face of mounting imperialist aggression all over the world. On Vietnam the Address calls for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Vietnam.

This is what the American also say. They also say, "Withdraw all foreign troops." The Indian Government should categorically demand that the American aggression should stop and the American troops should quit Vietnam. It refuses to recognise the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam. It has no word of condemnation about the barbarous kind of warfare using chemicals and also indiscriminate bombings that the American troops are indulging in Vietnam.

It does not repudiate the UN resolution of Korea and does not demand the withdrawal of American troops from South Korea. It refuses to give full recognition to North Korea and the German Democratic Republic. Where is this so-called non-alignment ? It is not non-alignment. If you want to call it like that, call it double alignment.

[Shri A. K. Gopalan]

The Government has no word of condemnation on the latest American invasions into Cambodia and Laos. It does not recognise Sihanouk's Government as the legally representative one even though the countries like Ceylon have done so.

The Government does not take any action on the sale of arms to South Africa by the British Government. It still clings on to the membership of the colonial Commonwealth. It refuses to express solidarity with the oppressed people of Africa. It does not dare nationalise British concerns because it is too much dependent on Western loans.

Before I conclude, I have to only touch upon one point and that is about politics of murder as prominently mentioned by the President in his Address. The Government has expressed its determination to suppress the politics of murder. We accuse the Government of initiating and encouraging this murderous politics. In Srikakulam, more than 120 Girijan leader were arrested and shot dead as Naxalites. They arrested Nirmala, Annapurna, the wives of Girijan leaders, raped them and killed them. In Punjab, its police arrested the so-called Naxalite leaders and tortured them and shot them dead.

Even in the Kerala Assembly, the question came up of the so-called Naxalite who was captured, who was put in boiling water and his eye was taken out and was shot dead.

In West Bengal, the Centre's the Home and the Intelligence Departments conspire with the anti-social elements and Naxalites and encourage them with the direct connivance of the police to murder CPM cadres. The politics of murder has worked. 250 of our party comrades have been killed and martyred at the hands of these assassins.

It is the police in Bengal that arrested some of the Naxalites, shot them dead and dumped their bodies in Barasat, about which we had a discussion in this House.

They also tried to stab an ex-High Court judge who was conducting an inquiry through the hands of a police agent.

They have hatched conspiracies like attributing the murder of the respected Shri Hemanta Kumar Basu on the C. P. M., an

infamous slander which rivals Goebbels' feat of the 'Reichstag Trail'.

During the elections, the military and the CRP were used to terrorise our workers and sympathisers. The murder and arrest of our cadres continues in Bengal. Now after the elections, we are going to give a memorandum to the Prime Minister which contains how many of our workers have been killed.

The declaration of stopping the politics of murder is going to be used to further repress our movement and the democratic struggles of the people. But the Congress rulers should take a lesson from East Bengal. There a military dictatorship is trying ruthlessly to stamp out a people's movement. But it cannot stop the elemental force of a people awakened. I hope, the Government will keep this in mind. We will fight the policies of this Government tooth and nail and expose the true character of the ruling Congress. The CPM pledges itself to serve the people of India.

The Government talks of democracy and talks of stopping the politics of murder, practised goondaism and terror with the aid of the police and army in Bengal and Kerala. But without going into the past, let us look at what is happening after the elections. In Bengal, police and military attacks have been intensified. Towns and villages are being encircled as in a war and people are being arrested and tortured *en masse*. The whole State is under Section 144. Curfews have become a regular feature.

West Bengal has been practically placed under Police-military rule. The voice of the people is being gagged. This beginning shows what further dangerous all-out attacks are in store for the people if the conspiracy to impose a Congress Government or to continue President's rule succeeds, as it has succeeded. It also signifies a serious danger to democracy in the country as a whole.

Similarly, in Kerala police attacks are continuing and increasing. In Nochupalli, Mandur, etc. several labourers were beaten and arrested and tortured in lock-up. Nahu, an estate worker at Vandhazhi Choora-patta estate, was killed by the estate manager

aided by his family and goondas. All this happens under the cover of the slogan 'Stop the politics of murder.' Sir, it is the case of the thief calling 'Stop Thief.' I would only wish to say, 'You can foist and do all these things but, as far as the people are concerned, people are determined and they will resist all these things.' I think the Government will understand what is happening in Bangla Desh to-day and will not resort to these things so that such a thing as what is happening in Bangla Desh may not happen here, Sir.

Thank you, Sir.

डा० गोबिन्द दास (जबलपुर) : सभापति जी, श्री गोपालन के इतने लम्बे भाषण को अभी सुनकर मैं दग रह गया। उसमें न तो कहीं भावों में और भाषा में मध्यता थी न कहीं सन्तुलन और न कहीं किसी प्रकार का आणा-वाद था। उनके भाषण में यहां से वहां तक असम्यता और निराशा भरी हुई थी। उन्होंने जनता के लिए बहुत कुछ कहा और अपने भाषण को जनता की रतुति करके समाप्त किया लेकिन वे इस बात को भूल गए कि अभी जनता ने अपना क्या फैसला दिया है। पूरब से लेकर पश्चिम तक और उत्तर से लेकर दक्षिण तक श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी की जो सफलता हुई है क्या वह जनता की सफलता नहीं है? यदि वह सफलता जनता की नहीं है तो फिर जनता का नाम श्री गोपालन के मुंह में शोभा नहीं देता।

उनकी केवल दो बातें ऐसी थी जो मैंने बड़े ध्यान से सुनी, जिनसे कि मैं सहमत हूं। एक तो यह कि जब तक बेकारी दूर नहीं होती तब तक बड़ी बड़ी मशीनों को न मंगाया जाये क्योंकि इससे बेकारी बढ़ेगी। सरकार को श्री गोपालन के इस सुझाव पर अवश्य ध्यान देना चाहिये। दूसरी बात उन्होंने यह कही कि हमारी बहुत सी नीतियां और कार्यक्रम, हमारे जो सरकारी कर्मचारी हैं उनके कारण कार्य रूप में परिणत नहीं हो पाते। इस बात में भी एक सम्बन्ध है और इस पर भी हमें ध्यान देना चाहिये।

शब्द में अन्य विषयों पर आता हूं जोकि बड़ी योग्यता के साथ अपना प्रस्ताव उपस्थित करते हुए श्री भगत जी ने यहां पर पेश किया है। यहां पर सबसे पहले मैं शब्द का महत्व बताना चाहता हूं। मनुष्य इस दृष्टि का सबसे श्रेष्ठ प्राणी है, यह बात तो वह जानता है लेकिन वह सर्वश्रेष्ठ प्राणी क्यों है इसपर प्रायः विचार नहीं करता। वह सर्वश्रेष्ठ प्राणी इस लिए है कि ईश्वर ने, निःसर्ग ने जो ज्ञान-शक्ति मनुष्य को दी है वह अन्य किसी प्राणी को नहीं दी। इसलिए उसकी जो भाषा है वह सब भाषाओं में अलग है और उस भाषा में शब्द का सबसे बड़ा महत्व है। हमारे स्वर्गीय प्रधान मन्त्री पं० जवाहर लाल नेहरू ने जाने से कुछ समय पहले भुवनेश्वर में अखिल भारतीय कांग्रेस समिति में एक शब्द दिया था—डिमोक्रेटिब सोशलिज्म।

सन विनोबा भावे तक में उस शब्द की बड़ी प्रशंसा की थी। मैं उस शब्द में एक शब्द और जोड़ देना चाहता हूं। डिसैट्रलाइज्ड डेमोक्रेटिब सोशलिज्म अर्थात् विकेन्द्रित प्रजा-तांत्रिक समाजवाद। यदि हम इस देश से गरीबी को दूर करना चाहते हैं, लोगों को रोजगार, धन्य में लगाना चाहते हैं और चीजों की कीमतें न बढ़ें इसका प्रयत्न करना चाहते हैं तो यह विकेन्द्रित प्रजातांत्रिक समाजवाद से ही हो सकता है इस वाक्य में या इन तीन शब्दों में सारी नीति आ जाती है ऐसा मेरा मत है। मैं एक छोटा सा साहित्यकार हूं और इस नाते मैं यह बात आपके सामने कह रहा हूं।

दुनिया के कुछ देश ऐसे हैं जो समाजवादी हैं परन्तु प्रजातंत्र को नहीं मानते। कुछ देश ऐसे हैं जहां प्रजातंत्र है समाजवाद नहीं है। शायद कुछ देश ऐसे भी हैं जो प्रजातांत्रिक समाजवाद की बात करते हैं पर ऐसा एक भी देश नहीं है जो विकेन्द्रित प्रजातांत्रिक समाजवाद की बात करता हो या उस पर विचार करता हो। इस लिए यह जो नया युग आरम्भ होने वाला है

[डा० गोविन्द दास]

और उस युग का जो कार्यक्रम है उसमें इन तीन शब्दों को मैं प्रधान मन्त्री के सामने और सरकार के सामने रखता हूँ। इसको आदर्श मान कर हमें सब योजनाओं को कार्य रूप में परिणत करना है। विकेंद्रित प्रजातांत्रिक समाजवाद (डिसेंट्रलाइज्ड डेमोक्रेटिक सोशल-लिज्म) का यह कार्यक्रम केवल संसद के भीतर कानून बनाने से ही पूरा नहीं हो सकता। इसके लिए हमें तीन मोर्चों पर काम करना होगा। पहला मोर्चा तो संसद का है। संसद में आज दो तिहाई मत श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी को प्राप्त है। हमारा विश्वास है कि उनके जो भी विकेंद्रित प्रजातांत्रिक समाजवाद को लाने के लिए प्रस्ताव होंगे, विधेयक होंगे वे यहाँ पर स्वीकार किए जायेंगे। दूसरा मोर्चा हमारा यह है कि हम ऐसे अधिकारियों और कर्मचारियों का आवाहन करें जो इस कार्य के लिए कर्तव्यबद्ध हो जायें या अंग्रेजी में जिसे कमिटीड कहते हैं वह कमिटीड हो जायें। मैं श्री गोपालन की इस बात को स्वीकार करता हूँ कि हमारे बहुत से कार्य इसलिए नहीं होने कि राज्य कर्मचारी उन कामों को कार्य रूप में परिणत नहीं करते। इसलिए मैं एक नई बात आपके सामने रख रहा हूँ कि हमको अब ऐसे अधिकारी और राज्य कर्मचारियों की आवश्यकता है जो कर्तव्यबद्ध होकर जिसे कि अंग्रेजी में कमिटीड कहते हैं काम करें और जिनकी उन्नति और अवनति दोनों उनके कार्य पर निर्भर रहे। अगर वह काम ठीक करते हैं तो उनकी उन्नति होनी चाहिए। अतः अगर वह काम ठीक नहीं करते हैं तो उनकी अवनति होनी चाहिए। मुझे विश्वास है कि यदि ऐसे राज्य कर्मचारियों और अधिकारियों का आवाहन किया गया तो सरकारी निकायों में से ही ऐसे राज्य कर्मचारी हमें प्राप्त हो सकेंगे जो कर्तव्यबद्ध होकर, कमिटीड होकर हमारा काम करेंगे। तीसरा मोर्चा जो मैं कह रहा हूँ वह मोर्चा है कुछ ऐसे

गैर सरकारी युवकों के संगठन का जो केवल आंकड़ों की जांच न करे लेकिन जो इस बात को देखे कि हर राज्य में हर जिले में और हर परगने में सरकार की नीति कार्य रूप में परिणत हो रही है या नहीं। ऐसे युवा संगठन के लिए हमको विद्यार्थियों का आवाहन करना चाहिए। आज विद्यार्थियों में जो अनुशासनहीनता और दूसरी चीज आ गयी है वे भी इस बात से बहुत हद तक दूर हो जायेंगी। इसलिए जैसा मैंने कहा हमको उस कार्यक्रम को कार्य रूप में परिणत करने के लिए तीन मोर्चों पर काम करना होगा एक संसद में, दूसरे राज्य कर्मचारियों में और तीसरे युवकों के संगठन में...

सभापति महोदय माननीय सदस्य अब समाप्त करें क्योंकि समय सीमित है और स्वयं उनकी पार्टी में करीब 26 आदमी बोलने को है।

डा० गोविन्द दास : मुझे आप 20 मिनट का समय भी न दें तो यह मेरी सम्झ में ठीक न होगा। इस हाउस के सबसे पुराने मੈम्बर की हैसियत से यह मेरे साथ बड़ा अन्याय होगा। आप जानते हैं कि मैं बहुत कम बोलता हूँ लेकिन जब मैं इस अवसर पर कुछ कहना चाहता हूँ तो मुझे उसे पूरा करने के लिए समय मिलना चाहिये। सदन के सबसे पुराने सदस्य होने के नाते मेरी यह मांग बहुत उचित है।

श्री राम सहाय पांडे (राजनंद गांव) : डा० गोविन्द दास इस सदन के सबसे पुराने सदस्य हैं और उन्हें अपनी बात पूरी करने के लिए पर्याप्त समय दिया जाय।

डा० गोविन्द दास : दूसरी बात जो मैं आपके सामने कहना चाहता हूँ वह यह है कि भौतिक उन्नति के लिए हम यह सब काम करें, ठीक है, लेकिन केवल भौतिक उन्नति ही न हूँ क्योंकि यह स्पष्ट है कि केवल भौतिक उन्नति

से हमारे प्रबन्धों का हल होने वाला नहीं है। गांधी जी ने स्वतंत्र भारत में क्या होगा इसका एक चित्र हमारे सामने रक्खा था और उन्होंने आध्यात्मिक उन्नति की नींव के ऊपर भौतिक उन्नति को खड़ा किया था। आज हमारी शिक्षा में इतने दोष हैं जिनकी कि कोई सीमा नहीं है। मैं दुनिया के करीब करीब सब देशों में गया हूँ। मैंने देखा है कि जिसे निर्दोष शिक्षा पद्धति कहनी चाहिए, वसी शिक्षा पद्धति तो कहीं पर नहीं है। पर हमारे देश की शिक्षा पद्धति में जितने दोष आ गये हैं उतने दोष भी शायद और किसी देश की शिक्षा पद्धति में नहीं हैं। नई पीढ़ी के निर्माण के लिए शिक्षा प्रणाली के दोषों को निकालना चाहिये। इस सम्बन्ध में कई आयोग और कई समितियाँ बन चुकी हैं लेकिन यह आवश्यक है कि इन आयोगों और इन समितियों के जो सुझाव हैं, जो सिफारिशें हैं, उनको हम कार्य रूप में परिणत करें।

इस शिक्षा पद्धति के बाद मैं आप से हिन्दी के सम्बन्ध में कहना चाहता हूँ। जहाँ तक हिन्दी का मामला है मैं स्पष्ट कर देना चाहता हूँ कि हिन्दी को किसी के ऊपर लादने का कोई प्रयत्न न किया जाय। जो राज्य अपने यहाँ हिन्दी न चलाते हो वह न चलायें, थोड़े दिन के बाद वह स्वयं इस बात को अनुभव करेंगे कि अखिल भारतीय स्तर पर उनका काम बिना हिन्दी के नहीं चल सकता। फिर मेरा कहना है कि सरकार कोई एक निश्चय कर लेती है तो उसे अपने निश्चय को कार्य रूप में परिणत करना ही चाहिए। सरकार ने जिस समय अंग्रेजी को अनिश्चित काल तक चलाने के लिए एक विधेयक पास किया था तभी एक प्रस्ताव भी पास किया था। उस प्रस्ताव में हिन्दी के चलाने के सम्बन्ध में जो बातें कही गई थी वह बातें कार्य रूप में परिणत नहीं की गईं। उनको कार्य रूप में परिणत करने की आवश्यकता है। इसके लिए मैं तीन सुझाव आपके सामने रखना चाहता हूँ।

पहला सुझाव यह है कि केन्द्रीय सरकार को हिन्दी भाषा भाषी राज्यों के साथ अपना सम्पूर्ण पत्र व्यवहार हिन्दी में करना चाहिए। अभी सरकार के पास जो हिन्दी के पत्र आते हैं उनका ही उत्तर हिन्दी में जाता है। इससे काम नहीं चलेगा। केन्द्रीय सरकार द्वारा भी जो पत्र भेजे जायें वह भी हिन्दी में जाने चाहिए।

दूसरा सुझाव यह है कि लोक सेवा आयोग में हिन्दी और हिन्दी के साथ दूसरी जो भारतीय भाषाएँ हैं उनको स्थान देना चाहिये। सरकार इसको स्वीकार कर चुकी है परन्तु यह भी कार्य रूप में परिणत नहीं हो रहा है। मैं केवल हिन्दी के लिये नहीं कहता अपितु सभी भारतीय भाषाओं के लिये कहता हूँ। जो लोग कहते हैं कि मैं केवल हिन्दी का पक्षपाती हूँ वह गलत सम्झते हैं। मैं केवल हिन्दी का ही पक्षपाती नहीं हूँ अपितु मैं ममस्त भारतीय भाषाओं का पक्षपाती हूँ। अंग्रेजी से भी मेरी कोई शत्रुता नहीं है और मैं उसका आदर करता हूँ लेकिन अंग्रेजी के प्रति मेरी स्थिति वही है जो गांधी जी की अंग्रेजी राज्य के सम्बन्ध में थी। गांधी जी कहा करते थे कि अंग्रेज मेरे मित्र हैं, अंग्रेजों से मैं प्रेम करता हूँ किन्तु सात समुद्र पार से मुट्ठी भर अंग्रेज आकर इस देश के ऊपर हुकूमत करें वह अस्वाभाविक है और वह हुकूमत जानी चाहिये। मैं यही बात अंग्रेजी के बारे में कहता हूँ। अंग्रेजी मैं मानता हूँ कि एक बड़ी अच्छी भाषा है और जो लोग उसे सीखना चाहते हैं वह उसे सीख ले लेकिन जिस भाषा को 2 प्रतिशत लोग भी नहीं जानते वह भाषा इस देश में छाई रहे यह एक अस्वाभाविक स्थिति है और यह जानी चाहिए।

अब मैं गोरक्षा के सम्बन्ध में कहना चाहता हूँ। मैं इस बात को नहीं मानता जैसे कि कुछ लोग आज कहते हैं कि श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी चुनाव की बैतरणी को गऊ की पूँछ पकड़ कर तरी है। चुनाव बिन्हीं कोई भी क्यों न होना

[डा० गोविन्द दास]

इन्दिरा जी को इसी प्रकार की सफलता मिलती। किन्तु इसी के साथ मैं यह भी कहना चाहता हूँ कि इस विषय में देश को तब तक सन्तोष नहीं होगा, कभी भी नहीं होगा, जब तक इस देश में गोवध कतई बन्द नहीं होता, पूरा बन्द नहीं होता। जब तक गोवध पूरा बन्द नहीं होता तब तक कम से कम जो सर्वोच्च न्यायालय का फैसला है उसको कार्य रूप में परिणत करना चाहिये। सर्वोच्च न्यायालय के और निर्णयों को कार्य रूप में परिणत करने का प्रयत्न घाप करते हैं लेकिन गोवध के संबन्ध में उसको सरकार कार्य रूप में परिणत नहीं करती। इसको भी कार्य-रूप में परिणत करना चाहिये। आप बम्बई के कसाईखानों को देखिये कलकत्ते के कसाईखानों को देखिये, अच्छे से अच्छा गोधन उनमें काटा जाता है। इसको बन्द होना चाहिये।

17.00 hrs.

आखिर में एक बात और कहना चाहता हूँ और वह भारतीय संस्कृति के सम्बन्ध में है। भारतीय संस्कृति बड़ी उदार संस्कृति रही है। इसीलिए धर्म-निरपेक्षता इस संस्कृति का सबसे बड़ा गुण है और हमने अपने संविधान में भी इसको स्वीकार किया है। अभी तामिल नाडु के सेलम नगर में जो घटना हुई वह हमारी संस्कृति के सर्वथा प्रतिकूल है। इस तरह की एक दो घटनाएँ सन 1964-65 में भी हुई थी। मेरे पास कुछ पत्र आये। उन पत्रों में कहा गया था कि सेलम में राम और कृष्ण के चित्रों के साथ जो कुछ हुआ वही हमें रामास्वामी नायकर के चित्र मंगाकर उत्तर भारत के जिलों-जिलों, शहरों-शहरों और कस्बों-कस्बों में करना चाहिये। मैं इसका बड़ा विरोधी हूँ। हम तो सहष्णुता वाले हैं, अहिंसावादी हैं। हम इतने दूर तक सहष्णुता रखने वाले हैं, अहिंसात्मक हैं कि जो बौध्ध धर्म वैदिक धर्म के विरुद्ध था

उसके प्रवर्तक भगवान बुद्ध को भी हमने भगवान का अवतार मान लिया। नायकर साहब का चित्र यहाँ मंगाया जाय और उसके साथ उसी तरह का व्यवहार किया जाये जिस प्रकार का व्यवहार उन लोगों ने भगवान राम और कृष्ण के चित्रों के साथ किया, यह अनुचित बात है। श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी स्वयम् कह चुकी है इस बात को जो कुछ बर्हा किया गया वह सर्वथा अनुचित हुआ। अभी उन लोगों ने और भी बहुत सी बातें करने को कही है। मूर्तियाँ तोड़ेंगे, मन्दिर तोड़ेंगे, क्या-क्या करेंगे इस देश को एक सूत्र में बांध कर रखने के लिये यहाँ की संस्कृति, यहाँ के धर्म प्रधान चीजे हैं और इस प्रकार की कार्रवाई आगे न हो इस विषय में सरकार को बहुत मतकं रहना चाहिये। अगर कोई राज्य सरकार इस विषय में मतकं नहीं रहती तो केन्द्रीय सरकार को उसमें हस्तक्षेप करना चाहिये।

इन थोड़ों से शब्दों के साथ जो प्रस्ताव यहाँ रखा गया है मैं उमका हृदय से समर्थन करता हूँ।

SHRI FATEHSINGHRAO GAEKWAD (Baroda) : Mr. Chairman, this is a long way from division No. 24 on that side where I sat for ten years to division No. 366 on this side. But I am happy to note that my former senior colleague Shri Krishna Menon has also changed sides with me. Once a Parliamentary Secretary in this House and lately a Minister in a State Government and now a Member of a sadly depleted party, it is nice also at the same time to be back again in this House after a lapse of 4 years. I am sure I am going to enjoy speaking from this side of the House as much as I enjoyed speaking from the other side of the House. While I shall not spare Government when it comes to actions detrimental to the interests of the country, my criticism shall always remain constructive and objective, and it is with this approach that I propose to treat the subject before the House, namely, the Presidential Address—I am glad my senior colleague is back in the House.

It is a crying shame that with all the recent emphasis on the eradication poverty, the Address makes no mention at all of any programme to accelerate the pace of economic progress or advancement of the backward classes, especially the Scheduled Castes and the Adivasis. Ever since the dawn of independence while wild promises have been held out to them, all that has been carried out has been a ruthless and blatant exploitation of these communities. Article 17 of the Constitution reads :

“Untouchability” is abolished and its practice in any form is forbidden. The enforcement of any disability arising out of “Untouchability” shall be an offence punishable in accordance with law.’

But the condition of backward classes in this country, the downtrodden classes, is worse than it ever was. In India's thousands of villages the Harijan community, the backward community, is compelled to live in segregation even today. It is 24 years after independence and we have been having our own national Government. In the vast majority of the villages, and I would like any Member of this House to challenge this, especially from the other side, the Harijan is forced even to make his own arrangement drinking water supply. In most cases he has to share his drinking water with cattle. He dare not do it normally but the only day when he is allowed to drink the common well with the others of the village is when some official or high dignitary visits the village. Thereafter or on any other day if he dare repeat it, the least he has to pay for it is with his life.

Last year in a village in Gujarat, a village which only the previous year had been awarded a prize for its contribution towards the integration of the backward classes with the other classes, Harijans were brutally assaulted,.....

AN HON. MEMBER : You were Minister there.

SHRI FATEHSING GAEKWAD : Yes, I was.

.....for committing the crime of drinking from the same well.

In the urban areas where one is told that there is considerable enlightenment, that people have progressed since the dawn of

independence, and where large sums of money are being spent for slum clearance, even when slums are cleared,—some have been cleared, there is no doubt about it—separate tenements are being built for these backward classes. I do not think this is a fair contribution and a fair treatment to a class for whose uplift we have been struggling for years.

श्री शिवनाथ सिंह (कुम्भुनू) : राजाओं के समय से अब उनकी हालत अच्छी है ।

श्री फतहसिंह गायकवाड़ : ग्राम बड़ीदा की बात नहीं जानते, इसलिए मैं बड़ीदा की बात बतला रहा हूँ ।

SHRI N. K. SHARMA (Dausa) : That system is also out of date.

SHRI FATEHSING GAEKWAD : You don't have to tell me. It is written on the wall, I can read it.

This in brief is the appalling condition of the backward classes of this country even after 24 years of independence. Since the time at my disposal is short, I shall deal with this matter in detail when the report of the Backward Classes Commission and Scheduled Castes Commission come before the House. It always comes a year or too late. This is my experience in the past.

There is another subject to which I shall now turn my attention. I am very happy to note that the President's Address makes specific mention of this. This is a matter of great vital importance not only to this country but to the world at large.

It is the stress that the President has laid on the dangers of air, water and soil pollution and on the need for ecological balance of nature. The dangers of pollution were first felt and realised about 10 or 12 years ago. But the subject did not receive the attention due to it until about 4 years ago. It was only in 1967 that the Centre wrote to all the State Government requesting them to pass resolutions in the State Assemblies under article 252 of Constitution empowering the Centre to bring forward a Bill for the purpose. In the very first session of the Gujarat Assembly in 1967 a unanimous resolution was passed to this effect. It is sad to imagine that it took three years for another State Government to

[Shri Fatchsingh Gackwad]

pass a similar resolution. I think it was passed by Kerala after repeated reminders from the Centre. In sheer desperation I, as the then State Health Minister, decided to bring forward a Bill of my own in the State Assembly. But unfortunately to my amazement I discovered that once having surrendered the power of legislation to the Centre, the State Government could not pass an independent enactment in this respect. The Maharashtra Government, in many respects a clever Government, did not pay heed to the Centre and they did not pass the necessary legislation. They are to-day probably the only State, I am subject to correction, who have passed an enactment for the prevention of pollution of water.

This is not the first time that reference to pollution has been made in the President's Address. An assurance was held out in last year's Presidential Address that a Bill would be introduced in Parliament. It is true that a Bill was introduced, together, in the Rajya Sabha, and then referred to a Joint Select Committee which has now fallen through because a new Parliament has come into being. I do hope that the second assurance given to us in this Presidential Address will mean something and sooner rather than later a comprehensive Bill on the prevention of pollution in air, water and soil will be brought forward in this House. I hope there will be no delay in this respect.

Coupled with this question is the urgent need for an ecological survey in this country. The balance of nature which is what the definition of ecology is, has been badly and sadly upset in this country. Forests have been rapidly receding and some of the valuable dumb denizens of these forests are on the verge of extinction. Early this year the Gujarat Government took steps to set up a State Ecological Council and is probably the only State to have done so, so far.

With all the emphasis at my command, I would strongly urge the Central Government to give this matter their urgent and immediate attention, and take speedy steps to set up an Ecological Council at the Centre.

I would not give you the occasion to ring the bell; I will sit before you do so.

I am also greatly distressed that there is no mention in the Address of the Narmada project. The delay in its implementation because of the differences over it among certain States, has been so great that it is today even beyond a joke. In the past, one can understand that there was a weak Centre and the Centre could not persuade the State Governments to take action, but now, since things have undergone a dramatic transformation and since there is so much talk going around about the massive mandate given by the people to the new Government, the implementation of the Narmada project, I feel, should be the very first task that should be undertaken by this Government.

While undoubtedly it will mean the bringing about the green revolution in the States of Gujarat and Madhya Pradesh, my fervent plea is that the Narmada project and similar other projects be viewed not as State projects or projects beneficial only to some States but as national projects solely beneficial to the nation. I hope that the new Government will pay due heed to this plea.

Sir, there are other subjects with which I would like to deal, but the leader of my party has told me that he wishes to take part in this debate, and I should not erode into his time. Therefore, I shall conclude my speech today with thanks to the Chair.

श्री नाथू राम (नागौर) : राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण पर जो धन्यवाद का प्रस्ताव प्रस्तुत हुआ है, उसका समर्थन करने के लिए मैं खड़ा हुआ हूँ। राष्ट्रपति जी ने जो अभिभाषण मध्या-चुनावों के बाद दोनों सदन में पेश किया है, वह एक बहुत ही उच्च कोटि का अभिभाषण है। जिन नीतियों का प्रतिपादन इस अभिभाषण में किया गया है उन नीतियों के बारे में हमने देश की जनता के सामने इन चुनावों के पहले कुछ बातें कहीं थीं और उन सब बातों का समावेश इस अभिभाषण में कर दिया गया है। खास तौर से जिस प्रकार के देश के हालत हो रहे थे इन चुनावों के पहले और खास तौर से सन 1967 के चुनावों के बाद और जिस प्रकार की

देश की और राज्यों की सरकारों की परिस्थितियाँ बनीं और जिस ढाँचे को लेकर देश आगे चल रहा था उसमें एक बहुत बड़े परिवर्तन की आवश्यकता थी। इन सारी बातों को महसूस कर हमारे देश की उस समय की सरकार ने यह निर्णय लिया कि देश के हालात को ध्यान में रखते हुए और इसको ध्यान में रखते हुए कि हमारा देश अब कुछ परिवर्तन चाहता है और उन परिवर्तनों को लाने में देश की जनता ही सक्षम है, हम चुनावों के मैदान में गये। देश की जनता ने इन चुनावों में जो फैसला किया उसको उस सदन के सभी माननीय सदस्य जान चुके हैं। इस सदन के आज जो हालात बने हैं उसको देख कर हम कह सकते हैं कि देश की जनता ने यह फैसला दिया है कि वह एक मध्यम रास्ते की पक्षपाती है, न वह एक्सट्रीम राइट का रास्ता चाहती है और न ही एक्सट्रीम लैफ्ट का रास्ता चाहती है बल्कि देश के एक मध्यम मार्ग को अपना कर आगे बढ़ना चाहती है। इसी रास्ते पर चलकर वह समाजवाद लाने की कल्पना करती है और इस रास्ते पर चले कर देश में समाजवाद लाया जाना सम्भव भी है। इसका विश्वास और भरोसा देश की जनता को है। इस प्रकार से जो प्रतिनिधि चुन कर आए इस सदन में उनमें से माट्टे तीन सौ से ज्यादा प्रतिनिधि श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी की जो सरकार बनी, उसके समर्थक हैं। हमने जनता को यह भरोसा दिलाया है कि हम बिना किसी हिंसा के देश में परिवर्तन लाने में सक्षम होंगे, हम जल्द-जल्द पढ़ने पर संविधान में संशोधन करेंगे और समाजवाद की स्थापना के लिए इस देश में क्रान्तिकारी परिवर्तन लायेंगे। राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण में बहुत सी दिशाओं का दिग्दर्शन किया गया है।

आज भी देश हालत काफी गम्भीर है। इस देश की जनसंख्या 53.70 करोड़ है और वह लगातार हर साल डेढ़ करोड़ के हिमाब से बढ़ती आ रही है। देश की बढ़ती हुई जनसंख्या

के लिए रोटी, रोजी और अन्य सुविधाएँ उपलब्ध करने का सवाल बहुत पेचीदा है। इसलिए यह जरूरी है कि जनसंख्या को नियंत्रित करने का एक प्रोग्राम बनाया जाये। अब धक्का आ गया है कि अगर इसके लिए किसी काधून की आवश्यकता हो, तो वह भी बनाया जाये।

हमने देश का उत्पादन बढ़ाना है। यह ठीक है कि आजादी के बाद खेती-बाड़ी और उद्योग-धन्धों का उत्पादन काफी बढ़ा है। देश की राष्ट्रीय आय भी बढ़ी है। लेकिन देश में बड़े हुए धन के सही वितरण में कमी रह गई है। देश का धन कुछ ही हाथों में केन्द्रित हो गया है। इस देश में सौ, दो सौ परिवार ऐसे हैं, जिनके पास बड़े हुये धन का बहुत बड़ा परसेन्टेज या हिस्सा है। रुपये में बारह आने हिस्सा उनके पास है और देश की 53 करोड़ जनता के पास सिर्फ चार पाँच आने हिस्सा है। देश में इन इम्बैलेन्स को खत्म करना है। देश का धन और बढ़ाना है और उसके वितरण की दिशाओं को सही करना है उसके लिए हमें संविधान और कायदे-कानूनों में परिवर्तन करना पड़ेगा।

कृषि के उत्पादन का धन हमारी राष्ट्रीय आय का बहुत बड़ा परसेन्टेज है। हमारी राष्ट्रीय आय का 41 परसेन्ट आज भी कृषि के उत्पादन से आता है। कृषि के उत्पादन के मिलसिले में राष्ट्रपति जी ने खास तौर से लैंड रिफार्म के बारे में कहा है कि हमारे शासकारों के लिए फिक्सिटी ग्राफ टेन्थोर और रेंट होना चाहिए, सीलिंग की व्यवस्था होनी चाहिए और भूमिहीनों को जमीन देनी चाहिए। मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि इसके अलावा जो एक प्रोग्राम तीसरी योजना तक चला रहा था, जिसको योजनाओं से दूर हटा दिया गया और इसी कारण स्टेट गवर्नमेंट ने भी जिसकी उरक्षा कर दी है, वह है कान्सालिडेशन अफ होल्डिंग्स का प्रोग्राम। कई-कई शासकारों की छोटी छोटी होल्डिंग्स बिलरी हुई हैं। इस

[श्री नाथू राम]

कारण उनमें वैज्ञानिक तरीकों का उद्योग करके कृषि का उत्पादन बढ़ाने में कठिनाई होती है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि ग्रन्थ कार्यक्रमों के साथ इसको भी योजना में जोड़ दिया जाये।

कृषि-उत्पादन में वृद्धि के साथ-साथ देश में पशु धन का विकास भी बहुत जरूरी है। राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण में उसका जिक्र नहीं किया गया है। गायों के दूध और भेड़ों का ऊन में वृद्धि होने से हम दूध के इम्पोर्ट को बन्द करके और ऊन का एक्सपोर्ट करके काफी विदेशी मुद्रा बचा सकते हैं। इसलिए हमें पशुओं की नस्लों का सुधार कर, उनकी पोडिग्रिज को ऊँचा उठाकर, दूध और ऊन के उत्पादन को बढ़ाना चाहिए। पशुपालन की उन्नति भी हमारे देश के लिए एक बहुत महत्व का विषय है। इसलिए मैं उसकी तरफ सरकार का ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूँ।

सभापति महोदय : माननीय सदस्य अपना भाषण समाप्त करने का प्रयत्न करे।

श्री नाथू राम : अभी मुझे शुरू किये दस मिनट भी नहीं हुए हैं।

सभापति महोदय : आपके दल से 26 सदस्य बोलना चाहते हैं। आपोजीशन का नम्बर कम है। अगर आपके दल के हर एक सदस्य को दस पन्द्रह मिनट का समय दिया जाये, तो निर्धारित समय में यह नहीं हो सकता है। माननीय सदस्य कट शार्ट करें।

श्री नवल किशोर शर्मा : सभापति महोदय प्रैजिडेंशियल एड्रेस पर कोई भी सदस्य सात मिनट में अपना भाषण ठीक ढंग से नहीं दे सकता। इसलिए आप हमारा यह विचार स्वीकर साहब तक पहुंचा दें कि हमको थोड़ा अधिक समय दिया जाये। मेरा नम्र निवेदन है कि प्रत्येक सदस्य को कम से कम दस बारह मिनट मिलने चाहिए।

श्री हुकम चन्द कच्छबाय (मुरेना) : मैं प्रस्ताव करता हूँ कि इस चर्चा के लिए चार घण्टे समय बढ़ा दिया जाये।

सभापति महोदय : अभी उसका समय नहीं है।

श्री नाथू राम : खेती के उत्पादन में वृद्धि के साथ यह भी जरूरी है कि उसका सही वितरण किया जाये और काश्तकारों को उचित दाम दिलाये जाये। मैं आपको एक उदाहरण देना चाहता हूँ। सरकार ने प्रोक्युरमेंट करने के लिए बाजरे के मिनिमम भाव 52 रुपये प्रति-क्विंटल निश्चित किये हैं। लेकिन चूक फूड कारपोरेशन ने खरीद बन्द कर दी है इसलिए हमारे इलाके में बाजरा 35-40 रुपये प्रति-क्विंटल के हिसाब से बिक रहा है। मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि अगर काश्तकारों को उचित दाम नहीं मिलेंगे, उनको इनसेन्टिव नहीं मिलेगा, तो देश में खाद्यान्नों का उत्पादन कैसे बढ़ पायेगा। इसलिए यह व्यवस्था करनी चाहिए कि काश्तकारों को अपने उत्पादन की रीजनेबल प्राइस मिले। इसके अतिरिक्त बेयर-हार्डसिंग और मार्केटिंग आदि का कोऑर्डिनेशन होना चाहिए। बिचौलियों को हटा कर, कारपोरेशन द्वारा एग्रीकल्चर प्रोड्यूस की खरीद का प्रबन्ध करके या अन्य उपायों से ऐसी व्यवस्था करनी चाहिए, जिससे काश्तकारों को भी ठीक दाम मिले और कान्ज्यूमर्स को खाद्यान्न ठीक कीमत पर मिलें। राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण में इस बात का जिक्र नहीं है। इसलिए मैं सरकार का ध्यान इसकी तरफ आकर्षित करना चाहता हूँ। ऐसी व्यवस्था करनी पड़ेगी, जिससे काश्तकार और कान्ज्यूमर दोनों का भला हो।

वित्त मंत्री ने अपने बजट भाषण में कहा है कि हमने पिछले साल जो प्रावधान किये थे, उनमें से बहुत सी मदों पर खर्च नहीं किया जा सका और वे रकमें बचत में आ गई हैं।

आवश्यकता इस बात की है कि हम बहुत सोच समझ कर नबंदा प्राजेक्ट, राजस्थान नहर के प्राजेक्ट और नागार्जुन सागर प्राजेक्ट जैसी योजनाओं के लिए धन का प्रावधान करके अपने देश में पानी को वास्तुकार के क्षेत्र के पास पहुँचाये और हम प्रकार अपने कृषि-उत्पादन को जल्दी से जल्दी बढ़ाये। इस रुपये के खर्च करने में इनफ्लेशन नहीं बढ़ेगा और इसका रिटर्न भी नुरन्त होगा। इससे खाद्यान्नों, आयलमीड्स और काटन का उत्पादन बढ़ेगा, जिनकी हमारे देश में कमी है। जिन मद्यो या प्राजेक्ट्स पर हम धन खर्च नहीं कर सकते, उनके लिए निश्चित बी गई रकमों को रोककर खर्च के बजाये उनको ऐसे प्राजेक्ट्स पर लगाना चाहिए, जिनसे हमारा उत्पादन काफी बढ़ सकता है।

राजस्थान में मिनरल बेन्थ का जबर्दस्त पोटेशल है। उदयपुर के पास 100 मिलियन टन के राक फास्फेट के डिपोजिट्स मिले हैं जिनमें 35, 40 प्रतिशत फास्फेट है। आज उसका काम मनोपजनक ढंग से नहीं चल रहा है। हम इन समय 1,000 टन प्रति दिन प्रोड्यूस कर रहे हैं। वह 2,000 टन तो बहुत आसानी से हो सकता है और 10,000 टन तक ले जाया सकता है। हम इसरायल, जोर्डन और दूसरे मुल्कों में राक फास्फेट इम्पोर्ट करते हैं, जिस पर 35 करोड़ रुपये की विदेशी मुद्रा खर्च होनी है। समझा जाता है कि 1974 तक हमको फर्टिलाइजर के काम्पोनेन्ट्स पर 90 करोड़ रुपये की विदेशी मुद्रा खर्च करनी पड़ेगी। राक फास्फेट हमारे देश में ही उपलब्ध है। उसके प्राइवकेशन को बढ़ाना चाहिए। इसके लिए रेलवे लाइनों का जाल बिछाना बहुत जरूरी है।

इसी तरह सीकर में पाइराइट्स के बहुत डिपोजिट्स मिले हैं। राजस्थान में फास्फेटिक फर्टिलाइजर का एक जबर्दस्त कारखाना लगाया जा सकता है, जिससे देश में बहुत कीप कास्ट

पर फास्फेटिक फर्टिलाइजर उपलब्ध हो सकता है। जो राक फास्फेट हम इम्पोर्ट करते हैं, उस की कीमत 300 रुपये प्रति टन है, जबकि हमारे यहाँ उस की कीमत 125 और 150 रुपये के बीच में है। इस तरह हम को सस्ते दाम पर फर्टिलाइजर मिल सकता है और विदेशी मुद्रा की बचत ही सकती है। इस के लिए विशेष प्रावधान करने की आवश्यकता है। हमारे देश में वास्तुकारों को फर्टिलाइजर्स की बहुत जरूरत है। इसलिए उसके उत्पादन की व्यवस्था करना जरूरी है। मैं खामती से कापर स्मेल्टर के लिए भी आप से कहना चाहूंगा। राजस्थान के अन्दर हैवी डिपोजिट्स कापर के हैं। दरीबा और खेतड़ी में वन परसेट कापर कंटेन्ट का 36 मिलियन टन डिपोजिट्स प्रूव्ड है जिसके उपयोग के लिए एक कारखाना जो चल रहा है उसके बारे में भारत सरकार की तरफ से कहा जाता है कि 1973 तक उसका उत्पादन शुरू हो जायेगा। लेकिन मैं कहता हूँ कि जिस स्पीड से काम चल रहा है उसको देखते हुए यह सम्भव नहीं हो सकता। इसलिए इस पर विशेष ध्यान देने की जरूरत है। अभी भी उस में बहुत से वाटिलनेक्स हैं। जब दतना अधिक कापर हम इम्पोर्ट करते हैं और उस पर विदेशी मुद्रा खर्च होती है तो उसको बचाने के लिए यह जो इतना बड़ा कापर डिपोजिट है उसका उपयोग करने की दृष्टि से इस स्मेल्टर का काम तेजी से बढ़ाया जाना चाहिए। इसी तरह उदयपुर में जिंक स्मेल्टर है जिसकी 18 हजार टन की क्षमता का काम उदयपुर में बढ़ाया जा सकता है। जिंक, लेड, मेगनीज, सिलवर इन के हैवी डिपोजिट्स उदयपुर में मौजूद हैं। इसलिए जो उदयपुर में कारखाना चल रहा है उसके उत्पादन को काफी और बढ़ाया जा सकता है। बजाय इसके कि बिशाखापटनम में एक जिंक का कारखाना शुरू करके इम्पोर्टेड मैटीरियल से काम आप वहाँ शुरू करेंगे या यहाँ से ट्रांसपोर्ट करके वहाँ भेजेंगे तो भी उसमें बहुत खर्चा पड़ेगा, इसलिए इसकी कैपेसिटी बढ़ाने का जो

[श्री नाथू राम मिर्चा]

प्रोपोजल है उस योजना को जल्दी पूरा करना चाहिए। इस प्रकार राजस्थान के ये कुछ मसले हैं। मिनरल वेल्थ यहां बहुत ज्यादा है, मेटलिक और नान मेटलिक बहुत ज्यादा ताबाद में यहां मौजूद है जिनके जरिए लेवरर्स को बहुत काफी काम मिल सकता है, देश की बहुत सी विदेशी मुद्रा बचायी जा सकती है, देश के धन को बढ़ाया जा सकता है और गरीबों को काम दिया जा सकता है। इन खास खास मुद्दों पर विचार करने की जरूरत है।

एक बात मैं रेल मन्त्रालय से कहना चाहूंगा कि पायराइट्स और राक फाउण्डेड के जो डिपोजिट्स हैं उनके बारे में कई दफा स्टेट की तरफ से लिखा गया है। कि इसके लिए कुछ ब्राइजेज की लाइनें डालनी पड़ेंगी। जो स्टेट लेवेल का काम है उस को तो कर रहे। लेकिन जो केन्द्रीय सरकार के लेवेल का काम है उस को आप टाइम से पूरा नहीं कर सके ता रामटीरियल का फायदा हम नहीं उठा सकेंगे और देश के हित में उसका उपयोग करके जो विदेशी मुद्रा बचाने का काम हम कर सकते हैं वह नहीं कर सकेंगे।

अब मैं एक बात और कहना चाहता हू। मैं नागौर क्षेत्र से चुना गया हू। वहां एक छोटी खान्ना गांव है। इस सदन में और उस सदन में और लेजिस्लेचर में एक बड़ा पोलिटिकल बक्कर उस गांव के एक छोटे से इमीडेट को लेकर उठाया गया।

श्री श्रीकार लाल बोरवा (कोटा) : छोटा सा नहीं बहुत बड़ा है।

श्री नाथू राम : आप सुनिए। सुनेंगे तो कनिंस हो जाएंगे।... (व्यवधान)... वह मेरा इलाका है और आप दूर से आते हैं, सुनी सुनाई बातें आप करते हैं (व्यवधान)...

श्री श्रीकार लाल बोरवा :***

सभापति महोदय : देखिये, यह यहां की मर्यादा के विरुद्ध है। कोई भी बोल रहा हो तो उसको बोलने दीजिये। अभी आप के ग्रुप के लोग बोलने वाले हैं तो नोट कर लीजिए और उनको बता दीजिएगा। यह बिना परमीशन के जो बोले हैं वह रेकॉर्ड पर नहीं जायेगा।

श्री नाथू राम : उम छोटे से गांव में 12 शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट के वावर्गियों के परिवार रहते हैं। उमसे से 9 घर तो वहां के साधारण नागरिकों से घुल मिल चुके हैं और अपनी पुरानी मिनिमल हैंडिड्स को उन्होंने छोड़ दिया है। तीन घरों के लोग ऐसे हैं जिन्होंने अपने पुराने पेजे को नहीं न्यागा है। उन्होंने एक वाश्तकार की भंम धुरा ली और उसको मार कर नाट कर वह खा गए। उस वाश्तकार ने पता लगा लिया और इन के घरों से उस भंम का चमड़ा और माम भी बरामद कर लिया। उसके बाद उनसे राजीनामा करके वह मामला बन्नी मूलत गया। बाद में कुछ जनसभ के लोग वहां जाते हैं और उन लोगों को बहवाते हैं। उन्होंने उनको बहकाया और भड़काया। उनको वहां म उठा कर एक जनसभ के एम०एल०ए० जयपुर ले आए और वहां फाल्स प्रदर्शन कराए। (व्यवधान) मेरे इलाके की बात है, मुझे कहने दीजिए। मेरे इलाके की बात मैं कहूंगा और माननीय सदस्य को सुनना पड़ेगा। मैं आपसे निवेदन कर रहा था कि इस प्रकार सारा मामला वहां पर लोगों ने पिटा दिया था। लेकिन फिर जनसभ के लोगों ने जाकर उनको उभाड़ा।... (व्यवधान)... यह कोई राजनैतिक मामला नहीं था। जनसभ के लोगों ने इसे राजनैतिक रंग दिया और लोगों को भड़का करके वहां पर उन्होंने एक तरह का फिसाद पैदा करने की कोशिश की। उन्होंने मसल

एलीगिवांस वहाँ के प्रधान के खिलाफ लगाए । असल में ग्राम पंचायत की जमीन पर इन लोगों का इत्लीगल एन्फोर्समेंट था । इलेक्शन से एक महीना पहले कानून के मुताबिक उनके उस एन्फोर्समेंट को हटाने का आदेश दिया गया था और उन्हें हटा दिया गया था ।...

सभापति महोदय : अब आप खत्म कीजिए ।

श्री नाथू राम : यही मैं सदन के सामने रखना चाहता हूँ । इस प्रकार जो उन्होंने टैशन क्रियेट किया यह टैशन क्रियेट करना देश के हित में किसी तरह भी नहीं है ।

सभापति महोदय : माननीय सदस्य अब जो भी बोलेंगे वह रेकार्ड पर नहीं जायेगा ।

श्री हुकम चन्द कछवाय : सभापति महोदय, मैं एक व्यवस्था का सवाल उठाना चाहता हूँ । इस सदन में इतनी अच्छी बहम चल रही है और...

सभापति महोदय : देखिये आप लोग खुद गलत काम कर रहे हैं । अगर वह बोल रहे हैं तो उनको सुन करके अभी आपकी पार्टी की तरफ से बोलने वाले थे उन से आप जो चाहते कहलवा सकते थे । यह क्या तरीका है जो बीच में इस तरह टोकना शुरू कर दिया । यह पुराना तरीका जो आप दोनों ने अस्तित्सार कर लिया यह ठीक नहीं है ।

श्री हुकम चन्द कछवाय : मैं दूसरी बात कहना चाहता था । हमारे हाउस की एक परम्परा रही है कि इतने महत्व के राष्ट्रपति के भाषण पर चर्चा हम कर रहे हैं और आप देख रहे होंगे कि माननीय नये मन्त्री जी फाइल उसट रहे हैं । जो लोग बोल रहे हैं उनकी कोई बात वह नोट नहीं कर रहे हैं ।

सभापति महोदय : नहीं यह कोई व्यवस्था का सवाल नहीं है । मन्त्री जी हैं । वह आपकी

बातों को सुन रहे हैं और नोट भी कर रहे हैं । आप बैठिए ।

श्री हुकम चन्द कछवाय : मेरा एक यह सुझाव है कि काफी लोग इस पर अभी बोलने वाले हैं, इसलिए इस पर चार घण्टा टाइम और बढ़ा दिया जाये ।

SHRI ERASMO DE SEQUEIRA (Marmagoa) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, it augurs well for the future of our Union Territory that when I make this presentation, the hon. Member from Pondicherry acts as the ear of the Government in this House.

Even before our return to the Indian fold, we, in Goa, Daman and Diu, always wanted to be a full-fledged State of the Indian Union. And when, at their request, Goa was liberated in 1961, the people felt that this aspiration would soon be fulfilled. But this feeling was belied.

To the detriment of the progress of our territory, a distortion was deliberately introduced into the territory. This distortion caused a cleavage among people known to be friends. Thus distortion caused a cleavage in the bosom of many a family. We went through painful days in Goa, Daman and Diu.

This distortion, Sir, was resented by the people of Goa, Daman and Diu. This distortion was fought by the people. And this distortion was removed by the people of Goa, Daman and Diu, always peaceful, briefly cleaved than reuniting.

In this process, the United Goans' Party became the vehicle of popular expression. Contrary to what we had expected, we had to fight hard, even for the opportunity to decide our own future within this great country. Still, we are grateful to Parliament and we are grateful in a very special way to the Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, for it was she who took the decision at our behest to hold an opinion poll.

The wheel has now turned full circle—to the place from where, in the first place, it should never have been allowed to be shifted. In this historic opinion poll, the people of Goa, Daman and Diu cast away, once and for all, the distortion that had played havoc with our lives. I pay them my tribute.

[Shri Erasmo De Sequeira]

With the passage of time our case for Statehood was reinforced by other events.

The demand of Himachal Pradesh was conceded. Government accepted the principle of Statehood to Union territories. Manipur and Tripura's demand was conceded in principle.

The *Statesman* in its editorial of 4th September, 1970 wrote

"The Centre would do well similarly to anticipate the demand for full Statehood by other Union Territories such as Goa."

The *Indian Express* in its editorial on 5th September, 1970 wrote

"Now, that Manipur and Tripura have been conceded Statehood, Goa's claim must in all fairness be accepted. In rational terms the claim is far stronger for a number of reasons. Goa is economically viable to a much greater degree than Manipur or Tripura or for that matter Himachal Pradesh. To argue that Goa's claim is weaker because it is not backed up by a popular agitation would be most irresponsible. It would only incite an agitation."

In Goa, Daman and Diu we moved steadily towards Statehood. In the recent Parliamentary election, both the Goa seats were won by candidates standing on a platform of Statehood. This is what the Executive Committee of the Goa Pradesh Congress had to say in a resolution dated 28th March, 1971. I quote from *Patriot*

"The Committee said that the votes polled by both candidates were votes to the progressive national policies of the Prime Minister, mainly in favour of the common programmes which the Congress and the United Goans jointly placed before the electorate, namely, attainment of Statehood and inclusion of Konkani in the Eighth Schedule of Constitution."

By electing both me and my colleague from the Congress Party the people of Goa, Daman and Diu expressed their clear mandate for Statehood.

At midnight on Friday last week in response to this mandate, the Goa, Daman and Diu assembly passed by a massive majority a

historic resolution seeking Statehood for the Union Territory.

We have waited many years for this day. It is my proud privilege to request today in this House that Government should fulfil the aspirations of the people of Goa, Daman and Diu and bring forward at the earliest opportunity legislation to this House granting Statehood to our Union Territory. Himachal's demand has been conceded. Manipur and Tripura's demand have been conceded. Let not Government be tempted to keep Goa, Daman and Diu away from the mainstream. We do not seek any addition of territory or break of existing territory into two. All we ask is that a territory which has existed as one administrative unit for far longer than any other in the country should be elevated from Union Territory to Statehood. I seek the support of every Member of this House and of all our colleagues in the Rajya Sabha in making this possible and in making this unanimous.

I quote here the editorial of the *Hindustan Standard* Calcutta, dated the 5th September, 1970 entitled "Delayed Justice"

"There seems to be a snag of sorts in the announcement made to Parliament in this regard. The Government, it is stated, has accepted in principle the demand for Statehood for Manipur and Tripura. Does it mean that the translation of the principle into practice is going to be a long drawn-out process? It should be realised that procrastination at this stage will create complications which should be avoided. The delay in coming to the present decision has already robbed it of much of its grace. Further tardiness will make it a wholly ungracious act."

It has been a long quest, with many obstacles. I am proud that throughout it has been peaceful and without any untoward incident. I am confident that with no logical obstacle now remaining, we shall fulfil our natural aspirations soon and in the same manner.

In Goa today, we have a minority Government propped up by five defectors whose services it has acquired. We have a Chief Minister against whom serious charges of misuse and abuse of office for personal gain have been publicly made by two of his

own Cabinet colleagues and are now awaiting investigation. We have a party in power, which, with both its nominees for election to the Lok Sabha summarily rejected in the recent election has clearly lost whatever mandate it might once have had.

I request this Government to save my present Chief Minister the acute embarrassment of having himself to press for Statehood for this is the fiat which he has received. I suggest that this Government should persuade him to resign before he goes through that embarrassment. With the passage by the Goa Assembly of the historic resolution seeking Statehood in response to the clear call given by the people in the recent election, the continuation of a Territorial Assembly in Goa ceases to have any meaning and any purpose.

I request, therefore, that Government should recommend the immediate dissolution of the Goa Assembly, that Government should bring forward legislation in the next session of Parliament granting Statehood to our territory and let the next elections in Goa, Daman and Diu be held in our own State. This has always been the desire and the aspiration of the people of Goa, Daman and Diu. This is now our immediate goal.

SHRI NIMBALKAR (Kolhapur) : In summoning us to new endeavours on the basis of a massive mandate for change accorded by the electorate, the President has also wisely instilled in us a sense of urgency for that change as clearly indicated by the voter. It is not that we were not aware of this urgency before the elections. An immediate war on poverty was a conspicuously common promise included in the manifestoes of all the parties represented in this House. Never before in the history of our Republic were we so completely united on a single domestic issue.

It is, therefore, naturally understandable that our Prime Minister should keep in touch with the Opposition leaders as often as possible. I am, however, inclined to confess that there may be some Members in the ruling party who with a touch of envy would feel that it might have been better if they had stood on the ticket of another party, because it seems that Shrimati Indira Gandhi's attention could have been drawn to us more in that manner. But I suppose that that is the price that one has to pay for

an overwhelming majority. Jokes apart, there is no mistaking the fact that we are in the midst of an extremely uneven struggle. The guns of poverty in our country are heavily loaded and it is only the undaunted will to win and an intelligent and imaginative planning that can see us through. The resounding popularity enjoyed by Shrimati Indira Gandhi and other national leaders among the people will, I am sure, be of immense help in inflaming the minds of our people with an unyielding will to win. Their efforts, however, must be supported by a plan drawn up in such a way as to make the people feel that it is their plan.

Their needs, aspirations and wishes have to be considered. The success of the plan is bound to be their success.

17.50 hrs.

[Shri R. D. Bhandare in the Chair]

It is a good thing that midway through the Fourth Five Year Plan, Government have decided to take a new look at it. It might be advisable before any further step is taken to first draw up a separate master plan for every zila or district in the States taking into full account the wishes and idiosyncrasies of the people of the area concerned. Pooling these plans at the State level, modifications may be made to meet the interests of the State as a whole. In order to ensure cohesion with the national interests in view, the plan should then be finalised at the Centre.

A Plan drawn up in this manner gives almost everyone at some stage or other a chance to have his say and to make recommendations without detracting from the interests of the nation as a whole. This is surely what is meant by involving the people and awakening in them a sense of participation.

The Government certainly mean well in setting up a Credit Guarantee Corporation that will stand guarantee upto 75 per cent of the small loans advanced to farmers, with no or insufficient security to fill the requirements of commercial banks. Since the nationalised banks are rapidly opening up branches in rural areas, it might be better to direct these banks to equip their branches with a loan administration department run by officers with knowledge of both agriculture and banking. In case the farmer has

[Shri Nimbalkar]

insufficient security but his scheme is feasible, the administration department in consultation with the BDO of the area together with the farmer should be made co-responsible for the management of the scheme until such time as the loan is repaid.

This will have some definite advantages. It will ensure that the loan is recovered. The money will be used for the purpose for which it is borrowed. More jobs will be created for banking personnel, with a definite advantage for the bank. Through the association, the farmers too will be enlightened.

It is time to give irrigation the highest priority as part of the super-structure of our country. A formula should be drawn up clearly defining the financial responsibilities in each State, as in the case of roads. We have, for instance, national highways which are looked after by the Centre; there are state highways which are looked after by the States, zila parishad roads and so on.

Where water is available for irrigation, it should be the responsibility of the Centre to bear the cost upto 5 to 4 kms of the farm in the area, the State from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to $2\frac{1}{2}$ kms. and the zila upto 500 metres to 1 km. and the rest the owner of the farm.

At present, too many haphazard irrigation schemes have come up all over the country. Much money and water are wasted because of lack of overall planning and the poor farmers are mostly left to fend for themselves.

17.54 hrs.

[Shri K. N. Tiwary in the Chair]

A fall in the price of any agricultural commodity is a thing they look for with fear. Together with a rise in the wholesale price index of 3 to 4 per cent, a fall in the price of grain by 5 to 6 per cent has to be considered cautiously, for it could also mean that the farmer who bears the brunt of the burden of our economy is made to pay more for other's produce including agricultural inputs, while for his own produce he receives less. Government should, therefore, be wary and carefully watch this trend, for with another favourable monsoon, the prices of foodgrains can fall dangerously low for the

farmer. Government should anticipate such a situation and be prepared to help farmers with subsidies, if necessary.

No mention has been made of forestry. My experience is that developing countries somehow or other have been shy to talk about forestry. It might be because the Government which sows the seeds seldom lives long enough to reap the harvest. Under the circumstances they might be agreeing with Dr. Samuel Johnson who once said, "What has posterity ever done for me that I should do anything for posterity?" But we should not forget that if immediately after independence enough had been done for this department, we would have been reaping the harvest today and with it might well have bridged many a gap in our economy. Not only that. With scientifically spread out vegetation it is possible to control the weather and it is the surest way of increasing the rainfall in particular areas of our sub-continent.

I am glad that even though no mention of it is made specifically in the President's Address, the hon Finance Minister has realised the importance of stepping up the production of steel. Many a modern economist has gone over to calculating the standard of living of a nation by working out the ratio of unit steel consumed per head of the population. This is a simple and above all a more telling way, because it throws light not only on the standard of living but also the state of the economy. The prices of iron and steel have rocketed in the past couple of years. If we can by substantial higher production normalise the price of this commodity, it is bound to have a salutary effect on the entire economy of our country.

I wish at this juncture to put into words two solemn thoughts, one for this august assembly and the other for our nation and those brothers fighting against imperialism, brutality and inhumanity beyond our eastern borders. Just about a month ago all of us were involved in canvassing for votes. In no constituency in our country can we say that we do not have large pockets of poverty. Even when I talk of the experience of my own constituency, I think I can claim to talk more or less for all. It was worth watching how the people voted, particularly on the polling day, with what feeling for

