

2.28 hrs.

PUBLIC ACCOUNTS COMMITTEE

SIXTY-SIXTH REPORT

SHRI SEZHIYAN (Kumbakonam): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I beg to present the Sixty-sixth Report of the Public Accounts Committee regarding action taken by Government on the recommendations contained in their Thirty-ninth Report relating to All-India Radio.

north-eastern parts of Madhya Pradesh. I request the Minister of Agriculture to enlighten us as to what has been done to remedy the situation. How long will the situation last?

Also, I would request him to seek the action of Government to instruct the local authorities to deal with this matter quietly and not to use the general powers under the Maintenance of security Act which causes an atmosphere of panic in that region.

MINES (AMENDMENT) BILL

EXTENSION OF TIME FOR PRESENTATION OF REPORT OF JOINT COMMITTEE

SHRI A. P. SHARMA (Buxar): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I beg to move the following:—

“That this House do further extend upto the 4th May, 1973, the time for the presentation of the Report of the Joint Committee on the Bill further to amend the Mines Act, 1952.”

MR. SPEAKER: The question is:

“That this House do further extend upto the 4th May, 1973, the time for the presentation of the Report of the Joint Committee on the Bill further to amend the Mines Act, 1952.”

The motion was adopted.

12.30 hrs.

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

MR. SPEAKER: The House will now take up further consideration of the following motion moved by Shri R. K. Sinha and seconded by Shri K. P. Unnikrishnan on the 21st February, 1973, namely:—

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

“That the Members of Lok Sabha assembled in this Session are deeply grateful to the President for the Address which he has been pleased to deliver to both Houses of Parliament assembled together on the 19th February, 1973.”

2.29 hrs.

E. SCARCITY OF DIESEL, OIL IN MADHYA PRADESH

MR. SPEAKER: Shri Ranabhadur Singh.

SHRI RANABHADUR SINGH (Sidhi): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I wish to draw the attention of the House under Rule 277 to the acute shortage of diesel oil for farmers which has caused considerable damage to crops and people could not do irrigation in the

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE (Kanpur): Since we are discussing the President's Address, if a calling-attention notice on the resumption of bombing in Laos and Cambodia is not admitted, I would request you to ask the Minister of External Affairs to kindly make a statement, because the US forces are doing their best to undo the peace proposals.

Secondly, you are aware, Sir, that there is an acute power shortage in India in all the States....

MR. SPEAKER: This is a very clever way of getting up and raising these matters....

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE: The Ministers from UP are here. I would only request you to kindly allow a discussion on this, or let the hon. Minister make a statement, because the hon. Minister Dr. K. L. Rao is making all sorts of statements everywhere. The power shortage is becoming more acute now. So, I would request you to kindly allow a discussion on this. Let the Minister of External Affairs also make a statement today or tomorrow on the resumption of bombing in Laos and Cambodia.

MR. SPEAKER: We shall resume the discussion on the President's Address. The time fixed for it is 15 hours. We have spent more than half that time. The time available is 8 hours and 25 minutes. There are so many speakers on the list from both sides. I think we should fix some time-limit on the speeches. What time-limit would hon. Members propose? I think 7 to 8 minutes would be all right.

SHRI R. V. SWAMINATHAN (Madurai): No, Sir, it should be half an hour.

SOME HON. MEMBERS: 15 minutes.

MR. SPEAKER: If half an hour should be the time-limit, then hon. Members should ask some Members to withdraw their names, so that I can make arrangements for giving half an hour.

THE MINISTER OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRI K. RAGHURAMIAH): 10 minutes would be all right.

MR. SPEAKER: I think ten minutes would be all right.

श्री हुकम चन्द कछवाय (मुरैना) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, उधर के सब नाम काट दीजिये और सिर्फ इधर के सदस्यों को बुलाइये ।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : जब आपका राज होगा, तो सभी काट दिये जायेंगे ।

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU (Diamond Harbour): This is casting aspersion on the Jan Sangh. They are not a fascist party . . .

अध्यक्ष महोदय : मैं उन्हें बता रहा हूँ कि जो वह कह रहे हैं, वह मैं नहीं कर सकता हूँ, वही करें

श्री हुकम चन्द कछवाय : उनकी तरफ से मंत्री जवाब देने वाले हैं और उसीमें सब बातें कह दी जायेंगी । बाकी सदस्यों को बोलने की जरूरत ही नहीं है ।

SHRI S. A. SHAMIM (Srinagar) Independents also may be accommodated.

MR. SPEAKER: Now, Shri Raji Kulkarni. The hon. Member is absent

I am not going to call the names those who send their slips must get up; they should know in what order their names appear and get up. Perhaps, many Members think that the zero hour would go on till one o'clock and so they are all gone.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: If they were in the Opposition, they would have taken more time than we do.

श्री नाथूराम निरघा (नागौर) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण पर धन्यवाद के प्रस्ताव का समर्थन करने के लिये खड़ा हुआ हूँ ।

इस अभिभाषण में देश की आज की आर्थिक स्थिति की तरफ इस सदन और देश के लोगों का ध्यान आकषिप्त किया गया है ।

इस समय देश के सामने जो अहम् समस्याएँ हैं, इस सदन को उनपर गम्भीरता से विचार करना है। यह सही है कि हम एक मुश्किल वक्त से गुजर रहे हैं और इसका एक लम्बा सिलसिला है, जिसका जिक्र भी राष्ट्रपति महोदय ने अपने अभिभाषण में किया है।

पिछले साल हमारे देश को एक युद्ध का सामना करना पड़ा, जिसके कारण सरकार को कई आर्थिक बोझ उठाने पड़े। उसके बाद इस साल देश के बहुत से इलाकों में सूखे की स्थिति उत्पन्न हुई है। उसके कारण खरीफ का अनाज का उत्पादन और अन्य चीजों का उत्पादन भी, कम हुआ है। देश में उन चीजों की कमी की वजह से उनके भाव भी ऊँचे हुये हैं, जिसके बारे में इस सदन में कई बार काफी चिन्ता व्यक्त की गई है।

कुछ चीजों के भाव सचमुच काफी ऊँचे हुये हैं। लेकिन मैं सदन का ध्यान इस तरफ भी आकर्षित करना चाहता हूँ कि किसान द्वारा पैदा की हुई कुछ चीजों के दाम काफी कम हैं और यह एक चिन्ता का विषय है। उदाहरण के लिये सब्जियों, फलों, दूध और अण्डों आदि कई चीजों के दाम काफी कम हैं। दूध का उत्पादन करने वाले को दूध का दाम एक रुपया प्रति किलोग्राम से ज्यादा नहीं मिलता है। इसी तरह उत्पादन-कर्ता को एक अण्डे का दाम बीस, बाईस पैसे मिलता है। गोभी आदि सब्जियों के दाम भी सस्ते हैं। टमाटर चार रुपये के सोलह से बीस किलोग्राम मिलते हैं।

मेरे कहने का तात्पर्य यह है कि किसान दैनिक जीवन की जरूरत की जो चीजें पैदा करता है, उनका दाम उसके खर्च से आधा भी प्राप्त नहीं होता है। अगर कोई व्यक्ति गाय या भैंस रख कर दूध का उत्पादन करे, तो उसको एक किलो दूध पर दो रुपया

खर्च करना पड़ता है। इसी प्रकार मुर्गी के अंडे पर चालीस, पचास पैसे का खर्च पड़ता है। किसान द्वारा पैदा की गई जनता के दैनिक जीवन की जरूरी चीजों के दाम कम मिलने से किसान की नुकसान हो रहा है और इसका असर सब उत्पादनकर्ताओं पर पड़ता है।

जनसंघ के माननीय सदस्य, श्री अटल बिहारी बाजपेयी, ने अनाज और कोयले की खानों आदि के राष्ट्रीयकरण की आलोचना की और कहा कि सरकारीकरण की नीति अच्छी नहीं है। लेकिन मैं उनसे निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि आज हमको विचौलियों की समस्या पर गौर करने की आवश्यकता है। आखिर हम उसका क्या हल निकालना चाहते हैं? जिन व्यापारियों ने गेहूँ 75, 80 और 90 रुपया के हिसाब से खरीदा, वही उसको 140 और 145 रुपये के हिसाब से बेच रहे हैं। वह गेहूँ बाजार में मिल रहा है। अगर व्यापारी कहते कि उनके पास गेहूँ नहीं है, तब तो और बात थी। गेहूँ तो बाजार में है और व्यापारी उसको दस, पन्द्रह रुपये ज्यादा पर बेच सकते थे, लेकिन इस बात का क्या जस्टिफिकेशन है कि वे 140, 145 रुपये के हिसाब से बेच रहे हैं?

श्री हुकम चन्द कछवाय : खाद्य निगम ने क्या किया?

श्री नाथू राम मिर्धा : कठिनाई यह है कि इन लोगों के चश्में उल्टे हैं। जो पहले देखने की बातें हैं, उनको ये देखते नहीं हैं। खाद्य निगम के बारे में जो कुछ करने की जरूरत है, वह सरकार कर रही हैं। सवाल यह है कि जिन लोगों की वकालत वे माननीय सदस्य कर रहे हैं, क्या उनके हाथ साफ हैं। नहीं हैं। आज विचौलियों द्वारा कन्ज्यूमर्स और प्रोड्यूसर्स का शोषण किया जा रहा है। अगर हमने उससे बचना है, तो इस देश में सिवाये इसके कोई चारा नहीं है कि बहुत सी चीजों के इकानोमिक्स को ठीक

[श्री नाथू राम मिर्वा]

करने के लिये सरकार को उसमें हाथ डालना पड़ेगा और उसको अपनी ऐजेंसियां बना कर इस काम को करना पड़ेगा। गेहूं और चावल आदि अनाज के बारे में जो कदम उठाये गये हैं, वही इसकी इतिश्री नहीं हैं। हमको उससे बहुत आगे बढ़ना पड़ेगा। आज की सारी एकोनामिक्स डिस्टार्टेड हो चुकी है। जैसा मैंने अभी कहा कि जो चीजें पैदा करते हैं उस पर दुगुना खर्च होता है और उसके दाम उन्हें आघे मिलते हैं। यही स्थिति चाहे उद्योग से पैदा होने वाली चीजें हों चाहे खेती से पैदा होने वाली चीजें हों सब में हैं। उनके दामों की, उनकी मार्केटिंग की और उस मार्केटिंग को सही प्रकार चलाने की व्यवस्था होनी चाहिए उसके लिए जो संस्थाएं होनी चाहिए उनकी पूर्ति कर इस सारे चेन को जिस को हमने शुरू किया है एक लम्बे अरसे तक लेकर चलना होगा। इन सारी चीजों के अन्दर हमारी अर्थ व्यवस्था बिचौलियों की वजह से बिगड़ती ये जिसमें कन्ज्यूमर और प्रोड्यूसर दोनों को नुकसान होता है। उसको ठीक करने की आवश्यकता है। किसानों की बे चिन्ता कर रहे थे। यह बात सही है कि आज किसान जो सोचता है उसको 135 और 140 रुपये के दाम नहीं मिल रहे हैं और वह भी जब फसल आती है तो इस बात को जानता है कि उसको मंडी में कितने दाम मिलते हैं। मैं चाहता हूं कि किसान को हमारे सभी लोग इस बात को समझाएं कि आने वाले वक्त में हम अनाज के दाम किस प्रकार से लेकर चलना चाहते हैं और उसके मुकाबिले में उनके जो इन-पुट्स हैं उनके दाम भी वाजिब हों और वह चीजें उनको मिलें। इस प्रकार की अर्थ-व्यवस्था को हमें जमाना पड़ेगा। हम उस प्रकार की खुली छूट नहीं दे सकते हैं जिस प्रकार की खुली छूट को लेकर आज के बिचौलिये और व्यापार करने वाले लोग चल रहे हैं। चाहे इण्डस्ट्रीज से पैदा होने वाली चीजें हों चाहे कृषि से पैदा होने वाली चीजें हों उनके बारे में कुछ नियंत्रण,

और कुछ तरीके अपना कर इस सारी अर्थ-व्यवस्था को सुधारने की आवश्यकता है। इस में कोई शक नहीं कि यह काफी मुश्किल काम है। इसके अन्दर कई पेचीदगियां खड़ी होंगी। इसमें कई बुराइयों का भी सामना करना होगा। पर हम उन सारी चीजों का मुकाबिला करेंगे। किसानों को और उत्पादनकर्ता को उनकी चीजों के वाजिब दाम मिलें और उपभोक्ताओं को वाजिब दाम पर उनके उपयोग की चीजें मिलें इस प्रकार की अर्थ-व्यवस्था को हमें चलाना है।

वाजपेयी जी पूछ रहे थे कि हमारी प्रधान मन्त्री का समाजवाद क्या है? उनका समाजवाद और हमारी कांग्रेस का समाजवाद साफ है। हम चाहते हैं कि देश के अन्दर कुछ मोटी मोटी चीजों का उत्पादन सरकारी क्षेत्रों में हो, उसके साथ में कुछ चीजें ज्वाइंट सेक्टर में भी हों, कुछ प्राइवेट सेक्टर में भी हों और कुछ कोऑपरेटिव सेक्टर में भी हों। इसलिए हमारी जो व्यवस्था है वह मिश्रित अर्थ-व्यवस्था है और उसमें परिवर्तन समय समय पर करने की आवश्यकता है तो वह किया जायगा इस दृष्टिकोण से कि बिचौलिए ज्यादा लाभ न उठाएं। समाज के अन्दर जो उन चीजों को पैदा करने वाले लोग हैं उनको उसका उपयुक्त लाभ मिले चाहे किसान हों, चाहे मजदूर हों और उपभोक्ता को चीजें वाजिब दाम पर मिलें। जिस प्रकार के समाजवाद का उनको डर है वह समाजवाद नहीं है। वह कहीं नेहरू जी के कुछ कोटेशन दे रहे थे, श्रीमन् जी के कुछ कोटेशन दे रहे थे। वही नीतियां और वही पालिसीज जो उनमें हैं वही हमारी नीतियां और पालिसीज हैं। यह बात ठीक है कि समय समय पर उसमें कुछ गड़बड़ करने की कोशिश की जाती है कि कभी उस ओर से की जाती है और कभी कुछ इधर बैठने वाले लोग भी इस प्रकार की बातें कह देते हैं जिस की वजह से कुछ कन्फ्यूजन उसके अन्दर पैदा होता है। परन्तु उससे डरने की आवश्यकता नहीं है। जहां तक प्रधान मन्त्री का और हमारी

कांग्रेस का सवाल है इस बारे में हम बिल्कुल साफ हैं कि हमारी नीति किस प्रकार से इस सारी अर्थ-व्यवस्था को चलाने की होगी।

अकाल का जिन्ना किया गया। अकाल के हालात इस देश के अन्दर काफी गम्भीर हैं और कुछ इलाकों में बहुत ही गम्भीर हैं। राजस्थान के अन्दर भी इसका असर है। राजस्थान के अन्दर 1 करोड़ 30 लाख लोग इससे अफेक्टेड हैं। करीब बीस हजार गांव अफेक्टेड हैं। आज करीब पांच छः लाख आदमी काम पर लगे हैं। पर जो कुछ भी धन दिया गया है, जो कुछ भी टीम ने सिफारिश की हुई है वह बहुत कम है। सिर्फ दो करोड़ रुपया दिया गया है। यह बहुत ही अपर्याप्त है। टीम ने पांच करोड़ की सीमा बताई। लेकिन मार्च तक 8-7 करोड़ रुपया और नहीं दिया गया तो बहुत सा कामकाज जो आज चल रहा है वह बन्द हो जायेगा। मजदूरों को काम मिलना बन्द हो जायगा। पीने के पानी की दिक्कतें हैं। हम कुछ फोर व्हील ट्रक चाहते हैं। राजस्थान में पानी सप्लाई करने के लिए डिफेंस की तरफ से कुछ टैंकर्स हम चाहते हैं। कुछ ज्यादा अनाज चाहते हैं। अभी कुल मिला कर 30 हजार टन दिया गया है। इस दफे 52 हजार टन दिया है। पर जनसंख्या जो अफेक्टेड है उसको अन्न की व्यक्ति चार छः किलो भी देना चाहे तो 90-95 हजार टन का कोटा चाहिए। मैं सरकार की मुश्किलों को समझता हूं। पर उसके बारे में जो कुछ भी स्कीमें आई हैं और जो कुछ भी सुझाव दिए गए हैं उन पर गौर कर के सरकार को जल्दी निर्णय करना है। राजस्थान को कुछ तुरंत सहायता की जरूरत है। राजस्थान की फाइनेंशियल हालत खराब है और इस अकाल की हालत को ठीक करने के लिए मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूं कि राजस्थान को कुछ रुपया तुरंत देना आवश्यक है। उनकी वित्तीय स्थिति काफी चिन्ताजनक है।

मैं आपका ज्यादा समय नहीं लेना चाहता मेरे पास बहुत से प्वाइंट्स थे। पर यह जो समय समय पर मजाक उड़ाया जाता है बिरोधी पक्ष की ओर से कि यह गरीबी हटाओ का नारा केवल एक नारा मात्र है, मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूं कि आज के अखबारों में बर्गलिंगम जी का जो पब्लिक इंस्टीट्यूट है, जो एकोनामिक सर्वे उन्होंने किया है, उसमें उन्होंने निश्चिन्त तौर से इस बात को कहा है कि 1962 में जो सर्वे हुआ था और 1967-68 में जो सब हुआ है उसको देखते हुए गांव का जो गरीब है और शहर का जो गरीब है उसकी माली हालत सुधरी है। उनके अन्दर परिवर्तन आया है।

मिडिल क्लास वालों में परिवर्तन आया है। जरा आंखें खोल कर वह पढ़ा करें... (व्यवधान)... सिर्फ बिरोध करने के लिए राजनैतिक तौर से भाषण देते चले जायें तो उसका अच्छा असर नहीं होता। राजनैतिक तौर से भाषण देने से जो देश के अन्दर हम उतार चढ़ाव खड़े करते हैं वह इस देश में करते हैं वह इस देश में रचनात्मक काम करने की तरफ हमें आगे नहीं बढ़ाते हैं। वह देश के अन्दर कुछ ऐसी हालत पैदा करते हैं जिससे हिंसा भड़कती है, जिससे ऐसा वातावरण बनता है जिसमें शान्ति के अभाव में हम जो काम करने की क्षमता रखते हैं वह क्षमता खत्म होती है। इसलिए राजनैतिक नारे न दें। आज खास तौर से जो देश के आगे मुश्किलें हैं, उनको कैसे हल करें इस बारे में वे बातें करें, कैसे जनता का मानस बनाएं, उसके लिए सुझाव दें, उसकी जरूरत है।

आज आन्ध्र के सैपरेशन के नारे के अन्दर जनसंघ कहता है कि हम उसमें शरीक हैं। आप शरीक इसलिए हो गए कि वहां कुछ लोगों ने उत्पात मचाना शुरू कर दिया। जरा ठंडे दिमाग से आप यह सोचें कि क्या देश को टुकड़े टुकड़े करने का यह वक्त है या उनको सब को कंसालिडेट करके उनमें किस तरह

[श्री नाथू राम मिर्घा]

आर्थिक विकास हो, कैसे उनमें शान्ति हो, वह करने की जरूरत है ?

श्री हुकम चन्द कछवाय : जनता की भावनाओं की कदर करनी पड़ेगी ।

श्री नाथूराम मिर्घा : आप जनता की भावनाएं उलटी बनाने की कोशिश करते हैं । जनता की सही भावनाओं को प्रतिपादित करना आप जानते नहीं हैं । इसलिए मैं आप से कहना चाहता हूँ कि जनता की भावनाओं को... (व्यवधान)...

श्री हुकम चन्द कछवाय : वहां जनता की भावनाएं उभड़ी हुई हैं...

श्री नाथूराम मिर्घा : जनता की भावनाओं का प्रतिनिधित्व आप अकेले नहीं करते... (व्यवधान)...

अध्यक्ष महोदय : मिस्टर कछवाय, आप लोगों को बोलने का मौका मिलता है, आप दूसरों को बोलने क्यों नहीं देते ? प्लीज सिट डाउन ।

श्री हुकम चन्द कछवाय : वह कहते हैं कि जनसंघ के लोगों ने उनको उभाड़ा हुआ है...

श्री नाथूराम मिर्घा : इस प्रकार का जो वातावरण कुछ पार्टीज मिल कर बनाती हैं, समय समय पर आपस में एकता का वातावरण बना कर जो सवाल वह खड़े करती हैं, वह देश के आर्थिक सवाल नहीं हैं । देश के सामने बहुत सी मुश्किलें हैं । उनको हल किया जायेगा । हिम्मत के साथ चल कर हम उन सारी चीजों को पूरा करेंगे । इन्हीं शब्दों के साथ मैं इस धन्यवाद के प्रस्ताव का समर्थन करता हूँ । (व्यवधान)...

अध्यक्ष महोदय : मि० कछवाय, रोज तो आप इतना कुछ कह जाते हैं उनको और आप का कोई नाम भी न ले ? बैठिए आप ।

*SHRI Y. ESWARA REDDY (Cud-dapah): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I confine myself to the remarks made by the President in his speech regarding Andhra Pradesh.

Before coming to the main point I would like to express my heart felt sympathy to those families, members of which lost their lives and properties. I also express my sympathy towards those people who suffered and particularly those ladies who lost their honour in this moment.

It is surprising to see that it is still being propagated that this is a movement of the people. I would like to give a few extracts from the dailies Andhra Prabha and Patrika to show that it is not so. These papers, I may add, incidently, supported this movement. As per statements of these papers this movement is being mainly sponsored by bus operators, landlords, businessmen and big contractors. In this movement hundreds and thousands of vehicles were used. Unless big business takes active part in this movement it is not possible to think of a situation when vehicles in such a number could be made use of. We have also to consider from where did the money needed for such a movement came from. From the reports available, the Vijaywara Chamber of Commerce was responsible for hundred buses and two hundred scooters. In another Vijaywara Band a procession with 1200 vehicles was taken out. Associations of business people and Chambers of Commerce are taking active part in this agitation mainly. I would like to state here that landlords and other merchant classes who have become rich during the last 20 years in the four Cirkar districts and who have abundant supplies of money with them were the participants and the main protagonists of this movement.

*The original speech was delivered in Telugu.

I can go on giving figures. For example, in Parkasam district 500 vehicles have been made use of, in Repalle 500 vehicles have been used, in Penumantia all types of conveyance have been used including elephants, horses and camels. Under the patronage of the Chambers of Commerce in Rajahmundry 230 vehicles have been used.

Now, coming to the participants in the movement I would like to state from the news items given in *Prabha and Patrika*. Rice millers in Tenali took a big procession. Presidents of the Machinery Merchants and Lorry Owners associations went on fast. From such instances, it is evident that this is an agitation sponsored by landlords, big business people and contractors.

In West Godavari district itself, after the ordinance on land reforms in Andhra Pradesh has been promulgated about 400 landlords have divorced their wives in order to get benefit of retaining their landed properties. It is these landlords who are in the forefront of the agitation in that district. Offices like the income tax, C.T.O., Sales Tax, etc. were burnt. Who would benefit from the burning of records in such offices? It is clear that it is the rich landlords, businessmen and contractors that would benefit.

I would like to mention what Shri K. Satyanarayana, himself, a separatist MLA from Gudivada stated about this movement. He said that this is a movement of landlords. These landlords and their rich friends did everything possible to suppress all other voices against this separatist movement. Shri B. V. Subba Reddy, who is a big leader of the separatist movement has asked his followers to cut the integrationists into pieces and feed them to vultures. Even a leader like Shri Sanjiva Reddy compared this movement to that of Hitler's fascist movement.

I would like to say a word about the statement made by Shri Viswa-

nathan of DMK regarding the compensation that is stated to have been paid to Shri Shri Krishna for his property that was burnt. That is not true. I say that it is absolutely rubbish. If it is proved then I am prepared even to resign.

SHRI G. VISWANATHAN (Wandiwash): I would like to state by way of clarification that orders had been passed by the ex-Chief Minister for the payment of compensation. Fortunately the Governor's Adviser Shri Sarin stopped the payment.

SHRI Y. ESWARA REDDY: I may add that several raids were made on the houses of Shri V. Satyanarayana MLA, Shri B. S. Murthy and Shri Shri Krishna.

I have heard strong rumours that the American Consulate had sent Rs. 10 lakhs to be distributed for this movement in Andhra Pradesh through Shri Viswanathan of DMK. But I am not saying it now as it is not yet verified.

I would like to state separation would bring many problems in its wake. I would also ask these separatists to go before the people and elicit their opinion on these terms of bifurcation. I am sure they won't do it because they are afraid of facing the people on such terms. I am also sure that once this question goes before the people they would not agree for separation. For the all round progress and prosperity separation would become a stumbling block. I am also to state that forty thousand members of the Communist party of Andhra Pradesh are ready to do any sacrifice to see that the State is not bifurcated in the interests of 80 per cent of the masses and all round development of the State.

I would like to conclude my speech by saying that in order to solve any problem that is facing Andhra Pradesh, in order to see that the State

[Shri Y. Eswara Reddy]

progress in all fields, it is essential that the State should continue as one unit and should not be bifurcated.

SHRI N. SREEKANTAN NAIR (Quilon): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I have moved my amendment No. 157, which reads as follows:

"but regret that there is no mention in the address of effective measures to bring down the soaring prices, to curb blackmarketing and profiteering, to eradicate unemployment and to remove poverty in the country."

The split in the Congress and the emergence of a new Congress, which abolished princely privy purse, nationalised the major banks and the insurance companies, which went ahead with constitutional amendments one after the other with the declaration that great social changes are in the offing, gave the common man a fresh lease of hope and faith and the ruling party has been returned with a stupendous majority so that it may amend the Constitution as many times as it felt the need to do so. Yet, after the first spate of constitutional amendments, the country is at a standstill. Perhaps, the government is waiting to find out what would be the final decision of the Supreme Court on the right of Parliament to amend the Constitution.

Though in the war with Pakistan we succeeded in putting them down in fourteen days' time, naturally it has got its aftermath. After the emergence of Bangladesh, it certainly requires a lot of help from us. Two successive years of droughts and floods in various parts of the country have all tended to dislocate our economy. But, in spite of all these things, there is no reason why the prices should rise so high.

There is a basic disturbing factor which I find today in our political atmosphere and that is some sort of stupor, some sort of political inertia in the leadership of the country, which

has got to be changed very soon. It may be mainly due to the unexpected vehemence and ferocity of the attack of the reactionary forces inside the ruling party. But that has to be fought out. Otherwise, there will be no progress in this country.

Meanwhile, the prices are soaring, blackmarketeers and profiteers are thriving at the expense of the dumb and semi-starved millions. The unemployment position is becoming very alarming. After every Five Year Plan the total number of unemployed increases four-fold. Yet, no serious measures have been taken to face this unemployment problem in the near future.

My hon. friend, Shri Unnikrishnan was maligning organised trade unions and workers. He must realise that in no industry has there been cent per cent neutralisation to the working class. When the prices soar high, they also suffer. Yet, they have not disturbed the peace of the country.

Look at the plight of the green revolution. We were praising ourselves that we have passed the corner. Once again we find that we have to depend on the monsoon if we want to give our people two square meals a day.

Now, the natural resources of the country . . .

MR. SPEAKER: How much more time would you like to take?

SHRI N. SREEKANTAN NAIR: Five minutes.

MR. SPEAKER: You want to finish now or after lunch?

SHRI N. SREEKANTAN NAIR: As you please, Sir.

SOME HON. MEMBERS: After lunch.

MR. SPEAKER: All right. So, we adjourn for lunch to re-assemble at 2 o'clock.

13.01 hrs.

The Lok Sabha adjourned for Lunch till Fourteen of the Clock.

The Lok Sabha reassembled after lunch at four minutes past fourteen of the Clock

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

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

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Mr. N. Sreekantan Nair . . .

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU (Diamond Harbour): I have given a written notice, Sir, under rule 377. This is something very urgent. The students of Orissa have taken a decision to go for a mass agitation. Already we have a lot of trouble because it is an outcome of the Hindustan Standards' obnoxious article casting aspersions on the people of Orissa. I want to know why this Government is not taking action against the editor of the paper who was caught red-handed sending news scripts, during the Indo-Pak war, to a CIA controlled press in Manila.

Will the hon. Minister try to give us a hearing and tell us why the Government is not taking steps against Hindustan Standard and the Amrita Bazar Group? . . .

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Order, please. Now you have made your point.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: I have not yet, Sir. If this state of things continues, then there will be only national disintegration and not integration for which this Government shed so much of crocodile tears but do nothing.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Mr. Sreekantan Nair.

श्री हुकम चन्द कच्छवाय : (मुरेना) :

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, आपने समाचार-पत्रों में देखा होगा कि अत्यावश्यक वस्तुयें बाजार से गायब होती जा रही हैं इसलिये कि बजट आने वाला है। कीमतें बढ़ रही हैं। आप मन्त्री जी से कह कर इस विषय में काम रोको प्रस्ताव स्वीकार करायें।

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: I am told that there will be a discussion on this . . . (Interruptions). Order, please.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: There has been a 30 per cent rise in the daily necessities in the last three days.

श्री हुकम चन्द कच्छवाय : पता नहीं कैसे बजट आने वाला है। बाजार से सारा सामान ही गायब है।

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Mr. Kachwai, I was told that there will be a discussion on the rise in prices. That is all. I think you can have your say at that time.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: The price rise debate is scheduled for the 5th March whereas the Budget is coming up on the 28th. In that case, how can this pre-Budget price rise be covered in the debate

श्री हुकम चन्द कच्छवाय : आप सरकार से कह कर कम से कम एक स्टेटमेंट दिलायें।

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: You have made your point. There will be a discussion on this. What you have said has gone on record and the Government here has taken note of that.

You cannot bring down prices just by shouting and raising your voice in the House.

MR. SREEKANTAN NAIR: . . . (Interruption).

Order, please. Mr. Sreekantan Nair.

SHRI N. SREEKANTAN NAIR: I was referring to the dismal failure of the green revolution. Now, added to this is this power cut enforced perhaps all over the country except in my small State of Kerala. Our planners have played ducks and drakes with the planning schemes and priorities. Whenever there is a crisis, we adopt a new criteria and a new priority, so much so, there is no common trend in our planning methods. Look at the meagre amounts the Planning Commission has been allocating for irrigation and power in my State. There is a very major scheme called, Kallada irrigation project. It took 12 years now to have a dam and the entire cost has gone up from Rs. 15 crores to Rs. 57 crores. It do not know whether the project itself will be finalised in another 15 years and by that time, what would be the total cost—I do not know.

There is a power cut in my neighbour State of Tamil Nadu and we are supplying them electricity at some risk to us. We would be able to supply the entire southern grid with sufficient electricity. They do not go give priorities. They go by local and parochial considerations and if only they give us sufficient funds, we would be able to give South India and the rest of the country the cheapest electricity in the whole world. But they do not sanction such programmes.

Now, Sir, at some risk we supply electricity to Tamil Nadu. But the Tamil Nadu Government is driving out thousands of Malayalee families from Gudalur and they are burning their huts and houses....

SHRI C. T. DHANDAPANI (Dharampuram): You should not make that statement. I can understand a Communist Party member making such a statement because they want to make some capital out of it. We never do that. On the contrary, we have assigned lands to the Malayalees in the Gudalur area.

SHRI N. SREEKANTAN NAIR: My submission is that the benefits that

accrue to the country should be taken into consideration and not parochial considerations should weigh when we consider major schemes of irrigation and power.

Then, Sir, we had Monopoly Commission. What is the result of this Commission? As you have read in the press, the entire private sector is controlled completely by the monopolists and we can do nothing against these monopolists and all attempts by legislation to control their influence, power and their expansion have been all complete failures. Whatever Mr. Vajpayee may say, whatever the Supreme Court may say, the major units in the entire private sector have got to be taken over. Otherwise we will not be able to give any relief to the poor millions of this country. In the present set-up and with the present bureaucracy and the present Government employees we cannot take over and run the industries effectively. The principle of hire and fire must be strictly enforced in the case of all the public sector undertakings if they should bring out profitable returns. Their performance should be judged by the results achieved and there should not be any favouritism or nepotism.

My friend Mr. Gopalan referred to the NGOs and teachers arrested in Kerala. In November, 1972, they were given interim relief. Now, 85 per cent of the entire revenue of the State is eaten up by the salary of the staff alone. Even then we were prepared to discuss with them. But they demanded per head Rs. 100 per month and a new Pay Commission for the State. For 3½ lakhs of people the State will have to shell out Rs. 35 crores more per year. I would request Mr. Gopalan to tell us whether he considers this demand reasonable. We even offered to negotiate with them and settle the dispute after the Central Pay Commission had published their Report and the reactions of the Central Government are ascertained.

But they want to take law into their own hands and force Government to come to a settlement. Can any Government submit to such tactics?

One point more and I have done. The price-line has gone up and everybody is suffering. The suffering is most with the unemployed and the under-employed. We cannot give the entire benefits to the salaried class alone. Government must immediately take strong and revolutionary measures to solve unemployment and to hold the price-line. Otherwise, I am afraid, there will be violent revolution all over the country and no Government will be able to stem the tide of the people. Thank you.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: I am told, in the pre-lunch sitting, decision was taken that speakers should not be given more than ten minutes each. I would request hon. Members to confine themselves to ten minutes each.

SHRI C. T. DHANDAPANI: We want at least 15 minutes, Sir...

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: If there is remaining time to your party's credit you will get that, but I am mentioning this about others. (*Inter-ruption*) I am told,—I correct myself—that this was with reference to the speakers in the congress benches.

Now, Mr. R. V. Swaminathan.

SHRI R. V. SWAMINATHAN (Madurai): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, our President in his Address has referred to many problems facing the country. But the discussion has centred round mainly on the Andhra question because that is a burning question of the day.

SHRI S. A. SHAMIM: Andhra is burning.

SHRI R. V. SWAMINATHAN: Yes, it is burning, as my hon. friend has rightly said. Due to the agitation and mob violence, a tremendous loss has been inflicted upon public property as well as the property of private people. The railways are the worst affected, and the loss to the railways amounts to crores of rupees, and the loss to the public including the farmers, traders and small farmers has also been immense and they are finding it difficult to have their livelihood. I understand that the total loss is of the order of more than Rs. 200 crores as a result of this agitation. Still, we have not solved this problem.

As regards how this reorganisation came about and how the division of linguistic States came in, one has to trace his memory back to some past history. So far as the old composite Madras State was concerned, if only Mr. Prakasam, the Andhrakesari, who was the Chief Minister there had not been disturbed and allowed to continue as Chief Minister during 1947, the division of Madras State on the linguistic basis could have been averted, or at least it could have been postponed for some time to come.

SHRI S. A. SHAMIM: If the country would not have been partitioned also, then things would have been different.

SHRI R. V. SWAMINATHAN: But due to rivalries among some of the leaders the division took place. At that time some of the MLAs there including myself supported Mr. Prakasam, foreseeing the danger ahead that there might be some move for division of the State in spite of the Tamil and Andhra bogey which was raised by some of the Tamil leaders. But later, how the composite State was divided and the appointment of

[Shri R. V. Swaminathan].

States Reorganisation Commission are known to all of us. One Shri Potti Sriramulu came into the picture. He had started a hunger-strike and his death led to a big commotion. In fact, same type of burning of railway property etc., what is happening now, took place then for two days and this created great confusion and commotion. In the midst of that confusion and commotion, the Andhra State was born. I am mentioning all this just to point out how the Andhra State was created.

Then, the States Reorganisation Commission was appointed. That commission went into the question in detail and recommended the division of the Madras State on a linguistic basis. As a result of that, the composite Madras State was divided into four parts. Formerly, it consisted of Tamil Nadu, Andhra, Malabar and South Kanara, and even some parts of Orissa—the Berhampore were also part of the old Madras State. People speaking different languages and following different customs were living together harmoniously and co-operated with each other in the welfare of the State. And the old Madras State was considered to be one of the largest and best-administered States.

Later, the Andhras wanted separation, and the process of division started as a result of the sudden death of Potti Sriramulu, and the Andhra State was formed. The recommendation of this States Reorganisation Commission was not only to divide Andhra, but go to Malabar to Kerala, and South Kanara to Mysore. These areas were divided even without asking. Mr. Deputy-Speaker, we are talking of integration all the time, but, it is surprising to see how this integration has actually led to disintegration and the splitting up of States. The people of the ceded districts known as Rayalaseema and also the people from Nellore district were not enthusiastic about leaving Madras State. They had preferred to be in

the Madras State, but they had no other go, and therefore, they had to agree....

श्री हुकम चन्द कछवाय : इनका भाषण नोट करने के लिए कोई मंत्री नहीं बैठा हुआ है ।

SHRI R. V. SWAMINATHAN: So far as I am concerned, the Minister of Parliamentary Affairs is here and he is sufficient.

Even now if Andhra Pradesh is bifurcated, the same kind of difficulty will be faced by the people in some areas of Andhra. The only solution to the problem appears to me is this. The Prime Minister should not hesitate and delay in deciding this matter. I suggest that the Prime Minister should visit Hyderabad and Vijayawada, meet the elected representatives of the people, MPs, MLAs, MLCs and also the Presidents and members of the Zila Parishads and Panchayats, and try to convince them. In case they are not convinced and if the solution is only bifurcation, let them have it. A decision on this must be taken immediately.

What happened, after the division of the composite Madras State? The people who went out of the Madras State, people of Malabar, South Kanara and also of Andhra were all dismayed. They approached Prime Minister Nehru. They explained their difficulties to him.

On account of this, a novel idea of a Dakshina Pradesh was mooted. This was to be of regrouping Timal Nadu, Kerala, Mysore and Andhra. All these States were to be united to form one unit. That was the idea of Dakshina Pradesh. Pandit Nehru agreed with this new idea. In fact there were two or three meetings of important leaders and Chief Ministers of these four States and discussed with Pandit Nehru. We were all happy to know the idea of Dakshina Pradesh was getting momentum. They had a meeting at Bangalore to give the final touches. Panditji went all the way

to Bangalore. We were hoping, that there would be an announcement of the formation of Dakshina Pradesh. But in that meeting at Bangalore the idea of Dakshina Express was killed.

I know who were responsible for this, and what happened behind the scene to kill the idea. Even now if Andhras and the Telangana people get separated, all these people will come back and reunite. They will certainly get reunited. Even now I want to place before the House the idea of Dakshina Pradesh. I will be the happiest man if we are all united on that basis of Dakshina Pradesh as one unit, comprising all these four States. This is the only salvation; this is the only solution to this problem. Otherwise, there will be no salvation for the whole of the South.

I do not know if the DMK members will agree. I think they may not agree with this idea. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI PILOO MODY (Godhra): They want to rule over the whole of the south for a long time.

SHRI R. V. SWAMINATHAN: This is my view regarding this question.

Coming to the next point, the President also mentioned in his Address about the backward classes. This community has got a feeling that its interests are neglected. When we talk of the backward classes, we all invariably think only of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. But the biggest community with 50 per cent of the total population of the whole country, is backward classes.

SHRI K. S. CHAVDA (Patan): Only the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes are recognised as backward under the Constitution.

SHRI R. V. SWAMINATHAN: Let him refer to the directive principles and article 370 and other articles of the Constitution.

SHRI K. S. CHAVDA: Article 370 relates to Jammu and Kashmir, Shri Shamim's State.

SHRI R. V. SWAMINATHAN: Let him refer to the Constitution. This is also referred to there (*Interruptions*).

So far as Tamil Nadu is concerned, more than one-third of its population is backward classes. They were all militant people in nature and took active part in freedom movement. Most of the people of this community were treated as criminal tribes and kept under Criminal Tribes Act during the time of the British Government.

Now, after Independence, after 25 years, this community of backward classes has got a feeling that their interests have been neglected and the fruits of freedom are being enjoyed only by the forward communities, and by some privileged people. I do not know whether the Prime Minister is aware of the fact that a large section of the people in Tamil Nadu and also in other parts of the country are suffering and they have got a feeling that their interests are not being looked after. I appeal to the Prime Minister to look into this matter.

Finally, one word about the power crisis in the country. It seems that the power crisis is an all-India phenomenon. But, so far as Tamil Nadu is concerned, there is an acute power crisis—a kind of power crisis never happened before. The State Government have imposed a 75 per cent power cut. When we ask for some help to supply some power from other neighbouring States, they do not give. We are talking about integration, but when we ask Kerala, our neighbouring State, for some power, they say, "We cannot give you," and treat us as if we are all aliens and as if we all belong to some foreign country like Malaysia or Singapore. They do not consider that we are all Indians. This is the position.

Now, on account of this power crisis, our agriculture and industry will suffer. The progress made so far

[Shri R. V. Swaminathan].

in the field of industry and agriculture would be retarded. The Central Government cannot escape from its responsibility for this power crisis and particularly in Tamil Nadu, because the delay in commissioning of the Kalpakkam Atomic Energy Plant. We have been made to understand that it would be completed within five years, but, still, it is dragging. When it will be commissioned we do not know.

"What about the Neyveli complex?"

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: The hon. Member's time is up.

SHRI R. V. SWAMINATHAN: I will finish in two minutes, Sir. The Neyveli complex is limping and not producing sufficient power. It is successful in incurring continuous loss; it has been incurring a big loss year to year. Each year, they are incurring a loss to the extent of Rs. 10 crores to Rs. 15 crores. What is the reason for this? We do not know. Sir, the installed capacity of the Neyveli complex is 600 megawatts. But they are producing only 250 megawatts. Who is responsible for this? It comes under the Central Government.

All along we were depending on hydel power. Now, due to the vagaries of the monsoon, we cannot depend upon hydel power alone. We must create atomic power and thermal power. The Central Government should come forward to create atomic power in the coastal areas of Tamil Nadu: one in Tanjore and another in Tuticorin. There should also be one thermal station in Madurai. These are important. I feel that this is the responsibility of the Central Government, and they should come forward to solve this power crisis.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: There are 24 minutes for Unattached Members. I have four names here, of which the first name is that of Mr. S. A. Shamim.

AN HON. MEMBER: He has interrupted so many times. (Interruption).

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Order please. Will you allow me to regulate the proceedings of the House? Kindly sit down. I am drawing your attention to the list of Unattached Members, and 24 minutes are available for them. The first name is that of Mr. Shamim. What I am going to say is that Mr. Shamim should try to be considerate to the other friends by taking only 10 minutes so that some time is left for others also.

SHRI S. A. SHAMIM (Srinagar): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, let us thank the President for the speech written in his name by a few bureaucrats, approved by a few autocrats and applauded by a host of turncoats.

The President delivered his speech with great vigour and gusto, and we must admire his performance. Unfortunately, he referred to everything under the sun excepting the most relevant and distressing features of our political situation at the moment. He referred to Andhra in passing without indicating as to what is the solution which Government intends to offer to this burning problem. It is unfortunate that he did not analyse or he did not even hint at the climate of violence which is generated in this country and for which one party alone, that is, the ruling party is responsible. The sheer logic of the way Government of India is behaving has created an impression that this Government which was brought to power by a massive mandate understands only one language, the language of violence. Violence does not erupt for nothing. It is not that people are seized of a mad instinct to destroy property. What happened in Andhra? Andhra was peaceful. Six months ago, an objective situation existed there. The Prime Minister and her colleagues with their prides

and prejudices did not want to recognise the realities of the situation. That is what has given rise to such vast destruction of life and property in Andhra. It was a French student who said a few years after the disturbances; we had to burn a few buses and buildings so that they should take notice of us. This is exactly what the Government of India is telling the people: we will not listen to you howsoever reasonable and justified your demands unless you destroy railway coaches and buses and buildings. Every time there is an abatement of the movement in Andhra Pradesh, the Congress leaders come out with the statement that the movement has fizzled out because there is less violence. It is the Congress Government which has lent respectability and legitimacy to violence. It is unfortunate that the President has not referred to it.

In this context may I refer to the State of Jammu and Kashmir. There is a conspiracy and silence in every corner as far as the State of Kashmir is concerned. Neither the Members nor the parties in opposition nor the ruling party mention Kashmir, the reason being in Kashmir there is no violence. There has been a very healthy, significant historical development about the situation in Kashmir. We thought of a final solution to the problem of Jammu and Kashmir when we were talking to Mr. Bhutto of Pakistan. The Jan Sangh made a hue and cry of the final solution the Jan Sangh did not understand. I did understand. The final solution, not *vis-a-vis* Pakistan but a final solution *vis-a-vis* the people of Jammu and Kashmir. The fact has been recognised that the people of Jammu and Kashmir are not as happy or satisfied as they should have been and it was understood that a dialogue would start with the accredited leaders of Kashmir and this problem would be finally solved. A dialogue did take place and Mrs. Gandhi after having met Sheikh Abdullah talked of opening a new chapter. But that

new chapter is a blank and it has been a monologue that has been going on. Sheikh Abdullah and Mirza Beg have made their position clear; they accept the reality of accession and the finality of accession. There cannot be a happier news for the country than this. What has been the response from the Government. The response has been this. This Vice Chancellor of a University, for whom I have great respect, has been allotted a tutorial; he would take a tutorial period with Mirza Afzal Beg and Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah. The Government of India does not even recognise the fact of dialogue why? The most popular, accredited leader of Kashmir says: I have to accept the reality of accession; I say that Kashmir should continue to be part of India. But there is no response because there is no violence in Kashmir. If tomorrow there is violence, the way we have in Andhra, Mrs. Gandhi and her colleagues would sit up....

* SHRI PILOO MODY: The movement in Andhra is not violent (Interruptions).

SHRI S. A. SHAMIM: Whether it is the CRP people or the police people there, it is for Mr. Mody to judge.

SHRI PILOO MODY: The only miscreants in Andhra are the CRP and the police.

SHRI S. A. SHAMIM: ...And a few who are not interrupting me. It was imperative; the Government understands only the logic of violence. Unfortunately for us who are in Kashmir, there is no railway property to destroy. Railway has been extended upto Jammu and the Jammu people are not interested in accommodating the leaders of Kashmir. It could have been very good news for the whole of the country. I do not think that the situation will remain at it is. The possibilities are that the people of Kashmir will get ses-

[Shri S. A. Shamim]
tive. The Government of India does not understand the language of peaceful dialogue and has more or less shown complete indifference to all our leaders have been saying. I should like Mrs. Gandhi to show more of courage. It is all right, Mrs. Gandhi has prestige, pride, everything. But it is not greater than the country's prestige or honour. Should we not solve this problem for all times to come? This is the most auspicious occasion and it is time that Mrs. Gandhi starts a dialogue at her own level. Non-political Vice-Chancellors, however well-intentioned they may be, cannot solve a very knotty problem which has resulted in a war with Pakistan. The situation in Kashmir appears to be very peaceful and normal, but it is not so normal and peaceful actually. There has been talk of separation of Jammu from Kashmir. Separation of Andhra is not going to be the last. There are people who are deeply interested in upsetting the conditions in Kashmir. They have been talking of bifurcation of Jammu and Kashmir. The author of this theory was Dr. Karan Singh, who happens to be one of the important Ministers in Mrs. Gandhi's cabinet.

I am glad Mrs. Gandhi is in the House and I want to repeat what I said earlier. The dialogue going on between Sheikh Abdullah and Mrs. Gandhi's emissary should be taken up at the level of the Prime Minister and Sheikh Abdullah himself. This is very happy news that Sheikh Abdullah has recognised the realities of the situation. I have a vested interest in this because I have contributed my bit in making the Sheikh realise the realities of the situation. After all, what is he asking for? He is asking for nothing more, nothing less than what has been given to him by the founding fathers of the Indian Constitution, namely, internal autonomy within the framework of India, within the Indian Union. India is a vast country and the people of Kashmir acceded to India in spite of the

fact that Pakistan was coaxing the people of Kashmir with Quran in their hands and trying to persuade them through religious bigotry and sentiments. We should be given credit for it. Our act of faith should be recognised and we should not be treated with contempt. Mrs. Gandhi has shown courage. But courage has no boundaries. Every time there is a new challenge, it has to be met with courage. Mrs. Gandhi must realise that this opportunity may never come. You can today ignore Sheikh Abdullah but once he is no more on the scene, the new generation will not understand the language of secularism and the language of Jawaharlal Nehru and Mahatma Gandhi. It is high time you made use of the man who has fought shoulder to shoulder with you in the freedom struggle. You are today sending an SOS to Mr. Subba Reddy, you are inviting him, pocketing your pride because he is threatening to create havoc if Andhra is not separated. You only listen to the language of threat. May I remind you that the stage has come when we should understand the language of peace and understanding. I will be grateful to all the leaders of the opposition also if they break this conspiracy of silence and speak out the way they are speaking about Andhra and Tamil Nadu and other States. Simply because Kashmir has been given a special status, there is this conspiracy of silence. It is time the people of Kashmir are taken into confidence and they are given a representative Government. I must take this opportunity of expressing my gratitude and sincere thanks to Syed Mir Qasim, the Chief Minister. He has really broken new ground and tried to normalise the atmosphere. For the first time in the history of Jammu and Kashmir there were fair and free municipal elections. What has been done in the case of municipal elections, I am sure, will be done in the case of Assembly elections. And, let us hope there is going to be fair and free election for Parliament also in Jammu and Kashmir.

With these words, I would like to conclude by saying that the people of Kashmir are looking forward to a fruitful dialogue between Sheikh Abdullah and Mrs. Gandhi.

SHRI T. BALAKRISHNIAH (Tirupathi): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I rise to support the Motion of Thanks to the President for his address. The President has touched various points in his address. The main objectives of the Fifth Plan are the removal of poverty and attainment of self-reliance, establishment of a democratic political order and removal of disparities. There will also be removal of regional imbalances and development of backward areas and improvement of the conditions of the Scheduled Castes and Tribes. Once we attain these objectives we will achieve progress.

Here I would like to state that I fully disagree with my hon. friend, Shri Shamim, who said that violence is going up in Andhra Pradesh and the Congress Party is responsible for it. I fully disagree with him and I say that it is an incorrect statement. It is not the Congress but RSS that is responsible for the violence.... (interruption). I come from the Andhra area and I represent the Scheduled Castes. I know what is going on there. I know the position much better than many of you here. I have seen what is exactly going on there.... (Interruptions). Shri Eswara Reddy made a provocative statement. I do not agree with him. This is how they precipitate the matter; this is how they magnify the matter. Shri Eswara Reddy says again and again that this movement is backed up by vested interests. That is totally untrue. I congratulate Shri Swaminathan for having said that an early solution should be sought for this problem. He is my neighbour. He has come through Andhra and he has studied the situation. Therefore, he has given the correct version.

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I need not repeat the whole story as to why this agitation is going on. Somehow or other there is an agitation, because the people of the two areas do not want to live together. There is ill-feeling between the people of Andhra and Telengana region. The people of Telengana feel that the people of Andhra have come to Hyderabad to exploit them. So, the people of Telengana region were given certain rights, known as Mulki rule, which will expire in 1974. In spite of all those safeguards, they were not satisfied. In the wake of the Supreme Court decision on Mulki rule, the Prime Minister gave a formula which was not acceptable to either Andhra or Telengana region. We could not expect more than what the Prime Minister has given. As the Prime Minister of the country, she could not give a better formula. But the people did not agree to it. Therefore, this movement was started, first by students and, later on, by the NGOs, doctors, lawyers and other people. As the members of the Congress, are we to remain passive spectators to this movement? I know that the Swatantra Party, the CPI and the Independents want to take advantage of the situation, want to exploit the situation. Yet, it is impossible for them to revive their parties there. I am sure that the Prime Minister will meet the just demands of the people of both regions, because the Prime Minister has the interests of the people at heart.

This is a movement where people of all walks of life have taken part. The intelligentsia of the society have taken part in this agitation. If the lawyers do not go to court, they will not get any money. They will be the losers and yet they are participating in the movement. Similarly, doctors, teachers and all the other people because there is a grievance amongst them that they want to separate State, whether it is good or bad for them.

In this connection, I may say, as our Home Minister has rightly point-

[Shri T. Balakrishnaiah]

ed out and as our prime Minister has also rightly pointed out sometime back, this Andhra issue is entirely different from all other issues. The people say that this will have a repercussion in other States and in other areas. But that may not be correct because Andhras have got their own history behind them; they have got their own separate language; they have got their own culture and civilisation. Therefore, they had a separate State. Those who have studied the sovereign theory of politics know very well under what circumstances a State can be formed, what is the formula that we can apply, what is the process that we can apply and all that. If any society has got a language of its own; if any community has got its own civilisation, culture and history behind it, it can have a separate State. We have got all that.

We have got a contiguity of four districts together. We have got a language; we have got a civilisation and history. Our Andhra Kingdom was there; the Andhra kings ruled a certain territory from Vizag to Chittoor and Rayalaseema. Therefore, we are together and we want a separate State. There is nothing wrong in that. This cannot be connected with other problems in other areas. That is why even a Member of the States Reorganisation Commission, Mr. Kunzru and some other eminent politicians of the country have recommended for a bifurcation of Andhra Pradesh into Andhra and Telengana. They have not referred to other areas.

With these words, I conclude.

श्री भारीरथ भंडार (भाबुभा) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, महामहिम राष्ट्रपति, जी के अभिभाषण पर सदन में चर्चा चल रही है। आज देश के सामने कई प्रकार की समस्याएँ विद्यमान हैं। सबसे पहले मैं सूखे की स्थिति के बारे में कुछ कहूँगा।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, इस देश में सूखे की स्थिति के कारण करोड़ों लोग आज भी एक समय पेट भर कर खाना नहीं खा रहे हैं। रोटी रोजगार की कोई व्यवस्था नहीं है। राज्य सरकारों को भी इस प्रकार की व्यवस्था करने के लिए केन्द्रीय सरकार की ओर से कोई आदेश नहीं दिए गए हैं। मैं खास कर उन क्षेत्रों की बात करना चाहूँगा जो पिछड़े हुए आदिवासी क्षेत्र हैं, जो पहाड़ी क्षेत्र हैं, जहाँ प्रत्येक वर्ष अनाबृष्टि या अति-बृष्टि से सूखा पड़ता है और कई क्षेत्र तो ऐसे हैं जहाँ निरन्तर कई वर्षों से सूखा पड़ रहा है। सरकार की ओर से जो राहत-कार्य चल रहे हैं, वे केवल नाम-मात्र के हैं और अनाज के भाव, जीवन की जो आवश्यक वस्तुएँ हैं, रोजमर्रा की वस्तुएँ हैं, उन के भाव सुदूर क्षेत्रों में इतने बढ़ चुके हैं कि अब लोग उन को सहन करने की शक्ति में नहीं रहे हैं। इस संबंध में माननीय राष्ट्रपति जी ने केवल कुछ बता दिया है लेकिन कोई ऐसे भागामी ठोस कदम उठाये जायें भारत सरकार या राज्य सरकारों द्वारा, ऐसा कोई उल्लेख नहीं किया गया है। मैं चाहता हूँ देश के जितने अधिक सूखा वाले क्षेत्र हैं वहाँ पर अनाज का भंडार चाहे वह भारतीय खाद्य निगम के पास हो या देश में अन्य किसी के पास हो, वह अनाज उन क्षेत्रों में पहुँचाया जाये जहाँ कि लोगों की क्रय शक्ति समाप्त हो गई है। राहत कार्य भी नाम मात्र को ही खोले गए हैं और मैं समझता हूँ केवल कैश प्रोग्राम या छोटे छोटे बाग, तालाब या कुओं से सभी लोगों को घंघा नहीं दिया जा सकता है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि उन क्षेत्रों में बड़ी बड़ी रेलबे लाइनों को बिछाने का कार्य प्रारम्भ किया जाये। इस समय मिट्टी डालने का काम किया जा सकता है जो कि एक लम्बे समय तक चल सकता है और उसके द्वारा किसी भी प्रदेश, किसी भी जिले और किसी भी क्षेत्र के लाखों लोगों को काम मिल सकता है। आज जहाँ पर एक

लाख लोगों को काम की आवश्यकता है वहां पर केवल हजार या दो हजार लोगों को काम पर लगाया जाता है और बाकी लोग इधर उधर भटक रहे हैं। तो आज की स्थिति बहुत गम्भीर है और इस और भारत सरकार को सचेत रहने की आवश्यकता है।

जहां तक आंध्र प्रदेश की समस्या का सवाल है, जो हमारे देश की स्थिति है उसमें ऐसी समस्याएँ कई बार आई हैं कई प्रदेशों के बारे में और अपने विचार से जहां तक मैं समझता हूँ जब दोनों ही, आंध्र और तेलंगाना वाले अपनी मूर्जी से, केवल जनता ही नहीं चाहती बल्कि वहां के प्रतिनिधि, प्रत्येक दल के लोग और जो सत्तारूढ़ दल है उसके प्रतिनिधि भी चाहते हैं तब कोई कारण नहीं है कि इस गम्भीर समस्या को अटकाये रखा जाये, वहां खून-खराबा कराया जाये, हत्याएँ कराई जायें या वहां के लोगों का जन-जीवन खतरे में डाला जाये। मैं समझता हूँ कि यह कोई अच्छी बात नहीं है। जनतन्त्र में जनता की भावनाओं को भी देखना चाहिए। जब जनता की भावनायें इस बात के लिए प्रेरित हैं कि वहां दोनों प्रदेश अलग अलग हो जायें तो मैं समझता हूँ यह जरूर होना चाहिए जिससे कि आज वहां के लोग जो संकट से गुजर रहे हैं, लोगों के पास खाने के लिए नहीं है, पानी नहीं मिल रहा है, अनाज नहीं पहुंच रहा है और एक कोने से दूसरे कोने तक आवागमन के साधन बन्द हो गए हैं, इस प्रकार वहां की समस्या बहुत गम्भीर हो गई है उसका अन्त करने के लिए मैं चाहता हूँ उसका विभाजन किया जाना चाहिए। ऐसा करना जनहित में है और देश के हित में है।

तीसरी बात मुझे यह कहनी है कि इस देश की जनता बेकारी को दूर करने और मंहगाई को कम करने की मांग करती है। इस के साथ साथ इस देश में सबसे बड़ी

बुराई भ्रष्टाचार की हो गई है। भ्रष्टाचार निरन्तर नीचे से लेकर ऊपर तक बढ़ता चला जा रहा है। यदि आपको कुछ राहत देनी है तो इस देश की सबसे बड़ी बीमारी जो भ्रष्टाचार है उसको रोकना आवश्यक होगा। आज एक साधारण आदमी किसी भी छोटी बड़ी कचहरी में जाये, चाहे वह दिल्ली के दरबार में जाये या भूपाल के दरबार में जाये, सभी जगह उसको रिश्वत देनी पड़ती है। आज बगैर रिश्वत के उसका कोई भी काम हो नहीं सकता है। आज भ्रष्टाचार की जो स्थिति है उससे भ्रष्टाचार चाहे मंत्री लोग करते हैं, चाहे कोई अधिकारी लोग करते हैं, वह भ्रष्टाचार अपनी चरम सीमा पर पहुंच गया है और उसको समाप्त करना बहुत जरूरी है। यह भ्रष्टाचार तब तक समाप्त नहीं हो सकता है जबकि कि शासन इस संबंध में जो भी नियम बनाती है उनका कड़ाई से पालन न कराया जाए।

महामहिम राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने अभि-
भाषण में देश के करोड़ों पिछड़े हुए, लोगों के बारे में, खासकर हरिजन आदिवासियों के बारे में कहीं कोई उल्लेख नहीं किया है जबकि उनकी सीधी इस बात के प्रति जवाबदारी है। उन्होंने यह नहीं बताया है कि आगामी साल में हरिजन, आदिवासी और पिछड़े हुए लोगों के लिए सरकार-कौन से ऐसे कदम उठाने जा रही है जिनके सम्बन्ध में रात दिन और नित्य प्रति इस सभा में और सभा के बाहर भी शिकायतें आती रहती हैं। कहीं से छुआछूत, कहीं से बेकारी और कहीं से भूमि से संबंधित शिकायतें आती होती हैं। राष्ट्रपति जी ने इन बातों के बारे में कोई भी उल्लेख नहीं किया है।

एक बात मैं उद्योगों के संबंध में भी कहना चाहूंगा। आदिवासी और पिछड़े हुए क्षेत्रों में उद्योग-धंधों नहीं लगाए जा रहे हैं। वास्तव में उद्योग केन्द्रित होते जा रहे हैं जैसे कि फरीदाबाद है, अहमदाबाद है या

[श्री भागीरथ भंवर]

कलकत्ता है लेकिन जो पिछड़े हुए क्षेत्र हैं वहां के लिए कोई उद्योगों की योजनाओं नहीं बनाई जा रही हैं। यदि इस प्रकार की कोई योजनायें बनाई भी जाती हैं तो उनको कार्यान्वित नहीं किया जाता है। मैं समझता हूं यदि इस देश में समानता लानी है, सही मानों में समाजवाद लाना है, केवल नारों से नहीं तो फिर शहर और ग्राम दोनों क्षेत्रों में मैं हमें संतुलित रूप से काम करना होगा। आज की स्थिति यह है कि पिछड़े क्षेत्रों में कोई उद्योग-धंधे नहीं खोले जा रहे हैं। मैं खासकर अपने क्षेत्र का उल्लेख करना चाहता हूं। मैं मध्य प्रदेश से आता हूं। मेरा क्षेत्र बहुत ही पिछड़ा हुआ है—आबुआ क्षेत्र जोकि आदिवासी क्षेत्र है।... (अध्यक्ष) ... भिड मुरैना भी ऐसा ही क्षेत्र है। मैं चाहता हूं कि उन क्षेत्रों में जहां पर न तो कल-कारखाने न कोई छोटी-बड़ी इंडस्ट्रीज हैं, न रेलवे लाइनें हैं और न वहां की भूमि ही उपजाऊ है जिससे कि लोग अपना उदर-पोषण कर सकें, उन पिछड़े हुए क्षेत्रों में उद्योग-धंधे खोले जायें, वहां पर बड़ी-बड़ी इंडस्ट्रीज लगाई जायें, रेलवे लाइनें डाली जायें ताकि वहां के लोगों को काम मिल सके, धंधा मिल सके, रोजगार मिल सके और असमानता को दूर करके समानता लाई जा सके। इन शब्दों के साथ यहां पर जो बातें मैंने प्रस्तुत की है उन पर जोर देना चाहता हूं।

श्री शंकर बेब (बीदर) : अध्यक्ष, महोदय, मैं प्रेसीडेंट साहब की स्पीच पढ़ने के बाद उनको धन्यवाद देते हुए चन्द शब्द यहां पर कहना चाहता हूं। हिन्दुस्तान और पाकिस्तान के बीच में जो सम्बन्ध अच्छे होने चाहिए उसके विषय में मैं समझता हूं प्रेसीडेंट साहब के अध्यक्षीय भाषण के अन्दर कुछ कमी रह गई है। वैसे तो प्रधान मंत्री की कृपा समझिए कि पाकिस्तान के साथ हिन्दुस्तान का जो रवैया देखा गया है उसकी बहुत प्रशंसा की गई है और होनी भी चाहिए। शिमला समझौते में हमने

पाकिस्तान के साथ मित्रता का हाथ बढ़ाया था लेकिन मैं समझता हूं उसको निभाने की हमें जिस तरह की कोशिश करनी चाहिए थी वह कोशिश नहीं की गई। हमने पाकिस्तान के साथ अगर मित्रता का हाथ बढ़ाया है तो पाकिस्तान हमारा मित्र हुआ और कोई ऐसा कार्य हमारी तरफ से नहीं होना चाहिए जोकि मित्र के साथ मित्र की इच्छा के विरुद्ध हो या उसके इंट्रेस्ट के विरुद्ध हो। लेकिन इस के बावजूद भी हम ने यू० एन० ओ० के अन्दर बांगला देश की सीट दिलाने के लिए कोशिश की, मैं समझता हूं वह भारत की तरफ से एक अमूर्तीपूर्ण कार्य हुआ है जो कि हम को नहीं करना चाहिए था। अगर यू० एन० ओ० में बांगला देशको सीट मिलने में कुछ दिन लग जाते तो कोई बात नहीं थी क्योंकि दुनिया के देशों ने बांगला देश को रिकग्नाइज किया है, और अगर पाकिस्तान नहीं करता और बांगला देश को सीट मिलने में कुछ देर हो जाती तो कोई आपत्ति की बात नहीं थी। भारत को कुछ दिनों तक चुप रहना चाहिए था। लेकिन भारत की तरफ से यू० एन० ओ० के अन्दर बांगला देश को सीट दिलाने के लिए कोशिश कर के हम ने पाकिस्तान के साथ अमूर्तीपूर्ण काम किया है, जो कि हम को नहीं करना चाहिए था। अगर ऐसा ऐक्शन नहीं करते तो निश्चित बात थी कि भारत और पाकिस्तान के बीच हम शान्ति स्थापित कर सकते थे। और एक बार शान्ति हो जाती तो भारत, पाकिस्तान और बांगला देश मिल कर इस इंडियन सबकांटीनेंट को बहुत ही सुन्दर शकल बना सकते थे। आज जिस तरह से यूरोपियन कम्युनिटि ने मिल कर ई०ई०सी० बनायी है उसी तरह हम लोग भी मिल कर एक आई०आई० सी० बना सकते थे और पूरे उपमहाद्वीप की गरीबी हटा सकते थे, जिस को हम ने नहीं सोचा और यही कारण है कि हमारा सारा का सारा पैसा सेना पर

खर्च किया जा रहा है। पाकिस्तान यह समझ रहा है कि भारत हमारे ऊपर हमला करेगा और भारत यह समझ रहा है कि पाकिस्तान हम पर हमला करेगा, दोनों को एक दूसरे से शंका है, और सेना को संगठित करने के लिए अपना पैसा बर्बाद कर रहे हैं जिस से चीजों के दाम बढ़ रहे हैं। हमारे जनसंघी भाई चिल्लाते हैं कि देखो भाई प्राइसेज बढ़ रही हैं। लेकिन वास्तव में कारण यह है कि करोड़ों ६० सेना पर खर्च कर रहे हैं। दिल में दर्द है तो पैर में दवाई लगायी जा रही है। मैं जनसंघ वालों से कहूंगा कि जब हम अखंड भारत की बात कहते हैं तो हिन्दुस्तान और पाकिस्तान दोनों एक ही देश हैं, भाई भाई हैं। हमारा अखंड भारत दिल के अन्दर होना चाहिए। अगर हमारे कुछ भाई अलग मकान बना लेते हैं तो कोई एतराज की बात नहीं है।

15 hrs.

हमारे यहां 90,000 जो जंगी कैदी रखे गए हैं इन के बारे में बहुत ही गम्भीरता से सोचना चाहिए कि बाहर के देश हम को किस निगाह से देख रहे हैं। पाकिस्तान के समाचार-पत्रों में जो ऐडवर्टाइजमेंट्स आते हैं, 29 तारीख के हिन्दुस्तान टाइम्स में आप ने कार्टून देखा होगा एक औरत अपने बच्चे को गोदी में लेकर के रो रही है, इन से हमारी बदनामी हो रही है। बाहर के राष्ट्रों में पाकिस्तान हम को इस तरह के प्रचार से बदनाम कर रहा है कि देखो हिन्दुस्तान जो भी कर रहा है वह मानवता के खिलाफ है। इसलिए हमारे खिलाफ ऐसी फिजा पदा कर रहा है जिस को हम को गम्भीरता से सोचना चाहिए। ये जंगी कैदी न केवल आर्थिक दृष्टि से हमारे लिए बहुत बड़ा, खतरा हैं, बल्कि जो इन के आश्रित लोग हैं अगर एक कैदी के पीछे तीन, चार आश्रित भी लाये जायें तो तीन, चार लाख बच्चे और औरतें उन की फीलिंस हमारे खिलाफ खराब ही होंगी। किस तरह से वह लोग सोच रहे होंगे कि कब हमारे पिता आयेंगे

कब हमारा पति आयेगा, और उस का स्वागत करेंगे, लेकिन हमारी वजह से उन की आशाओं पर पानी फिर रहा है जिस की वजह से वे हमारे विरोधी हो रहे हैं। हम लोग हर चीज नेशनल दृष्टि से देखते हैं, लेकिन आज वह जमाना आ गया है कि राष्ट्रीय दृष्टि से ऊपर उठ कर ह्यूमैनिटेरियन दृष्टि से देखना चाहिए, अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय स्तर पर हर समस्या को देखना चाहिए। और अगर इस तरह से देखेंगे तो आप की आंखों में प्रांसू आ जायेंगे और मजबूर हो कर इन 90,000 लोगों के बारे में सोचना पड़ेगा। अगर यह लोग फ्रंट पर मारे जाते तो कोई बात नहीं थी। अब तो वह जेल के अन्दर पड़े हैं, न दीन के न दुनिया के। इसलिए पाकिस्तान के अन्दर जो तीन, चार लाख बच्चे और औरतें हैं उन की क्या हालत होगी इस चीज को सोचिए। राष्ट्रीय स्तर पर न सोचिए।

श्री विरेन्द्र सिंह राव (महेन्द्रगढ़): यह पाकिस्तान असेम्बली है या इंडियन पार्लियामेंट है ?

SHRI S. A. SHAMIM: For a change somebody is talking sense from the opposite Benches. This shows how independent could Members of Parliament be. This is a tribute to the Indian Parliament. So, there should be no aspersions. Let not anyone live like a Pakistani agent. The insinuation is being made that this is the Pakistan Assembly.

आशंकर देव: राष्ट्रीय स्तर पर सोचने के दिन लद गए हैं, नेशनलिज्म के दिन लद गए हैं। आज अगर महात्मा गांधी होते तो प्रिजनर्स आज बार के इशू पर हन्सर स्ट्राइक करते। इसलिए हमें इस के बारे में गम्भीरता से सोचना चाहिए। बांगला देश अगर इस चीज को ऐंथी नहीं कर रहा है तो हम बांगला देश से उन्हें कि शेख मुजीबुर रहमान और श्री

[श्री शंकर देव]

भुट्टो मिल कर इस का हल सोंचे। बांगला देश कहता है कि नहीं मानेंगे कैसे नहीं मानेगा। वह इंडिया का क्रीएशन है और उन को मानना पड़ेगा। शेख मुजीबुर रहमान और भुट्टो मिल कर बात करें शेख मुजीबुर रहमान कहते हैं कि जब तक बांगला देश को रिकग्नाइज नहीं करेंगे तब तक बात नहीं करेंगे, और भुट्टो कहते हैं कि जब तक बात नहीं करोगे तब तक रिकग्नाइज नहीं करेंगे। तो इस के बारे में हम इंडिया की तरफ से कह सकते हैं शेख मुजीबुर रहमान से कि तुम बिना कंडीशन भुट्टो के साथ बात करने के लिए तैयार हो जाओ, इस में कोई अपमान नहीं है। पाकिस्तान से सेल्फ प्रेस्टिज का इशू बना रखा है, अगर उस से बात कर लें तो उसको सेटिस्फैक्शन मिल जाएगा, वह तो हारा हुआ मुल्क है उन को एक सेटिस्फैक्शन मिल जायगा। इसलिए भारत को चाहिए कि शेख मुजीबुर रहमान से कहें कि वे भुट्टो के साथ बैठ कर बात करें। पाकिस्तान की जनता और हिन्दुस्तान की जनता सब एक है, अलग अलग नहीं है। पाकिस्तान का यह मतलब कभी नहीं सोचना चाहिए कि पाकिस्तान ही मिस्टर भुट्टो हैं, मिस्टर भुट्टो पाकिस्तान नहीं हैं, पाकिस्तान की जनता अलग है, और भारत की जनता अलग है। सब भाई हैं।

अन्त में राष्ट्रपति जी से कहूंगा कि वन वर्ल्ड गवर्नमेंट के सिलसिले में उन्होंने कोई बात अपने अभिभाषण में नहीं कही है। आज दुनियां एक वर्ल्ड की तरफ बढ़ रही है, विश्व की एक सरकार होनी चाहिए, एक वर्ल्ड होना चाहिए। राष्ट्रपति जी ने वन ऐशिया असेम्बली को ऐड्रेस किया था, इसी तरह से वन वर्ल्ड के बारे में भी हम को सोचना चाहिए। इन शब्दों के साथ मैं इस का समर्थन करता हूँ।

श्री शशि भूषण (दक्षिण दिल्ली) :
मायबवर यह इन के व्यक्तिगत विचार हैं पार्टी के विचार नहीं हैं।

SHRI S. B. GIRI (Warangal): The President's Address did not contain any reference to the demand for a separate Telengana. For the last four years, the people of Telengana have been agitating for a separate State, and it has been proved amply that the Andhra rulers have looted the Telengana people, and I would like to quote here what has been written in an article by Shri P. Venkatasubbaiah, an hon. Member of this House....

SHRI S. A. SHAMIM: The hon. Member, Shri Shankar Dev who has just finished his speech is being crucified and pressurised right here in the House by the Deputy Chief Whip of the ruling party that he should not own his speech. This is not fair. He is gesticulating and threatening him...

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: What is the matter with Shri S. A. Shamim today? He just jumps up on anything which is not before the House and starts speaking.

SHRI S. B. GIRI: This is what Shri P. Venkatasubbaiah has written:

"The Gentlemen's Agreement of 1956, when the two regions were integrated (the States Reorganisation Commission recommended a separate Telengana State), was intended to be the framework for progressive integration. During the past decade, a feeling had developed, rightly or wrongly, among the Telengana people that the Gentlemen's Agreement was honoured more in its breach than in its implementation. These feelings were fanned to an inflammatory and explosive level by the attitude and behaviour of some of the Andhra officers in general, and the actions of some of the political leaders in particular, who were oblivious of the effect of their actions and utterances on the minds of the people of Telengana. It is unfortunate that politicians allowed themselves to be guided by personal equations and

desires to settle their scores with their adversaries rather than with the broader interests of the State".

This has appeared in an article in Round Table. This is what my friends of the Andhra region have said. For four years there has been no administration in Telengana; for the last four months, this is the position in the Andhra region also. People are agitating for a separate State. This imposition on the Telengana people even before the formation of Andhra Pradesh by Pandit Nehru and the Central Government was rejected by the people. The Telengana people refused to be part of Andhra Pradesh because they were afraid that they would be treated as slaves, as colonial people, by the Andhra rulers. This has now been proved. In spite of the verdict given by the Telengana people in the mid-term election in 1971, in spite of the Indira wave, 10 members out of the 14 in the Telengana region were elected to this House on that issue. That mandate should have been respected by the Indira Government, the Congress Government, which believes in democracy. On this basis, a separate State should have been conceded. But it has been denied.

Today also thousands of people are on fast, hunger strike in relays; thousands are courting arrest. The NGOs and the working class are also on strike. For the last 70 days, the NGOs are on strike.

The Communist Party of India has dubbed this movement as a movement of reactionaries and landlords. In whichever movement the Communist Party is not there, it terms all such popular movements as movements of reactionaries and feudals. That is an international slogan with the communists. Today, the working class, the middle class, women and the students are all in movement.

SHRI PILOO MODY: Led by the Swatantra Party.

SHRI S. B. GIRI: The Swatantra Party came into it in December.

SHRI PILOO MODY: In October.

SHRI S. B. GIRI: The Jan Sangh also came very late into the field.

All these leaders were opposing it before. But now they have realised that this is a popular movement reflecting the popular demand of the Telengana people and the Andhra people. Just because they have started supporting the movement, just because it is supported by the Jan Sangh and the Swatantra Party, it does not become a reactionary movement. Even the Congress members from the Andhra and Telengana regions are asking for separation. They are not kulaks; they are not reactionaries. I do not think those people who want integration like Shri Raghu Ramaiah and Shri S. B. Pattabhi Rama Rao become progressive because of that. This is the malady of the Congress party in this country.

The five-point formula incorporated in the legislation has been unanimously rejected by both the Andhra and Telengana people. That being so, I do not know what is the sanctity behind that legislation. Therefore, it is better, if the Government of India believes in democracy to take the right step towards bifurcation. But the Congress Party is converting it into a party issue. It should not be made an internal Congress party issue. This is a people's movement. All parties are concerned with this issue. Whenever the Congress people are involved in it, the Congress party and the leaders of the Congress party only think in terms of the Congressmen. It is a wrong attitude and it is not a democratic approach of the Congress party and the Government of India also. If this type of attitude continues, I am afraid the people will lose faith in the democratic approach and democratic agitations, because the Telengana people were agitating for the last few years, and they suffered;

[Shri S. B. Giri]

the CRP killed them like flies; in the Telengana situation, thousands of people were put into prison, behind the prison-bars; thousands of people were beaten; thousands were fasting. That is what has happened.

Now, when the Andhra people are agitating for separation, the same thing is going on. The CRP and the military are responsible for the situation, and not the people. There is always the provocation by the police and the CRP; but it is said that the people provoke them, and so the CRP and the police are sent. This attitude, and these tactics were adopted during the regime of the British imperialists. They provoke the people and when the people resist they immediately shoot the people like flies without any respect for human lives. That is what is happening. The actual movement in Andhra Pradesh is led by the Congressmen who have been recently elected in the mid-term elections on the slogan of *Garibi Hatao* by the Congress party, under the leadership of Shrimati Indira Gandhi, and yet, what is happening is when they ask for separation, they are dubbed as landlords kulaks, and reactionaries. That is the whole tragedy.

I therefore submit that if this madness continues, I am afraid the people of this country will lose faith in democracy. Those who have faith in democracy will not tolerate the attitude of the Government which kills the people and tries to suppress people's rights. How long can the Government suppress the will of the people? It can suppress it for some time, but not always. What is happening in Telengana. Telengana has not been mentioned by the President in his Address, because the people are peaceful. If there is no violence, you say that "we are prepared to consider it." This is what is happening. This Government speaks in two voices. It pursues double standards. One standard is, "even when there is no violence, we will not care for the people

in spite of the non-violent struggle". The other is, when there is violence, the Government says, "Stop violence and then we can discuss." This is the attitude of the Government.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: I think you have made your point quite clear.

SHRI S. B. GIRI: Ultimately, I appeal to the Prime Minister to immediately carve out a separate Telengana are allowed to decide their fate its freedom and the people of Telengana are allowed to decide their fate on the issue of separate Telengana. That right has been denied to them for the last 16 years.

Now, Telengana has been suffering for the last five years without any drought relief. We have had no rains and Telengana has been completely in the grip of famine and drought conditions so far because there is in effect no government for the last four years. Nobody takes any interest because Telengana together with the Andhra State is under President's rule. Just as the Government have sanctioned four railway lines to Maharashtra as a measure of drought relief, so also, the Government should concede immediately as a drought relief measure at least the two small railway lines for us. One is from Bibinagar to Nidukude, and the other is from Ramagundam in Karimnagar district to Nizamabad. If these two lines are given, at least to some extent the people will be benefited.

About the Government's take-over of the wholesale trade, while I am not opposed to it, in the present situation the Government has no machinery to take it ever now. I would ask, what has been the Government's experience, and what has happened in the Food Corporation of India? So, far, we do not know what the CBI has done about it. Therefore, my submission is I am not opposed to this take-over provided we set up a proper organisation, and we know the

fate of the enquiry by the CBI, and get the CBI report on the Food Corporation of India, and if we really believe in socialism and in a socialist country, unless private property is completely abolished in the country, this measure will not be successful and there will be corruption and only the middlemen and the profiteer will be benefited and not the grower and the consumer.

SHRI A. K. M. ISHAQUE (Basirhat): I rise to support the motion of thanks to the President's Address. The President has referred to the difficult times. The country was affected by drought, cyclone and flood and the food situation was affected very much by natural calamities. But this is not a feature for India alone, it is a world feature. With one-seventh of cultivable land of the world and 1/18th of world population, Soviet Russia had to rush to international market for purchasing foodgrains. China which was also self-sufficient in food had to rush to international market for the same purpose. It is a difficult year for India and for a major part of the world. Due to economic reasons, there is a price rise. Apart from natural calamities, the role of the opposition had created unnatural drought in the country. In Andhra Pradesh, Separatist tendencies were being encouraged by the opposition parties like anything. One of the Opposition groups, Swatantra, led by Mr. Latchanna called for cession. It is a matter of shame that none of the opposition parties had denounced that statement.

SHRI PILOO MODY: It is sheer nothing else.

SHRI A. K. M. ISHAQUE: The party of Atal Behari Vajpayee was till the other day for bigger States. Mr. Vajpayee has gone there but had not denounced the statement of Latchanna. It was merely apologetic for Latchanna Statement. That is how the Opposition parties behave. They not only encouraged separatist tendencies but encouraged secession even. The purpose of agitation in Andhra

is to disturb the public distribution system of food. Andhra is one of the granaries of India; most food is procured there for public distribution system. They are the agents of the people in the White House and their effort is to see that the public distribution system is dislocated. They do this by continuing this agitation: it is done on their behalf. When Kissinger and Mao were embracing each other in courtship in Peking, Mr. Biju Patnaik at that very firm was moving about in India to foment an Anti-Congress forum and setting one set of people against another. He came to Calcutta to see the Marxist Party leader and these forces of West Bengal gave him a ready response. When Biju Patnaik went back to Orissa, the Oriyas began having feelings against the Bengalis. As you know the Bengalis have treated Oriyas like their family members and friends through generations. All of a sudden after Biju Patnaik's visit, Oriyas were set against Bengalis. You will find in Assam the Assamese have been set against Bengalis and the Bengalis against Assamese. There is a concerted attempt to whip up Bengali sentiment; Bengalis are being tortured by the Oriyas, by the Assamese. But the Bengalis are not going to oblige the opposition parties. They will be as much Indian as any other Indian in the country. This is how the opposition parties behave at a very critical moment in our history. They are trying their best to serve the purpose of their master in the White House in USA.

There are some persons in the Central Government with an over-zealous regional bias who are also working unintentionally for a bad cause. West Bengal is the golden goose in the Indian family which earned till the other day at least one-third of the total foreign exchange for India. In 1947 only 2.77 lakh acres of land was under jute cultivation. The brighter part of Bengal went to Pakistan. There was the influx of refugees from Pakistan and our population was growing very much unnaturally; Bengal is a rice-eating area and needs

[Shri A. K. M. Ishaque]

more of paddy and rice. At that moment, to meet the national need, we diverted our paddy fields to jute cultivation so that India can earn more foreign exchange. From 2.77 lakh acres, today we are having about 12 lakh acres of land under jute cultivation. All these commodities are earning foreign exchange, but no part of it was ploughed back to nurse the golden goose. Even though there was availability of ground water almost in all the districts of West Bengal, nothing was done to irrigate the areas so that there may be better cultivation. This is how some people with an over-zealous regional bias behave at the centre. I appeal to the Central Government to do justice for all the States, so that there may be a feeling in all the State capitals that the Centre is doing equal justice to all the States.

The West Bengal Government asked for only 4 lakh tonnes of manure from the Centre, but only half the requirement has been met. Here is a State which makes so much sacrifice for the Indian cause diverting paddy fields to jute cultivation even at the risk of denying food to its own people. Yet, even the manure requirements of that State are not fully met. I request the Central Government to meet the needs of West Bengal at over at least so far as manure is concerned, if not anything else.

With these words, I thank the President for his gracious address at a critical moment. The address he has given is the best that could be possibly given in the circumstances.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA (Begusaria): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, in every conceivable way, the President's Address is a pedestrian performance and it is far removed from the realities, both in the political and economic fields. I have no manner of doubt that such an address could have been prepared only by an extremely smug, complacent, callous, head-in-the-sands Government. We have got,

therefore, the usual run of nostrums with which the ruling party has been regaling the country all these days. But it is unfortunate the President has been made to augustly do it for the ruling party.

This is not an address that will inspire the nation; this is not the address that will bring about national agreement on the much-needed solutions for the urgent problems of the day. It does not touch the depths of the people and it cannot rally the people to the causes for which the President has been so often giving a call to the people.

So I find that it is poor both in content and style and it is all of a piece with the general deterioration in the country.

It is our extreme regret that our esteemed President was pleased not to take notice of the fact that our country was becoming a non-country in the international field our government was becoming a non-government in the economic field and this Cabinet, which my hon. friend Shri Hanumanthaiya left the other day, is now becoming a non-Cabinet for it is only the inter coterie of it which seems to matter.

Why do I say that it is becoming a non-country in the international field? If this country cannot matter even in relation to South East Asia, do you think that this country is going to matter anywhere in the world? Why, again, did I say that it has almost become a non-government in the economic field? Because, is there any doubt about who is ruling this country now? It is not Shrimati Indira Gandhi who is ruling the country; it is the high prices which are ruling the country; it is unemployment which is ruling the country. There is no place where the economic writ of the government is running. Therefore, I say it is becoming a non-government in economic field. Coming to the Cabinet, my hon. friend, Shri Dinesh Singh, who happens to be here just now reminds me of the fact

that when he was in the government there used to be a 'kitchen cabinet'. Now there is progress from the kitchen to the treasury; now there is the *tosha khana* cabinet. So, it is indeed very good progress—from the kitchen to the treasury. That is where we are.

The Economic Survey also presented a very sombre, dark and gloomy picture. The President's Address has been described by the Members of this House and even out side as a very depressing, colourless and lifeless performance. There is nothing surprising in this. Lack of policies on the part of government, on the one hand, and poor implementation of policies such as they exist, on the other, have resulted in undermining the economy and confronting the country with serious economic and political problems. The sins of omission and commission of the government are now coming home to roost.

I do not know if the Prime Minister ever finds time to ponder over the situation that is rapidly developing in this country and whether she has the time to reflect over the serious trends that seem to manifest in the country for everybody who would look at them.

Most of the sections of our society are now in battle dress against this government. The students are in battle dress, the teachers are in battle dress, the NGOs are in battle dress. There seems to be complete rupture of law and order in many parts of the country.

And what about the minorities? They have created such a great misapprehension in the minds of the minorities that the latter have lost their faith in the government. Only two years back, the government could take pride in the fact that the minorities were mostly behind them. Now I can say with the greatest amount of confidence that the minorities have lost confidence in this government to the extent of 99.9 per cent, and rightly too. I am giving you the reasons. You have seen in this House

how the Aligarh Muslim University Bill was bull-dozed during a few hours and the amendments were coming on Sheets of papers while speeches were being made on the Bill. This is not the way to deal with the sentiments of the minorities. So far as the Delhi Education Bill is concerned, there are other minorities, Anglo-Indians and Christians, who are very much exercised over it. In the background of all this is the fact that only some time back this government did not heed the advice of the opposition that those clauses of the Constitution which relate to the fundamental rights of the minorities should not be touched at all, they should be insulated from all amendments. We stand for them. Even at that time, the entire Opposition put up a united stand that those fundamental rights which relate to the minorities should be insulated from any type of amendment by this Parliament. We also stand for the amendment of the Aligarh Muslim University Act which has hurt the sentiments of a large number of our countrymen.

The Prime Minister said the other day that now democracy itself may be in jeopardy. While you may or may not agree with her gloomy prognostication, there is no doubt that she was completely wrong in giving the reasons for it. Also, she was taking a leaf out of Mr. Nixon's book. Now, many people have been expressing their surprise at the love-call that has been extended to the United States. But what kind of reception was extended to the new Ambassador of the United States by the Air India? Here it is:

Oh, Danny Boy

You're Irish, puckish

controversial, unorthodox.

Oh, Danny Boy

were going to love you so.

Therefore, here is the real love-call which has been given by the Air India and that was on display in front of the Air India office.

[Shri Shyam Nandan Mishra]

I was speaking of the Prime Minister taking a leaf out of Mr. Nixon's book. Mr. Nixon sometime back spoke of what he called the silent majority and of the vocal minority. Now, the Prime Minister of India speaks of the suppressed majority and of oppressive minority. The language of Mr. Nixon and the language of the Prime Minister is on all fours.

There is, however, no doubt that because of its acts of omissions and commissions, the very future of democracy has been put on the agenda by this Government.

Those who hailed the massive mandate earlier are now wondering whether they were not too hasty in rushing to the judgment. Now, fears are being entertained whether this Government would not succeed in completing discrediting both democracy and socialism. For if the party which wields such a great majority both at the Centre and in the States is not able to tackle the fundamental problems of this country, would not the people begin to doubt that democracy cannot deliver the goods (*Interruptions*). So, the Swatantra may be the next choice!

The credibility of this Government has not only gone down by many notches but it is almost minus zero today. The guilt is off the ginger bread. As Paul Samuelson, the great economist who is a Nobel laureate said the other day, illusionment is very often the cause of disillusionment. So, you find this process of rapid disillusionment. It is so rapid, that it may be difficult for the Opposition parties to keep pace with it.

All the promises of this Government have been found to be 'Election Hyperboles', nothing else, and the sellers' market in slogans is almost over now. There used to be a sellers' market in slogans. But that sellers' market in slogan is almost over now. Now, after having miserably failed on every front, and, after having failed to move in the direction in which the country wanted this Government to

move, this Government is observing 'Fortnights of Alibis'. One Fortnight for C.I.A., another Fortnight for Bureaucracy and yet another Fortnight for what they call traitorous and 'Anti-national' Opposition. The Prime Minister who calls the Opposition to be traitorous and anti-national is unfair to the Opposition and unfair to this country....

SHRI PILOO MODY: And unfit to be the Prime Minister.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA: I accept the amendment.

The country is wondering: Where is the charisma or the magic of leadership now? Do you find the imprint of this charisma or this magic of leadership on the problem of unemployment, on the problem of prices, on Andhra, on Assam? Where do you find the impress of the magic of leadership and charisma? What a temporary gleam it was! And yet, the Prime Minister prided herself all the time that it was going to be a permanent kind of regime so far as she was concerned.

It is now time for us to pause and consider how these two years have passed and what they have left behind. Thanks to this Government, during the two years of its massive mandate rule, the nation has been in the grip of cumulative deterioration process, and we have been in a descending spiral in every way...

SHRI PILOO PODY (Godhra): Except prices.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA: Yes. The only thing that this Government or this Party is capable of is to blow political bubbles and populist balloons in the air. That is what they are capable of.

The country now asks the Prime Minister, "What more have you, Madam, up your sleeves to complete this process of deterioration and

when will you change this Kali Mudra that you have assumed for this country?" All the rosy promises of this Government, Mr. Deputy-Speaker, now lie buried in a sepulchre of words and slogans.

These two years would be considered to be not only wasted years but the most ruinous years. What they have left behind, what we have witnessed already is bad enough but what the atmosphere generated by the them promises is infinitely worse. That is indeed, what is in store for us.

These two years have a tale to tell, a lesson to give to us. Glittering promises can turn out to be the worst deceit, and successes built on false slogans have their destruction built in them. This is also a lesson for us that the enemy number one for this country is the pseudo-radicalism of the ruling party which can give neither growth nor social justice. This Government has been the preacher of this pseudo-radicalism, and that has been the cause for all the decline that we have witnessed in this country.

If soaring prices, rapidly accelerating unemployment and widening disparities are what socialism is expected to yield, then there is no doubt, Mr. Deputy-Speaker, that we have indeed had a bumper crop of it during the course of the last two years—bumper crop of this socialism, if these are the attributes of socialism!

Therefore, I say with all sense of responsibility that, to say that things are assuming crisis proportions, would be an under-statement. In fact, it is our duty to warn the country and tell it that we are hurtling towards a crash.

The recent threat of resignation by the Prime Minister and her lament that democracy was in danger because the majority was being suppressed by the minority should not be taken very lightly. These have come to her head in a peculiar conjunction of circumstances.

Similarly the unprecedented ministerial inflation is a sign of weakness and not of the strength of the Prime Minister. I do not find in front of me the hon. Minister for Parliamentary Affairs. One cannot unravel the mystery of his going away and coming back. Why did he leave then and why is he brought in now?

SHRI PILOO MODY: While his going away was a disaster, his coming back is a calamity.

SHRI G. VISWANATHAN: He was taking rest for one year.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA: Yes. This kind of ministerial expansion is the cruellest joke that could be played upon the starving and famine-stricken people of this country.

SHRI G. VISWANATHAN: It is not yet over.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA: What is worse is the fact that the area of confidence of the Prime Minister seems to be dangerously shrinking and narrowing down and she may very rapidly come to the point when she would have faith in herself and nobody else in the Cabinet. Now, some of her senior colleagues must know where they stand. They are no better than the civil servants and Minister's guards. They are no better than them.

SHRI PILOO MODY: Here comes her Chief Secretary.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA: Now, let me come to the economic scene which is undoubtedly disturbing. There is stagnation or near stagnation in the economy. The national income rose only by 1.5 per cent or so in 1971-72. This sad performance is expected to be repeated even this year so that during the course of the last two years, the per capita income would have declined by 1 per cent every year. That is the glittering performance

[Shri Shyamnandan Mishra]

of this Government! And, why not? Perhaps this is very natural because there is now a dynamic drive to the zero rate of growth. This is the dynamism of this Government which has inhibited... (Interruptions) If you take the poor man's per capita income, then, you will know that it would have been eroded by 15 per cent or so—that is, to the extent of the price rise. It is a really Garibi Hatao programme!

There has been a shortfall in food production and the deceleration had started even before the drought had appeared on the scene. But let me talk for a while about this drought. The drought in some of the States does not seem to be receiving adequate attention from this Government. 70 to 80 per cent of the cattle have died or disappeared in Mysore, but this has not caused any concern to this Government. Many people are going without water. But look at the policy this ruling Party has been pursuing. Why are people in Maharashtra going without water? Their liquor has been made cheaper by 35 per cent by bringing down the sales tax and the excise duty but the food prices and the prices of other essential commodities have gone up by 30 to 35 per cent... (Interruptions) Now, in respect of drought, our complaint is that not only the amount made available for the relief of the people is inadequate but there are no uniform criteria followed in giving relief to many of these areas. That is the complaint you hear in Gujarat. That is the complaint in Mysore and that is also the complaint in Rajasthan and in some other drought stricken areas.

Now, industrial production has almost been grinding to a halt. But here seems to be some chirping in the ruling party circles that there has been a pick-up in the industrial growth because it gone up by 7 per cent or so during the few months of the last year. May I remind this Government that this has been only a temporary phase and I have every fear that probably the industrial pro-

duction has again resumed its regressive trend because of the shortage of power and because of the bottleneck in transport and so on.

The price level would have gone up during the current financial year by not less than 15 per cent. This in fact is the result of the policy this Government has been pursuing during the course of the last few years. During Mrs. Gandhi's rule of seven years the money supply has almost doubled and the commodity production has gone up by only half or less than half of it. The damage that such a rise in prices cause to the living standards of the poor people and to the distribution of income between the rich and the poor must be manifest to the meanest of intelligence. If the Prime Minister is not able to figure out the effects of the rise in prices, on the distribution of income, etc. she should remit this problem to one of the economists who happens to be associated with her personal Secretariat,—Mr. P. N. Dhar is there now. Alongside this situation, the figure of unemployment had been spurting at the rate of 26 per cent per year. According to the registration figures at the Employment Exchanges, as against three who found jobs out of ten registered at the Employment Exchanges during the sixties, only one is able to find job out of ten at the present time. That is the situation, I may say, explosive unemployment situation, in the country with which we are confronted now. And, this is because of the administrative and the economic policies that this Government has been following.

Now, let me tell you a sad tale. Let me tell you how this Government has turned the 'State' into the 'Estate' of the ruling party. Let it be made quite clear to everybody—you have no more in this country, what you call, a 'State' but it is the 'Estate' of the ruling party. And, I don't say that arbitrarily. What happened recently at Bidhan Nagar should be known to many of the knowledgeable persons in this House. The Defence Ministry built two bridges to facilitate entry

into Bidhan Nagar. I have seen the bridges with my own eyes. What is the defence aspect involved here, to Warrant Construction of the two bridges to facilitate entry into Bidhan Nagar? This has been done to promote the ruling party's interests.

There had been demands in this House and outside that the period of emergency must end. There is a great need for doing so. Even the DIR was used by the ruling party for getting its printed in time. So So, this was done, again, to promote the interest of the ruling party, to get their souvenir printed in time. At one time due to almost or near total strike, all the Printing Presses in Calcutta were closed. That was during the third week of December. The Chief Minister of West Bengal invoked the D.I.R. to force these workers to go back for printing the souvenir of the ruling party. This cannot be controverted by any person.

15.53 hrs.

[SHRI K. N. TIWARY in the Chair]

I will now tell you, Mr. Chairman, how the Government had been getting money. I will give you some concrete instances of how funds have been raised through advertisements by the captive public sector and making the private sector pay heavily in lieu of donations for the party souvenir. If you look at any of the souvenirs published by the ruling party you will find a bumper crop of advertisements, of not less than Rs. 10 lakhs for every souvenir. Why have the capitalists been so very generous to the ruling party?

SHRI M. RAM GOPAL REDDY (Nizamabad): How much your party is getting?

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA: My party does not get even a penny.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA:

Then consider the utterly vulgar display on the birthday of the Prime

Minister, when the West Bengal Government....

SHRI K. P. UNNIKRISHNAN (Badagara): What was wrong with that?

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA: ...took a full-page advertisement in a number of leading and important newspapers for indulging in adulatory sycophancy of the Prime Minister. Some commentators have, therefore, rightly remarked that the taxpayers' money was used up first....

SHRI K. P. UNNIKRISHNAN: What was wrong with that?

SHRI PILOO MODY: He * says that it is justified. I agree that it is justified, because the Prime Minister needs to be introduced to the Bengal public.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA: In fact, the taxpayers' money which was used to serenade the birthday of a party leader and also to give money to the big magnates of these newspapers could have been used for building so many schools, for providing many water taps, and for clearing so many slums. That is what one commentator had said on this subject.

Since my hon. friend Shri I. K. Gujral also happens to be here, I would like to say that Government has been blatantly using the Press Information Bureau for the promotion of his party interests. Here I have got the testimony of no less a person than the most respected of the editors of the country. Mr. Chalapati Rau. Mr. Chalapati Rau has said that there was proliferation of the information personnel without commensurate need. He has said that the only function performed by these information personnel was to give hand-outs in a profuse manner. Mr. Chalapati Rau's comments produced a spate of letters in the National Herald, and one letter said:

[Shri Shyamnandan Mishra]

"At point which 'Magnus' misses is the manner in which the PIB trying to buy the journalists...."

—I am not saying this, but this has appeared in the *National Herald* in the course of a letter—

"Apart from house, travel and scores of other facilities provided to journalists at much less than the market rates, the PIB's budget for imported wine and entertainment has increased enormously in recent years."

SHRI K. P. UNNIKRISHNAN:
Who has written this letter? I am entitled to know this.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA:
It is also very disturbing to see this highly partisan Government's attempts to make the Election Commission a hand-maid of its party. We cannot approve of any assignment being given to the Election Commissioner on his retirement. This party has given a new assignment to the former Election Commissioner and thus it is trying to corrupt the very source of democracy. That might make the Election Commissioner look forward to patronage at the hands of Government, which might use him for its own purposes with tantalising baits. We are also not impressed by the manner in which the new Election Commissioner has been adorned with a decoration simultaneously with his appointment as Election Commissioner. We cannot approve of that also.

Here, I would like to press for an Election Commission which consists of no less than three persons. If the Government which can expand its Cabinet out of all proportions stints on this, the motives are obvious. It must be borne in mind that this was a recommendation made by the Joint Committee of Parliament on election laws that the Election Commission must consist of at least three persons.

The worst thing is that the Election Commission is being made to postpone bye-elections because the Ruling Party had a bloody nose in some of the bye-elections. They have almost frozen the bye-elections. The blanket reason given is that there is drought in some areas of this country. When did we not have drought?

The Government's somersault on the policy towards big business and monopoly houses is clear enough for everyone to see. The tie-up—this is a very interesting thing; you must bear with me for a while—between big business and Government is so deep that the Government cannot but pursue policies conducive to its interests. Recently, a beer magnate was inducted into the board of directors of the Associated Journals Limited which publishes the *National Herald*. It is this 'successful businessman' who has put up a big column in the connaught Circus which proclaims:

"The Leader is right
Our future is bright".

(Interruptions)

Mr. Chairman, I would not ask you to give your opinion, but you must be in the know of it, that it is this magnate who was asked to streamline the ruling party in Parliament and the AICC headquarters at 5, Dr. Rajendra Prasad Road. This gentleman is Shri Kuldip Narang. Let any member from the ruling party stand up and challenge me on this point. I have got proof about it (Interruptions).

SHRI CHANDRAJIT YADAV:
(Azamgarh): Challenge on what?

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA:
That you have not asked him to reorganise your party both inside and outside Parliament. He is agreeing.

SHRI CHANDRAJIT YADAV:
Do not lose temper. I just wanted to know.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA:

This person, Shri Kudip Narang, has made vast sums of money in sugar, beer and ready-made garments.

It is from such a party—I find Shri S. M. Banerjee here; I was looking for Shri Indrajit Gupta—that Shri Indrajit Gupta expects socialism to come. A party which has been reorganised by Shri Kuldip Narang! (Interruptions).

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE: The country has heard the only socialist in the country! (Interruptions).

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA:

This is about the ruling party and the monopoly houses. I really pity Shri S. M. Banerjee. Self-deception could go no further.

So there is nothing surprising that the West Bengal Chief Minister goes to the Chambers of Commerce and says that it is necessary to allow the big business houses to expand if you want to break the stagnation in this country. There you find the Minister of Industrial Development present also but not disagreeing with him.

But why go to Calcutta? What happened in this city of Delhi under the direct inspiration and guidance of the Prime Minister? A new industrial policy has been enunciated which gives greater scope to the elites of the business world for operation. Earlier there used to be a classification of industries as the 'core' industries and 'heavy' industries. Now all that classification has gone. I can give number of instances.

On one of the most burning problems of the day. Andhra, we will have a separate occasion to speak. We are shedding tears over the language trouble in Assam or the Mulki Rules trouble in Andhra? But how could the nominated Chief Ministers, though they may be good and well-intentioned control such situations? We have a nominated democracy in this country as in Indo-

nesia there was a guided democracy. We know that result of the guided democracy in Indonesia. Here the result would be no better. Under any such nominated democracy, corruption is bound to be rampant.

Therefore, we find that the Chief Minister of Haryana, Shri Bansi Lal, has been given a clean chit. But may I warn the ruling party that though Shri Bansi Lal will sink, he will make others also sink with him? He has put the ruling party in a situation, he has put the Prime Minister in a situation, of blackmail. What did Brigadier Ran Singh, who has been the Speaker of the Haryana Assembly, say about Shri Bansi Lal? We are going to take up this matter separately.

If you permit me to say a few words, in the interests of the drought-stricken people of Gujarat, I would say that the Narmada project should be taken up at the earliest possible opportunity, and the Prime Minister must not delay the announcement of her award any further in this matter.

श्री चन्द्रजीत यादव : (आजमगढ़)

महोदय, राष्ट्रपति महोदय ने अपने अभिभाषण में इस बार बहुत से राष्ट्रीय प्रश्नों की तरफ और ऐसे सबाल जो हमारे देश की जनता के सामने हैं, उन की तरफ ध्यान खींचने का प्रयास किया है। उन्होंने अपने अभिभाषण में सब से पहले हमारे देश के बहुत से भागों में जो अकाल की स्थिति है जिस से हमारी जनता आज एक बहुत बड़ी मुसीबत का सामना कर रही है उस की तरफ सरकार का भी ध्यान और देश की जनता का ध्यान खींचा है। राष्ट्रपति महोदय ने हमारे देश के विभिन्न भागों में जो घटनायें हो रही हैं जिस में हिंसा का सहारा लिया जा रहा है और शान्ति व्यवस्था को चुनौती दी जा रही है उस की तरफ भी हमारी जनता से प्रार्थना की है कि इन बातों को हम प्रजातांत्रिक तरीके से आपस में मिल कर

[श्री चन्द्रजीत यादव]

के एक दूसरे से सलाह मशवरा कर के उसका हल निकालने का प्रयास करें।

राष्ट्रपति महोदय ने सर्वेक्षण किया है कि पिछले दो वर्षों के अन्दर जो घटनायें इस देश के अन्दर घटीं। आने वाले जमाने में जो कुछ काम हमारे देश के लिये करना जरूरी है उस की तरफ भी उन्होंने ध्यान खींचा है और सरकार किन कामों को करना चाहती है उस का भी संकेत उन्होंने दिया है। श्रीमन्, आज हमारे देश में एक कठिन स्थिति है। आर्थिक और सामाजिक संकट की घड़ी से हम गुजर रहे हैं। इस के ऊपर अगर हम पर्दा डालने की कोशिश करते तो शायद हम इस का निराकरण नहीं निकाल सकेंगे। यह बात मानते हैं कि महंगाई बढ़ी है, आज हमारे देश का जन जीवन कठिनाइयों से गुजर रहा है। आज हमारे देश के पड़े लिखे नौजवानों के सामने उन की बेकारी की समस्या है, आज हमारे देश की जनता के सामने उस की अपनी जिन्दगी के प्रगति के सवाल बहुत तीखे बन कर उस के सामने खड़े हैं। हमारे देश के पिछड़े हिस्से कैसे प्रगति कर सकें, हमारे देश का उद्योग और कृषि कैसे उत्तरोत्तर बढ़ते जायें और हमारा देश अन्ततोगत्वा कैसे स्वालम्बी बन सके, आज इस तरफ हमारा ध्यान लगा हुआ है। आज हम ऐसी चुनौतियों का मुकाबला कर रहे हैं जो हमारी आंतरिक चुनौतियां हैं और बाह्य चुनौतियां भी हैं, और इसलिये इन चुनौतियों का मुकाबला करने के लिये हमारे देश में एक एकता पैदा हो, एक शक्ति पैदा हो, हम सही रास्ते पर चलें, अपनी कमजोरियों को भी देखें, उन्हें दूर करने का प्रयास करें और फिर हम अपने लक्ष्य की तरफ निरन्तर बढ़ते जायें, हमें अब इस पर गौर करना है, सोचना है।

मुझे अफसोस है कि अभी मिश्रा जी ने जो अपना बड़ा भावुकता पूर्ण भाषण दिया, मुझे बड़ी निराशा हुई। मैं उन की इज्जत करता

हूं और यह आशा करता हूं कि वह ऐसे व्यक्ति हैं जो हमारी समस्याओं के ऊपर गम्भीरता से विचार करते हैं, उस का एक सही सन्तुलित रास्ता निकालने का प्रयास करेंगे। संसद् को पार्टीबाजी का अखाड़ा बनाने की जो लोग कोशिश करते हैं उस में मैं उन की गणना नहीं करता, लेकिन आज उन का जो भाषण हुआ है वह पार्टीबाजी, संसद् को अखाड़ा बनाने का जो प्रयास इस देश में, आज से नहीं जब से संसद् की स्थापना हुई तब से कुछ लोगों ने करने की कोशिश की, मुझे दुख है कि आज मिश्रा जी उसी कतार के अन्दर खड़े हुए हैं। जिन्होंने ने आखें बन्द कर के देश की समस्याओं को देखने से इन्कार किया और यही नहीं बल्कि जानबूझ कर एक प्रयास देश में हो रहा है कि तत्स्वीर का एक विकृत रूप देश के सामने प्रस्तुत किया जाये। यह एक षडयंत्र है जो कि देश में रचा जा रहा है प्रतिक्रियावादी ताकतों के द्वारा, रूढ़िवादी ताकतों के द्वारा, देश में निहित स्वार्थ वाली ताकतों के द्वारा और कुछ विदेशी ताकतों के द्वारा फिर चाहे वे साम्राज्यवाद की ताकतें हों, उपनिवेशवाद की ताकतें हों दुनिया के दूसरे विकासशील देशों को दबाने वाली ताकतें हों, किसी देश को स्वालम्बी न बनने देने वाली ताकतें हों। ये जो साजिशें चल रही हैं यह जो षडयंत्र चल रहा है उस का ही आज यह नतीजा है कि इन्होंने इस तरह का भाषण किया है और इन के कुछ मित्र जो परिस्थिति आज देश के अन्दर पैदा करना चाहते हैं उसी का यह एक सबूत है। यह कोई छिपी हुई बात नहीं है।

अधिष्ठाता महोदय, पिछले दो वर्षों में देश ने ऐतिहासिक घटनाओं को देखा है। मुल्क में शान्तिपूर्ण तरीके से इनकलाबी परिवर्तन हुआ है। अन्वाम ने अपने जीवन के सवालों के ऊपर अपने राष्ट्र के सवालों के ऊपर, जीवन के मूल्यों के ऊपर आदर्शों के ऊपर पिछले दो वर्षों में जिस तरह का संघर्ष किया है, जिस दौर में से आम जनता गुजरी है और उस संघर्ष

में जो एक अभूतपूर्व सफलता उस ने पाई है और अपना एक इमेज बनाया है, वह किसी से छिपा हुआ है।

अधिष्ठाता महोदय, मिश्र जी कहते हैं कि शान्ति और व्यवस्था समाप्त हो गई है, देश के जो अल्पसंख्यक हैं उन का शासक दल के प्रति विश्वास समाप्त हो गया है। वह कहते हैं कि देश में प्रजातन्त्र का भविष्य समाप्त हो गया है, अंधकारमय हो गया है...

श्री इयान नन्धन मिश्र : प्रधान मंत्री ने यह कहा है।

श्री चन्द्रजीत यादव : प्रधान मंत्री ने यह कभी नहीं कहा है कि देश में प्रजातन्त्र का भविष्य अंधकारमय हो गया है। प्रधान मंत्री देश की करोड़ों जनता की नेता हैं। आप को याद होगा कि पिछले दो बरसों में देश में अजीब घटनायें घटी हैं और अजीब सी परिस्थिति में से हो कर देश गुजर रहा है। 1967 के बाद देश में ही नहीं बल्कि दुनिया के अन्दर भी लोग कहने लग गए थे कि हिन्दुस्तान में राजनीतिक स्थिरता समाप्त हो गई है, भारत में शासन बिखर रहा है, प्रजातन्त्र का भविष्य अंधकार में डूब रहा है, देश में अराजकता की, अशान्ति की, अव्यवस्था फैलाने वाली ताकतें, प्रतिक्रियावादी ताकतें आगे आ रही हैं। यह सब से बड़ी चुनौती देश की जनता के सामने थी। यह हमारे जीवन के मूल्यों को, जीवन के आदर्शों को, देश के भविष्य को एक चुनौती थी। मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि मिश्र जी उस वक्त कहाँ थे, किस के साथ खड़े थे जब इन आदर्शों को चुनौती दी गई थी। वह अगर समाजवाद के हामी बनते तो मुझे खुशी होती, समाजवादी विचारधारा वाले लोगों के नेता बनते तो मुझे खुशी होती। लेकिन वह तब खड़े कहाँ थे? खड़े थे उस वक्त स्वतन्त्र पार्टी के साथ जो सामन्तों की एक मात्र नेतृत्व करने वाली पार्टी है, नमाइन्दगी करने वाली पार्टी है, जो राजाओं की व्यवस्था

को कायम रखना चाहती है, जो पूंजीवाद को कायम ही नहीं रखना चाहती है बल्कि उस को विकसित भी करना चाहती है, जो हमारे देश को दुनिया के साम्राज्यवादी देशों के साथ जोड़ना चाहती है। उस पार्टी के कंधे से कंधा वह मिलाए हुए थे, उस से पैर से पैर मिलाए हुए थे। उस के साथ मिश्र जी और उन की पार्टी चल रही थी। देश में जनसंघ जो प्रतिक्रियावाद का प्रतीक है जो अल्पसंख्यकों के अधिकारों को चुनौती देने वाली सब से बड़ी पार्टी है, जो देश की एकता में विश्वास नहीं करती है, जो देश की खंडित करना चाहती है, जो देश की राजनीति में जातिवाद और सम्प्रदायवाद को फैलाने वाली है, उसकी पोषक है उस पार्टी के साथ मिश्र जी तब खड़े थे।

उन्होंने कहा है कि उन को तकलीफ हो रही थी कि देश में पूंजीवाद बढ़ रहा है। उन को तकलीफ है कि श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी पूंजीवादियों के हाथ में देश को बेच रही हैं। लेकिन जब देश का पूंजीवाद और अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय पूंजीवाद दोनों मिल कर चुनौती दे रहे थे उस वक्त मिश्र जी और उन की पार्टी उनके साथ खड़े थे। अधिष्ठाता महोदय, आप तो जानते ही हैं कि पार्लियामेंट के अन्दर उस वक्त हमारा अल्पमत था और ये विरोधी दल वाले बहुमत में थे। इन सब ने मिल कर के महागठबन्धन किया। उस गठबन्धन का एक ही लक्ष्य था और वह यह कि देश में प्रजातांत्रिक मूल्यों को बरबाद करना, देश की जनता के अधिकारों को छीन लेना। देश की जनता ने 80-85 साल आजादी की जंग लड़ी थी और उस ने यह लड़ाई भी लड़ी क्योंकि यह उस के अधिकारों के ऊपर एक प्रहार था। देश की प्रधान मंत्री श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी खड़ी हुई और उन्होंने ने इस चुनौती को स्वीकार किया। उन्होंने कहा कि संसद् से जनता के अधिकारों की रक्षा मैं नहीं कर सकती हूँ, संसद् से जनता की गरीबी दूर करने के लिए, देश की गरीबी को खत्म करने के लिये कानून मैं

[श्री चन्द्रजीत यादव]

नहीं बनवा सकती हूँ और चूँकि संसद् से वह काम नहीं हो सकता है जो देश की करोड़ों गरीब जनता चाहती है, इस वास्ते इस संसद् को रखने से कोई लाभ नहीं और हम इस संसद् के अन्दर इस का फैसला नहीं करने वाले हैं, देश के भविष्य का फैसला करने वाली अन्ततोगत्वा देश की करोड़ों जनता है, जो बेपट्टी लिखी हो सकती है, जो बेजबान हो सकती है लेकिन जिस की राजनीतिक समझदारी जिस की राजनीतिक बद्धि की परिपक्वता, जिस की प्रजातांत्रिक अधिकारों के बारे में चैतन्यता, जिस की देश भक्ति को कोई चनौती नहीं दे सकता है। प्रधान मंत्री ने कहा कि अगर इस का फैसला करना है तो जनता के सामने चलो। उन्होंने संसद् को भंग किया और वह देश की जनता के सामने गयीं। मुझे गर्व है कि देश की जनता ने देश के प्रजातन्त्र की रक्षा ही नहीं की बल्कि देश की अखंडता को भी बचाया देश की एकता को भी बचाया और आज हम विश्वासपूर्वक कहने की स्थिति में हैं कि देश में प्रजातन्त्र का भविष्य सुरक्षित है, उस की जड़ें मजबूत हैं।

मैं मिश्र जी की भाषा नहीं बोलना चाहता हूँ। लेकिन मुझे अफसोस है कि आज उन्होंने ऐसी भाषा का प्रयोग किया। लेकिन मैं इतना अवश्य कहना चाहता हूँ कि इन की पार्टी और इन के साथी आज नेताओं का कारेक्टर एसेसिनेशन, दलों का कारेक्टर एसेसिनेशन, देश के मूल्यों के ऊपर प्रहार करने पर तुले हुए हैं। यही इन का एक लक्ष्य है। सन्तुलित भाषा में मैं कहूँ तो यह कह सकता हूँ कि मिश्र जी आज निराशा की जवान बोल रहे हैं, देश के उन लोगों की जवान बोल रहे हैं जिन का अपने पर से यकीन उठ गया है, जिन का आत्मविश्वास खत्म हो गया है। इसी वास्ते आज वह निराशा की जवान बोलते हैं।

इन्होंने कहा कि बड़ी तेजी के साथ निराशा की भावना पैदा हो रही है, हमारे सारे वादे गलत साबित हुए हैं। पीलू मोदी साहब

ने एक संशोधन पेश किया कि प्रधान मंत्री, प्रधान मंत्री रहने के योग्य नहीं हैं। जब उन्होंने कहा कि शी इज अनफिट टु बी बी प्राइम मिनिस्टर तब इन को यह कहने में देर भी नहीं लगी कि मैं इस संशोधन को स्वीकार करता हूँ।

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA:
Because she calls us traitors.

श्री चन्द्रजीत यादव: उनके दुर्भाग्य से इस देश में प्रजातन्त्र बहुत मजबूत है, देश की जनता का प्रजातन्त्र में बहुत बड़ा विश्वास है, देश के प्रधान मंत्री मिश्र जी और मोदी जी नहीं बनाते, देश की करोड़ों जनता बनाती है। देश की करोड़ों जनता ने प्रधान मंत्री बनाया। उन के कहने से फिट या अनफिट वह नहीं हो सकती हैं। इस तरह की बातों का कोई असर पड़ने वाला नहीं है। मुझे आश्चर्य है कि उन की समझ में यह बात नहीं आती। न ही कभी आएगी और न ही आनी चाहिए।

उन्होंने कहा कि हमने वादे पूरे नहीं किए। राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने अभिभाषण में भी कहा है कि हमारे सामने कठिनाइयाँ बहुत हैं, काम बहुत बड़ा है। हम दावा नहीं करते। जो वास्तविक स्थिति है वह आपके सामने है। मैंने शुरू में कहा कि हमें दुख होता है कि देश में गल्ले के दाम, जनता के खाने पीने के सामान के दाम बढ़ गए हैं। अगर वे बीस प्रतिशत बढ़ते हैं तो गरीब जनता की जिन्दगी मुसीबत में पड़ती है, मध्यम दर्जे के लोगों को परेशानी होती है। अगर देश में पढ़े लिखे लड़के लड़कियाँ बेरोज़गार फिरते हैं, उनको काम नहीं मिलता, वे भटकते फिरते हैं तो यह किसी भी देश भक्त के लिए, उसके लिए जो देश को बनाना चाहता है, तकलीफदेह है। यह वास्तविकता है। लेकिन आज हम इसका मुकाबला कर रहे हैं। लेकिन यह कहा गया है कि इस मुल्क में दो हाल में कुछ नहीं हुआ है, ये दो साल निराशा के साल थे। मैं श्री मिश्र को याद

दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि अभी एक साल से थोड़ा ही ज्यादा समय हुआ है, जब बंगलादेश को ले कर इतना बड़ा संकट हमारे देश पर आया। जिस शक्ति, दूरदर्शिता, समझदारी और आत्मगौरव के साथ देश और देश की सरकार ने उस संकट का मुकाबला किया, वह एक ऐतिहासिक घटना है। हर एक देश भक्त और देश से प्यार करने वाला बंगलादेश की घटना को जीवन भर याद करेगा और उस पर गर्व करेगा। माननीय सदस्य उस को भूल सकते हैं, लेकिन हम नहीं भूल सकते हैं।

यह ठीक है कि हमारे सामने परेशानियाँ हैं। हम एक नये दौर से गुजर रहे हैं। हमारे दल और हमारी सब सरकारों ने इस देश में एक नई परम्परा शुरू की है कि हम टाइम-बाउंड प्रोग्राम्स कार्यान्वित करेंगे, निर्धारित समय के अन्दर अपने कार्यक्रमों को पूरा करेंगे। मुझे यह बताते हुए खुशी होती है कि हम ने यह निर्णय लिया था कि पिछले 31 दिसम्बर तक भारत के सभी विधान मण्डल भूमि सुधार के कानून पास करेंगे और इन को लागू करने के लिए कदम उठावेंगे। अगर माननीय सदस्य में समाजवाद ज़िन्दा रह गया है, तो उन्हें यह जान कर खुशी होनी चाहिए कि हिन्दुस्तान के सारे विधान मण्डलों ने 31 दिसम्बर तक भूमि सुधार के कानून पास कर दिये और अब सब सरकारें उन को लागू करने के लिए कदम उठा रही हैं। यह कोई साधारण बात नहीं है।

हम ने यह निश्चय किया है कि स्वतन्त्रता की रजत जयन्ती के वर्ष में हम अपने गांवों में रहने वाले भूमिहीनों को ज़मीन देंगे, जिन के पास मकान बनाने के लिए ज़मीन नहीं है। लेकिन यह समस्या कितनी बड़ी है। हमारा देश श्रीलंका, कोरिया, पूर्वी और पश्चिमी जर्मनी की तरह कोई छोटा देश नहीं है। हमारा 56 करोड़ का देश है। जब हम ने यह मूल्यांकन किया कि इस देश में ऐसे कितने

लोग हैं, जिन के पास अपनी झोंपड़ी बनाने के लिए ज़मीन नहीं है, तो मालूम हुआ कि एक करोड़ इन्सान ऐसे हैं, जिन को ज़मीन देनी पड़ेगी। यह कोई साधारण बात नहीं है। हमने यह निर्णय किया है कि हमारी सब सरकारें 15 अगस्त, 1973 तक उन एक करोड़ इन्सानों को मकान बनाने के लिए ज़मीन देने का प्रयास करेंगी। जिन एक करोड़ इन्सानों को सैकड़ों सालों से अपनी झोंपड़ी बनाने के लिए ज़मीन नहीं मिली है, उन के लिए यह कोई मामूली निर्णय नहीं है, बल्कि बड़ा भारी निर्णय है।

माननीय सदस्य ने कहा है कि हमारे देश में बेकारी की समस्या है : कोन इन्कार करता है उस से ? प्रधान मन्त्री ने कहा कि कि हम लम्बी चौड़ी बातें नहीं करना चाहते हैं, बल्कि जो काम हम ने अपने लिए, निश्चित किये हैं, उन को पूरा करना चाहते हैं। कठिनाइयाँ बढ़ेंगी, मंहगाई बढ़ेगी, संकट बढ़ेंगे, लेकिन हम उन समस्याओं का डट कर मुकाबला करेंगे। इस सदन में कुछ लोग इस बात की वकालत करते रहे हैं कि हम अमरीका आदि दूसरे देशों से पैसा लें और इस देश की सार्वभौमिकता को बेच कर, इस देश को अपमानजनक शर्तों में बांध कर किसी दूसरे देश से पैसा लें और इस देश का विकास करें। हम ने उस राजनीति का अनुसरण करने से इन्कार कर दिया है। हम ने कहा है कि हमारी कठिनाइयाँ बढ़ सकती हैं, लेकिन हम अपने देश के आन्तरिक साधनों को इकट्ठा करेंगे, हमारे देश की जनता मुसीबत उठायेगी, लेकिन वह अपने देश के आत्मसम्मान की रक्षा करते हुए अपने भविष्य के लिए, अपने देश की आत्म-निर्भर बनाने के लिये प्रयास करेगी।

हमारे ये संकल्प कोई साधारण संकल्प नहीं हैं। देश की गरीबी को हटाने के हमारे संकल्प और नारे का इन लोगों ने बड़ा मज़ाक उड़ाया था। लेकिन जब यह मज़ाक

[श्री चन्द्रजीत यादव]

उड़ते हुए वे देश की जनता के सामने गये, तो जनता ने उन को दुत्कार दिया।

हम ने यह भी निर्णय किया है कि पांचवीं पंच-वर्षीय योजना के शुरू होने से पहले एक साल में हम पांच लाख शिक्षित बेकारों को काम देंगे और यह रफ्तान जारी रहेगी, ताकि पांचवीं पंच-वर्षीय योजना के अन्त तक हम तीस लाख शिक्षित बेकारों को काम दें सकें। यह कोई मामूली काम नहीं है।

श्री पीलू मोदी : बिल्कुल मामूली काम है। क्या तीस लाख लोगों को छः साल में काम देना कोई बहुत बड़ा काम है ?

श्री चन्द्रजीत यादव : दुर्भाग्य से कल मैं यहां नहीं था। श्री वाजपेयी का समाजवाद लोगों के सामने खुल कर आ गया। जनसंघ ने कानपुर में जो निर्णय किया, उस से लगता था कि एक नई समाजवादी पार्टी इस देश में पैदा हो गई है : हमारे दोस्तों ने कहा कि शायद जनसंघ ने इस देश की जनता के विचारों और निर्णयों से सबक सोखा होगा, इस लिए आज वह बदल रहा है और एक प्रगतिशील रास्ते पर चलने के लिए मजबूर हो गया है। लेकिन मैं ने पहले भी कहा था और आज भी कहता हूं कि ये सारी बातें एक जानी-बूझी, सोचो-समझी नीति के अनुसार जनता को धोखा देने के लिए, जनता की आंखों में धूल झांकने के लिए की जा रही है।

हम ने यह निर्णय किया हम गल्ले का थोक व्यापार अपने हाथ में ले लेंगे। इस पर बड़ा शोर मच गया। यह ठीक है कि इस मुल्क में कीमतें बढ़ीं, गल्ला कम हुआ और गरीबों को नहीं मिला। यह ठीक है कि उस का वितरण ठीक प्रकार से नहीं हो सका। इस बात को ध्यान में रखते हुए हम ने यह निर्णय किया कि गेहूं, चावल, कपड़ा और मिट्टी का तेल आदि जीवन के लिए जो

आवश्यक सामग्री है, हम सार्वजनिक माध्यमों से उस का वितरण करेंगे, ताकि हम उस सामग्री को पब्लिक डिस्ट्रीब्यूशन सिस्टम के जरिये आम जनता को उचित कीमत पर दे सकें। इसी आधार पर हम ने यह निर्णय किया कि हम गल्ले का थोक व्यापार अपने हाथ में ले लेंगे। जो लोग गल्ले के थोक व्यापारियों के भरोसे पर राजनीति करते हैं, जो उन लोगों के समर्थन और सहारे से राजनीतिक करते हैं, जो लोग सूबे और अन्य दैवी आपदाओं की स्थिति में मुनाफाखोरी और जख्जोराबाजी कर के जनता के पेट के साथ सीदेबाजी करते हैं, उन सब लोगों ने हमारे इस निर्णय का विरोध किया है।

हम आशा करते थे कि श्री मिश्र के मुंह से ये शब्द निकलेंगे कि यह निर्णय अच्छा और स्वागत योग्य है। और इसकी लागू करना चाहिए। लेकिन यह चुप रहे यहां उनके समाजवाद की सब से बड़ी पहचान है। श्री वाजपेयी का सारा भाषण भी इस बात पर था कि सरकार क्यों गल्ले का थोक व्यापार अपने हाथ में लेने जा रहा है। मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि इस मुल्क में गल्ले के लिए पब्लिक डिस्ट्रीब्यूशन सिस्टम बताया जाना हमारे वर्तमान ढांचे में एक ऐसा मौलिक परिवर्तन है, जो मौजूदा शोषण को व्यवस्था पर एक गहरी चोट है, देश को गरीब जनता को राहत देने की दिशा में एक महत्वपूर्ण कदम है। इसी लिए दर्द होता है इस मुल्क के शोषकों की राजनीति करने वालों को, शोषकों के सनर्थन से राजनीति करने वालों को, गरीबों के लिए बातें करने वालों, लेकिन उचित कानून बनने पर उस का विरोध करने वालों को। (व्यवधान) श्री मिश्र ने प्रधान मन्त्री से ले कर हमारी पार्टी और हमारे लोगों पर घटिया दर्जे का आक्रमण किया है, लेकिन मैं ने उनके भाषण में हस्तक्षेप नहीं किया। अब इस तरह टोकना उनको शोभा नहीं देता है। वह सुनना भी सीखें।

सभापति महोदय : अपनी जीशन को भी मौका मिलता है। माननीय सदस्य अपनी बात कह रहे हैं, तो उन को सुनिये। माननीय सदस्य अपनी बात भी सुनायें और अपने विरोधियों को भी सुने।

श्री चन्द्रजीत यादव : इन लोगों को जो दर्द होता है, उस को मैं समझता हूँ। यह कोई नई बात नहीं है। जब इस देश में आर्थिक और सामाजिक संकट उपस्थित होते हैं, तो इस देश की प्रतिक्रियावाद, सम्प्रदायवाद, क्षेत्रवाद, निहित स्वार्थ और पूंजीपतियों की बकालत करने वाली ये ताकतें और दुनिया की इसी तरह की ताकतें मिल कर इस देश में संकट पैदा करने की कोशिश करती हैं। मैं जानता हूँ कि आज इस देश में हिंसा का वातावरण पैदा करने की कोशिश की जा रही है। जो ताकतें चुनाव में हारी, जिन ताकतों का जनता ने ठुकराया, आज वे हिंसा का सहारा लेकर तोड़-फोड़ की राजनीति चलाना चाहती हैं। इस तरह के लोग देश के नेताओं के चारित्र्य पर लांछन लगाने की राजनीति चलाना चाहते हैं। मिश्र जी ने क्या कहा? उन्होंने कोई बड़ी गाली नहीं दी। इससे कोई गुना बड़ी गाली सन 1971 के संसद के चुनाव में, मिड टर्म एलेक्शन में उन्होंने दी थी। किसको उन्होंने गाली नहीं दी? हमारे आदर्शों को, हमारी नीति को, हमारे कार्यक्रम को, हमारे नेता को, पार्टी को, सब को गाली दी। लेकिन इस देश की जनता की एक शालीन परम्परा है। इस देश की जनता गाली की राजनीति में विश्वास नहीं करती। इस देश की जनता सच्चाई और असच्चाई को सुनती है, समझती है और जानती है। इसलिए गाली देने वालों का जो हस पिछले चुनावों में हुआ उससे उनको सबक लेना चाहिए और मैं उनसे कहना चाहता हूँ कि आप अपने भविष्य के लिए अपनी पार्टी के भविष्य के लिए अपनी राजनीति के भविष्य के लिए उससे कुछ सबक सीखिये। उन्होंने कहा कि औद्योगिक

उत्पादन यहां कुछ नहीं हुआ, कृषि का सारा उत्पादन खत्म हो गया, बड़ा भारी संकट हमारे देश में पैदा हो गया। मैं समझता हूँ कि मिश्र जी को अपने अनुभव से अपने ज्ञान से इस बात को जानना चाहिए था कि कोई भी जो अपने आर्थिक और सामाजिक पुनर्निर्माण के काम में लगता है, अपनी रचना के काम में लगता है कठिनाइयाँ उसके सामने आती हैं। हम ने इसको क्या सोचा नहीं था? हम ने क्या इसकी कल्पना नहीं की थी? हम जानते थे कि हमारे सामने कठिनाइयाँ आर्यगी। हम जानते हैं कि हमारा रास्ता दुर्लभ है। हम जानते हैं कि हमारे देश के अन्दर ऐसी कठिनाइयाँ आ सकती हैं। लेकिन सच्चाई की बात उन्हें करनी चाहिए। क्या कहा उन्होंने कि कलकत्ता के सेशन में डी आई आर का इस्तेमाल करके कांग्रेस पार्टी के सोवैनियर के लिए विज्ञापन लिया गया . . (व्यवधान) . . इससे बढ़ कर झूठ बात और कोई नहीं हो सकती है।

श्री इयानन्दन मिश्र : मैंने तो यह कहा कि हड़ताल चल रही थी। हड़ताल को डी० आई० आर० को इन्वाक करके तुड़वाया गया। विज्ञापन की बात मैंने नहीं कही।

श्री क० एस० जाबड़ा : प्वाइंट आफ आर्डर। अभी माननीय सदस्य ने झूठ शब्द इस्तेमाल किया है। यह पार्लियामेन्टी नहीं है। उन्हें इसे बिदड़ा करना चाहिए। झूठ अन-पार्लियामेन्टी शब्द है।

सभापति महोदय : यह कोई प्वाइंट आफ आर्डर नहीं है। यह अनपार्लियामेन्टी नहीं है।

श्री हुकम चन्द कच्छबाय : जो स्वयं झूठा होता है वह सब को झूठा समझता है।

श्री चन्द्रजीत यादव : श्रीमन, मैं इस लिए यह कह रहा था कि आज यह कठिनाई हमारे देश के सामने है। इन कठिनाइयों या

[श्री चन्द्रजीत यादव]

आज हम सतर्क हैं। यह कठिनाइयाँ आती हैं। लेकिन आज हमें इस बात की खुशी भी होनी चाहिए, जिस बात की सब से बड़ी कमी है और जिस तरह का वातावरण पैदा करने की कोशिश की जाती है—इस देश की जनता में कमी नहीं है, इस देश के लोगों में कमी नहीं है, हमारे देश के लोग समझते हैं, लेकिन हमारे देश के अन्दर कुछ पार्टियाँ और कुछ पार्टियों के नेता ऐसे हैं जो देश की एक बिगड़ी हुई, एक विच्छिन्न तस्वीर दुनिया के सामने पेश करने की कोशिश करते हैं। पिछले दिनों, मैं हमने जिस तरीके से अपने राष्ट्रीय संकटों का सामना किया है, जिस तरीके से देश की आजादी की और देश की प्रभुसत्ता की हम ने रक्षा की है, जिस तरीके से हमलों का मुकाबला किया है, हमारी जनता के जिस एकता के साथ, अपनी जिस देशभक्ति के साथ और जिस सहनशक्ति के साथ इन संकटों का मुकाबला किया है वह हमारी सबसे बड़ी शक्ति है। हम जानते हैं कि हमारे देश का भविष्य सुरक्षित है। हमारे देश का भविष्य हमारे देश की जनता के हाथों में सुरक्षित है जिस जनता की समझदारी उत्तरोत्तर अपने अनुभवों के बल पर बढ़ती चली जा रही है।

आखिर में एक बात कह कर समाप्त करना चाहता हूँ। आज हम एक ऐसी जगह पर खड़े हैं जहाँ हमें बड़ी गंभीरता से सोचना पड़ेगा कि हमारे वे साधन जिनके माध्यम से हम अपने आदर्शों को, अपने लक्ष्यों को पूरा करना चाहते हैं क्या उसमें कमजोरियाँ हैं? आज देश के अन्दर जिस उत्साह और समर्थन के साथ जनता ने हमें शक्ति दी, हम देखते हैं और मानते हैं, इसमें किसी को गाली देने की बात नहीं है, नौकरशाही कहिये, प्रशासन का ढाँचा कहिये, हमारे उन कामों को पूरा करने के लिए हमारा आज का मौजूदा प्रशासन का ढाँचा उसके लिए उपयुक्त नहीं है।

इसके अन्दर परिवर्तन करना पड़ेगा। हमें

सोचना पड़ेगा कि उसके अन्दर परिवर्तन हम किस तरीके से हर स्तर पर करें। हम कानून बनाते हैं लेकिन कानून का जितना लाभ जनता को मिलना चाहिए, जमके लिए ये कानून बनाते हैं, वह नहीं मिलता। यह हमारे सामने सवाल है, इस पर हम सोच रहे और गंभीरता से सोच रहे हैं। इसके लिए हमें क्या परिवर्तन करना चाहिए, इसको हम सोच रहे हैं। मैं चाहूँगा कि हमारे विरोधी दलों के नेता इमें मदद करें। यह किसी एक पार्टी का सवाल नहीं, यह देश का सवाल है कि देश के अन्दर जो मौजूदा ढाँचा है उसमें हम कैसे परिवर्तन करें। यह भी हमारे सामने एक सवाल है कि संसदीय व्यवस्था के माध्यम से देश के विकास के लिए और समाजवाद लाने के लिए, हमने अपने को कटिबद्ध किया हुआ है, आज क्या संसदीय व्यवस्था के माध्यम से हमारी गति और नेत्र हो सकती है? क्या इसके माध्यम से हम अपने उस लक्ष्य को जल्दी से प्राप्त कर सकते हैं जो गरीब और पिछड़े हुए मुल्क की जनता के लिए निहायत जरूरी है? आज हमें सोचना होगा कि हम इसको किस तरह से ज्यादा कारगर और प्रभावकारी बनायें। यह बहुत जरूरी है। हम नहीं चाहते कि देश में पार्लिमेंट खत्म हो। यह एक सार्वभौम संस्था है, यह देश का एक मंदिर है, इस देश की जनता हमारी सबसे बड़ी शक्ति है जिसने हर संकट के समय में अपने को छोटी छोटी चीजों से ऊपर उठाया है। यह कोई मामूली बात नहीं। जब पाकिस्तान का हमला हुआ तब हमारे देश में कोशिश हुई साम्प्रदायिक दंगे कराने की लेकिन एक भी दंगा नहीं हो सका। कोशिश हुई जम्मू काश्मीर में आन्तरिक अव्यवस्था पैदा करने का लेकिन वहाँ की देश भक्त जनता जिसके सामने राष्ट्रीय सवाल था, ने इसको कामयाब नहीं होने दिया। कोशिश की गई देश में क्षेत्रवाद और भाषावाद की राजनीति करने की लेकिन जनता ने नहीं करने दिया। लेकिन जब जनता के सामने

संकट आते हैं तो फिर इस तरह की ताकतें सिर उठाती हैं। आज जो दंगा करा रहे हैं, जो ताकत भाषा के नाम पर बटवारे की बात करना चाहती हैं, ऐसी ताकतें जो इस देश में दक्षिण और उत्तर भारत के सवाल को उठा कर देश को कमजोर करना चाहती हैं, जनता उन को जानती है। वह काश्मीर से लेकर ब्याकुमारी तक और सौराष्ट्र से लेकर मेघालय और अरुणाचल तक अपने देश को एक समझती है। अपनी राष्ट्रीयता, अपनी एकता, अपने मूल्यों और आदर्शों के ऊपर वह गर्व करती है, वह उन्हें कामयाब नहीं होने देगी। लेकिन इन तरह की साजिशें आज हो रही हैं। हमारे देश को इस बारे में सावधान रहना चाहिए। प्रधान मंत्री ने सही कहा था कि ऐसी ताकतें खत्म नहीं हुई हैं, ये कमजोर हुई हैं लेकिन आज भी जब इनको मौका मिलता है तो ये फिर उठती हैं और राष्ट्रीय एकता और मूल्यों को चुनौती देती हैं। आज इन ताकतों का जब गठबन्धन होता है तो हमें इन से सतर्क रहना चाहिए। हमें अफसोस है कि बहुत से ऐसे भाई जिनकी समाजवाद के अन्दर आस्था है वे भी कभी गुस्से में, कभी जल्दी लाभ उठाने की आशा में, उन काली ताकतों के साथ अपने को जोड़ देते हैं जो ताकतें इस देश के लिए अहितकर ही नहीं सबसे ज्यादा खतरनाक भी हैं। प्रधान मंत्री ने इसी संसद में कहा था कि उन्होंने किसी पार्टी को यह नहीं कहा था कि कोई पार्टी देशद्रोही है। मिश्र जी न मानें। उन्होंने कहा कि मैंने नहीं कहा कि कोई पार्टी या विरोधी दल देशद्रोही है। लेकिन यह सही है कि ऐसी विचारधारा इस देश में है जो देशद्रोही विचारधारा है, जो देश को कमजोर करने वाली विचारधारा है, जो जनता की निष्ठा को कमजोर करती है, जो देश को बांटने वाली विचारधारा है। उसको समाप्ति करने के लिए देश की समाजवादी ताकतों को, तमाम प्रगतिशील ताकतों को और जनवादी ताकतों

को मिल कर इसके खिलाफ लड़ना पड़ेगा तब यह देश बनेगा।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं आशा करता हूँ कि हमारा यह साल, जो संकटों का साल है, जो हमारे आर्थिक जीवन में एक महत्वपूर्ण साल है इसलिए कि पांच योजनाओं में जो हमने लक्ष्य रखा है—बड़ी मजक उड़ाया है गरीबी हटाओ का लेकिन पांचवी योजना की प्रस्तावना में सबसे बड़ी बात हमने यह कही है कि हम गरीबी हटाने के संकल्प पर अडिग हैं, हम देश में कटिबद्ध हैं ऐसी व्यवस्था करने के लिए जिसमें सामाजिक और आर्थिक भेदभाव निरंतर कम होते जायें। देश में उपभोग की वस्तुओं पर, नियंत्रण लगाना चाहिए। आज सब से बड़ा सवाल यह है कि गरीब कितना उपभोग करता है और पैसे के बल पर बड़ा आदमी कितना। यह खाई सबसे चौड़ी है। इस पर प्रतिबन्ध लगाना पड़ेगा। हमारे गरीब मुल्क में 18000 किस्म के कपड़े बनते हैं, यह कोई अच्छी बात नहीं है। आज चाहे कमी हो, लेकिन इस देश की जनता के खाने के लिए, कपड़े के लिए, मकान के लिए, पढ़ने की व्यवस्था के लिए, इन्सानों की दवाई के लिए, जीवन की जो नितान्त आवश्यक वस्तुएँ हैं उनके लिए हम को कदम उठाना है। मैं आशा करता हूँ कि पांचवीं पंच वर्षीय योजना के पहले साल में हमारे देश की जनता फिर उसी संकल्प को दोहरायगी, उसी अभूतपूर्व एकता का परिचय देगी। हमारे देश की जनता उन ताकतों के खिलाफ अपनी दूरदर्शिता का परिचय देगी जो फिर से सिर उठा रही हैं—हमारे इन बढ़ते हुए कदमों को रोकने के लिए। मैं आशा करता हूँ कि देश का श्रमजीवी वर्ग, इस देश के किसान, इस देश के नौजवान, इस देश की आम जनता और प्रगतिशील और समाजवादी धाराओं में विश्वास करने वाले लोग सब मिल कर भारत का वह सुनहला भविष्य, जिसके लिए हम ने संकल्प किया है और हमारे लक्ष्य और आदर्श

जिनके बारे में हम ने श्री आपने दृढ़ संकल्प किया है, उसको पूरा कर सकेंगे।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण के लिए जो प्रस्ताव प्रस्तुत किया गया है, उसका समर्थन करता हूँ।

SHRI M. SATYANARAYAN RAO (Karimnagar): I am really pained to hear the lectures of Congressmen as well as CPI and other friends. For four days, Sir, I am sitting here, patiently hearing the speeches of these people. Sir, at the outset I would like to make it very clear that there is nothing for me to thank the President in his Address. Before his Address, I had expected much. I expected and I thought that we would spell out his mind, he will tell us what the Government is doing to solve this problem, the Andhra Problem. But unfortunately, he has not at all mentioned anything except something only condemning the violence there. That is all. Of course, I am not at all one of those who believe in violence. I cannot approve any violent methods adopted by the people. But, I will certainly hold only the Central Government responsible for this sort of violence. It is a fact that this Government has an impression given to the people that unless there is violence this Government will not think of solving any problem and that it would take cognisance of the problem only if there is violence. That is the most unfortunate situation prevailing in the country I would like to ask one thing from this Government. It is this. Has any problem of the country been solved by this Government, without violence?

Sir, if there is no violence, it is said, the movement has receded, there is no movement at all. Now what is happening in Andhra? Since four months there is violence. Certainly violence is there. Before that, Sir, the House knows very well about the situation. When the Formula was an-

nounced by the Prime Minister, not only opposition Members, but Members in the congress party coming from Andhra made it very clear to her, please don't announce this. You please delay this matter, so that the feelings of the people will cool down. In spite of this request, she hurried through that legislation and what happened? We made it very clear to her that she will have to face the consequences of this things. She must face the consequences and I will hold her responsible for this. I am sorry for it. I have great respect for the Prime Minister. But, so far as this problem is concerned, I have many things for which I have to condemn her. It is because she is responsible for all these things.

In 1969 agitation took place in Telangana. This turned into violence only after she said, this movement is started by urchins, this movement is started by disgruntled politicians and that the people are not behind this movement. The people in large numbers participated in this movement. They proved very clearly that this was not a disgruntled politicians' movement or urchins' movement but a popular movement, backed by the people. Police firing was there. On that day, 15 people, I think, died in police firing. She was to go to Afghanistan. But she came without informing even the Chief Minister to Hyderabad at the dead of night. It was 12 O' clock or 1 O' clock, I think. She talked to the people. She said: Don't worry. You please adopt peaceful methods. I will consider this problem. We also considered that matter. People abandoned violence. We wanted to prove to this House, to the Indian people, that this is a movement backed by the people. Fortunately there was a by-election in Hyderabad City. We contested. We won with thumping majority. Do you know what these people said? They said: "No, no, no. Because it has been held in the City, so, naturally, big merchants are there, rich persons are there, so, naturally, they supported and so the candidate has won."

And they said that the ruling party people did not support it. But in the Siddipet by-election, we proved our case by winning there with a double majority. But after that, these people stopped saying that this was not the movement of the people. But, now, they have managed; they have persuaded the Telengana Praja Samiti president and others to come and discuss and they have told them that they would definitely consider their case. The president came for negotiations, and as to what happened, you know, I know and everybody else knows.

In the mid-term elections, we fought on behalf of the Telengana Praja Samiti and we won ten out of 14 seats and then we came here. I want to warn these Andhra friends of mine in the Congress of one thing. I am told that yesterday they had written something to the Speaker for allotting separate seats for them. But again they were persuaded by the Home Minister and others not to do so, and they have been told that Government were considering their problem and that the matter was under their active consideration. I would like to tell them not to be deceived. We had already been deceived, and they are also bound to be deceived by this Government, because this Government has no intention of bifurcating the State. So, let there be no misunderstanding with regard to that. If they are really with the people, let them go and stand behind the people and not adopt this double standard or do this, that and the other, at the same time remaining in the Congress, and telling the people 'No, no, we are supporting your cause'. They had said so many things to the people before coming here, and the people had expected so much, but nothing has been done.

When the CPI Members spoke, particularly Shri Indrajit Gupta and others, they condemned everybody. They said that this movement which was going on in Andhra had been started by the Khamma and Reddy reactionaries, landlords, merchants and

so on. Did they not brand Gandhiji also as a reactionary? When they could afford to brand Gandhiji as a reactionary, naturally, they would brand these people also as reactionaries. Whenever they start any movement, it is a progressive movement and a popular movement, but if they do not support any movement, then that becomes a reactionary movement or a movement of vested interests. The CPM people may say that the CIP people are revisionists. That is the form of language which they always use. So, let us not bother about those people.

At the same time, I would like to warn Shrimati Indira Gandhi of one thing, because I am her well-wisher. I want to remind her of what happened to Dr. Seokarno in Indonesia, because he depended upon the same communist people, and where they led him. She is also bound to be led by these friends to that position only. I do not want anything like that to happen to her. That is why I would like to warn not only the Prime Minister but these other friends also here, that they are depending too much on these people. In fact, the Members who spoke on this problem today have been specifically selected because they are all ex-communist people or fellow-travellers who were saying that it was a reactionary movement or a movement by disgruntled elements or a movement by vested interests. Did they bother to go to this area to assess the situation and see what is going on there?

This movement was started not by disgruntled or vested interests or reactionary people, but it has the support of lawyers, engineers, doctors, NGOs, Harijans, backward classes and everybody else. It is easy to sit here in the Central Hall or here and say 'No, no, this is not a progressive movement' and so on. I know what the progressive outlook of these people is. They always sit in air-conditioned rooms and condemn others as reactionaries. You must know that the Congress party

[Shri M. Satyanarayan Rao]

is supported by the middle class people who form its backbone, and the CPI friends want to break that backbone so that the party can also be broken into pieces.

SHRI M. RAM GOPAL REDDY: He was also a Congressman.

SHRI M. SATYANARAYAN RAO: That is why I am interested. I am saying this not because I am in the Opposition but because I am interested in the Congress Party. I am speaking in their interest and for the benefit of the Congress Party. That is why I want to warn them. My hon. friends may say what he wants in the Central Hall, but I am Independent, and therefore, I have no fear at all, and that is why I am speaking frankly. I know that most of the Members, when they speak here, are afraid of the Prime Minister and others, and, therefore, they will speak something here but I know that 90 per cent of them are in favour of the bifurcation of the State, because that genuine feeling is there in their hearts. I know that. But in spite of this feeling, the Government is not coming forward.

There is my friend, Shri Raghu Ramaiah. I have spoken several times that unfortunately our State is not having a Cabinet rank Minister. There are so many problems and we are not able to solve those problems. Now at last he has come to the Treasury Benches as a Cabinet Minister. But in what circumstances did he come? I have no quarrel with him. I wish him well. Long back I wanted him to be in the Cabinet. But now she was forced to give him Cabinet rank so that he can manage with the people to do something there.

SHRI G. VISWANATHAN: She has taken away Shipping and Transport.

SHRI M. SATYANARAYAN RAO: Whatever may be the intention of the Prime Minister, whatever may be your intentions, you got that post. But do

not let down the people. You have come there because of the sufferings of the people. That was how you got that post. You must remember that. Of course, you have been made a Minister by the Prime Minister, but it is because of the movement, because of the pressure, that you are there. So you owe your position to that. Therefore, do not neglect the people there. By being in the Cabinet, see that the State is bifurcated.

SHRI G. VISWANATHAN:.... and become the Chief Minister.

SHRI M. SATYANARAYAN RAO: Unfortunately, the Congress people now have no base. They are depending solely on the Communist Party. There is Shri Rajeshwara Rao. Shri Indrajit Gupta referred to the movement as reactionary. The great leader, the General Secretary, of his own party, is a Khama. He is also a landlord. Then Shri Basavapunniah, who is a great leader, owns about 300 acres of land—a great landlord.

SHRI K. S. CHAVDA: A great socialist!

SHRI M. SATYANARAYAN RAO: You know. These are the progressives and they brand others as reactionaries, landlords etc. I appeal to Shri Indrajit Gupta to consider these things. Unless I appeal to him, he will not be persuaded. That is the conclusion I have come to.

Lastly, without taking much time, I would request the Prime Minister and also other friends to see that in their own interest, in the interest of the Congress Party and in the interest of the country, they should bifurcate Andhra Pradesh. If you bifurcate soon, then in Andhra you will have no problem; if you do not, of course, you can suppress people by the military or the CRP. But people's feelings cannot be suppressed. That will be there. But your Congress Party will be wiped out from there. It will be the beginning. Ultimately the Congress Party will be wiped out from the

whole country. This is what will happen if you do not bifurcate the State. This is the warning I want to give.

SHRI RAJA KULKARNI (Bombay—North-East): Mr. Chairman, India to-day stands as the bastion of democracy in the world. It is not only the greatest democracy in the world politically, but all the developing countries are looking to India as a country which is showing a path wherein there can be economic growth with social justice, within the bounds of Parliamentary democracy.

During last 30-40 years, wherever industrial and economic growth has taken place, either democracy has become a victim or socialism has become a victim. It is only in this country that during the last 15 to 20 years greatest effort is being made to combine economic growth with social progress on the basis of social justice. This is an admitted fact, not only outside India, but even people inside India have vindicated through the experience. They have put faith in the Prime Minister and in the programme of the Indian National Congress.

Therefore, it is no use the Opposition parties blackmailing the majority party here saying that the people are with them. The people have thrown them outside during the elections. Now they talk in the name of the people without their knowing the people or the people knowing them. The only political problem that Indian democracy is having is the undeveloped area of Opposition. In the political democracy of our country, people know that democracy is stable; the people know that democracy here is strong and it is capable of solving all the problems. The only problem that remains unresolved today is the decaying character of the Opposition. All the Opposition parties, quantitatively and qualitatively, are deteriorating. They want to cover up their weaknesses by creating an atmosphere that democracy is in danger because

of the majority party, because of socialism, because of the firm decision which the Prime Minister is taking. When Mr. Mishra is attacking the Prime Minister and her programme, he is not saying what bold decisions have been taken.

The President's Address is quite alive to the problems of the people. As was the year 1971, so also the year 1972, is a year, of bold decisions, of right steps in the right direction, of firm actions and of exemplary performance. Mr. Mishra has been talking about what is happening in Maharashtra. It is because of the Congress Government in Maharashtra and the Congress Government at the Centre under the leadership of Shrimati Indira Gandhi that crores of people in Maharashtra are saved from the disastrous consequences of drought. More than two crores of people are affected. People are deserting the villages for want of food. There is no water to drink: even the cattle have neither water nor fodder. Under these conditions, it is only the quick and prompt actions taken under the leadership of Shrimati Indira Gandhi here from the Centre and the guidance given by the Congress Government at the State level that the people have been saved. They have been saved from the starvation deaths. There is no epidemic which spread anywhere. There is a note of confidence that within the remaining few months, the country and the State of Maharashtra could overcome this critical situation arising out of the drought conditions.

17 hrs.

During the last six months Central Government have done what they could not do during last 10 years. 90,000 relief works have been started during the last six months giving employment to 48 lakh people. It is not a small thing. This is the firm action, an effective action that has been taken in the year 1972. This is the way that generated people's faith in the Prime Minister and her programme. The traditional outlook of the opposition in

[Shri Raja Kulkarni]

accusing the Prime Minister in character assassination is an obsolete process that yielded no gains to the opposition. South methods never paid in the past and will not pay in the future also. The whole world is changing but the Opposition and the right reactionary forces in the Opposition in this country are not changing. They want to inflate their values here because they are devalued outside. Their real value is deflated outside; they therefore want to inflate it inside this House the rough undemocratic methods.

So far as the people are concerned, they do not see any danger to democracy. As the President has said, in spite of our difficulties and challenges and the severe drought and power shortage our march towards socialism is going ahead. The Fifth Plan is being finalised. It is a very big decision that the country is taking. This country has decided to spend Rs. 3,300 crores for 1972-73 on the national programme for minimum needs. Is this not a bold decision?

श्री हकम चन्द कछवाय सभापति महोदय
सदन में गगपुति नहीं हैं ।

MR. CHAIRMAN: Let the bell be rung—Now there is quorum.

SHRI RAJA KULKARNI: The criticism by the opposition is not to be judged by the criteria of description or by the existence of problems. It is the way in which the Government is handling them, that has more value in our democracy. They know that the Government's handling difficult problems very effectively and firmly. The problems are created by so many circumstances and not by Governments' action alone, Government today is fighting against natural calamities like drought. The Government is making efforts to change the whole socio-economic structure which has been there for the last thousands of years. There are man-made problems, too. We have heard the Case of Andhra. So many people have spoken of Andhra Pradesh. The

trouble there shows how deep the roots of the vested interests are in the social and economic life of the people. It is these vested interests that are coming in the way of unifying the country, in building up national life and national character and social justice and in the way of the efforts for the quick transformation of our society. Without any

[SHRI SEZHIYAN in the Chair]

dogma and without antagonism the Government under Indiraji's leadership, have solved old, complicated problems. Fifteen years ago, Congress organisation was threatened by the linguistic stir. But Congress Government handled the situation firmly and effectively. Congress became more powerful after the formation of linguistic States. The present Andhra problem also would be solved. Those who stand for separate States of Andhra and Telengana would be serving the cause of the people if they listen to the advice and authority of the Prime Minister who is capable of solving this problem also. The moment they listen to it, it will be the victory of not only the people of Andhra but of democracy and socialism in this country. Let not man-made problems add to the difficulties created by nature. It is a tragedy that people who once upon a time were advocates of unifying linguistic States are today asking for bifurcation. The original demand of Mulki Rules for employment, developed into one of separation of the State of Andhra. Vested interests have further switched into a new demand for States Reorganisation Commission for the whole country. This is diverting the attention and energies of the people from the main issue of social and economic transformation.

I would now turn to the appeal made by the President to both the management and the workers in the public sector. Yes; the traditional attitudes must change and they must

look to each other as partners in the progress and transformation that is taking place in this country. But the basic issue is not likely to be resolved by appointing a worker on the Board. The Directors or on Joint Councils. The basic issue is the formation of a suitable organisational structure for the public sector undertakings. The existing pattern, whether it is joint stock pattern, or departmental managerial pattern or statutory corporation pattern, are all outmoded and obsolete. There must be a new pattern which will release the energies of the people, the workers and the public outside, to participate in the wealth they are creating. What we want today is industrial self-government on the basis of local self-government of municipalities or zila parishads which are meant for the economic development of rural areas. If a committee is appointed to evolve some new organisational structure, it will create enthusiasm. Attitudes will change.

With these observations, I support the Motion of Thanks.

*SHRI M. M. JOSEPH (Peermade) Mr. Chairman, Sir, it was with great expectations that Members of both Houses of Parliament listened to the Address delivered by the President to both the Houses. Crores of people of this country also exported a lot. But I am sorry to say that they were all disappointed. Sir, every year we hold this meeting and it has become a mere formality. Our country is facing many problems and it is passing through a crucial period. The President's Address has not given any indication of what the Government is going to do about them.

The most important problem in our country today is the wide-spread poverty. After getting independence, for the past 25 years the same party

has been ruling this country. But still 40 per cent of the people are living below poverty line. That is a stark reality.

Sir, famine conditions are prevailing in many of our States. Famine conditions are there in Maharashtra, in Gujarat and in many other States. The other day the Chief Minister of Gujarat made a statement which has appeared in the press. He said that the people of Gujarat do not want money, they want only food. It also came in the papers that in Bangalore a father mortgaged his dear son for Rs. 11 to buy food grains. In the coastal areas of Kerala also poverty is prevailing. The people are faced with real famine conditions. The President has not made any practical suggestion to wipe out poverty in this country.

Rise in prices is another problem that is facing this country. This Government has not done anything to check the rise in prices. The Budget is going to be presented in two days. From the papers we see that the prices of foodgrains have already risen by 10 per cent. Rise in the prices of essential commodities is so alarming that the people are facing a lot of difficulties, whether they be government servants or not.

There is the slogan *garibi hatao*. The Government has now come out with a new method of removing poverty and that is by taking over the wholesale trade in foodgrains. Taking over of wholesale trade will cost crores of rupees. But that is not going to solve the problem. I am not against nationalisation. Only if adequate quantities of foodgrains are produced we will be able to solve the problem. Even today we are importing wheat from other countries. In such a situation if we take over the wholesale trade we will only be distributing poverty.

*The original speech was delivered in Malayalam.

[Shri M. M. Joseph]

When I am talking about foodgrains I want to stress that our peasants form the backbone of our country. In my State we grow coconut, arecanut and other commercial crops. The coconut trees are affected by a disease and the production is going down. Same is the case with our arecanut trees. But the Government has not taken any step to remove the disease. The condition of rubber growers also is not very much different. There is a Coconut Development Council. There is also one Arecanut Development Council. I am a member of both these Councils. For the last two years none of these Councils has met even once. This shows the irresponsibility with which the Government is dealing with this problem.

Sir, pepper is known as 'black gold'. Kerala produces the maximum amount of pepper. This has also been affected by a certain disease as a result of which its production is going down. Nothing has been done by the Government to remove this disease. The price of tyre is also going up because of indifference on the part of the Government.

Let me now see another field. There is unrest in the whole country. In Andhra it may be due to one cause, in Haryana it may be due to some other cause. The students and teachers of the Guru Nanak Medical College have already gone on a hunger strike and unless the Government comes forward with an early solution it might end in a tragedy.

The people of Kerala are also discontent and unhappy. It is not only the N.G.O.'s but large sections of other people are also agitating. My hon. friend Shri K. P. Unnikrishnan said that the opposition parties are agitating on behalf of the N.G.O.'s. Let me tell him, Sir, that the agitation launched by the opposition parties is not only for the N.G.O.'s alone but to protect the rights of the citizens of Kerala. It was a bit surprising to him to find that the Marxist party and the

Kerala Congress joined in the agitation and he called it a grand alliance. Sir, in Kerala the Government is of ruling Congress, the C.P.I., the R.S.P., the Muslim League and other parties: They are ruling the State. I don't know what name may be given to alliance by my friends. Kerala is thousands of miles away from Delhi. The neglect that is shown to Kerala by the Centre is in proportion to the distance.

For the last so many years we have been trying to get a shipyard in Cochin. Many representations were made but still no progress is made. We tried to get a rail coach factory and some ancillary factories there. To our representations we have got only a 'No' reply. In my district of Kottayam, in the place called Vellore there was a proposal to set up a newsprint factory. Land was acquired but even now the work is not progressing. At Edakkattu Vayal we wanted to have an inter-national aerodrome. There also the required land was acquired but the work has still not been started.

Sir, in our country we are setting up many central universities. For Kerala, which tops the list in the matter of literacy, no central university has been given. It is really very pitiable. The Central Government is not taking any interest in our affairs. The Centre is showing indifference in the matter of allowing a Central University for Kerala.

Kerala, as I have already mentioned, stands first in the matter of literacy. Therefore, unemployment is also more there. This is not what I am saying. Candidates from Kerala are not absorbed in other areas. Many hon. Members of the Congress party have also made such statements the other day. In Bangalore there was a recruitment to the Air Force and not even one from Kerala was selected.

While I am on this subject I have one request to make to the DMK Gov-

ernment of Tamil Nadu. With due respect for DMK, in the Gudallore

area about 3000 Malayali families are being evicted. It is not a party matter and it should be considered on humanitarian grounds. Our Chairman, Shri K. M. George sent a telegram to Shri R. Balakrishna Pillai, our leader. We also showed it to the Governor Shri K. K. Shah and Mr. Era Sezhiyan. When Shri Srikanthan Nair mentioned it my friends belonging to the DMK Party did not like it and that is why I am making it clear.

The attitude to the people of Kerala is not very helpful. We should treat this country as a whole and the President should have made some mention about it in his Address.

श्रीमती माधवी श्याम (भांवला) :

मैं राष्ट्रपति जी की आभारी हूँ कि उन्होंने हमारे सामने देश की ज्वलन्त समस्याओं को पेश किया है और उन की ओर हमारा तथा देश का ध्यान आकर्षित किया है। उन्होंने समाज के सभी वर्गों से यह अपील की है कि शान्तिपूर्ण वातावरण तैयार करके इन को एक मत से सुलझाना चाहिये। संसद का जो संयुक्त अधिवेशन हुआ है उसका बहिष्कार कुछ विरोधी दलों ने किया। 1971 से पहले भी इसी तरह का एक ग्रांड एलायंस बना था। उसके नतीजे देश के अन्दर और इस हाउस के अन्दर सामने आ गये। उसकी परीक्षा हो गई है। आज भी हमें विश्वास है कि यह जो एक नया रुख ग्रांड एलायंस की तरफ चला है इसका भी वही नतीजा होने वाला है। ईलैक्शन रोज होते हैं। चुनाव रोज आते हैं। यह साबित हो चुका है कि विरोधी दलों की आस्था डेमोक्रेसी में नहीं है, डेमोक्रेटिक इस्टीमेशन में नहीं है। उनका झुकाव तानाशाही की ओर बढ़ रहा है। हमें याद रखना चाहिये कि देश में डेमोक्रेसी की जड़ें बहुत मजबूत हो चुकी हैं और इस

दूर तक ब पहुँच चुकी है कि जनता तानाशाही को कभी भी पसन्द नहीं करेगी और उसका जवाब जनता को जब भी कोई अवसर मिलेगा, देगी।

प्राईम मिनिस्टर ने ठीक कहा है कि गिनती के चन्द लोग अपनी नाजायज और अनचित मांगों को ले कर इतनी बड़ी सुसंगठित और मजबूत मजारिटी को झुकाना चाहते हैं। जिस पार्टी को शासन करना है, जिस के कंधों पर इस देश ने बड़ी आस्था और विश्वास के साथ अपनी बागडोर रखी है, वह कभी भी इस एलायंस के सामने नहीं झुक सकती है, वह कभी भी नाजायज और अनुचित मांगों के सामने नहीं झुक सकती है और न उसे झुकना चाहिए।

आज आंध्र प्रदेश में जो कुछ हो रहा है, उस से हम सभी क्षुब्ध और दुखी हैं। आज वहाँ का सामान्य जीवन अस्तव्यस्त है, बच्चों की पढाई ठप्प है, महिलाओं के लिए सुरक्षा नहीं है और कोई भी सड़कों पर आजादी के साथ घूम-फिर नहीं सकता है। क्या यही शासन है, यही प्रबन्ध है? चाहे किसी भी तरह का शासन, निजाम या प्रबन्ध हो, उसका मकसद यही होता कि लोग अपने अमन-चैन से रह सकें, अपने विकास के कार्य शान्तिपूर्ण कर सकें और आगे बढ़ सकें। प्रबन्ध चाहे एक हो या दो टुकड़ों में हो, वह चाहे किसी भी कानून या नियम के द्वारा हो, लेकिन उस का मकसद यही है कि उस के अन्तर्गत जनता अच्छी तरह से फले-फूले।

आज आंध्र प्रदेश में उस के टुकड़े करने की मांग करते हुए जो धमकियाँ और थोटस दिये जा रहे हैं, उन को बर्दाश्त नहीं किया जा सकता है। आन्ध्र और तेलंगाना के माननीय सदस्यों से, और विशेषकर कांग्रेस पार्टी के सदस्यों से, मेरी अपील है कि उन को अपनी लीडरशिप का परिचय देना चाहिए। कांग्रेस का यह इतिहास •

[श्रीमती सावित्री श्याम]

रहा है कि जब देश के सामने कोई चुनौती आई है, उस ने डट कर उस का मुकाबला किया है और वह सदैव विजयी और कामयाब हुई है और जनता ने भी उस का साथ दिया है । आंध्र और तेलंगाना के सभी माननीय सदस्यों को, कांग्रेसी और गैर-कांग्रेसी सदस्यों को, इस चुनौती का सामना करना चाहिए । पहले उन्हें अपने क्षेत्रों में अमन और शान्ति कायम करनी चाहिए ।

प्रधान मंत्री ने एक बार नहीं, कई बार कहा है कि बातचीत के दरवाजे बन्द नहीं हैं, वे खुले हैं । लेकिन बातचीत तभी हो सकती है, जब कि शान्ति हो और सामान्य जीवन सुरक्षित हो । बातचीत का कोई भी नतीजा निकले, लेकिन अन्दर छोट कुछ नहीं किया जा सकता है ।

आजकल बड़ी चर्चा है कि एक नया स्टे सरीआर्गनाइजेशन कमीशन कायम किया जाये । 17, 18 वर्ष पहले जो कमीशन बना था, मुझे भी उस के सामने विटनेस के रूप में जाने का अवसर मिला था । मैंने उस समय कहा था कि छोटे छोटे टुकड़ों और रियासतों में बटे होने के कारण ही हम ब्रिटिश और अन्य बाहरी आक्रांताओं के हाथों अपनी आजादी खो बैठ थे, क्योंकि छोटी-छोटी रियासतों में विभाजित होने के कारण हमारी शक्ति बिखरी हुई थी । आज भी मेरा मत है कि छोटी छोटी रियासतें बनाने से हमारी समस्या हल होने वाली नहीं है । मेघालय और अरुणाचल आदि छोटी स्टेट्स बनाने का यह कारण हो सकता है कि हमारे बांडर ऐरियाज बाहरी शत्रुओं से घिरे हुए हैं और हमारी सीमा पर ऐसी शक्ति है, जिस की हमारे देश पर कुदृष्टि बनी हुई है ।

लेकिन देश के घुर दक्षिण में इस तरह की मांग करना और छोटी छोटी स्टेट्स का बनाया जाना कोई माने नहीं रखता

है । छोटी छोटी स्टेट्स बनाने से हमारी शक्ति क्षीण होती है, व्यूरोक्रेसी हावी होती है छोटे छोटे सूबे आपस में राइबेलरी करते हैं और केन्द्र कमजोर होता है । प्राइम मिनिस्टर के साथ बातचीत से जो भी नतीजा निकले, लेकिन आंध्र प्रदेश के टुकड़े करने की जो मांग की जा रही है, मैं उस के बिल्कुल पक्ष में नहीं हूँ, क्योंकि इस के नतीजे कुछ अच्छे नहीं होंगे ।

जनसंघ का एक बड़ा मेला, जिस को व सालाना जल्सा कहते हैं, कानपुर में हुआ । इतिफाक से मैं किसी और काम की वजह से उस वक्त कानपुर में थी । वह मेला उस माहौल में हुआ, जब कि उत्तर प्रदेश में इंजीनियर्स की हड़ताल चल रही थी, रोडवेज के कर्मचारी हड़ताल करने वाले थे, हरियाणा के टीचर्स हड़ताल पर थे और केरल में भी सरकारी कर्मचारियों की हड़ताल चलने वाली थी । मैं आशा करती थी कि श्री वाजपेयी जी और जनसंघ के दूसरे नेता इन हड़तालों को कनडम करेंगे और कहेंगे कि इन एजीटेशनों से लोगों का जीवन अस्तव्यस्त हो गया है, इस लिए इन को बन्द कर के बातचीत करनी चाहिए । मुझे इस में कोई उज्र नहीं है कि अगर मुझे जायज मांगों को ले कर कोई एजीटेशन हो तो उस का समर्थन किया जाये । लेकिन जनसंघ के प्लैटफार्म से दो तीन स्लाइनों का एक रेजोल्यूशन पास किया गया कि देश में जहां भी, जैसी भी मांग हो, चाहे वह कुछ मुट्ठी भर लोगों की ही मांग ही उस की सपोर्ट किया जाये और उस को शान्ति और लीडरशिप दी जाये । (व्यवधान)

मैं प्रधान मंत्री, कांग्रेस अध्यक्ष और होम मिनिस्ट्री से कहना चाहती हूँ कि ये आन्दोलन स्वयं यहां की पार्टियों की ओर से नहीं किये जा रहे हैं, बल्कि कुछ बाहरी शक्तियों की कोलंबोरेशन और तालमेल से यहां के रीएक्शनरी दल तरह तरह के

प्रश्नों को लेकर आन्दोलन कर रहे हैं। चूंकि वे डेमोक्रेटिक तरीकों से ताकत नहीं ले सकते और पार्लियामेंट तथा एसेम्बलियों में नहीं आ सकते, इस लिए वे इस प्रकार के हिंसात्मक और बिध्बंसात्मक आन्दोलनों से हम को बदनाम करना चाहते हैं। इस तरह उन की ताकत भी खत्म होती है, देश की ताकत भी क्षीण होती है और चूंकि हम को इन आन्दोलनों का मुकाबला करने के लिए पुलिस का प्रयोग करना पड़ता है, इसलिए हमारी ताकत भी कम होती है। इस का परिणाम यह होता है कि देश का ध्यान विकास के काम से हट कर इन समस्याओं की ओर चला जाता है। जिन लोगों के हाथ में देश की लीडरशिप है, उन्हें यह पता लगाना चाहिए कि कौन कौन सी बाहरी ताकतें इन आन्दोलनों में अपना कौलेबोरेशन और साथ दे रही हैं और उन को रोकने का पूरा प्रयास किया जाना चाहिए।

देश के आजाद होने, पाकिस्तान के अस्तित्व में आने और कांग्रेस के शासन में आने से पहले से ही हमारी वैदेशिक नीति रही है कि हम संसार के सभी देशों के साथ मित्रता के सम्बन्ध रखें। आज भी हमारी वही नीति है। इस लिए पाकिस्तान के साथ हमारा जो शिमला एग्रीमेंट हुआ है, वह एशिया महाद्वीप के लिए एक ऐतिहासिक घटना है। मैं प्रधान मंत्री और सरकार से अनुरोध करना चाहती हूँ कि लन्दन में हमारे हाई कमिशन में हमले की जो छोटी मोटी घटना हुई है, उस को इग्नोर करना चाहिए और शिमला समझौते पर पूरी तरह अमल करना चाहिए।

हम अपने देश में पाकिस्तान के नब्बे हजार प्रिजनर्ज आफ बार को बड़े आराम के साथ रख कर खाना खिला रहे हैं। जिस क्षेत्र से मैं आती हूँ, वहाँ छः हजार प्रिजनर्ज आफ बार का एक कैम्प है। हम जानते हैं कि वे लोग कितनी ऐश के साथ जिन्दगी

बिता रहे हैं। हमारी पार्टी के एक माननीय सदस्य ने कहा कि हमें उन प्रिजनर्ज आफ बार का बिना किसी शर्त के छोड़ देना चाहिए। मैं इस बात से सहमत नहीं हूँ। जैसा कि श्री स्वर्ण सिंह ने राज्य सभा में एक स्टेटमेंट में कहा है, पाकिस्तान की फौजों ने हिन्दुस्तान और बंगलादेश की जायंट कमांड के सामने सरण्डर किया था। जहाँ तक उन प्रिजनर्ज आफ बार को छोड़ने का प्रश्न है, इस सम्बन्ध में इन्टरनैशनल नियम बने हुए हैं, हमें उन के अनुसार ही काम करना चाहिए।

पाकिस्तान के जो नब्बे हजार प्रिजनर्ज आफ बार बड़े आराम के साथ हिन्दुस्तान में रह रहे हैं, माननीय सदस्य को उन के कारण दुख हुआ है, लेकिन उन्हें इस बात से दुख नहीं हुआ कि पाकिस्तान में बंगलादेश में बंगलादेश की चार लाख फ़ैमिलीज सड़ रहीं हैं, जिन को ठीक खाना नहीं मिलता है, बच्चों को दूध और दवाई नहीं मिलती है, महिलाओं के लिए सुरक्षा नहीं है, पुरुषों से भाले की नोक पर काम लिया जा रहा है और उनका शोषण किया जा रहा है। क्या उसके लिए किसी ने आवाज उठाई चाहे वह कांग्रेस के माननीय सदस्य हो चाहे दूसरी पार्टी के सदस्य हों? जो असलियत है वह साफ कहनी चाहिए।

मैं यह कहना चाहती हूँ कि जितना इस देश को इस देश की प्रधान मंत्री ने समझा है या यहाँ कि लीडरशिप ने समझा है उतना शायद किसी देश के किसी लीडर ने नहीं समझा। उन्होंने आज ही नहीं समझा, पहले भी समझा है। सन् 1971 के चुनाव के पहले भी समझा है कि जनता क्या चाहती है? जनता चाहती है कि इस तरह के बहुत से ऐक्ट पास होने चाहिए जो लोगों को राहत दे सकें, उन को सामाजिक न्याय दिला सकें और डिस्परिटीज को दूर कर सकें। आज भी वह समझ रहे हैं और हम भी समझ रहे हैं कि

[श्रीमती सावित्री श्याम]

देश के अन्दर बहुत मंहगाई है। 25 से 30 प्रतिशत कीमतें बढ़ी हुई है। मिलावट है, होडगि है, चोरबाजारी है और हर तरह की चीज है। यही कारण है कि धीरे धीरे निजी क्षेत्र की जो चीजें हैं उन को सरकार अपने हाथ में ले रही है। अन्यथा कोई शोक नहीं था कि गल्ले के व्यापार को लिया जाता या कोयले के व्यापार को लिया जाता। लेकिन एक मजबूरी थी। जब लोगों को चीज न मिलें तो कोई इंतजाम सरकार को करना पड़ेगा, उस सरकार को जो चुनी हुई सरकार है और जिस ने जिम्मेदारी ली है देश का शासन चलाने की। अब जरूरत इस बात की है, राज्य सरकारों के लिए जरूरी है कि जो चीज हाथ में ले रहे हैं उस का किस तरह से बंटवारा वह करती है, किस तरह से उसका प्रोक्योरमेंट हो और किस तरीके से उस का डिस्ट्रीब्यूशन हो जिस में कंज्यूमर्स को ठीक कीमत पर चीज मिले और प्रोड्यूसर को अपनी चीज की ठीक कीमत मिले, यह सारी जिम्मेदारी स्टेट के ऊपर आ जाती है। लेकिन इस का मतलब नहीं कि सारी की सारी जिम्मेदारी स्टेट के ऊपर छोड़ दी जाए और सेंटर केवल पालिसी बना कर दूर हट जाए यह देखना होगा कि किस तरह से राज्य सरकारें उस को कार्यान्वित करती हैं, किस तरह से उस को पूरा करती है। आज जरूरत इस बात की नहीं है कि पोलिटिकल परसन्स पर, चीफ मिनिस्टर पर या दूसरे मिनिस्टर्स पर इस जिम्मेदारी को सौंप दिया जाय। आज जरूरत इस बात की है कि आप के ऐडमिनिस्ट्रेशन की जो मशीनरी है वह ठीक तरह से काम करें। उस को देखना है कि वह किस तरह से काम करती है। मैं इस बात को मानने में कोई एतराज नहीं है और हम केवल क्रिटिसिज्म के लिए यह नहीं करते हैं कि व्यूरोक्रेसी खराब है या सर्विसेज खराब है। जब पार्टीशन हुआ तो 1947 के अन्दर इन्हीं सर्विसेज ने किस तरह से इस देश की बागडोर को संभाला था

और कितनी कामयाबी से उस समस्या को सुलझाया था ? इस पार्लियामेंट के अंदर एक रेजोल्यूशन पास हुआ था जिस में कि सर्विसेज को ट्रिब्यूट्स पे किए गए थे ? मुझे अपने श की सर्विसेज पर एक नाज है कि उन्होंने इस समस्या को, इस बड़ी समस्या को इतनी कामयाबी से सुलझाया तो आज भी उन की जिम्मेदारी है और समय का तकाजा है कि इस को भी वह उसी तरह से सुलझाएं। यह देखना है कि इस समस्या को वह किस तरह से सुलझाती हैं ?

आज भी हम देखते हैं कि किस तरह करोड़ों रुपया राष्ट्रीयकृत बैंकों के अंदर इकट्ठा हुआ। उसका डिस्ट्रीब्यूशन 300 करोड़ रुपये का हुआ जिसके अन्दर केवल 6 करोड़ रुपया, ऐग्रीकल्चर सेक्टर को, छोटे सेक्टर को मिला। अगर इस तरह से रुपया इकट्ठा हो जाय और उसका सर्कुलेशन न हो, उसका स्टैगनेशन हो जाय तो क्या हालत देश की अर्थ-व्यवस्था की होगी, यह एक सोचने की बात है, यह एक एलार्मिंग सिचुएशन है। हम यह नहीं कहते कि उद्योग नहीं बढ़े हैं। जरूर बढ़े हैं। 7.5 प्रतिशत टारगेट फिक्स किया गया था। लेकिन 6 प्रतिशत बढ़े। हमारे सार्वजनिक क्षेत्र में जो चीजें हैं उसमें भी बढ़ोत्तरी हुई है। लेकिन फिर भी जिस स्पीड के साथ, जिस तेज गति के साथ हमें चलना चाहिए वह नहीं है।

आज सर्विसेज के कैरेक्टर रोल की एन्ट्री चाहे कलेक्टर हो, चाहे कमिश्नर हो या सेक्रेटरी हो, यहां का हो या किसी स्टेट के अन्दर हो, उसके परफार्मेंस के साथ जुड़नी चाहिए। अगर परफार्मेंस ठीक है, अगर वह उस स्पिरिट में है, जो यहां के ऐक्ट बने हैं या जो यहां से या राज्यों से रेजोल्यूशन पास हुए हैं उनकी स्पिरिट के अनुसार उनका इम्प्लीमेंटेशन उसने किया है तब तो उसके कैरेक्टर रोल में अच्छी एन्ट्री होनी चाहिए अन्यथा उसके ऊपर सख्त डिसिप्लिनरी

एक्शन लिया जाना चाहिए। यह हमारी मांग है।

दो शब्द उत्तर प्रदेश के सम्बन्ध में कहना चाहती हूँ। यह वह स्टेट है जिसमें हिन्दुस्तान की आबादी का छठा हिस्सा रहता है और उसमें भी पूर्वी जिले उसके सबसे ज्यादा घने बसे हुए हैं। लेकिन उसकी हालत यह है कि बैकवर्डनेस में उसका बारहवां नम्बर है। किसी भी क्षेत्र में आप लिस्ट उठा कर देखिए चाहे उद्योग में देख लीजिए, चाहे शिक्षा में देख लीजिए, कहीं ग्यारहवां नम्बर है, कहीं बारहवां, कहीं तेरहवां। मुझे इस बात पर दुख होता है और आश्चर्य होता है क्या उत्तर प्रदेश में योजना पर रुपया खर्च नहीं हुआ? पहली दूसरी तीसरी और चौथी चार-चार योजनाएं हम ने समाप्त कर लीं लेकिन उसका बहुत कम अंश उत्तर प्रदेश पर पड़ा है चाहे वह किसी की भी लीडरशिप में रहा हो। 37 जिले उसके बैकवर्ड डिक्लेयर हुए हैं। लेकिन इतना ही काफी नहीं है। उन 37 जिलों के लिए क्या करना है इसके लिए कोई तरीका अख्यार नहीं किया गया। उत्तर प्रदेश केवल लखनऊ, इलाहाबाद और वाराणसी ही नहीं है। इससे भी बहुत बड़ा है। इन्हीं तीन जिलों में जहां पर भी हम अखबारों में पढ़ते हैं तो यही मिलता है कि यहां यह लग रहा है वहां यह लग रहा है। मैं तो बैकवर्ड एरिया की नहीं हूँ, मुझे कोई ज्यादा चिन्ता नहीं है। लेकिन मैं कहना चाहती हूँ उन 37 जिलों के लिए जो पहाड़ के हैं और पूर्वी उत्तर प्रदेश के हैं कि उनके लिए क्या हो रहा है? यह समस्या तभी हल हो सकती है जब कि हर जिले के डिस्पोजल पर उसकी जनसंख्या के हिसाब से और उसकी बैकवर्डनेस के अनुसार उतना रुपया दिया जाय। अगर हम को 6 करोड़ रुपया भी मिलता है तो हम देखें कि हम उसे कहां खर्च करें? लेकिन आज तो यह बात नहीं है। आज तो सूबे को एलाटमेंट हो गया, केन्द्र से हो गया और वहां के रेवेन्यू से

भी हो गया लेकिन उन 37 जिलों की आज भी वही हालत है जो आज से पन्द्रह साल पहले थी। वह मांग जो वीरेन्द्र अग्रवाल जी कर रहे हैं लेकिन उसकी बैकवर्डनेस को बिल्कुल दूर करना चाहिए।

हिन्दुस्तान के अन्दर पहले एक आई० ए० एस० सर्विस थी जो आल इंडिया सर्विस कहलाती थी, एक आई० पी० एस० थी और एक फारेन सर्विस थी। इस तरह की दो-तीन सर्विसेज थीं। आज कई एक सर्विसेज को आल इंडिया सर्विस आप ने डिक्लेयर कर दिया। इंजीनियरिंग में भी कर दिया, मेडिकल में भी कर दिया, एकोनामिक सर्विस भी कर दी और भी बढ़ते चले जा रहे। लेकिन इसके मानी क्या हैं? क्या केवल डिक्लेरेशन से लोगों को संतोष हो गया कि उनको आल इंडिया सर्विस आप ने बता दिया? आज मैं देखती हूँ कि आल इंडिया सर्विसेज के अन्दर आई० ए० एस० को छोड़ कर जो और हैं, जो प्रदेशों में हैं उन के प्रदेश के जो एमाल्यूमेंट्स हैं, उन का जो स्टेटस है, उन की जो रेस्पॉसिबिलिटी है, वह आई० ए० एस० के बराबर नहीं है। उनका वह स्टेटस नहीं है। पे कमीशन की रिपोर्ट अभी तक नहीं आई। उसके अन्दर न जाने कितने लोगों ने अपना रेप्रेजेंटेशन दिया था। मैंने भी अपना भेज रखा है और मैंने लिखा कि आपके सामने आना चाहती हूँ, मुझ को अपने सामने आने के लिए मौका दीजिए, लेकिन उस चिट्ठी का जवाब नहीं आया... (व्यवधान)... जानबूझ कर, यह मैं जानती हूँ। जो आई० ए० एस० सर्विसेज के हैं क्योंकि वह पे कमीशन में डामिनेट करते हैं, पे कमीशन क्योंकि डामिनेट है बाई दि आई० ए० एस० ऐंड बाई दि ब्यूरोक्रेट्स इसलिए वह नहीं चाहते कि उनके समक्ष कोई दूसरी सर्विस आये। लेकिन जब तक ऐसा नहीं होगा, उनको एक बराबर नहीं लाया जाएगा, तब तक यह समस्या हल नहीं होगी। सवाल तनख्वाह का नहीं है, सवाल स्टेटस का है,

[श्रीमती सावित्री श्याम]

स्टेटस बराबर हो, रेस्पॉसिबिलिटी बराबर हो, उनकी इज्जत बराबर हो, इस बात का सवाल है। सवाल यह नहीं है कि 35 रुपये या 40 रुपये कम कर दिया। 35 रुपये या 40 रुपये क्या मानी रखते हैं? यह आदमी को आप डिमारेलाइज कर रहे हैं। उसकी काम करने की स्प्रिट को खत्म कर रहे हैं। इसलिए यह डिस्पैरिटी जो है आल इंडिया सर्विसेज में वह जानी चाहिए। उत्तर प्रदेश के अंदर इंजीनियर्स का जो एजीटेशन हुआ है वह इसलिए नहीं कि वह लोगों को परेशान करना चाहते थे, इसलिए नहीं कि उनकी तनख्वाह कुछ आप बढ़ा दें। यह दीवार पर लिखा हुआ है और मैं कहना चाहती हूँ कि आई०ए०एस० आफिसर्स जो आज डामिनेट कर रहे हैं वह दीवार पर देखें कि क्या लिखा हुआ है? यह एजीटेशन उनके खिलाफ है और आज वह एक जगह पर है तो कल सारे हिन्दुस्तान में फैल सकता है। जो भी देश बढ़े हैं वह कभी ऐडमिनिस्ट्रेटिव सर्विसेज के द्वारा नहीं बढ़े हैं। बल्कि वह टेक्नोलाजी और विज्ञान के द्वारा बढ़े हैं। इसलिए उन्हें उचित सम्मान मिलना चाहिए। तभी देश की गरीबी दूर हो सकेगी। जो गरीबी हटानो का नारा हमने दिया है और जो आत्मान 1971 में प्रधान मंत्री श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी ने दिया है गरीबी हटाने का वह नारा जरूर पूरा होगा, आप उसको देखते रहेंगे और हम उसे पूरा करेंगे।

SHRI P. G. MAVALANKAR (Ahmedabad): At the outset, I must say that the President's Address to Parliament this year has proved to be a dismal document. It is neither inspiring nor interesting nor exciting, in its wording or in its presentation. Indeed, the President's Address has been dull, dry and disappointing. Of course, we thank the President for the gracious manner in which he underwent the annual ritual of coming to Parliament and delivering the Address which obviously we know was not written by him. He was only there

to speak out what the Government wanted him to say, but because Government has nothing much to say, the President also was unable to say anything substantial or anything significant.

While I was listening this afternoon to my hon. friends from the ruling party, one after another, and some of them at least made quite forceful speeches—I must admit—I thought that they were talking as though they were still in 1971 forgetting that this is 1973. Since the mid-term elections to the Lok Sabha and also the elections to the State Assemblies last year much water has gone under the bridge.

Although it is true that the Prime Minister's charismatic personality did produce a very vast majority, not only a vast majority but a very steam-roller majority, a majority which has brought about an imbalance in this House, and therefore, an imbalance in the country, that magic and that charisma are gone. As my hon. friend, Shri Shyamnandan Mishra, has said in so many words the Government dare not face some of the bye-elections because they know that if they face them, now, they will lose those seats. Normally, they should not be afraid of losing one or two or three seats, but they know that such defeats will be definite pointers to the disaster ahead for their party. That is why in my State of Gujarat, the bye-election in Sabarkantha was arbitrarily postponed till next October, that is why again in my State of Gujarat, the bye-election to the Assembly from Kutch was also postponed for a considerable period of time.

The reason they gave was scarcity. It was not exactly that scarcity. Indeed, it was scarcity of another kind; it was scarcity of confidence on the part of the ruling party. They were not confident that they would win.

But what is more dangerous—here I agree with Shri Shyamnandan Mishra—is that before the Election

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Commission had announced the postponement of bye-elections, one of the Deputy Ministers of the Gujarat Government came out with a public statement that there are not going to be bye-elections now. So he was pronouncing on behalf of the Election Commission. I think it is very dangerous for a Minister of a State Government, that too a Deputy Minister, to go about with all the pretensions to authenticity and speak on behalf of the Election Commission and say that the elections are postponed, before the formal announcement comes from the Election Commission. This shows how since 1971 and more particularly since the 1972 March elections, the democratic processes are being short-circuited by the ruling party.

Therefore, I feel it is no use my friends from the ruling party saying 'we got the people's mandate'. They get it undoubtedly, but having got it, they have lost touch with the public and their aspirations.

That is why I feel that the President's Address is dull because it does not reflect the aspirations and anxieties of the vast, teeming millions of this country. Sir, if any one were to read this Address ten, fifteen or twenty years from now, he would never understand that we were passing in 1973 through a tremendous crisis, because the Address does not reflect any sense of crisis, nor does it show any sense of urgency. It is devoid of any of the challenging tasks facing us, the Andhra issue, rising prices, the Five Year Plan, education, foreign policy. On all these matters, it has nothing to say definitely, clearly and pointedly. All it has got to say is a few preachings: do this, do not do that—all for the people, not for themselves. This kind of dull and dry affairs has, therefore, been a very sorry state of affairs.

I have moved several amendments to the Motion on the President's Address. I do not want to go into details for lack of time. But I do wish to

pinpoint a couple of points, with your permission.

First and foremost, I feel that in this country today, the most important need of the hour is the running of a clean and efficient government. Corruption and nepotism have been writ large in all public affairs. It has been from top to bottom, not from bottom to top, and that is why it is percolating and pervading all our public life. With a corrupt government, with a corrupt administration, how can the people expect better results, a clean and efficient administration and justice?

People are not interested in any brand of socialism or any other 'ism' or even in saying 'let us have a government which governs the least'. Those days are gone when the poet, Alexander Pope said 'That Government is best which governs the least'. We want more and more government in a welfare state, but the slogan should not be 'that government is best which governs most', but 'that government is best which governs best'. Unfortunately, this Government does only govern most, it does not govern best. Thus the people are finding themselves sandwiched between 'isms' and ideologies. Therefore, I feel that a clean, honest administration is the need of the hour.

Secondly, when we talk of *garibi hatao* and all those slogans for eradicating poverty, at least we should start with ourselves. Those of us, leaders of India, of various parties, particularly of the ruling party and the Establishment—what is their mode of living? How do they live? In what a luxurious manner they live, right from the top downwards in the Governmental establishments? Palatial houses, big imported foreign cars, and what a luxurious style they go about everywhere? And yet, they have the audacity to tell the people, 'Live in poverty and live in simplicity.' Nothing could be more hypocritical than this kind of statement. The people are now tired; not only

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are they tired but they are disgusted with this kind of wrong moral preaching; what you do you do not say; and what you say you do not do.' This kind of thing is to be opposed. I therefore feel that austerity among the high-ups and economy in the administration are also things which are needed; and I am sorry to say that the President's Address does not reflect these true needs of the people.

Then, I want to refer briefly to the problems of Gujarat. I find there is no Minister in the Union Cabinet representing Gujarat. As a *meherbani*, as a kind of last minute favour, we have been told that one Minister has been appointed from Gujarat in the recent reshuffle, but we want a Minister at the senior level in the Cabinet. Why? Because there is no pressure here and that is why many problems in Gujarat have remained unsolved.

Take, for example, the problem of drought. We are not getting the assistance commensurate with the urgent requirements, and every now and then, the Chief Minister and the whole host of his team of ministerial colleagues have to run up and down Delhi. One wonders whether the capital of Gujarat is Gandhi Nagar or Delhi. That is why I want to know whether the Government of India is going to behave like this; I am not at all parochial or provincial when I say this. I want to say this because the drought is so serious, and is unprecedented; such a drought has never happened in living memory for last several decades. That is why in this context I would urge this House, and particularly the Prime Minister, to see to it that the award which she is going to give, which was promised now and again, the award on the Narmada project, is given as early as possible in the national interests and not in the interests of this or that State. We in Gujarat do not think that the Narmada issue is a provincial issue; it is a national issue. But in the context of this drought, we have now begun to realise that had this Narmada

a project been implemented 10 years back, 15 years back, not only the cost would have been much lesser but the advantage and the benefit to the neighbouring States including Gujarat would have been waster. But nothing has happened so far in this regard.

And then we were told that the Government, the Prime Minister, will decide soon. But the only decision is to postpone the decisions which are not favourable to the party in power. It does not matter if the people's welfare is not cared for. That is one problem.

Take the problem of RFO—residuary fuel oil—for want of which our power shortage is getting acute in Gujarat. Only this morning I got letters from some correspondents in Ahmedabad saying that there have been further cuts, a 15 per cent cut in power, because the Koyali refinery does not give RFO and so the Dhuvaran Plant does not work adequately and therefore there is power cut, with the result that with the further cut of 15 per cent, 15,000 textile workers in Ahmedabad are facing the acute problem of unemployment. If this is so, I do not understand how and why the President's Address should not reflect some of these difficulties and problems of our people. But, as I told you, Sir, this Address has been a dry affair.

Take again the question of my hon. friend, Shri Prasannabhai Mehta, who has been talking about the Bhavnagar-Tarapur railway. Nothing has happened. We want an atomic reactor in Saurashtra; but nothing happens; we want an expansion of the airport at Ahmedabad; again nothing happens. We want a number of things to happen not because they are good for Gujarat but because they are in the larger interests of national development and national prosperity. They have a certain urgency; they have a certain priority. But, unfortunately, Gujarat seems to be in the backwater or in the drawer and not in the immediate urgency with the Government and particularly the Prime

Minister. I would, therefore, appeal to the Prime Minister that she should take these problems in the right perspective. Do not condemn us by saying that we the people in Gujarat are looking at these problems from a provincial angle; indeed, we are looking at it as a problem for the development of the entire nation, and that is why I feel that some of these aspects affecting Gujarat need to be looked into urgently and very well.

One or two more points and I have done. This Address by the President again hardly reflects anything about the youth unrest and student unrest particularly last year in any number of universities all over the country. The university campuses have been restless; students are in difficulties; teachers are in difficulties; the teachers are underpaid; students are not taught; colleges are closed; universities are closed. And yet, this Address by the President does not say a word about this grave and major difficulty of the student and teachers community. They today are not only unemployed but they are also kept deliberately waiting. Therefore I feel that something drastic must be done immediately. I want to see that the youth, workers and peasants do not get desperate. If they are frustrated and they get united obviously we are in for a very big revolution. We cannot go on in this situation of helplessness and uncertainty. So if that is going to come and if it comes, let the revolution come with some ideological base and some determination and spirit of service and with guidance and leadership from the peoples that be. This Address falls short of the requirement of our youth. They are neglected. People in the rural areas as well as the urban areas are being neglected.

Coming as I do with a long educational and academic background what makes me feel depressed is that the spirit of dissent is evaporating in this country. Anything that is said against the Government is taken as unpatriotic. Let us not forget that the Gov-

ernment learns more from the critics rather than from the eulogy of its own supporters. From its supporters Government may learn occasionally. But the Government has to learn more from the honest, patriotic, well meaning criticism inside and outside Parliament. Whenever such criticism is levelled they immediately say that it is partisan or selfish. I belong to no party; in all these twenty five years I have never joined any party and they cannot, therefore, say that I am partisan. Let us not damn all critics that way. Even a critic of the Government is as patriotic, loyal and nationalistic in his behaviour and conduct as any member of the Government. So this House must take the responsibility and give guidance and direction to the people so that the spirit of dissent is not destroyed.

I was amused, not angered but certainly somewhat surprised, when the Prime Minister went round saying during the last Inter-session period: I do want to work but these opposition parties are not allowing me to work! Now, Sir, the Government have got such a thumping steam roller majority inside Parliament and even outside, and they have silenced practically all opposition. They have controlled All India Radio and all the other information media, and significantly the Prime Minister herself retains the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting. On top of all this, then, to say that the opposition is not allowing her to work, is, I feel, very dangerous. I do certainly admire her for the courage she has shown at the time of Bangladesh crisis and previously also but mere courage is not enough. Honesty of purpose and simplicity of living and certain readiness to set standards in public life are needed. The appalling situation today is that there are no standards in our public life and these have to be set particularly by those who are in authority. As the Bhagavat Gita says:

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यद्यदाचरति श्रेष्ठस्तत्तदेवेतरेषां जनः ।

स यद्यग्र्यं कुरुते लोकस्तदनुवर्तते ।

The behaviour and conduct of those in power, who are leaders and those who are in authority, should be good. I do not exclude even ourselves, who are Members of Parliament. We have to set standards, we have to be the measuring rods for the people. We are not doing it. My sense of sorrow heightens when I find that the President's Address fails to reflect many of these aspirations and anxieties of the people, particularly the anxiety that we should have a good Government based on social justice, a Government that is endowed with the spirit of democracy, and which encourage a climate of dissent.

श्री सूरप्रताप सिंह : (बाराबंकी) : अधिष्ठाता महोदय, मैं आपका हृदय के धरातल से आभासी हूँ जो आपने मुझको इस राष्ट्र के रजत जयन्ती वर्ष में महामहिम राष्ट्रपति जी के इस अभिभाषण पर हमारे अखिल भारतीय कांग्रेस कमेटी की ओर से संसदसदस्य श्री रामकृष्ण सिन्हा द्वारा जो धन्यवाद का प्रस्ताव यहां पर प्रस्तुत हुआ है उसका समर्थन करने के लिये खड़े होने का मुझे अवसर प्रदान किया है। यह माननीय सदस्य ही नहीं, सम्पूर्ण देश और सम्पूर्ण विश्व की मानवता को इस बात का ज्ञान है कि अखिल भारतीय कांग्रेस कमेटी का एक सेवा, त्याग, तपस्या, और बलिदान का इतिहास रहा है। हमें इस बात का गर्व है कि महामहिम राष्ट्रपति जी का अभिभाषण जिस पर इस समय यहां हम वाद-विवाद करने के लिये एकत्र हुये हैं यह हमारे दल के उस ऐतिहासिक, गौरवमयी और पवित्र परम्परा की श्रृंखला की कड़ी है। मैं अत्यन्त नम्रतापूर्वक इस बात का निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि जैसा हमारी अखिल भारतीय कांग्रेस कमेटी का इतिहास रहा है वह सदैव ही अपनी राष्ट्रीय नीति में लोक तन्त्र धर्मनिरपेक्षता और समाजवाद की

नीति का पालन करती रही है और साथ ही साथ अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय जगत में वह गूटनिरपेक्षता, सह-अस्तित्व और मानवतावाद का सदैव ही समर्थक रही है। हमें इस बात का गर्व है कि हमारी अखिल भारतीय कांग्रेस कमेटी हमारी नीतियों पर निरंतर अग्रसर हो रही है। उसी परम्परा में 1971 में जब एक प्रश्न उपस्थित हुआ था कि जो हमारे मूलभूत सिद्धान्त हैं, लोकतन्त्र, धर्मनिरपेक्षता और समाजवाद की जो हमारी नीतियां हैं उनका किस प्रकार से कार्यान्वयन किया जाये, जब उसके कार्यान्वयन में कुछ स्वार्थी, कुछ अवसरवादी, कुछ फिरकापरस्त जो कि धर्म निरपेक्षता में विश्वास नहीं करते थे, कुछ पूंजीवादी और सरमायेदार तत्व हमारे साथ उपस्थित थे, उन्होंने हमारे साथ विश्वासघात किया। परन्तु हमें इस बात का गर्व है कि इस बात सम्मान प्राप्त है कि इस दल को और इस दल की नेता श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी के नेतृत्व जो कि वे लोग उसी प्रकार से हमसे बाहर हो गये जिस प्रकार से एक पेड़ के तने से सूखे हुये छिलके बाहर हो जाएं। आज उसी पेड़ के सूखे छिलके के प्रतीक के रूप में हमारे मिश्रा जी का भाषण हुआ है। दूसरी ओर दूसरे लोग जो सदैव ही इस देश में धर्म के नाम पर, देश में जो सहिष्णुता का वातावरण है, इस देश में अखिल भारतीय कांग्रेस कमेटी का जो गौरवमयी इतिहास रहा है उस पर धब्बा लाना चाहते हैं—जनसंघ पार्टी, उसके नेता श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी जी, उनसे मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि वे हमेशा इस बात का प्रयास करते रहें हैं हमेशा प्रांतीयता के नाम पर, धर्म के नाम पर, सांप्रदायिकता के नाम पर, भाषावाद के नाम पर, जातिवाद के नाम पर (व्यवधान)। हमारे देश की अखण्डता, प्रभुसत्ता और देश की हमारी सार्वभौमिक सत्ता को किस प्रकार से समाप्त किया जाये। आज इस बात से माननीय सदन ही नहीं पूरे देश की जनता थक चुकी है। पिछले मध्याह्निक निर्वाचन में, 1971

के चुनाव में जनता के सामने हम अपनी नीतियों को लेकर गये।

और उसमें जनता ने इस बात का अदेश दिया कि हम देश में लोकतन्त्र चाहते हैं, देश में धर्मनिरपेक्षता चाहते हैं और चाहते हैं कि भारतवर्ष में हिन्दू और मुसलमान दोनों भाई भाई की तरह रहें, चाहते हैं कि देश में अदर सामाजिक और आर्थिक विषमताय समाप्त हों। उस अदेश का पालन करने के लिये जनता ने भारी बहुमत से कांग्रेस को प्रदान किया.....

MR. CHAIRMAN: He may continue his speech tomorrow.

17.59 hrs.

STATEMENT RE: NEW RAILWAY PROJECTS IN MAHARASHTRA

THE MINISTER OF RAILWAYS (SHRI L. N. MISHRA): Sir, I beg to lay on the Table a statement on new Railway Projects in Maharashtra by way of drought relief.

Statement

The State Government of Maharashtra have been representing for taking up certain railway projects in the Maharashtra State the earthwork portion of which could be done as drought relief works. The projects which have been under consideration for this purpose are:

- (a) New B. G. line from Wani to Chanaka costing Rs. 5.3 crores-length 76 kms.
- (b) Conversion of Manmad to Purlı Vajınath from M.G. to B.G. costing Rs. 28 crores-length 354 kms.
- (c) Conversion of Miraj-Latur from Narrow Gauge to Broad Gauge costing Rs. 30 crores-length 326 kms.
- (d) New B. G. line from Apta to Dasgaon as part of the Konkan line from Apta to Mangalore—total cost Rs. 225 crores including rolling stock and interest during construction-length 910 kms.

2. It is unfortunate that a controversy has developed in regard to the subject. I have specifically referred to these lines along with certain others in my Budget Speech in paragraph 42. I quote:

[Important new works]

"42.....there are certain important works of new lines and conversions presently under examination and active consideration of the Government. Some of those works are:—

(i) Wani-Chanaka Line.

(ii) Manmad to Purlı Vajınath—Conversion from Metre Gauge to Broad Gauge.

(iii) Miraj to Latur—Conversion from Narrow Gauge to Broad Gauge.

(iv) Mangalore—Apta Line.

(v) Delhi-Ahmedabad—Conversion from Metre Gauge to Broad Gauge.

(vi) Barauni-Katihar-New Bongaigaon and Gauhati—Conversion from Metre Gauge to Broad Gauge.

(vii) Guntur—Macherla—Conversion to Broad Gauge, and Madikude-Bibinagar-New Broad Gauge line.

There are some more proposals for new lines, gauge conversions and restorations which are in various stages of consideration. Subject to availability of resources, it is hoped to take up some of these items in due course.

No funds to undertake these works have been provided in the budget for 1973-74. I seek your permission to undertake these works by re-appropriation of funds within the relevant grants, as soon as they are approved by Government.

I shall come to the House again for grant of requisite funds, as may be necessary in the year to execute these works".