

14.09 hrs.

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

श्रीमती टी० लक्ष्मीकान्तम्मा (खम्मम) :
उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, कल मैं महिलाओं समस्याओं के बारे में बता रही थी। कई देशों में महिलाओं को बड़ी हीन दृष्टि से देखा जाता रहा है और एक चेटेल समझा जाता रहा है। उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, इन देशों में महिलाओं को आन्दोलन चलाना पड़ा और अपने हक के लिए लड़ना पड़ा। अभी ब्रिटेन में टोरी पार्टी की एक महिला लीडर बनी हैं। उन देशों में भी महिलाओं को केवल वोट का हक मांगने के लिए बड़ा आन्दोलन चलाना पड़ा... (श्रवण)
मेरी भाषा में कुछ आराम की मिस्टेक हो, तो मुझे माफ़ कीजिए। उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, भारत में गांधी जी के नेतृत्व में महिलाओं ने स्वतन्त्रता आन्दोलन में भाग लिया है और अपना समुचित स्थान प्राप्त किया है। परन्तु वह स्थान राजनीतिक क्षेत्र, तक और समाज के एक बहुत छोटे वर्ग तक ही सीमित है। इसलिए जब लोग कहते हैं कि भारत की प्रधान मंत्री ही एक महिला हैं तब इनको और क्या चाहिये, तो इनकी इस बात में सदभावना से अधिक व्यंग्य और टालमटोल की प्रवृत्ति ही दिखाई देती है। यह बहुत ही खेद की बात है। यह सत्य है कि भारत में कुछ महिलाएं राष्ट्रीय जीवन में कई उन्नत पदों पर प्रतिष्ठित हुई हैं। परन्तु इन इनी गिनी महिलाओं के उदाहरण अपवादत्मक ही कहे जा सकते हैं, एक्सप्लानल ही कहे जा सकते हैं। कोटि कोटि संख्या में महिलाओं की जो स्थिति है वह इन से एक दम भिन्न है, इस में कोई सन्देह नहीं है। किसी भी क्षेत्र में स्त्रियों ने अच्छी खासी प्रगति की हो, ऐसा दिखाई नहीं देता है। आज भी स्त्रियों पर जो अन्याय हो रहा है उसकी चर्चा स्टेट्स ग्राफ बिमेन कमेटी ने अपनी रिपोर्ट में किया है। उस में से कुछ मैं आपके सामने रखना चाहूंगी। आज भी स्त्री समाज की

उपेक्षा की जाती है। जब लड़की पैदा होती है तो उसको वृणा की दृष्टि से देखा जाता है। स्त्रियों में मरण संख्या लड़कों से अधिक है। इनकी जन संख्या घट रही है। सैन्समें फिगर्ज आप देखें तो यह उससे स्पष्ट हो जाएगा। सामाजिक रूढ़ियों के कारण महिलाओं को सम्पूर्ण विकास के अवसर उपलब्ध नहीं हैं। हमारे मावलंकर जो गुजरात से आते हैं। वह तो जानते ही हैं कि—महिलाओं में आत्महत्याओं की संख्या बहुत अधिक है। महिलाओं में साक्षरता बहुत ही कम है। पुरुषों में जहां यह चालीस प्रतिशत है वहां महिलाओं में वह केवल 19 प्रतिशत है। विवाह विच्छेद, वैधव्य, परित्याग आदि सामाजिक कारणों में महिलाओं का वैश्या वृत्ति में प्रवेश करना भी बड़े पैमाने पर ज्यों का त्यों चल रहा है। उद्योग में तकनीकी विकास के कारण महिलाओं की बेकारी बढ़ गई है। उद्योगों में तकनीकी विकास के कारण चूँकि ये अनस्किल्ड होती हैं इस वास्ते इनको रिट्रेच कर दिया जाता है। यह बात जो रिपोर्ट है उससे साफ जाहिर हो जाती है। संविधान की व्यवस्थाओं तथा आई एल ओ के आदेशों के बावजूद भी महिलाओं को समान काम के लिए समान वेतन नहीं दिया जाता है जबकि वह मिलना चाहिये। इसका कारण यह है कि जिस तरह से ट्रेड यूनियन संगठन है, आई एन टीयू सी हैं या रेलवे में उनका फ़ैडरेशन है उस तरह का महिलाओं का कोई संगठन नहीं है, उनकी कोई ट्रेड यूनियन नहीं है, उनका कोई शक्तिशाली मजदूर संगठन नहीं है। इस वास्ते महिलाएं अन्याय एवं शोषण का शिकार हो रही हैं। महिलाओं को विरासत, विवाह आदि कई मामलों में पुरुषों के समान अधिकार मिलने चाहियें और सभी क्षेत्रों में समान अवसर प्राप्त होना चाहिए। महिलाओं को अपने परिवार में जन्माधिकार अभी भी नहीं है, संयुक्त परिवार में संयुक्त जायदाद में इनका कोई भाग अभी भी नहीं है। विरासत में जहां उसे भाग मिलता भी है वह पुरुष

बारिस के भाग का आधा होता है। मुस्लिम महिलाओं का भी यही हाल है। जब उसे भाग मिल रहा है तो आधा भाग क्यों मिले। समान भाग पुरुषों के साथ क्यों न मिले, यह मैं समझ नहीं पाई हूँ। समान भाग उनको मिलना चाहिये। बच्चों की अभिरक्षा के मामले में भी महिलाओं के अधिकार न्यून पाए जाते हैं। मुस्लिम महिलाओं की मुसीबत यह है कि पुरुष चार विवाह कर सकता है और जब जी चाहा खुला तलाक भी दे सकता है। तलाक तलाक—कह कर स्त्री को वह छोड़ सकता है। और महिलाओं को भा विरासत में पुरुष का आधा भाग ही मिलता है। इन सब विषयों को तुरन्त दूर करना चाहिये। स्त्रियों और पुरुषों के अलग अलग कर्तव्यों के सम्बन्ध में यहाँ इतने कड़े नियम हैं कि स्त्री सदा के लिए आर्थिक क्षेत्र में परतल बन जाती है और इसी से उसका घोर शोषण होता आया है। इस वास्ते जब तक महिलाओं को सामाजिक उत्पादक कार्यक्रमों में समान स्थान नहीं मिलता और जब तक वह निजी प्रकार के घर गृहस्थी वाले कार्यक्रमों में लगी रहती है तब तक उसका उद्धार असम्भव ही रहेगा। सार्वजनिक एब प्राइवेट प्रतिष्ठानों में महिलाओं के प्रति केवल शाब्दिक सहानुभूति प्रकट की जाती है परन्तु सच पूछिए तो उन प्रतिष्ठानों में उन्नत पदों पर इनी गिनी महिलाओं को ही नियुक्त किया गया है। आज कितने ही सरकारी विभाग ऐसे हैं जिन में महिलाओं की नियुक्ति नहीं होती है और उन्हें नियुक्त करने के प्रति उदासीनता और अनिच्छा स्पष्ट दिखाई देती है। वन विभाग, पी डब्ल्यू डी, न्यायपालिका आदि कितने ही विभाग हैं जिन में किसी न किसी बहाने से महिलाओं के विरुद्ध पक्षपात किया जाता है। आई एफ एस तक में चूक वह महिला है इस कारण से उसको रिस्कूट नहीं किया जाता है। एक महिला इंजीनियर मद्रास में है। उसको इस वास्ते प्रोमोशन नहीं दिया गया कि वह महिला थी। इसी तरह के वहाँ एक ग्रामीण कल्याण अधिकारी को बी डी ओ के पद पर प्रोमोशन

इस वास्ते नहीं दिया गया कि वह महिला थी। सिर्फ केरल में चीफ इंजीनियर एक महिला है—

उपस्थित महोदय : अब आप समाप्त करें।

श्रीमती टी० लक्ष्मी कान्तम्मा : यह इंटरनॅशनल विमेज यीअर है। कुछ तो समय आप ज्यादा दें। हमारी आधा पापुलेशन है। इनने लाग बाल चुके हैं। हम में से एक दौ को ही मौका मिलेगा।

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: You can direct your request to the Minister for Parliamentary Affairs. He says he agrees.

श्रीमती टी० लक्ष्मी कान्तम्मा : इस तरफ के जाँच वामा नियम के नियम महिलाओं के विरुद्ध खुला खुला पक्षपात करते हैं। जहाँ तक न्यायपालिका का सम्बन्ध है, महिला वकीला की शिकायत यह है कि न्याय पालिका में आज तक पुरुषों का ही सर्वाधिकार बना हुआ है। हाल में सरकार ने एक महिला को एक पद पर नियुक्त करने से इस कारण से इनकार किया था कि इस पदाधिकारी को सड़क, रेल, विमान और समुद्र में खूब प्रवाह करना पड़ता है। ये सब चीजें आल इंडिया विमेज कांग्रेस में हमारी दृष्टि में लाई गई थीं।

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Now, may I plead that men may be saved from women; Please conclude now.

श्रीमती टी० लक्ष्मीकांतम्मा : मैं खत्म कर रही हूँ। मैं जानना चाहती हूँ कि क्या महिलाएँ सबको पर नहीं चलती हैं। रेलों से या विमानों से सफर नहीं करती हैं। फिर क्यों न्यायपालिका से पुरुषों का ही सर्वाधिकार बना हुआ है।

हमारे देश में अभी भी ऐसे लोग हैं जो महिलाओं को समान अधिकार देने के विरुद्ध हैं जो समान अधिकार देने की बात तो करते हैं लेकिन कार्यान्वित करने में उसका हनन करते हैं। ऐसे राजनीतिक दलों की भी कमी नहीं जिसके कुछ नेताओं का रवैया महिलाओं के प्रति तिरस्कारपूर्ण है, अनुदार है, दकियानूसी है। मुझे माफ किया जाए यदि इस सम्बन्ध में मैं अपोजीशन बालों का नाम लूँ। मैं नहीं कहती हूँ कि वे रिएक्शनरी लोग हैं। लेकिन उनमें ऐसे लोग हैं जो इस तरह की बात करते हैं और उनके बारे में मुझे बोलना ही पड़ रहा है।

1970 के उत्तर प्रदेश के चीफ मिनिस्टर होने के नाते श्री चरण सिंह ने सेंटर से यह अनुरोध किया कि महिलाओं को एडमिनिस्ट्रेटिव सर्विसिज में नहीं लेना चाहिए क्योंकि वे एडमिनिस्ट्रेटिव सर्विसिज के लिए अनफिट हैं। जब मादमियो के खिलाफ कोई महिला बोलती है तो आप घटी बजाते हैं। (श्ववधान) यह एक सीरियस बात है। उत्तर प्रदेश के माननीय सदस्य कह रहे हैं कि वहाँ हजारों महिलाओं को नौकरी से रिट्रेव किया गया है। श्री चरण सिंह ने महिलाओं को रिट्रेव न करने के लिए कार्टीट्यूशन में एमेडमेंट करने की अपील की है।

MR DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Madam, may I advise you, you kindly bring a Bill to this effect before the House and get it passed?

श्रीमती टी० लक्ष्मीकांतम्मा : श्री० एल० डी० के जो बीस्ट यहाँ हैं वे सब ऐसे बैकवर्ड नहीं हैं। उन लोगों से मैं अपील करती हूँ कि वे श्री चरण सिंह की राय बदलने के लिए कोशिश करें।

*SHRI J MATHA GOWDER (Nilgiris) Mr Deputy Speaker, Sir, I rise to say a few words on the Motion of thanks to the President's Address, on behalf of Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam

The President has referred to his Government's comprehensive strategy to control inflation, which is in operation from July, 1974. He has also mentioned that the foremost concern of his Government in 1974 was to impart a measure of stability to the economy of the country. I would like to point out how far this effort of the Central Government has borne fruit. In reply to a question in the Lok Sabha only the other day, the hon Finance Minister, Shri C Subramaniam, has replied that the value of rupee has gone up to 253 paise in December, 1974 as a result of the fiscal measures adopted by the Government which brought about a decline in prices. If you compare this with what obtained in September, 1973—then the value of the rupee was 246 paise—the increase in the value of rupee is just 07 paise. This is also mentioned by Shri C. Subramaniam, who has taken much credit for bringing about this 0.7 paise increase in the value of rupee. From this stupendous increase in the value of rupee, you can well imagine the steep fall in the prices of essential commodities. I wonder whether the Government, instead of taking pride in this meagre achievement, should not have felt ashamed of the failure of their fiscal policies. It is really surprising that the President should have taken pains to mention this insignificant achievement as a comprehensive strategy of his Government for tackling the economic ills of the country.

*The original speech was delivered in Tamil.

Sir, the President delivered his address to both the Houses of Parliament on 17th February, 1975. On 20th February, the Farmers' Forum in the Congress Parliamentary Party held a meeting. The Forum's President, Shri Nathuram Mirdha, a Congress M.P., who is also the Chairman of the Agricultural Prices Commission, presided at the meeting. The General Secretary of this Forum is another Congress M.P., Shri D. D. Desai. In this meeting, the Farmers' Forum of the Congress Parliamentary Party has condemned the anti-farmer and anti-production oriented farm policies of several official agencies. If the Opposition Parties criticise the Government in such a manner, the Treasury Benches do not hesitate to say that the Opposition Parties are spreading calumny and falsehood. Here, the leading Congress Party Members themselves have condemned the anti-farmer policies of the Government. The meeting has also criticised the Government's decision to import cotton while there is a glut of this commodity in the market. The Forum is of the view that the price of sugarcane has been kept low by the Government to help the millowners at the expense of the farmers. In spite of this, the President talks of the Government's determination to do away with the limitations in the infrastructure and to increase production in vital sectors. Sir, I am at a loss to understand what is the real position that obtains in the country. I do not know whether I have to believe what the President says in his address about his Government's efforts or what the leading Congress Party members say about the anti-farmer policies and anti-production oriented policies of the Congress Government at the Centre.

Sir, I happened to read the speech of my hon. friend, Shri Stephen, leading Congress M.P. of this House, while he introduced the Motion of Thanks. Shri Stephen is a renowned Labour Leader and a Socialist to his core. Even he has conceded that his party Government has given the country a

capital based structure, which has crashed along with the crash of dollar. According to him, the suffocating inflation in this country is mainly due to international inflationary spiral. This shows beyond any doubt that the Congress Government at the Centre has created such a capital structure in the country, which falls like a pack of cards before the breeze of international inflation. By saying that the country is ridden with caste, vested interests, monopoly capital etc., Shri Stephen has exposed his Government's inability to get rid of these evils, even though his Party is continuously in power during the past 25 years. It is strange that in the same tone he pontificates that the primary duty of the Opposition is to offer an alternative formula so that the problems of the nation are solved. Again, he concedes that the public sector, with an investment of Rs. 3,500 crores, has been losing so far. When the Opposition Members say this, the ruling party members does not hesitate to call it scandalmongering. But, Shri Stephen gloats over the marginal profit that the public sector undertakings have made during this year. The President also refers to the significant rise in the production of public enterprises. When the Congress Party Members speak in such contradictory terms, one is unable to appreciate what the President claims in his address.

The President has unhesitatingly commended the concerted efforts of his Government in resolving the problems of the country. I would like to illustrate how untrue it is. Sir, take the question of unemployment throughout the country. I will give you the statistics supplied by the Government to this House. On 1 July, 1974, 2.26 lakhs of Science Graduates were unemployed; 1.04 lakhs of Commerce Graduates were unemployed; 3.39 lakhs of Arts Graduates were unemployed. What the problem of unemployment has assumed such a grave proportion, let us see how the Half-a-Million jobs

[Shri J. Matha Gowder]

programme of the Government has fared. The Government allocated Rs. 70 crores for this purpose. But only a sum of Rs. 14 crores has been spent and 92,000 jobs have been generated. Is this not like offering sugar-candy to a hungry elephant? In spite of the allocation of Rs. 70 crores, only Rs. 14 crores have been spent, creating jobs for 92,000 youths. Is this an indication of effective functioning of the Central Government, about which the President is so pleased? It is regrettable that the President has not referred to the magnitude of the problem of unemployment and he has also not delineated the steps being taken by his Government to tackle this problem. It is also regrettable that the President has not paid any attention to this problem affecting the future generation of this country.

Sir, it is an incontrovertible fact that unless the river water disputes are solved expeditiously and amicably, there cannot be any increase in the production of foodgrains. The Central Government take keen interest in resolving the international river water disputes. The Indus Water Treaty with Pakistan cost the Government of India several hundreds of crores of rupees. Now talks are going on with Bangla Desh for resolving the river water disputes. It is unfortunate that many inland water disputes are pending settlement for more than two decades now. Take for example, the Cauvery Water dispute between the States of Tamil Nadu, Karnataka and Kerala. Recently the talks between these States have broken down on account of the unreasonable approach taken by the Karnataka Government. All the North Indian Press have appreciated the justness in the demand of Tamil Nadu for Cauvery water. Yet the intransigence of the Karnataka Government is being encouraged by the Central Government. The main reason for adopting this unreasonable approach is that there is a

Congress Government in Karnataka and there is an Opposition Party Government in Tamil Nadu, the D.M.K. Government in Tamil Nadu. However just the demand of the Opposition Government in Tamil Nadu may be, if it is conceded the credit will go to the Opposition ruling party in Tamil Nadu and that is why the Central Government is instigating the Karnataka Congress Government to raise unreasonable demands. With the ruling party at the Centre every issue is politicalised, even if it means that the Tamil Nadu is deprived of the rightful share of Cauvery water and even if it means that the whole of Tamil Nadu may become an arid zone for want of Cauvery water. I am pained to say that the President in his Address has not referred to the need for expeditiously resolving the Inland River water disputes in the country, which alone will lead to increased agricultural production.

Sir, in reply to a Starred Question on 24th February 1975, the hon. Minister of Agriculture, Shri Shinde has confirmed that 160 lakhs of people in Tamil Nadu are undergoing untold miseries on account of famine prevalent in most parts of Tamil Nadu. He has also mentioned that the Government of India have sanctioned a sum of Rs. 7.50 crores as advance plan assistance to Tamil Nadu and the State Government have also sanctioned a sum of Rs. 10 crores for undertaking relief works.

But, when the Prime Minister, Shrimati Gandhi recently visited Madras, she did not say a single word of sympathy to the suffering people of Tamil Nadu. She did not utter a single word of assurance to the people of Tamil Nadu that foodgrains would be rushed to them and also adequate financial assistance would be given to them for undertaking fast relief works. On the other hand, she was critical about some other things.

On account of the failure of rains, the food production in Tamil Nadu this year has reduced by 30 per cent. Last year, when Tamil Nadu was a surplus state in foodgrains, the Tamil Nadu D.M.K. Government rushed lakhs of tonnes of foodgrains to drought-affected States like Gujarat and West Bengal. Now, 160 lakhs of people in Tamil Nadu are facing starvation.

The Governor of Tamil Nadu in his address to the Tamil Nadu Assembly has stated that the Centre has been requested to rush 10 lakh of foodgrains to Tamil Nadu in the coming ten months. I would like to appeal to the Central Government that the suffering people of Tamil Nadu should not become the victims of the political partisanship of the Central Government, just because an Opposition Party is ruling the State of Tamil Nadu. Whether the D.M.K. is in power in Tamil Nadu or the Congress Party is in power in Karnataka, drought is a natural calamity and politics should not take the place of humane approach. I would appeal to the Central Government that adequate quantities of foodgrains should be rushed to Tamil Nadu and also adequate financial assistance should be given to Tamil Nadu so that famine relief measures can be undertaken on a war-footing.

In conclusion, I am sorry that I am not in a position to support the Motion of Thanks to the President's Address.

SHRI NIMBALKAR (Kolhapur): Sir, the President's Address has come at a time when there are definite signs that our economy is finding its feet again. In fact, the new President seems to be proving rather lucky for this nation, since this welcome trend appears to have started almost from the very day Shri Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed walked into Rashtrapati Bhavan. With predictions of a possible world recession, of course, there is no room for complacency. Any wise

Government will always make use of better days to build up sufficient stocks to tide over any future difficulties. For me there is an added reason or satisfaction since this happy economic trend also coincides with the positively better performances of the public sector undertakings. I have always maintained that our public sector undertakings, specially the heavy industries, must run at a profit. In a socialist economy this profit usually works as a welcome buffer in balancing the budget. If public sector undertakings incur losses, it amounts to a double burden on the exchequer. Whereas it has to forego the expected profits, it has also to co-provide for the eventual losses.

The President might have also advised the Government in his Address to refrain from raising the expectations of the people, without being in a position always to fulfil them. Such expectations, for instance, have come about regarding land reforms. Nobody is against land reforms, but when we promised land to the landless labour, even though there is no land to give them all, it becomes a problem for the people. When the people start expecting land and we say we are going to give them land, we must be able to give it. If we cannot give them land, it is better not to make such promises. I feel the expression 'landless labour' itself is a very badly coined phrase. At the same time we can talk about factory less factory workers, government less members—in this case the opposition members, astronauts without the moon etc. By the time Indian astronauts reach the moon, probably the Russians and the Americans will have divided it between them! Then we could talk of moonless nations. So this sort of phrases does not help.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: There can be astronauts without the moon.

SHRI NIMBALKAR: So long as we do not promise them the moon, I have no objection.

[Shri Nimbalkar]

The President could have also advised the Government that sometimes even the best of remedies bring about some unsavoury repercussions. The Government, in such cases, must anticipate the events and prepare the remedies in advance.

I am sure everyone of us here agree that the strong steps which have been taken against smuggling are to be welcomed. But, at the same time, the result of what we have done is about 520 and odd top smugglers have become the guests of the Government, whereas those people who are the carriers of the smuggling goods across the borders and all that, these people now, you can say in a way, are without work. The result is dacoity in the country is rising, crime in the country is going up and the count of beggars is also rising. I do not know whether we have any moral right to give work to people who are in smuggling, but I think going over from smuggling to robbery or to dacoity is not doing any good to them. We should have prepared some sort of programme in the case of smugglers also, as we have done in the case of dacoits. In the case of dacoits, we were able to convince them and wean them away from dacoity and we were able to give them some other avocation which was more respectable. So, we could have thought of finding some other way of facing this problem.

I would now like to throw some light on corruption in our country. Without wanting to offend anybody, if you go to any religious institution, be it a temple, gurudwara or mosque, you will find that any amount of money is offered to God. I am sure it would not surprise anyone to know that in the case of at least a majority of the male members of this august House, when their mothers were pregnant, most probably their grandfather or grandmother would have gone to the temple, mosque or gurudwara and promised God that they will give this or that if their daughter begets a son. In a country where we are not at all

worried about corrupting God, do you think we can leave out Ministers, MPs, MLAs and so on? If the evil of corruption has to be really tackled, it has to be tackled in the upbringing of our people, it has to be tackled by reforming religion, in many other ways, and not the way we are doing it. I cannot imagine our going in for a total revolution to get rid of corruption; I cannot imagine how that will work.

Somebody has already mentioned that the President in his Address has overlooked the fact that this year is the International Women's Year. I would have, however, liked the Government headed by an illustrious woman to enact a law during the current year to ensure equal rights to both men and women to any property or capital assets, or gifts beyond a certain amount, acquired or received after marriage by any one or both of the parties. Now the point is this. When a man goes out to earn his living, if his wife is cooking and doing work at home, to say that he is earning his livelihood by his own effort is a wrong way of looking at things. Surely, the woman works at home and helps him in earning that money. In fact, she makes his burden at home smaller. In the same way, if for instance after marriage a man acquires some property, some assets, to say that the woman had nothing to do in helping the man acquire those assets is something which I do not agree with. You will find that this law is nothing new. It happens to be there in West Germany. This law will also prevent many malpractices in this country. This law will not only give a certain amount of equality to women but, I tell you, it will also go a long way in even preventing corruption.

Lastly, I wish to fulfil a promise I made last year to Acharya Vinoba Bhaveji. He felt that since the august House has considered the proposition of bringing down the voting age from 21 to 18 years of age, why it does not consider the other proposition also.

Before I go to the other proposition, I want to make it clear here that Vinobaji was of the opinion that people should study up to the age of 20 before they went into politics. The other proposition was that if you are allowed to vote at the age of 21 but are allowed to stand for election only at the age of 25, people might be allowed to vote until the end of their life but should not be allowed to stand for election when they have passed the age of 60. The reason why he said this was that if Judges of the Supreme Court have to retire at the age of 65 (An Hon. Member: 62) are we legislators so much more wiser than these Judges that we continue in office beyond the age of 65?

AN HON. MEMBER: Why not 55?

SHRI NIMBALKAR: I answered Vinobaji by only quoting certain statistics about the age of our people. I said that one-third of the population of our country is below the age of 15, half of the population of our country is below the age of 21 and two-thirds of the population of our country is below the age of 35. Thus if you look into the statistics of the rulers and the ruled, you will find that just as there is a huge gap between the rich and the poor so there is quite a gap between the age of rules and the ruled.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Shri Sharad Yadav.

श्री मधु लिमये (बांका) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, यह माननीय शरद यादव की मेहनत सची है ।

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: No, he is not a maiden any more; he is now a brazen hussy.

श्री शरद यादव (जबलपुर) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मध्य प्रदेश विहार और उड़ीसा, यह तीन प्रान्त देश के सब से पिछड़े हुए इलाके

हैं । और मैं मध्य प्रदेश का प्रतिनिधि हूँ । मध्य प्रदेश के साथ 27 वर्ष के कांग्रेसी शासन के चलते हुए उस की कोई भी उन्नति नहीं हो पायी है । और अब तो और भी बुरा हाल है क्योंकि केन्द्रीय सरकार ने एक ऐसा मुख्य मंत्री सर पर थोप रखा है जो रोज रायपुर, शिवपुर से ले कर जगह जगह मध्य प्रदेश के अन्दर गोलियों और लाठियों का सिलसिला चलाये हुए हैं, और रोज हरिजनों, मुसलमानों और अल्पसंख्यकों के साथ तमाम गड़बड़ियाँ चल रही हैं ।

मध्य प्रदेश की उपेक्षा का एक सब से बड़ा उदाहरण मैं आप का देना चाहता हूँ । जबलपुर पहले नम्बर का मध्य प्रदेश का नगर है लेकिन उस को आज तक न तो हवाई जहाज के रास्ते में जोड़ा गया और न दिल्ली से सीधी रेल यात्रा का कोई सिलसिला है, जब कि वह नगर देश के मध्य बिन्दु में है । आज तक उस की तरफ कोई तबज्जह नहीं दी गई, जब कि वहा केन्द्र की तीन फैक्ट्रियाँ हैं, दो विश्वविद्यालय हैं और हाईकोर्ट है । इस तरह से मध्य प्रदेश की पूरी तरह से उपेक्षा की गई है ।

राष्ट्रपति जी के भाषण में आरोप लगाया गया है कि जयप्रकाश बाबू हिंसा भड़का रहे हैं । हमारे यहां के एक शंकर दयाल शर्मा जी केन्द्रीय मंत्री है उनके यहां एक नकली बम कांड हुआ उस में आज भी उन का नीकर भोपाल जेल में बन्द है वहां के आई०जी० ने उस को टैस्ट कराया और यह पाया गया कि वह बम नहीं था बल्कि एक पटाखा था । पत्रकारों ने जब आई०जी०से पूछा तो उन्होंने भोपाल में कुछ नहीं कहा, जब कि भोपाल की जनता जानती थी कि वह पटाखा था, लेकिन बम्बई में उन्होंने कहा कि वह रीहि-यर्सल था । जैसे ललित नारायण मिश्र पर हमला हुआ था उसी तरह का हमारे यहां होने वाला था । तो इस प्रकार एक मंत्री ने छुआँछुआँ दर्ज करवाई जिस की जगह से

[श्री शरद यादव]

बेचारा गरीब नौकर आज जेल में बन्द है, और जिस मंत्री ने कांग्रेसमें ५२ करोड़ का उस नौकर पर भ्रष्टाचार लगाया उसको किसी ने कुछ नहीं कहा। मेरी मांग है कि जो इस तरह के मंत्री हैं उनको जेल के सीखचौं में बन्द किया जाय।

सरकार हरिजनो, आदिवासियों से वोट लेती रही है लेकिन उनको दान में यह सरकार बराबर गरीबी, बेरोजगारी, अत्याचार और जन्म देती रही है। हरिजनों पर हो रहे अत्याचारों के मामले में देश के दो प्रान्त सब से आगे है। एक मध्य प्रदेश और दूसरा महाराष्ट्र। मध्ययुगीन बर्बरता को मात करने वाली एक घटना अकोला जिले के धाकली गांव में हुई जो मैं सदन की जानकारी के लिये बताना चाहता हूँ। वहाँ दो भाई गोपाल और बबरू बाहुन रहते थे। गोपाल की लड़की तुकाराम पाटिल के यहाँ काम करती थी। उस के बेटे से उस की मोहब्बत हो गई और वह गर्भवती हो गई। जब यह दोनों भाई तुकाराम पाटिल के पास गये तो पाटिल ने उन से कहा तुम्हारी इतनी हिम्मत ? और गुस्से में आ कर बदले की भावना से उन दोनों भाइयों की आँखें निकलवा दी गई और कहा गया कि यदि किसी ने इस घटना की जानकारी कही भी दी तो उस के साथ भी यही सलूक होगा। किसी तरह बबरू बाहुन की पत्नी सबेरे पुलिस स्टेशन पर जा कर रिपोर्ट दर्ज कराती है, लेकिन आज तक उस पर कोई कार्यवाही नहीं हुई। माननीय मधु लिमये जी ने प्रधान मंत्री को पत्र भी लिखा, मगर आज तक कोई कार्यवाही नहीं हुई। इस प्रकार का दुर्व्यवहार हरिजनों और मुसलमानों के साथ हो रहा है जिन से यह सरकार वोट मांगती है लेकिन आज तक उन की कोई उन्नति इस सरकार ने नहीं की। तेना

और पुलिस की नौकरी में मुसलमानों की आबादी के अनुसार उन को परसेंटेज नहीं दिया जा रहा है। हां शेष अबदुल्ला जैसा नाटक देश में यह सरकार चलाती रहती है। लेकिन उस से देश के मुसलमानों का कोई हित नहीं होने वाला है।

अष्टाचार का एक सब से बड़ा मामला मैं आप को बताना चाहता हूँ जो कांग्रेस सरकार के जमाने में हुआ है। अभी अभी पिछले महीने पांच परसेंट की छूट सरकार ने चीनी मिल मालिकों को दी और उन के द्वारा देश की जनता को लूटने का इंतजाम सरकार ने काराया। पहले 70 और 80 का प्रतिबन्ध था, 30 परसेंट खुले बाजार में चीनी बेचने की उन को छूट थी, लेकिन अब 35 परसेंट कर दिया। इस के अनुसार, 215 लाख टन चीनी को अधिक खुले बाजार में मनमाने मुनाफे पर वह बेच सकती है। जब कि कंट्रोल 2.15 पैसा और खुले बाजार में 5.65 पैसे प्रति किलो के हिसाब से चीनी बेची जा रही है, जिस के प्रमाण में मेरे पास सुपर बाजार के यह दो बिल है। इस तरह 3.50 प्रति किलो के हिसाब से लूट हो रही है खुले बाजार इस प्रकार सेठों द्वारा 78.20 करोड़ २० की लूट की इजाजत सरकार ने दे दी। इस लूट में से कांग्रेस सरकार की नेता श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी को 8 करोड़ २० कांग्रेस के चुनाव में होली खेलने के लिये दिया गया। मुझे नहीं मालूम खाद्य मंत्री को कितने रुपए मिले... (इ.वधान)

SOME HON. MEMBERS rose—

THE MINISTER OF WORKS AND HOUSING AND PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRI K. RAGHU RAMAIAH): Sir... (Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Mr. Yadav, can you resume your seat for a moment? (Interruptions) Order please. I am only requesting him to resume his seat for a moment. (Interruptions)

श्री जनसेनर मिश्र (इलाहाबाद) : जो आरोप माननीय सदस्य ने लगाया है अगर वह गलत है तो क्या प्रधान मंत्री एक संसदीय जांच का मुकामला करेगी ? क्या यह लोग इसीलिए चिल्ला रहे हैं कि प्रधान मंत्री यहां बैठी हुई है ?

15.00 hrs.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Mr. Yadav, will you please resume your seat for a minute? I would like to know what you want to say, Mr. Raghu Ramaiah.

SHRI K. RAGHU RAMAIAH: I want to say that wild allegations of that nature cannot be allowed to remain on the record of the House without any substantial proof before us. Then anybody can say anything. I object to the allegation made by the hon. Member that money is being passed on. It is thoroughly defamatory. Wild allegations cannot be allowed to be made on the floor of the House without any modicum of proof.

श्री मधु सिन्घे : 5 रुपये 65 पैसे किलो चीनी बिक रही है। यह सुपर बाजार की रसीद है प्राइम मिनिस्टर इस को देख लें।
 (ब्यवधान)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: I am in a difficulty. I would like to Mr. Raghu Ramaiah to help me out here. Certain allegations have been made, and it has been said that they are wild. Perhaps, they are wild. But under what rule can I say that that should go on record? I think, the Parliamentary practice is that, when an allegation is made and that is refuted strongly that it is wild, it is baseless, everything goes on record. I think, that should be quite. We have a certain procedure laid down that, when a thing is unparliamentary or undignified or derogatory or something

like that, then only I can order that it should go out of record.

THE PRIME MINISTER, MINISTER OF ATOMIC ENERGY, MINISTER OF ELECTRONICS, MINISTER OF SPACE, MINISTER OF PLANNING AND MINISTER OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY (SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI): Surely, it is derogatory when an allegation of this kind is made.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: I think, the best way out of this is for the Rules Committee to meet and evolve certain rules. Under the present rules I find it very difficult to say that a certain thing is wild and baseless and it should not go on record. I think, it is enough. It is refuted.

SHRI MALLIKARJUN (Medak): It cannot go on record under rule 380.

श्री इन्दरराव उपाध्याय महोदय जहाँ तक नौजवानों के मामले का सवाल है...
 (ब्यवधान).....

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: I would request Mr. Yadav to help in the conducting of the affairs of this House, to help in the proceedings of this House by not creating unnecessary controversy, by not raising things which he cannot substantiate—this is not conducive to the functioning of this House.

SHRI MALLIKARJUN: On a point of order. Irresponsible and undignified expressions will not go on record of this august House under rule 380 which says:

"If the Speaker is of opinion that words have been used in debate which are defamatory or indecent or unparliamentary or undignified, he may, in his discretion, order that such words be expunged from the proceedings of the House."

SHRI MADHU LIMAYE: He has given his ruling. 'Enough' is enough.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Let me deal with the point of order that he has raised. Here, the charge is that the allegation is wild and baseless. Even the charge has not been made that it is not defamatory. Defamatory has a different connotation altogether. If it is wild and baseless... (Interruptions).

श्री मधु लिमये : ये गोल्ड मेडलिस्ट है ।
 ये गोल्ड मेडल प्राप्त कर चुके हैं ।

ड० कैलास (बम्बई दक्षिण) : क्या ये झूठ बोलने के गोल्ड मेडलिस्ट हैं । क्या ये गोल्ड मेडलिस्ट गलत बात करने के लिए पाये हैं... (स्थगना)

श्री मधु लिमये : ये गोल्ड मेडल चुरा कर नहीं लाए हैं । यह यूनिवर्सिटी ने दिया है ।

THE MINISTER OF WORKS AND HOUSING AND PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRI K. RAGHU RAMAIAH): I may submit that in our view an allegation of that nature that crores of rupees have been paid to the Congress Party is certainly defamatory. But, as you have suggested, this may be left to the Rules Committee to decide.

DR. KAILAS: The Rules Committee is clear on that.

श्री जनेश्वर निम्ब : पार्टी का डिफे-
 मेशन नहीं होता, किसी इण्डिविजुअल के
 खिलाफ नहीं कहा है ।

श्री अरद यादव : हिन्दुस्तान का
 नौजवान 27 वर्षों से लगातार बेरोजगारी
 में अपने को पीड़ित पाता है। अब यह हाल
 है कि एक जल्दी बोड़ी आजादी नौजवान
 को बेरोजगारी में रोक दी गई है । 18

हाल के मताधिकार की मांग हम लोग बहुत
 दिनों से करते रहे हैं लेकिन राष्ट्रपति जी के
 भाषण में जरा सा भी उस का उल्लेख नहीं
 है और 18 साल का मताधिकार यह सरकार
 इसलिए नहीं देना चाहती क्योंकि हिन्दुस्तान
 की आजाद जो कीम है, आजादी के अन्तर्गत
 जो नौजवान पला हुआ है, वह इस सरकार,
 इस पार्टी के खिलाफ है और यह सरकार
 नहीं चाहती है कि वह नौजवान अपने मत का
 प्रयोग कर के अपनी और अपने देश की तकदीर
 को बनाए और सपनों को साकार कर सके ।
 यह सरकार नौजवानों के खिलाफ मीजा,
 डी०घ्राई०भार० और इस तरह के दूसरे कानूनों
 का उपयोग कर रही है और आपातकालीन
 स्थिति से इस देश में अगर कोई आदमी सब से
 ज्यादा पीड़ित है, तो वह युवा पीढ़ी है ।
 मुझे भी दो वर्ष तक मीजा के अन्तर्गत गिरफ्तार
 रखा गया और इसी सरकार के द्वारा मुझे
 गोल्ड मेडल दिया जाता है और यही सरकार
 मुझे जेल में भेजती है और मेरे पांच साथियों
 को मीजा के अन्तर्गत जेल भेजा जाता है ।

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Who gave you the gold medal? Was it the University of the Government that gave you the gold medal?

श्री मधु लिमये : दोनों । यूनिवर्सिटी
 ने इंजीनियरिंग में दिया है और सरकार
 ने इन के कामों को लेकर दिया है ।

श्री रद यादव : उपरोक्त महोदय,
 नक्सेलाइट नौजवानों के साथ मतभेद हो सकता
 है लेकिन उन्हें राजनीतिक दर्जा दिया जाना
 चाहिए बहुत ज्यादा ज्यादा, जल्म और
 अमानवता का व्यवहार उन के साथ बंगाल
 के अन्दर किया जा रहा है । मैं आशा
 हूँ कि इस देश की सब से बड़ी और सम्मानित
 संस्था है, उस में लोग इस प्रकार के
 व्यवहार को कभी-कभी हुए हैं । उन के मत

कहना है कि उन की भी शीलान हो सकती है लेकिन वे जरा भी नहीं सोचते। उन के साथ अमानवता का व्यवहार हो रहा है और अमानवीय व्यवहार को तत्काल बन्द किया जाना चाहिए और मीजा को तत्काल हटाया जाना चाहिए। यह जो आपात्कालीन स्थिति है, यह जो विचारों को व्यक्त करने की आजादी है, यह उस में बहुत तकलीफ दे रही है और हम जैसे नौजवानों को बहुत तकलीफ है जो इस देश में सही किस्म से और सही बात कर के देश की तकदीर को बनाना चाहते हैं और जो देश में झूठ का आलम है, बर्बरता का आलम है, उस को नोडना चाहते हैं लेकिन यह जो डडा है मीजा वाला और वह जो आपात्कालीन स्थिति का डडा है, यह बहुत जम कर चल रहा है और देश में कलकटर जो है वह सो रहा है क्योंकि उनके हाथ में आपने डडा दे दिया है। उस को और कोई काम तो करना नहीं पड़ता है और जो आदमी उस के खिलाफ काम करने वाला होता है, उस के माइड में जो आदमी आ जाता है, उस को मीजा के अन्तर्गत बन्द कर देता है। इसलिए मेरा कहना यह है कि मीजा के अन्तर्गत हाजी मस्तान और पीर मस्तान जैसे आदमी तो बहुत कम बन्द हुए हैं लेकिन जो नौजवान हैं, उन की सख्या मीजा के अन्तर्गत बन्द होने वालों में सब से ज्यादा है।

बारपेटा के चुनाव के बारे में मैं यह कहूंगा कि राष्ट्रपति महोदय जो बारपेटा के चुनाव में भाग लेने गये, वह बहुत ही गलत है और उन के पद के अनुसार और सम्मान के अनुरूप यह बहुत गलत है।

SHRI DINESH CHANDRA GOSWAMI (Gauhati) : It is absolutely incorrect. The President never went there for the elections. Under the rules the President's name should not be dragged in here.

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श्री रघु शिवये क्यो चुनाव के अवसर पर ब वहा गये। बाद में जा सकते थे।

श्री शरद यादव उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, राष्ट्रपति जैसा व्यक्ति बारपेटा जाए और चुनाव में भाग ले, तो फिर इस पद का सम्मान रहना मुश्किल है।

MR DEPUTY-SPEAKER You are a new Member There is rule 352 (vi) which says that a Member 'shall not use the President's name for the purpose of influencing the debate'. Let us not get into these controversial things That does not serve any purpose Because he is a new Member I am pointing out the rule to him Order please

श्री शरद यादव अन्त में मैं मध्य प्रदेश के बारे में यह बता देना चाहता हू कि वहा की स्थिति बड़ी विस्फोटक है। मेठी जी को केन्द्र द्वारा वहा लादा गया है। वह वहा के मुख्य मंत्री है। वह सब से बड़ा प्रान्त है और वह सब में बड़े गडबड मुख्य मंत्री है। हिन्दुस्तान का सब से बड़ा मेठ बिडला भी वर्तमान है। कांग्रेस पार्टी भी सब में बड़ी देश की पार्टी है। मैं आप में कहना चाहता हू कि आप मध्य प्रदेश को चरागाह न बनाएं। 54 वकन मध्य प्रदेश एक चरागाह बना हुआ है। इस चरागाह को खत्म करने के लिए मैं चाहता हू कि आपके द्वारा इस तरह का जो मुख्य मंत्री है, जो अनडमोक्रेटिक है, जो अप्रजातात्विक ढंग से काम कर रहा है, उसको आप हटाएं ताकि वहा जब चुनाव हो तो कोई गडबड न हो मके, वह गडबड न कर सके।

MR DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Who will recall the Chief Minister? This House cannot recall the Chief Minister. It will not serve your purpose

SHRI K RAGHU RAMAIAH: Sir I don't want to intervene, but I must say this. How can we discuss here

[Shri Raghu Ramaiah]

about the conduct of a Chief Minister? It is highly irregular. There is a rule that we can't do it. He is not here to defend himself. A chief Minister is not here to defend himself. It is most unfair.

MR DEPUTY SPEAKER: Please conclude. You have taken more time

श्री शरद यादव दिल्ली की मन्तार उनको वहा लाद सबतो ह तो वट्ट हटा भी सकती है—

श्री मधु लिमये : आप इनको धमकाने का प्रयास कर रहे है। मुख्य मन्त्र। पर जब भ्रष्टाचर के आरोप लगाये जाते है तो उनको जाच प्रधान मन्त्री करवाती है।

श्री बीरभद्र रूह (मडी) राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने अभिभाषण मे देश की जो वस्तुस्थिति है उसका बहुत ही अच्छा उल्लेख किया है और हमारे सामने जो समस्याये है उनके समाधान के लिए सरकार ने जो कदम उठाये है उन पर प्रकाश डाला है। साथ ही हमारे पड़ोसी देशो तथा दूसरे देशो के साथ जो सम्बन्ध है उनका भी बहुत अच्छा विवरण हमारे सामने रखा है।

लेकिन मैं समझता हू कि दो महत्वपूर्ण घटनाएँ हमारे देश में हाल ही में घटी है जिनका जिक्र इस अभिभाषण में होना चाहिए था। पहली घटना तो यह है कि जनवरी के पहले सप्ताह में श्री ललित नारायण मिश्र की हत्या बड़ी ही दुखद परिस्थितियों में की गई और उसका उल्लेख इस अभिभाषण में होना चाहिए था। ललित बाबू देश के एक जाने माने राजनीतिज्ञ थे, सरकार के एक वरिष्ठ मंत्री थे। जिस माहौल में उनकी हत्या हुई मैं समझता हू कि उसका तथा उनकी हत्या का इस अभिभाषण में उल्लेख होना आवश्यक था।

दूसरी बात यह है कि एक बहुत ही दुखद घटना हिमाचल प्रदेश में घटी है और वह है

वहाँ आया भूचाल। 19 जनवरी को हिमाचल के उत्तरी भाग में भूकम्प आया जिसकी वजह से वहा पर काफी जान-माल का नुकसान हुआ। मैं समझता हू कि जब हमारे देश के किसी हिस्से में ऐसी घटना घटे जिसमें लोगो की जाने जाए, सम्पत्ति का नुकसान काफी मात्रा में हो, ता उसका भी जिक्र इस अभिभाषण में होना चाहिए था।

हिमाचल प्रदेश में जो भूकम्प आया उसमें लगभग पचास आदमी मरे है और काफी सख्या में लोग घायल हुए। लोग ज्यादा इसलिए नहीं मरे क्योंकि एक तो वहा आवादी बहुत बिखरी हुई थी और दूसरे जो जलजला आया वह दिन के वक्त आया। जहा तक मकानो के गिरने का मवाल है, सटनों के टूटने का मवाल है वहा पर जो नहरे थी सिचाई की, उनके नष्ट-भ्रष्ट होना का मवाल है, यह क्षति बड़ी मात्रा में हुई है। भारत सरकार और हिमाचल सरकार ने जो तत्कालीन सहायता वहा पट्टाई है उसके लिए, वे दोनों ही बधाई के पात्र है, वहा की जनता इसके लिये बड़ी आभारी है। प्रधान मन्त्री जी ने भी अपने राहत कोष में से दो लाख रुपया इस काम के लिए दिया है, जिसके लिए वहा की जनता उनका धन्यवाद करती है। लेकिन मैं समझता हू कि तत्कालीन सहायता में भी ज्यादा महत्वपूर्ण काम जो है वह आगे उनको फिर से बसाने का है, उनके पुनर्वास का है। उसके लिए बड़ी भारी मात्रा में राशि की आवश्यकता पड़ेगी। यह चीज हिमाचल सरकार के सीमित साधनों के बाहर की बात है। हिमाचल प्रदेश सरकार ने इसके लिए लगभग तीन चार करोड रुपये की माग की है। मैं आशा करता हू कि भारत सरकार उसकी इस माग पर सहानुभूतिपूर्वक विचार करेगी और यह राशि हिमाचल सरकार को दे दी जायेगी ताकि इन दूर दराज के पहाड इलाकों के ये लोग जो मुसीबत में हैं, जो बेघर हैं, जोकि बाहर कुले मैदान में सिर्फ तम्बूओ के नीचे रह रहे हैं उनको फिर से बसाने में कुछ मदद मिल सके।

इस में कोई शक नहीं कि पिछले कुछ वर्षों से हमारा देश बड़ी कठिन परिस्थितियों में से हो कर गुजर रहा है। मुद्रा स्फीति, बढ़ती हुई कीमतों और तेल की कीमत में वृद्धि के कारण वि. ट. समया. पैदा हुई है। इस सब के कारण काफी घ. का हमारे देश को पहुँचा है। लेकिन जो कदम सरकार ने स्थिति का मुकाबला करने के लिए उठाए और जिन विवरण अभिभाषण में राष्ट्रपति महोदय ने दिया है, मैं समझता हूँ कि उन से काफी फायदा पहुँचा है। आज स्थिति यह है कि जो कीमतें एक वक्त निरंतर बढ़ती जा रही थी उनका बढ़ना रुक गया है और कीमतें गिरी हैं और होलसेल प्राइमडिडेक्स में गिरा है। जहाँ तक उत्पादन का सवाल है वह भी बढ़ा है। सरकार क्षेत्र के जो उद्योग हैं उन में उन उत्पादन बढ़ा है। इस्पात, कोयले और विजली आदि का उत्पादन बढ़ा है। सरकार न सक्रिय तथा मजबूत कदम उठाए और उसका ही यह फल है कि हानत कुछ मुघनी है। स्थिति पर कुछ हमने क. व. पाया है। मैं नहीं कहता कि स्थिति पर हम बिल्कुल पूरी तरह में काबू पा चुके हैं। और मुद्रा स्फीति और कीमतों बढ़ने का सवाल हल हो गया है। लेकिन यह कहना उचित ही होगा कि जो कदम उठाए गए हैं उनसे जाहिर हो गया है कि बहुत जल्दी हम पूर्णतया स्थिति पर काबू पा लेंगे।

आज जो स्थिति हमारे देश के सामने है वह देश पर आक्रमण जब होता है उस स्थिति किसी भी कदम कम गम्भीर नहीं है। इन बास्तों जिस तरह चीन या पाकिस्तान के आक्रमण के समय सारे देश के लोगों ने आपसी मतभेद और भुला कर एक हो कर विद्रोह, आक्रमणकारियों का मुकाबला किया था और उस में सफलता पाई थी, मैं आशा करता था कि उसी तरह आज भी एक हो कर और आपसी मतभेदों को भुला कर इस स्थिति का मुकाबला से करेंगे और इस पर विजय पाएँगे लेकिन अपस्तोस के साथ मुझे

कहना पड़ता है कि ऐसा नहीं हुआ। इसके विपरीत हमारे देश के कुछ ऐसे लोग हैं जो इसका राजनीतिक फायदा उठाना चाहते हैं, मुश्किलता का राजनीतिक लाभ उठाना चाहते हैं। यह ही शर्मनाक बात है। आज भी हमारे देश में कई आन्दोलन चल रहे हैं। हमारे देश में हर किसी को अपने विचार प्रकट करने की तथा अपने विचारों को आगे ले जाने की तथा आन्दोलन करने की स्वतन्त्रता है। लेकिन ऐसे वक्त में जब कि जबरन इस बात की हो कि इकट्ठे हो कर देश की समस्याओं का हम मिल कर समाधान निकालें और काम करें जिस में कई प्रकार की क. लिया फलाना, देश की ताकत को वाटना और देश की मान्यताओं को नष्ट ध्रष्ट करने की कोशिश करना मैं समझना हूँ कि सही काम नहीं है।

आज कहा जाना है कि कांग्रेस पार्टी या उसकी नेता श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी देश में प्रजातंत्र को खत्म करना चाहती हैं, देश में तानाशाही स्थापित करना चाहती हैं।

श्री जनेश्वर मिश्र विन्कुल मही है।
इस पर बहस करा लीजिए।

श्री बीरभद्र सिंह विन्कुल गलत है।
बंगला देश में जो कुछ हुआ है उस चीज को हम अपने देश में भी दोहराने की कोशिश कर रहे हैं यह भी कहा जा रहा है। आजादी मिलने के बाद हमारे देश में बहुत सी उपलब्धियाँ प्राप्त की हैं। हम कई दिशाओं में आगे बढ़े हैं। हम कृषि और उद्योग के क्षेत्र में आगे बढ़े हैं, देश के जन-जीवन में सुधार हुआ है। हमारी कई उपलब्धियाँ हैं। मगर मैं समझता हूँ कि इन सब उपलब्धियों में हमारी एक उपलब्धि, जिस पर हम सब भारतीयों की गर्व होना चाहिए, यह है कि बावजूद कई कठिनाइयों के हम ने देश में प्रजातंत्र को कायम रखा है।

[श्री बीरब्र सिंह]

जब हमारा देश 1947 में आजाद हुआ, तो उस के साथ साथ, और उस के बाद, हमारे चारों तरफ एशिया और अफ्रीका के कई अन्य देश भी आजाद हुए। उन की शुरुआत प्रजातांत्रिक देशों के रूप में हुई। लेकिन आज उन का क्या हथ हुआ है? कहीं फौज की हुकूमत है, कहीं एक पार्टी की हुकूमत है, कहीं कोई तानाशाह हुकूमत कर रहा है। भारत ही ऐसा देश है, जहाँ बाबजूद कई मुश्किलों के आज भी प्रजातंत्र कायम है, और मजबूत हो रहा है। यह कैसे हुआ? क्या यह अपन आप हो गया?

इस का सब से मुख्य कारण यह है कि आजादी के बाद जिस पार्टी के हाथ में इस देश की बागडोर आई और निरन्तर जिस के हाथ में यहाँ की बागडोर रही है—, यानी कांग्रेस पार्टी, उस का प्रजातंत्र में पूर्ण विश्वास रहा है, और उस ने इस देश में प्रजातंत्र को लाने के लिए, उस को कायम रखने के लिए और उस को मजबूत और समृद्धिशील बनाने के लिए पूरा पूरा योगदान किया है। इसलिए आज यह कहना कि कांग्रेस पार्टी, या उस की नेता, देश से प्रजातंत्र को ही शक्ति करते जा रहे हैं, मैं समझता हूँ कि इस से बड़ा परिहास भारत की जनता के साथ नहीं हो सकता है।

अप्रत्याचार को खत्म करते की बात कही जाती है। कौन है इस देश में, जो अप्रत्याचार को खत्म नहीं करना चाहता है? इस बात के लिए हम भी उत्तम ही उत्सुक हैं, जितने कि दूसरे साथी हैं। लेकिन क्या विधान सभाओं को भग कर के और संविधान की मान्यताओं को खत्म करके अप्रत्याचार को खत्म किया जा सकता है? आन्दोलन के जरिये अप्रत्याचार को खत्म नहीं किया जा सकता है। अगर कुछ लोग यह समझने हैं कि वे उन व्यक्तियों को साथ ले कर, कर, उन व्यक्तियों की मदद से, अप्रत्याचार

को खत्म करेंगे, जिन को सारी दुनिया अष्ट मानती है, तो इस देश में कोई भी इस बात को मानने वाला नहीं है।

मैंने शुरू में कहा है कि प्रजातंत्र में हर एक आदमी को अपना आन्दोलन चलाने का अधिकार है। लेकिन इस के साथ ही उसको हमारे संविधान की परम्पराओं को भी मानना पड़ेगा। आज जो लोग आन्दोलन चला रहे हैं, और हमारी सशस्त्र फौजों और पुलिस को कहते हैं कि वे ड्यूटी कास्टीट्यूटिड एथारिटी—कानून के जरिये से कायम की गई सरकार—की हुकूम-अहली करे, उस का हमें न मानने, तो यह साफ जाहिर हो जाता है कि वे देश में किस किस की हालत पैदा करना चाहते हैं। .. (अवधि न)

हमारा देश ममार के सब देशों के साथ बराबरी और दोस्ती के आधार पर अच्छे ताल्लुकात कायम करना चाहता है। शुरू से ही हमारी यह नीति रही है कि हम अपने पड़ोसी देशों के साथ, और ससार के अन्य देशों के साथ, चाहे वे किसी भी पावर ब्लाक में सम्बन्धित हों, अच्छे ताल्लुकात पैदा करें। मुझे बड़ी खुशी है कि हम न केवल इस नीति पर कायम रहे हैं, बल्कि हमने इसको मजबूत किया है और इस दिशा में हम आगे सभी बढ़े हैं, और ससार के तकरीबन सभी देशों के साथ हमारे अच्छे ताल्लुकात हैं।

मुझे बड़ा दुख है कि हमारे विरोध के बाबजूद अमरीका ने पाकिस्तान को फिर से हथियार देने का निर्णय किया है। सारे देश ने इस का विरोध किया है। मैं समझता हूँ कि ससद् को भी इस का विरोध करना चाहिए। अमरीका ने इस बारे में कुछ आश्वासन दिये हैं, लेकिन उन आश्वासनों का कोई मूल्य नहीं है। पहले भी उसने कई आश्वासन दिये थे, लेकिन हम ने देखा

कि वे भाषावासन पूरे नहीं किये गये, और पाकिस्तान ने तीन दफ़ा इन देश पर आक्रमण करके अमरीका के शस्त्रों का हमारे खिलाफ़ प्रयोग किया। मैं समझता हूँ कि हमारे लिए यह एक बड़ी दुखद घटना है, एक ख़तरे की निशानी है कि अमरीका ने पाकिस्तान को हथियार देने का प्रस्ताव किया है। इस से न केवल हमारे और अमरीका के आपसी सम्बन्धों को धक्का पहुँचेगा, बल्कि दुनिया के इस हिस्से में फिर से शान्ति भंग होने का भी खतरा पैदा होगा।

काश्मीर में जो राजनैतिक तन्वीली आ रही है, राष्ट्रपति महोदय ने अपने अभि-भाषण में उस का भी जिक्र किया है। आज काश्मीर में जो नया अध्याय शुरू हुआ है, मैं उस का स्वागत करता हूँ। यह खुशी की बात है कि शेख़ अब्दुल्ला के साथ, जो काश्मीर के माने हुए नेता है, जिन पर वहाँ के सब लोगों का विश्वास है, यह समझौता होना सम्भव हो पाया है। सब से ज्यादा खुशी की बात यह है कि यह समझौता हमारे संविधान की चार-दीवारी, उस की परिधि, में हुआ है, और हम ने कोई ऐसा काम नहीं किया है इस समझौते में, जिस से हमारे संविधान की अवहेलना होती हो। मुझे खुशी है कि यह जो समझौता हुआ है, काश्मीर में जो नया अध्याय शुरू हुआ है, उस से काश्मीर के मसले को मुलजाने में मदद मिलेगी, और काश्मीर के लोग हमारे राष्ट्र की मुख्य धारायें में राष्ट्रीय में ज्यादा अच्छी तरह शामिल हो सकेंगे।

SHRI P. G. MAVALANKAR (Ahmedabad): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, while I thank the President for having taken the trouble to come personally to Parliament House and read his speech, for the first time as President, I am afraid I have not many words of either appreciation or gratitude for both the manner in which he delivered his Address and for the

contents of the Address. Sir, it was an un-inspiring and routine address and it was delivered in a faltering style and in a very unattractive way.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: From that point of view, there will be many of us who are at fault. You and I are in no better position.

SHRI P. G. MAVALANKAR: Sir, the Constitution provides that the President of the Union comes every year to the Parliament and delivers his address which contains—I suppose the Constitution also provides for this—the Government's outline of the programmes for the whole year. In this respect, we are following the practice of United Kingdom where the Prime Minister and his team write out the address for the Queen and the Queen delivers it and the gracious speech contains not only the outline of the events of the past year, but, what is more important, a definite and clear indication of the policies and programmes chalked out for the next year. But if you read this address, you will find that it is missing in that regard.

Sir, if you take the US example, though it is not relevant strictly to our Constitutional structure because we have parliamentary democracy here, the President of the United States delivers once a year what is called the State of the Union Message. If you consider this as a message of the President, telling us what is the state of the Union, then I am sorry to say that the President's Address does not reflect genuinely and truly the full picture of the state of the Union. My good friend, Mr. Stephen described in his opening speech, when he moved his motion of thanks to the President for his address, that it gives a very comprehensive picture. Yes comprehensive picture from his point of view and from his party's point of view! It is not, however, a comprehensive picture because it fails to note many things. It fails to note for example, what my good friend, the lady Member from his own party said; it makes no mention of the year 1975

[Shri P. G. Mavalankar]

as inter-national Women's Year. It fails to note, as my esteemed friend Mr. Indrajit Gupta said, the terrible tragedy at Samastipur early this year.

As a matter of fact, the Address begins with a very interesting sentence. I quote:

"We begin the year on a confident note, having responded with determination to the unforeseen and stupendous challenges of the last four years."

With what confidence they have started, the recent by elections have proved! There is more and more diffidence, more and more unsureness and restlessness on the part of the Government. They lack the will to do many things. This country has talents, this country has potential and this country has a vast reservoir of youth, energetic and skilled people, to deliver the goods. But what is unfortunately lacking in this country today is the will to do it, the determination of Government to carry on certain programmes objectively and fully.

Having said this, I would like to say one thing which I feel I must say. Quite frankly, I did not relish the fact that the President's Address was boycotted by several of the Opposition parties on the opposition benches.

SHRI MADHU LIMAYE: Why?

SHRI P. G. MAVALANKAR. Shri other, the Government functions in Madhu Limaye asks 'Why?'. I can understand the anger and agitation felt by the opposition parties. I think it was better that they abstained rather than come inside and do *hulagulla*! It was much better because at least decorum was preserved. But it also shows that the relations between the Opposition and the ruling party are getting more and more estranged. On the one hand, the President talks of a dialogue: on the

such a way that the Opposition does not feel the necessity even to attend and listen to the President's Address.

Having said that they should not have boycotted the Address, I also feel that they should not have boycotted the President's oath-taking ceremony last year. By a curious coincidence, I found that I was perhaps the only non-Congress member of Parliament attending the oath-taking ceremony in Rashtrapati Bhavan. We on this side took part in opposing the candidature of Shri Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed. But once elected, he is not Shri Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed nor an ex-Congressman; he is the President of the Indian Union, and that office must be respected.

But I want to say that if the President wants us, if the Constitution wants us, if the Government wants us, to observe certain rules and regulations and conventions, two questions, which I hope you Mr. Deputy Speaker, will permit me to put, have to be answered. First, why should the President come with this big paraphernalia on a 6-horse buggy in an old fashioned way? In England, pageantry has a place. Walter Bagehot in his famous book on the English Constitution in the last century has said that pageantry plays a definite role in the British political system. But here we have no monarchy. There is no need for pageantry here. It does not add anything by way of political significance. Indeed, it adds to a certain amount of jealousy and disgust for the Government, for the ruling party, whichever party may be in power, because it shows that the old imperialist, colonial traditions have not yet been got rid of.

Why should the President come with a big paraphernalia? Why should he live in such a big Rashtrapati Bhavan? Why should the Prime Minister, Chief Ministers, Ministers and, I am prepared to say even MPs and MLAs lead this kind of a luxurious way of life? It is so much out of tune with the times, needs and demands of the people. Taking

cognisance of the difficulties and afflictions of the people, why should Government not set a pattern of decent, simple living and give up all this paraphernalia which is a hangover of the colonial and past imperial tradition?

Then I want to say this. I am an Independent; I have no dependence on any party whips for my views, comments and voting. I say that the Opposition Parties, Independent members or anybody for that matter, any citizen of the country, must behave with a certain dignity and decorum in conformity with certain conventions which are much more important than the written law and the Constitution. I ask you, and through you this House, whether it was right and proper for the Head of the State to go to an area belonging to him where a bye-election was pending (*Interruptions*). I am not referring to details.

SHRI DINESH CHANDRA GOSWAMI: This point has been raised over and over again and I think it should be clarified. The itinerary of the President was fixed long before the bye-election.

SHRI P. G. MAVALANKAR: He could have changed it.

SHRI DINESH CHANDRA GOSWAMI: One place in Barpeta was itself in the itinerary. But when this bye-election was announced, the President did not go to that particular place. He went to Gauhati to attend a Convocation. Therefore, this statement all the time that the President went to that place where the bye-election was pending is completely wrong. In fact, people of that area were asking as to why when the President was elected from that place, he did not go there after having been elected.

SHRI NOORUL HUDA (Kachar):
On a point of order.

श्री मधु लिमये : हमारे द्वारा प्रोटेस्ट करने के बाद, उन्होंने बारपेटा का कार्यक्रम रद्द किया। लेकिन बारपेटा के सभी प्रमुख लोगों को वहाँ बुला भेजा था और उन को प्रभावित किया गया। ... (व्यवधान) कम्बल बाटने का काम किया गया।

MR DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Order, order I am on my legs.

SHRI NOORUL HUDA: You allowed him to speak.

MR DEPUTY-SPEAKER: This question has been raised again and again. I had pointed out the relevant rules I had allowed Mr. Goswami for the simple reason that perhaps he might help in putting the record straight. But I am afraid by saying this you are opening the door a little wider. We are faced with so many difficulties in this country and the least we can do is to retain a certain decorum and a certain dignity. If everything is brought under pressure, even if the Chair which I am occupying is brought under pressure, we cannot function with any dignity and independence. Therefore, I should request you to leave out the President and leave out certain things. Let us have a consensus on this because there is a minimum which we must preserve.

SHRI MADHU LIMAYE: The President also must behave with decorum.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: What I say is this. Mr. Mavalankar has said certain things; I have allowed Mr Goswami, to keep the record straight. Let us not go further into this Please co-operate.

SHRI NOORUL HUDA: Please allow me to say this....**

MR DEPUTY-SPEAKER: If I allow you, I will have to allow others. I want to close this chapter... (*Interruptions*) This will not go on record. I would request again: let

[Mr. Deputy-Speaker]

us at least agree on one thing.... (Interruptions). Mr. Patel, you want to speak? Please carry on.

I should request all of you to preserve a certain modicum which is necessary to hold this country together. Let us not try to bring everybody under pressure and drag every^thing down.

SHRI P. G. MAVALANKAR: I entirely agree with you; I abide by your ruling. My point is that if you want democratic conventions and democratic behaviour to be established in this country, it must be the business of both the Government and the Opposition and all others to behave in a certain Constitutionally correct and dignified ways and not do things which wil] damage the fabric, health and sanity of our republic.

My main difficulty and grievance are that the President's Address does not reflect the stresses and strains of the last several years, particularly the last years, and the challenges that the last year and this present year particularly are flinging at us, as people, Parliament and Government. The economic crisis, the social up heave], the educational unrest and the political chaos—are they reflected adequately in this Address? Are those problems and challenges adequately analysed in this Address? Are there proper, satisfactory and convincing realities or answers to these problems and Challenges in this Address? It is no use saying that the President's Address is a ritual, and then use it as an instrument to damn the Opposition or criticise those who do not agree with the Establishment. I was wondering, when I listened to the speeches: are we having a discussion on the President's Address or on Jayaprakashji's movement? This has been used as an instrument or tool either to condemn or support that movement. Because the Congress Members are condemning the J.P.

movement, the Opposition Members have to reply to that and support it. But we are not discussing that. J.P. has given three challenges: Is there not educational chaos? Is there no need for electoral reforms? Is not this country ridden with corruption? Corruption is increasing everyday, every minute. What are we doing? J.P. will go out from the political scene soon; but these problems will not go out. Therefore, if you merely condemn JP's movement and call it fascist or anti-democratic, what do you solve? Where do we go? I am afraid the President's Address does not contain any significant or useful suggestion or constructive way out of the crisis we find ourselves in. Whether Jayaprakash Narayan succeeds or not, is it not a fact that corruption is corroding our public and political life? Should we tolerate this? The Congress members ask, where is the alternative? Mr. Stephen says, the opposition members are obstructing whereas they should oppose. To a certain extent I agree. But is it not the function of the Government to govern and not misgovern, to rule and not misrule? The peculiar situation in this country is that neither the Government governs effectively nor the opposition parties oppose properly! This came about because since 1971 this Parliament has seen a majority which is so terrible that this Government has refused to pay any attention to whatever is being said from these benches. We had an example as recently as this morning provided by Mr. Sezhiyan. When he and several others raised the Pondicherry issue, the Law Ministers said, "We are right and the opposition is wrong". This attitude of the Government that "we are right and the opposition is wrong" has led to this chaotic situation. So, I suggest that instead of finding fault with the opposition and J.P., they should learn what is the meaning of understanding. If a dialogue is to be maintained, then dissent has not only to be heard but respected and implemented if there is some rationality in it. Otherwise, how can a democratic climate grow in this country?

This Address does not say what is the reason *decre* for continuing the emergency, except that they want to continue enjoying vast powers, almost arbitrary powers, indulging in unconstitutional behaviour and going about doing things in a cavalier manner because the emergency gives them the powers not to bother about fundamental rights and law courts. I am sorry the Address does not mention anything about it. I demand that the emergency should be lifted as early as possible, if necessary by this evening.

The Address contains one paragraph, saying there is something wrong with our education. Has Mr. Ahmed to tell us that? Have not the various commissions like Radhakrishnan Commission, the Kothari Commission and various sub-committees of the UGC and other bodies told us in their reports that there is something radically wrong with the functioning of our education, with the goals and objectives of our education? Yet we find no reply in terms of what the Government wants to do. The way Government gives priority to education is reflected in the fact of continuing to have the Education Minister outside the Cabinet!

Coming to electoral reforms, today the Minister of State for Law, Justice and Company Affairs, Dr. Mahishi, told us that Government want to have a dialogue. That is what her colleague Mr. Gokhale told us. That is what the Prime Minister told us. That is what this Address tells us. But when will Government start the dialogue? Months are passing and elections are coming nearer and nearer. Are you sincere about starting a dialogue with the opposition parties? How can you go in the direction of free and fair elections? Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan appointed a committee of which I had the honour to be a member. Its report has come out in the papers today. I hope this report at least forms the basis of the discussion inside and outside Parliament. I do not say that the

committee's report contains everything worth accepting.

But I hope its contents are at least worthy of consideration. Let us start the dialogue. Why are you not implementing these reforms? If you do not do anything in the educational field, if you do not do anything in the electoral field, if you have more and more corruption, then not only one J.P., but thousands of JPs would be coming out; not only one thousand JPs but millions of JPs would be coming out in this country.

Let us not forget that this country of ours has only two majorities. I am not talking in terms of the majority in Parliament of the Congress Party of 372 and more. The two majorities in this country are those who are far below the poverty line and those who are very young. Both of them are terribly distressed. If the youth and the poor are going to be continuously neglected, disheartened and ignored, and the way they are being ignored and neglected, I am afraid we are coming to a terrible situation and even hundreds of President's Addresses will not do the trick.

Then I come to the question of elections in Gujarat. Shri Brahmananda Reddy is sitting here. I know he is bringing forward the resolution tomorrow. But, is it not an insult to Gujarat that while the law order situation is completely under control, the Minister says that the law and order situation is such that they cannot hold the elections? Then they say that there is drought and scarcity and so they cannot hold the elections. I would say that it is not a question of scarcity or drought; it is a question of scarcity of confidence on the part of the Congress Party. That is why they are not prepared to hold the elections. On what ground, can you deny the right of the people of Gujarat to have immediate elections and thus have a free and popular Government there at this stage. I will refer to

[Shri P. G. Mavalankar]

that when that resolution comes before the House.

The President's Address, unfortunately, mentions practically nothing about labour, except merely one or two words, patting labour on the back, But what about the comprehensive Industrial Relations Bill? When I asked this question three times, the first time I was told that "it is under consideration" the second time "It is under active consideration" and the third time "it is under very active consideration". They have not gone beyond that.

I will give only one example. The provident fund of the labour carries only an interest of 6 per cent, while the Unit Trust gives 7 per cent, banks 8 or 10 per cent and fixed deposit with companies 12 per cent. The labour is demanding a higher rate of interest on their provident fund account. Moreover, they want that they should be permitted to withdraw the P.F. amount as loan after 20 years of service. But that is also refused.

So, I would say in conclusion that the national climate is depressing and deteriorating. There is lack of sincerity of purpose and absence of earnestness, particularly on the government side; not only on the government side, but all around. None of us, it seems to me, is in earnest about delivering the goods. If we do not do it, and if the youth of this country and the poor people of this country are not given an opportunity to blossom, an opportunity to develop their personality, first of all, to live and to become themselves by developing their personality, they will not remain silent spectators. So, I will conclude by saying that all is not well with the State of this country.

SHRI TARUN GOGOI (Jorhat):
Mr. Deputy-Speaker, while participating in this discussion on the President's Address, I would like to take the opportunity to extend my con-

gratulations to the Prime Minister for taking a bold step of arriving at a settlement with Sheikh Abdullah within the framework of our Constitution and thereby making a major break-through in the direction of the solution of the most complicated problem of Jammu and Kashmir. This accord is of great significance. This accord not only brings a bulk of the population of Jammu and Kashmir within the mainstream of national life of this country, but it will contribute to the unity and integrity of the country and will strengthen the forces of democracy, secularism and socialism. Since 1953 various changes have taken place in the State of Jammu and Kashmir, and what is heartening to know is that there is realisation and acceptance on the part of Sheikh Abdullah of the change in the situation.

15.50 hrs.

[SHRI NAWAL KISHORE SINHA in the Chair.]

We welcome Sheikh Abdullah's decision to join in the national political life of the country and to lead the State of Jammu and Kashmir. We hope that under his able and dynamic leadership there will be all round development and progress of the State of Jammu and Kashmir.

The reaffirmation of Sheikh Abdullah that the accession of Jammu and Kashmir to India is final and irrevocable, that in view of this accord plebiscite has become irrelevant and that in the national crisis the hands of the Prime Minister should be strengthened, for the purpose of secularism, socialism and democracy, is a statement of great significance.

I would also like to take the opportunity of expressing my strong resentment and protest at the decision of the American Government to lift the arms embargo on Pakistan. This is a matter of serious and the most disturbing concern not only for India but for the whole sub-continent. It

It will not only hinder the process of normalisation of relations between India and Pakistan, it will not only strain Indo-American relations, but it will also disturb peace and stability and shake the economic development of the whole of the sub-continent. It will create unnecessary tension, unnecessary hatred and an arms race.

This decision betrays the assurance of Dr. Kissinger, who made a statement during his last visit to India that America was keen on the normalisation of relations between India and Pakistan and that America did not encourage an arms race in the sub-continent. This is the real attitude of America towards India. America's real policy is of maintaining the balance of power and of maintaining parity between India and Pakistan.

Never before, since we attained independence, has the country been confronted with such a serious crisis, economic and political. In the last two years, 1973 and 1974, we faced an unprecedented rise in prices of every commodity and a high inflationary trend. Thereby, everyone of us has been badly hit. You could realise human suffering and the difficulties of the poor people. Nobody could deny that even after 27 years of independence there are lakhs or millions of people who do not have two square meals a day, who do not have shelter to live in, who do not have the bare necessity of clothing to wear, not to speak of the bare minimum needs of modern life. It is also very pathetic to see that lakhs and lakhs of youth, who are full of vigour and energy, are without any employment and are every morning knocking at the doors of Government offices, private firms and industry and trade. Whenever we go to our constituencies, we find lots of young people do come and approach us for employment.

These two, unemployment and poverty, are the two greatest challenges of the country and it is for us to meet these challenges. It is not correct to say that the Government is not conscious of it. Government is

conscious of it; Government is alert to the situation and Government has taken bold and revolutionary steps in the direction to see that these problems are solved.

As regards high prices and the inflationary trend, India is not an exception. Even in the advanced countries these problems are there. When the more advanced countries, countries which are much more progressive, have not been able to solve it, how do we expect a poor country like India to meet the challenge adequately? On the other hand, the Government of India has taken certain unpopular and bold decisions. Government has taken various steps against smugglers, hoarders and blackmarketeers. Other monetary steps have also been taken which have yielded good results. There has not only been stabilisation of prices but there has also been a downward trend in prices. We hope that Government will take various other steps so that there is an improvement in the economic situation in the country.

There might be some lapses on the part of Government. That does not justify that the Opposition should criticize whatever the Government does. The Opposition has failed to discharge its duties by not contributing constructive suggestions. What is the role of the Opposition parties? As we have got responsibility to the people, they have also got responsibility to the people. They are contented or satisfied merely with criticizing; they are bent on criticizing the Government.

It is a matter of great concern to the country that certain groups of people have combined together to weaken democracy. They are attacking democratic institutions and functions. There is nothing wrong with democracy; there might be changes in procedures. These are the people who sometimes claim that they are strengthening democracy. These are the people who, whenever they are elected, say that the election is fair,

[Shri Tarun Gogoi]

that the people have asserted their right, when they are not elected, they say, the elections are rigged as if we are not the real representatives of the people.

They have referred to so many reverses of the Congress party. We always admit and respect the verdict of the people. Whenever there are losses, we say, we have lost the confidence of the people. What about other constituencies? We still enjoy the confidence of the people. By your doings, by your deeds, you have weakened the foundations of democracy which have been laid in the country at great sacrifices of great leaders, at great sacrifices and service of the people of India. I have full faith in the Indian people. Democracy will never be weakened. It will rather be strengthened further.

As regards the issues of election reforms, these are not new issues. They have been raised so many times by our own party members. The Government has also taken certain steps. The Government has taken note of them. Undoubtedly, it is a burning problem and it deserves an immediate solution. We require the consultation and discussion with the Opposition parties. But the way the ills are sought to be focused, the issues are sought to be raised, it creates doubts about their sincerity of purpose. It is more inspired by political motives. About corruption, they say so many things. Many of their parties came to power in some States. What was the record of their performance in respect of removing corruption? I would like to know it from them. Now, I would like to come to my backward State....

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE (Burdwan): Why has it remained so backward even after 27 years of Independence.

SHRI TARUN GOGOI: There are so many causes. Because of your obstructionist policies, the Govern-

ment is not able to take steps. The eastern part of the country consists of Assam, Meghalaya, Arunachal Pradesh, Mizoram and Tripura. These are areas full of natural resources and mineral resources. These are areas which are still lagging far behind. I do hope the Government of India will see that these areas get adequate attention in respect of communications, industrialisation and economic development.

There are certain hilly areas in my part of the country. There is not a single railway line constructed in these areas in the last 27 years. About Assam, it occupies the top place in the matter of producing crude oil. There has been a feeling in Assam that in the matter of oil industry, Assam has been deprived of its dues. It occupies the top-most place among the oil producing States. But we are having very small number of industries there. It is heartening to note that there is a possibility of more availability of crude oil in my part of the country. I do hope that the crude will be refined in my own State.

About floods, it is known that Assam is a victim of floods every year. Lakhs and lakhs of people are affected by it. Lakhs of acres have been inundated by floods. Many lives have been lost. A large number of cattle has been lost. It has become impossible for the State Government to take measures to control floods. We have been approaching the Central Government and they have given an assurance that they will come forward and introduce the Flood Control Bill. Up till now, they have not been able to introduce the Bill. I hope, the Government will take the initiative in the matter and introduce the Bill early.

With these words, I support the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address.

16.00 hrs.

[MR. SPEAKER, in the Chair]