

(2) खान तथा धातु विभाग से संबंधित विनियोग लेखे (सिविल), 1966-67 और लेखा परीक्षा प्रतिवेदन (सिविल), 1968 पर उनके 54वें प्रतिवेदन में की गई सिफारिशों पर सरकार द्वारा की गई कार्यवाही के बारे में 89वां प्रतिवेदन।

से सारी पोजीशन की अच्छी तरह जांच करके उनसे और चेरमैन साहब से भी बात करूंगा और वाई रास्ता निकालूंगा। आखिर तो हिन्दी में छापना ही पड़ेगा।

श्री रवि राय (पुरी) : आप इस बारे में निर्देश दीजिए।

श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री (हापुड़) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं लोक लेखा समिति के प्रतिवेदनों के बारे में आप से निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि सी के लगभग पार्लियामेंट के मेम्बरों ने आपको लिख कर दिया है कि लोक-लेखा समिति, प्राक्कलन समिति आदि समितियों की रिपोर्टें केवल अंग्रेजी में नहीं छपनी चाहिये, क्योंकि सी से अधिक मेम्बर इस प्रकार के हैं, जिनको उनका लाभ नहीं मिल पाता है। प्रश्न यह है कि इन समितियों के प्रतिवेदन कब से अंग्रेजी और हिन्दी दोनों भाषाओं में मिलने लग जायेंगे ताकि पार्लियामेंट के सब सदस्य उनसे लाभ उठा सकें।

श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री : आप जानते हैं कि सी से अधिक सदस्यों ने कहा है कि उन्हें अंग्रेजी रिपोर्टों से लाभ नहीं मिल पाता है। अगर सरकारी प्रेस में हिन्दी रिपोर्ट छापने की व्यवस्था नहीं है, तो इस कार्य के लिए निजी प्रेसों को एनगेज किया जायें, ताकि सदस्यों को सब रिपोर्टें दोनों भाषाओं में मिलें। केवल कुछ सदस्य इन रिपोर्टों से लाभ उठा सकें और बाकी उनसे अपरिचित रह जायें, यह स्थिति अधिक देर तक नहीं चलनी चाहिए।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : मैं इस बारे में बात करूंगा। मैं आफहैंड इस का जवाब नहीं दे सकता हूँ।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं स्वयं चाहता हूँ कि ये प्रतिवेदन हिन्दी में भी प्रकाशित किये जायें, लेकिन आप हमारी कठिनाई को हल कीजिए। जो मिनिस्टर प्रेस के इन्चार्ज हैं, उन्होंने हमें लिख भेजा है कि हिन्दी प्रतिवेदन नहीं छप सकते हैं, क्योंकि उस के लिए स्थान और समय नहीं है। आप इसकी व्यवस्था करायें। हम तो हिन्दी में छपवाना चाहते हैं। अंग्रेजी में छपवाना हमको अच्छा नहीं लगता है।

SHRI NATH PAI (Rajapur) : You assert yourself, you may assert your authority as Chairman.

अध्यक्ष महोदय : माननीय सदस्य ने जो सवाल उठाया है, मैं उसके बारे में सैक्रेटैरियट

12.49 hrs.

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

अध्यक्ष महोदय : प्रेजिडेंट के एड्रेस पर डिसकशन के लिए चार घंटे और दस मिनट का टाइम बाकी है। जो मेम्बर साहवान बोलना चाहते हैं, वे प्राइम बोल लें। मैं प्राइम मिनिस्टर को कल सुबह क्वेश्चन आवर के बाद टाइम दूंगा।

श्री मधु तिमये (मुंगेर) : वोटिंग कब होगा ?

**अध्यक्ष महोदय :** कल क्वेस्चन आवर के बाद इसको ले लेंगे। मैं कल क्वेस्चन आवर के बाद कुछ भी-एजार्नमेंट मोशन और शॉर्ट नोटिस क्वेस्चन बगैरह-नहीं रख रहा हूँ। इसको कल मुबह क्वेस्चंस के फौरन बाद ले लेंगे रिप्लाइ को और लंच टाइम तक फिनिश कर देंगे। आज जितना समय थोड़ा बहुत बचा है उसमें बहुत से मेम्बर हैं जो बोलना चाहते हैं उनको जरूर मौका मिल जाना चाहिए। अगर मैं रिप्लाइ आज ले लूंगा तो यह बात नहीं हो सकेगी। कल मिस्टर के.के. चटर्जी बोल रहे थे।

**SHRI KRISHNA KUMAR CHATTERJI (Howrah) :** The political uncertainty that rocked the country for several months was just settling down when a great President spoke to a great nation through this august Parliament with a magnificent courage of conviction. All the prophets of doom against this side of the House--and I include in this category my hon. friend Shri Umanath also--ought to have been silenced if they were not under the spell of some political bias. To Shri Umanath, every truthful assertion from this side of the House is only a cock-and-bull story. Let him wait for some time when the inevitable verdict of history will awaken him to the present state of affairs in this country. Is there any hon. Member in this House who can deny that the President's Address strikes a note of robust optimism and reflects the will of the millions of the down trodden people who want to move at a faster pace to achieve a just and humane social order in the country? Therefore, the President's Address is not merely some customary address. He has spoken to the nation with warm eloquence and with some amount of patriotism as is discernible throughout the Address. I am reminded of the great saying of a jurist, Justice Holmes in this connection. He said :

"A word is not a crystal, transparent and unchanged. It is the skin of a living thought and may vary greatly in colour and content according to the circumstances and the time in which it is used."

Judging from that point of view, the words uttered by our great President, I am bound to assert here in this House, will put cheer in the hearts of all the multitudes of miserable creatures living in dirty hovels in India, the millions of our sweepers sweeping the streets for the rich and the opulent, the millions of people who are toiling in the factories and fields, and also all the middle-class intellectuals and the wretched wage-earners slaving in the present capitalist system.

It is to be admitted that our President has put new cheer in the hearts of many millions in this country. When I was listening to some of the speeches made by the Opposition Members, I found that they were was finding fault with some of his dynamic actions. Our President had acted in a dynamic manner when the valiant and patriotic Prime Minister of this country took a momentous decision on bank nationalisation and it was a timely one and the President was not hesitant to act. That Act has been struck down by the Supreme Court. We bow down to the decision of the Supreme Court, but the entire country mourns this catastrophe. I am reminded in this connection of the great saying of a great President, Woodrow Wilson I am quoting only Americans, because some of my friends on the other side might call me a communist, and I am afraid of that, because I am not a communist but I am a patriot and a nationalist.

"The Constitution is not a mere lawyers' document : It is... the vehicle of a nation's life. No lawyer can read into a document anything subsequent to its execution ; but we have read into the Constitution of the United States the whole expansion and transformation of our national life that has followed its adoption. We can say without the least disparagement or even criticism of the Supreme Court of the United States that at its hands the Constitution has received an adaptation and an elaboration which would fill its framers of the simple days of 1787 with nothing less than amazement"

This is a great saying of President Wilson. Nationalisation of banks was the nation's demand. This Government of ours

will stand by the people and their desire, of course in the light of the Supreme Court's decision. We cannot remain quiet or indifferent when there is flaming discontent in the country and the people are suffering so any disabilities. Our President has announced the consensus of the country and spoken about the need for overcoming the grave obstacles that hinder our progress, namely, poverty, unemployment, disparity and social injustices.

Therefore, why should we talk about law and order in this House when the whole country is in a flame of discontent. It would be wrong for us to blame any State Government for the failure of law and order. The question of West Bengal is a different one because West Bengal is a paradoxical State now Terror-stricken. In that State we have the queer phenomenon of the Chief Minister condemning his own Government but conveniently sticking to office. It is a wonder of wonders. Therefore, it would not be just or proper for us to sit in judgment on that. Let the people of West Bengal judge and act. Let us wait for that opportunity when the whole of West Bengal will rise as one man and say that they will not tolerate this kind of violence and insecurity.

No country can progress and no democratic socialism is possible of implementation in an atmosphere of violence. I ask all our friends on this side and the other side : are we to entangle ourselves in the labyrinth of mere statistical details when we are dealing with human problems ? Should we not solve human problems in a human way ? Should we not rivet our attention to tackling the problem created by the miseries of the people ? Should we not provide them with the necessities of life at cheap prices ? Should we not see that they get these things which are essential for their very existence at prices within their means ?

That is the issue before us. Let us not for political reasons forget our duty to the people. Let us do our duty by the nation thereby enabling this august House. If we do not do that--I give this friendly warning to our Government--we will stand condemned by posterity. If we devote ourselves to removing the poverty and misery of the people, to extinguishing the flames of dis-

content in the country, posterity will give the verdict that after all Prime Minister Indira Gandhi led the country at the proper time through the strains, stresses and storms through which it had been passing.

SHRI AMIYANATH BOSE (Arambagh) : I listened to the speech of the President with great expectation and respect but I must confess that I was deeply disappointed.

I am reminded here of a famous speech of Mr. William Pitt, his first speech as the youngest Prime Minister of England. About this speech it was reported that his words were not confirmed within the walls of Westminster ; his voice rolled down the steps of Westminster and went on to the nation. I expected, after his memorable victory, that the President would speak in such a manner that his voice would go to the people.

The President's speech is not a call to action. It is, in my submission, a meek and hesitant speech.

MR. SPEAKER : He may continue after lunch.

13 hrs.

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

*The Lok Sabha re-assembled after Lunch at Five minutes past Fourteen of the Clock.*

[Mr. Deputy-Speaker in the Chair.]

THE MOTION OF THANKS ON THE PRESIDENTS ADDRESS--contd.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Shri Amiyath Bose may continue his speech.

श्री हुकम चन्द कछवाय (उज्जैन) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मेरा व्यवस्था का प्रश्न है । सदन में कोई भी मंत्री मौजूद नहीं है । प्रायः पहले मन्त्री को बुलाइये, उसके बाद ही सदन

[ श्री हुकम चन्द कछवाय ]

की कार्यवाही चलेगी। जितने भी मंत्री हैं सब इस सदन की अवहेलना करते हैं। आप उनको सजा दीजिये।

SHRI JAIPAL SINGH (Khunti) : There is not a single Minister here.

श्री हुकम चन्द कछवाय : कोई न कोई मन्त्री यहाँ पर उपस्थित रहना चाहिए। सदन की कार्यवाही तभी चलेगी जबकि कोई मन्त्री यहाँ पर आ जायेगा। बिना मन्त्री के कार्यवाही को बोन नोट करेगा ? यह बड़े शर्म की बात है। मन्त्री को बुलाइये तबतक हम कार्यवाही नहीं चलने देंगे।

SHRI SHEO NARAIN (Basti) : The debate on the President's Address is going on. Government should show respect not merely to us and to this House but to the president.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : The message is being conveyed to them.

SHRI JAIPAL SINGH : It is an insult to you.

SHRI SHEO NARAIN : The Treasury Benches are all empty.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : It is rather sad that not a single Cabinet Minister or Minister of State is here. I request that this be conveyed to them. Let the desire of the House be conveyed to them.

SHRI DWAIPAYAN SEN (Katwa) : It has already been conveyed to them.

SHRI SHEO NARAIN : If the Government is not represented here, then you should adjourn the House. If the Government are not prepared to attend the House, adjourn the House.

THE MINISTER OF PARLIAMEN-  
TARY AFFAIRS, AND SHIPPING AND  
TRANSPORT (SHRI RAGHURAMIAH) :  
I would like to express my regret that this  
has happened.

SHRI AMIYANATH BOSE : Within the short time at my disposal, I propose to deal with three failures of the Government, first, the failure to take adequate measures to take the country on the road to socialism, second, the failure to announce their desire to bring about basic changes in the Constitution of India so that the Constitution may truly reflect the social and economic needs of the present time, and the third, that in spite of unanimous demand by the Parliament and people of India, the failure to announce a judicial inquiry commission to inquire into the circumstances of Netaji's disappearance in August, 1945.

In the Bill that has been presented to Parliament, namely the Banking Companies (Acquisition and Transfer of Undertakings) Bill, in the preamble, the following words appear :

"To provide for the acquisition and Transfer of the undertakings of certain Banking Companies, in order to control the height of the economy".

These words are taken from a page in Russian history but unfortunately, the question is not quite correct. Some of you may remember that Lenin, when announcing his New Economic Policy, which put the Soviet Union on the road to socialism, said that Government must take control of the commanding heights of the economy. Those were the words of Lenin. Lenin, who was not only a great socialist thinker, but also a keen student of military strategy, used expressions well known to military strategists, and he defined what those commanding heights were. The commanding heights, according to Lenin, were four : credit institutions, transport system, foreign trade and key and basic industries. We cannot put our country on the road to socialism unless we take control of all these commanding heights of economy.

It is not sufficient to nationalise four-  
ten banks only. Of course, to convert or  
transform an acquisitive society into a so-  
cialist one will take years, may be, forty or  
fifty years. It has taken a very long time in  
the Soviet Union. But the Government, if  
they are earnest to build a socialist society,  
must take courage in their hands and take

control of the commanding heights of the economy.

As regards the Constitution as we find it today, I make bold to say that this Parliament has a greater sanction of the people behind it than the Constituent Assembly that framed the Constitution. Even if a new Constituent Assembly is convened, the character of that Constituent Assembly will not be very different from the Parliament of today. Parliament must assert its rights and must take immediate measures to bring about basic changes in the Constitution, including the chapter on fundamental rights.

Of course, we know from the speech of the Prime Minister delivered in Rajya Sabha that the Government desire to take some steps in that direction, to support the Bill already placed before the House by Shri Nath Pai, but in my submission, it will be necessary to go very much further and make fundamental changes in the Constitution before we take up socialist legislations up in this Parliament.

I believe it was a very famous political philosopher, Prof. Harold Laski who used the expression, while dealing with Roosevelt's New Deal that Roosevelt was trying to bring about in the United States a revolution by consent. Today, a great ideological battle is taking place in the whole of this country. I come from a State where a great ideological battle is taking place. West Bengal was discussed this morning. I listened to the speeches made about bombs and the fights and other things. But behind these inter-party feuds behind this use of arms, bombs and things of that nature, there is in Bengal today a tremendous ideological battle going on. We must take account of this situation. What is happening in Bengal will happen in the rest of India very soon. Let me warn this parliament that unless the Government and the people bring about a revolution by consent, there will inevitably be in this country a revolution by force. There is nothing sacrosanct in non-violence. If you do not take time by the forelock and if you do not bring about a revolution by consent, revolution by force will overtake the country.

Regarding the third failure, I am pained to say this that in spite of repeated demands

and representations from the Members of Parliament, in spite of meeting that the Home Minister held with representatives of different political parties on the 5th December last, there is not a clear decision on the part of the Government to appoint a judicial inquiry commission regarding Netaji. So far as the inquiry, if one can call that farce to be an inquiry, that was held by Shri Shahnawaz Khan and two others is concerned, it is best to consign it to the dust-bin of history. It is unfortunate that the fate and the life of a person who dedicated his entire life to the service of this country was being inquired into by persons who were thoroughly worthless and incompetent for the job. I know something about the persons who constituted the Shahnawaz Inquiry Committee.

Let me tell you this, In no independent country, would the question of fate and life of a person of the eminence of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose would have been left to a Committee of this nature. I had occasion to place this matter before Prime Minister Nehru. I believe I met him almost a month before he died. And he agreed with me that something should be done to finalise the question of Netaji's disappearance. He agreed also to appoint a committee of judges. I am asking the daughter of Prime Minister Nehru to redeem the pledge that he has given.

Let me tell you what are the difficulties of this enquiry. This enquiry requires persons of judicial experience. Let me give you, if you bear with me, two or three instances. Sometime in July, 1945 Netaji approached the Japanese requesting them to negotiate with the Soviet Ambassador in Tokyo to enable the Provisional Government of Azad Hind to transfer its activities to the Soviet Zone. The Japanese Government refused to do that on behalf of the Azad Hind Government. But after the first atom bomb fell on Hiroshima and after the Soviet army had started marching into Manchuria, the request was made again, and the Japanese Government agreed to put a plane at the disposal of Netaji so that he could be landed in the Port of Dairen. I am not sure of the position of Dairen, but parts of Manchuria had then been occupied by the Soviet forces. It was also arranged by the Japanese and I do not know the reason

[ Shri Amiyannath Bose ]

that as soon as Netaji was safely landed in Dairen, the Japanese Government would announce over the radio that he had died. Therefore, the death announcement was a pre-arranged affair. The Japanese Government, of course, say that the air crash in fact took place and that necessitated the announcement on the 22nd August, 1945. The air crash is supposed to have taken place on the 18th. On the 22nd August they made the announcement.

It is necessary to examine the evidence; it is necessary to examine the Japanese documents; it is necessary to examine whether the plan was in fact carried out or whether the air crash in fact took place.

I give you another instance. I believe Prime Minister Nehru brought the watch which Netaji was alleged to have been wearing at the time of the air crash. It was a rectangular watch; it was handed over to Panditji by Shri Bhulabhai Desai. Shri Bhulabhai Desai was then, as you all know, defending the INA prisoners. He met Habibur Rehman who was a co-passenger, according to his evidence, in the plane and Habibur Rehman made over the watch to Shri Bhulabhai Desai. Shri Bhulabhai Desai, opened that watch and found that there was oil in it. The watch is in my possession at the moment. According to Shri Bhulabhai Desai, the leather band is very much burnt; evidently the whole watch was burning because the evidence is that Netaji's clothes caught fire because there was some leakage of petrol from the additional tank in the bomber in which he was travelling. According to Shri Desai it is scientifically not possible for any oil to remain inside a watch if it had come into contact with so much fire. I do not know; I have not opened that watch; I do not know what it contains.

There is another very interesting fact. The watch, according to Shri Habibur Rehman, had stopped at five past one when the air crash took place. The fact is that the air crash took place at 2.30 and not at five past one, and the watch shows five past one. Therefore, there is a tremendous amount of discrepancy, so far as time is concerned. Because, so far as the time of

the air crash is concerned, it can be established; so far as the watch is concerned, it is there. This is another fact which requires examination by an experienced judicial mind.

There is another very important fact which I should place before this House. I was in Japan in 1957. I had gone there soon after the death of Mr. Shigemitsu, who was the Foreign Minister of Japan during Netaji's time and also after the war. When I arrived in Tokyo he had just died I met the Chief of the Asian Affairs Bureau in Tokyo and he told me that arrangements had been made for Shri Shah Nawaz Khan and two others to go to Taihoku, where the alleged air crash had taken place because the Chinese girl who was alleged to have attended on Netaji on his death bed was not willing to come to Tokyo to give evidence. Though the Japanese Government had made all arrangements, plane and others arrangement-so that Shah Nawaz Khan and others could go and interview the Chinese girl in Taihoku, I was informed by the Japanese Government that Shah Nawaz Khan refused to go there. After my return from Tokyo, I issued a public statement asking him why did he not go to Taihoku to examine the Chinese girl. Till now there is no answer. Therefore, even the evidence that was available was not examined by the so-called Shah Nawaz Khan Committee.

I will give you another instance, and that is very important. One Mr. Alfred Wagg, war correspondent of *Chicago Tribune*, landed in Tokyo with General MacArthur. He went to Taihoku within a month of that alleged air crash; he was there in the middle of September and he took photographs of the airport. Mr. Alfred Wagg was supplied by General MacArthur's intelligence with photographs of the damaged plane which according to Japanese announcement, killed Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, and also the topography of that area. When Mr. Alfred Wagg came to India I happened to be with him in Delhi at that time. He went to Bhangi Colony to see Mahatma Gandhi and I was with him. He told Bapuji that the photograph of the damaged plane could not possibly have been taken in Taihoku airport. Unfortunately, that evidence is no longer available. Today the old Taihoku airport has ceased to exist,

It is not there in that area. There is a modern hotel in that area. But in 1956 when the Shahnawaz Khan Enquiry Committee went to Tokyo the airport was still there.

I know, as a person who has practised law for the best part of his life, that valuable evidence must have disappeared. But there is still a possibility of establishing the truth if persons of high judicial standing, who have experience in sifting evidence, who have experience in cross-examining witnesses, are allowed to go into this and give their final verdict to the people of India.

There is just one more point. When I was in Japan, I was asked by the Japanese Government: How is it that India treats with so much disrespect the ashes of a person who gave his life for India's freedom; how is it that these ashes of Subhas Chandra Bose are being allowed to be kept in a neglected temple near Tokyo? I answered them. I said, "Till it is firmly established, till the people of India are satisfied that Subhas Chandra Bose did die in that air crash, the question of bringing the ashes did not and cannot arise." That is the responsibility of the Government of India. I, therefore, call upon the Government of India to appoint without delay a judicial inquiry commission and let the people of India know whether Subhas Chandra Bose died in that air crash in Taihoku.

SHRI AHMAD AGA (Baramulla) : Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, the hon. Member, when he started his speech, talked about revolution by consent as against revolution by force, I might assure him that we shall bring about revolution by the evolutionary processes and by consent and he need not have any apprehension that the people will take the law into their hands and that there will be a revolution by force.

I was reminded of a verse from Iqbal in this connection. Iqbal wrote : God said to man :

गुफ्तन्द जड़ाने मा आया बतू मी साजद

(Does the world that I have created suit you ?) Man replied :

गुफ्तम नमी साजद

(No, it does not suit me.)  
God said :

गुफ्तन बरहम जन

(Then, destroy it.)

We have already witnessed what happened during the French Revolution. We already know what happened in 1917 when the October Revolution took place. We, therefore, want to bring socialism by democratic processes and those processes by which we will go to commanding heights but we will not permit the people to take the law into their own hands. Necessity knows no law. That we know. Therefore we have taken care of that.

He also said that Lenin had said, "If you want to reach the commanding heights, you have to control credit institutions, foreign trade and also transport." The first step that was taken was about bank nationalisation. Banking is a credit institution.\* By that it was intended that the monopolists, who control these banks and who do not want the people to take advantage of this credit and finance, should no more have control over these banks.

We nationalised these banks but we have seen and the House is aware that the vested interests by one method or another, in one way or the other, try to bring about obstructions, delay the process and halt our going ahead. Shri Cooper went to the Supreme Court and the vested interests also went there and helped him. The Bank Nationalisation Act was struck down by the Supreme Court. Because of that decision the Government was forced to pay a very high rate of compensation. According to an estimate of the analysis by *Hindustan Times*, it was five times in the case of the Punjab National Bank and twice or thrice in the case of the other banks. This much of compensation the people, the poor nation to which I belong, certainly cannot pay. But the vested interests not understanding whether it was wise for them to bring about those obstructions and halt our progress, went on this path. Even today they are not realising that they are cutting their own nose. If they really bring about that amount

[Shri Ahmad Aga]

of obstruction as the hon. Member who spoke just before me said, of course, revolution by force will be there and they will be nowhere.

The other day, during the debate on the President's Address, I heard a sentence uttered by one of the chief spokesmen of the Syndicate. Quoting Mark Twain, he said, "the only funeral you must attain should be your own." I want to assure him and tell him—let him understand clearly—that it will be the funeral of the vested interests; it will not be the funeral of those who want to take the country forward and who want to bring about social transformation.

In this connection, I want to make a few suggestions for the Government to consider in order to bring about social transformation. On the one hand, one can see there is an impatience among those who want the social transformation to take place quickly and, on the other hand, there are others who do not want it.

The first suggestion that I want to make is that the Monopolies and Restrictive Trade Practices Act should be amended to eradicate all the existing monopolies. As you know, we have presented a Budget in which we have given a new trend. The President's Address itself shows the way towards new trend. Even so, the fiscal measures alone will not help. Beyond fiscal measures also, some action is called for to go ahead with the social transformation in the country.

Another suggestion is that general insurance should be taken over by the Government. The Government should also nationalise jute and tea plantations.

Then, the import and export trade should also be taken over in the public sector. Further, I think, everybody is aware that there are huge income-tax arrears. Who doesn't pay the income-tax? It is the monopolists, the big men and the rich men who do not pay the income-tax.

SHRIMATI ILA PALCHOUDHURI (Krishnagar): The film stars also do not pay it.

SHRI AHMAD AGA: They belong to the same category. There is not only evasion of taxes but there are also huge arrears of taxes. Only yesterday, the Minister of State for Finance, Shri P. C. Sethi, revealed to the House that there are arrears to the tune of Rs. 556 crores. Now, the Government must take certain steps, concrete steps, to recover these huge arrears.

The other suggestion that I would like to make is that consumer goods of mass consumption should be produced in the public sector and distribution thereof should also be done by the public sector so that the intermediaries do not put up very high prices, making the poor man suffer.

Now that we have re-nationalised banks by an Ordinance and the Bill is also before the House, we hope, after it is adopted by the House, the Government will see that these nationalised banks will open their branches a little more quickly and give loans to small-scale sector and other small entrepreneurs who have not been able to get loans from the banks so that we can go ahead with the social transformation in the country.

Then, I have got a suggestion that for industrial workers there should be compulsory life insurance. It is very important that industrial workers should be insured and, would say, that the employers should be required to pay the premia of the insurance for the industrial workers. The Government may consider the bringing about of such a Bill before the House.

The President in his Address has also indicated that we cannot make any progress unless we increase production and productivity. In this connection, I want to say that the workers disputes should be referred to arbitration only so that we obviate, to some extent, the strikes and the lock-outs. When it is known that the disputes will go to arbitration and they will be binding on the employers, the strikes and lock-outs would be avoided.

Then I want to say one thing. I cannot understand why the private sector should

receive any aid. They have earned enough. I don't think Government do need give any aid to them.

I want to talk about another matter and that is our foreign policy. I regret in that sphere.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Your time is up.

SHRI AHMAD AGA : I do not have much time. I will only refer to a small matter. Arabs are our friends and they have shown interest in the development of our country because both Arab nations and India were in a similar situation. Both were colonies. Both, after they became independent, want to develop their countries. Both, therefore, want nonalignment. Both, therefore, want to respect the territorial integrity of the nations. I had recently been to some of the Arab countries. I came across an article on religion. I was very much impressed to find that the article began with an opening sentence from Gandhiji. I was very much impressed. That article could have started with a sentence from Koran. It could have started with a sentence from Bible. But the simple fact that it started with a sentence from Gandhiji shows the reverence they have for Gandhiji. They know that Gandhiji got independence to our country. He got us liberty fighting the mighty British. It was because of Gandhiji's fight against colonialism that Arabs also got their liberty. They have great respect for the dedicated efforts and leadership of our Prime Minister, Mrs Indira Gandhi.

I want to talk about one small matter. I sometimes feel that the bane of this country is that we have too many intellectuals. We often hear the phrase 'Indianisation'. Ever since that phrase was coined, there are interpretations after interpretations of what 'Indianisation' is. One person interprets in one manner and another person interprets it in another manner. In this very House there are different interpretations of 'Indianisation'. I consider it as an absolutely meaningless and senseless phrase. I belong to Kashmir. I came here fighting my way to this place because I felt and I feel that here is a country which stands for certain ideals. If you say I am to be Indianised, is

there any preparatory school? Is there any preparatory class where they will give me some orientation and Indianise me if I am not already an Indian? Did they indianise Maulana Azad? Did they Indianise Dr. Zakir Husain before they put him on the highest pedestal? I am sorry, Sir, it is all non-sense. I do not know if I can use that word. What is this phrase? It is a pointless and meaningless phrase. What has happened in Ahmedabad? What has happened in Madhya Pradesh and other places? I say that this phrase is leading to disintegration. This phrase is leading to a situation in which the minority feels discouraged and frustrated. They do not consider themselves as equal partners. If we want to go ahead and progress, they will have to shed their frustration and consider themselves as equal partners in building this great nation of ours.

SHRI R. K. BIRLA (Jhunjhunu) : Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, we all know that the President is the Head of the State, the Prime Minister is the executive head of the State, and the Speaker is the Head of this House. It is a matter of regret that all the three have made serious omissions at some time or the other. The Prime Minister made an omission in not introducing the Finance Bill at the right time. The Speaker has already admitted his omission just two days back and I would not like to say anything about it. But it shows how serious the omission is. The President has made an omission in his address in not including something about the Gandhi Centenary Celebrations, not to talk of Dr. Zakir Husain and the visit of Frontier Gandhi. Let us hope that these omissions by these big three's may not prove to be ominous to the country in the future.

The President has touched practically all points in his address—national and international, urban and rural, economic and social. Even there has been a reference to riots in Ahmedabad. But, to my great surprise, I find that there has been no mention whatsoever about the Gandhi Centenary Celebrations which the country has celebrated from 2nd October, 1969 to 22nd February, 1970.

You will recall, Sir, that this august House made its respectful tribute to the Father of the Nation on 24th December,

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1969. It was therefore most befitting that Gandhiji's name and the human values for which he lived, fought and died should have been mentioned in this long Presidential Address of 48 paras. In my opinion, Sir, it is an omission and a big omission. That was the reason why I gave notice of an amendment which appears on list No. 27, item No. 550. I feel very happy that some of my senior colleagues in this august House appreciated my feeling so much that they spoke about it in their speeches thereby making my task a bit easy in focussing the attention of this August House and of the Government about this big omission. I would like to connect this omission with my pet subject and which was very dear to Mahatmaji, that is, the abolition for royalty and cess on salt, I would not like to repeat this again and again and take the valuable time of the House. I have already made various representations to the Government and I have also drawn attention of this august House in the past to what Mahatma Gandhi has said about salt being made freely available to the people of the country. I would only say what he has said, Gandhiji has said :

"Either salt should be made available freely to the country without any levy or my dead body will float in the ocean."

Sir, I want to have a very categorical reply to this when the Prime Minister is going to reply to the Debate tomorrow as to what she has to say about this very important and basic matter. Salt has not been made freely available to the people as yet. I was expecting this in the Budget proposals but I am sorry to say that they are silent.

**SHRI YOGENDRA SHARMA** (Begusarai) Neither the Birla House where Gandhiji died.

**SHRI R. K. BIRLA** : There is talk of socialism at almost every place at every time and practically by everybody. Not only politicians, Sir, but all categories of people have started talking about socialism. I feel very happy about it. (*Interruption*) Birlas started socialism long back, before

my friends knew about it. I am feeling very happy that there has been a mass-awakening by the masses of the country and the people have started talking about socialism and about the type of Government they would like to have in this country.

I am out and out for that type of socialism which will bring prosperity to the masses and generate wealth in the country.

**SHRI YOGENDRA SHARMA** : Birla socialism !

**SHRI R. K. BIRLA** : If Birla socialism is accepted, I can assure you that the country is going to be benefited.

When there is no wealth in the country, I do not know what type of socialism we are going to usher in and practise in the country. Here I would quote what Sir Winston Churchill had said....

**SHRI YOGENDRA SHARMA** : A great socialist !

**SHRI R. K. BIRLA** : I would request my hon. friend to let me complete my sentence before interrupting.

Winston Churchill had said :

"The vice of capitalism is that there is unequal distribution of the fruits of capitalism and the virtue of socialism is that there is equal distribution of misery".

I do not agree with him. But I would certainly like to enjoin on the Prime Minister, who is a born socialist--I would say a great socialist indeed to see that what Winston Churchill had said does not come true as regards this country. Because I do not like misery to be spread to everybody, nor would I like wealth to be unequally distributed. But I would say one thing, that the Prime Minister should keep in view while leading the country towards socialism what Abraham Lincoln, a great President of the US, had said :

"You cannot strengthen the weak by weakening the strong. You cannot help the wage earner by crippling the wage-

payer, you cannot help the poor by destroying the rich".

I request the Prime Minister to keep these three sentences in mind, because they will help to bring socialism quicker to our country.

SHRI BAL RAJ MADHOK (South Delhi) : She follows Stalin, not Lincoln.

AN HON MEMBER : He wants Birla socialism ?

SHRI R. K. BIRLA : I have already told the House what Birla socialism is. If my hon. friend does not understand it, I am sorry for him.

The question arises how quickly we can bring the type of socialism I have just mentioned. It is possible only by producing more and more, to the maximum. By this, I do not mean that we should produce more children, but more of goods, articles and commodities needed by the common people in the country and also meant for export. Whether the production is increased by a scientist or an industrialist or an agriculturist or an engineer does not matter. But production should be aimed towards a social objective. That is what I want to stress.

I have no sympathy for the man who produces for selfish purposes and does not keep in view the social good. But the crux of my place is that there should be the maximum production in the country.

SHRI YOGENDRA SHARMA : What about distribution ?

SHRI R. K. BIRLA : It should also be equally distributed, but not the misery, as I have already told him. Only the maximum production will bring socialism at a quicker pace.

SHRI MADHU LIMAYE (Monghyr) : He believes in socialism ? Birla brand.

SHRI R. K. BIRLA : The Economic Survey laid on the table by the Prime Minister a few days back says on p 3, paragraph 8 :

"Shortage have already begun to appear in basic raw materials such as steel, staple fibre, and aluminium."

I would like to know from Government who is responsible for these shortages. How has this precarious condition developed as regards these three basic raw materials, which are meant for the defence of the country, for the consumption in the country and for export ? I say that the institution responsible is the Planning Commission. I do not know why the taxpayer's money is wasted in keeping such an organisation which is inefficient and ineffective. The result is that today we are feeling the shortage of basic raw materials.

I would touch these articles one by one. First, I would speak about staple fibre about which there is mention in the *Economic Survey*. Unfortunately, the Government of India has taken a decision to import 150,000 bales of staple fibre, equal to 15,000 tonnes, worth Rs 8 crores. Why ? Are we not fully equipped to manufacture staple fibre in this country ? I can assure this august House and every Member of this House that India is fully equipped to produce staple fibre in the quantities needed by the country. We have the technical know-how, the machinery, the raw material. We do not depend on any foreign country we have the resources at our command. It is something very shameful that the Government has started thinking of importing staple fibre which I would say we are in a position to export, given the freedom to produce the maximum.

Then, I come to steel. Times without number I have drawn the attention of this House and the Government to the fact that we have been importing steel a type of steel called alloy steel, worth over Rs. 30 crores. Why is this done ? The reason is that the public sector which is producing about 35 per cent of its installed capacity of alloy steel has not been able to meet the demand of the country. I would like to inform the House through you that alloy steel is an export-oriented item and a defence oriented item without which we will suffer very much. Licences have been given to people as far back as 1961, but no green signal has been given by the Government to see that these units are installed in the country. I do not

[Shri R. K. Birla]

understand the policy of the Government of not wanting to produce articles required by the country.

Now I shall speak about aluminium. Our present production of aluminium is 1.35 lakh tonnes. The House knows very well that there has been practically very little productively very little production in the public sector. I do not know why public sector has definitely failed in this direction to produce this basic raw material. Anyway, whatever is being produced today is by the private sector. Against the present production of 1.35 lakh tonnes, our future requirements or demand would be 3.25 lakh tonnes plus 50,000 tonnes for export. I am glad to say here that one of the aluminium manufacturers started exporting this product facing international competition, and I am sorry to say that the Government of India has now refused to export aluminium, I don't know why. Does the Government of India need foreign exchange or not? We are short of foreign exchange, but if somebody is trying to earn foreign exchange, they do not want it. If somebody is trying to produce it in the country, they put some sort of obstacle and hurdle in the way. I am not a party to this type of administration.

It is said that some of the manufacturers have produced more than their installed capacity. They have produced more, no doubt about it. What wrong have they done to the country? If they have produced more due to their skill, due to their efficiency, due to their technical know-how, I think they must be complimented rather than blamed by the Government. I want to ask a very specific and categorical question as to who has suffered by this increased production.

Has the worker suffered? I say: no; I can prove it. Has the shareholder suffered? I say: no. Has the Government suffered? I say: no. Has the consumer or the common man suffered? I say: no. Who has suffered then? What wrong have these people done if production increased? For heaven's sake do not curtail production merely on ideological or political grounds. Otherwise economic growth of the country will be hampered: it would be delayed,

My speech will be meaningless and will be like a river without water if I do not say anything about my constituency. We have seen the reports of the firing that took place in Bhadra which is part of my constituency. Some innocent persons have been killed and some had been severely injured. Last night I came to know that Justice Chhagani a judge of the Rajasthan High Court had been appointed to hold an enquiry into this firing; my request is that the report of the enquiry commission should be made available as quickly as possible and published so that we know the facts. Till then my suggestion is that adequate compensation should be given to the dependents of the people who had been killed or severely hurt.

SHRI S. N. MISRA (Kannauj): I rise to support the tributes paid by the House to the august head of the country and voice my appreciation of his Address. As the custodian of the human rights and interest of the country and all the sections of the people, the President has in his Address covered most of the fields of activity with due care and caution. A leading English daily, well known for its sober thinking has described the Address as 'striking a note of cheer'. Other papers of equally high reputation have taken the same view and have equally high appreciation for the Address.

This is a true picture and deserves all appreciation. I am conscious that the President has to function within the constitutional limits. He has to pay due heed to the counsel, advice and suggestions coming from proper quarters. He has also to give directions and provide guide lines for the administration to carry out the policy and for us the people to give discerning co-operation.

It is not possible to dwell upon all the subjects covered by the Address. Exigencies of time will not permit it. The Address has justly put it in the forefront "The aspirations of our people and their hopes have been roused. They are vocal and impatient and conscious of their needs and their rights. Against the background of a highly stratified society, which had been invented the perverse concept of untouchability, we now see the pride and self assertion of groups and classes who once were regarded as beyond the pale. The old society had existed

in the olden time which was suited to that time. Since times have changed we have also rightly changed. What seemed impossible has become possible. The Himalays on the earth have been scaled and conquered ; the moon on the other firmament remains no longer beyond the human reach and sacrosanct. As a student of law I heard that a contract made in Rome to be presented in London the same day was void as the condition could not be fulfilled. Now such contracts are perfectly valid. It is no surprise that one section of the people had become conscious of their rights. The remaining section, if I may say so, have come out of the slough of despondency. This is not a thing to be worried about. All sections of the people will make their contribution to the interest and welfare of the country. After all the strength of the chain is the strength of all its links. The only thing we have to guard against is that not only one but all sections of the people should not only think of their rights but must necessarily respect their obligations and duties to others and to the nation and should not open their mouths too wide with selfish designs.

15 hrs.

The question now is how to bridge the yawning gulf between the 'haves' and the 'have-nots'. The nation really lives in the cottages of the peasants and the heart beat is to be heard there not in the palaces, cities and model towns of the urban areas. Nothing is farther from my mind than to suggest that the palaces, should be reduced to huts; I want the huts to be improved, if not actually brought to the level of palaces. The bank nationalisation scheme is to my mind one of the many plans in this direction.

Another striking feature of the Address has been an emphasis on democratic socialism. In the name of democratic socialism, on account of the pressure, there appears to be an attempt to do many things which may not be quite justified. I say so because of the expressed and envisaged attempt to go back on the words and assurances to the Rulers and to amend or write off Chapter III of the Constitution. Chapter III of the Constitution is the only symbol of Independence. This alone has been the only improvement brought in our Constitution over

all the earlier Government of India Acts at a tremendous cost of millions of rupees of the country's poor purse. We must therefore respect the Constitution and there should not be frequent attempts to amend it. It is strange that there are high-sounding utterances of democratic socialism now by almost all the parties in this country. In this country, when right from the Right Royal Rashtrapati Bhavan, the rauder and campuses of the Ministers and their surroundings and the high-browed egoism of the Indian services, are staring in our face, can we ever preach democratic socialism? It would be wrong to talk of democratic socialism as long as hundred times difference exists between the President, the Ministers and the common man. The pressure of the common man to grab the properties of others and divest those who are left with some to enhance their own status and riches is unjustified. Can any democratic socialist pattern of society at all justify that when the Rulers have abdicated their properties willingly for their Motherland that the newly created Rulers like the Chief Minister or any other Minister and even the Ambassadors, officials and public servants, should be allowed to have kingly surroundings, unaccounted luxuries of life, righteously or unrighteously? I would, therefore, suggest that for the real property of the country and to achieve the real goal of the happiness of the people of India, those at the helm of affairs should have practical thinking and still more practical acting.

It is but a natural instinct in man to have more and more as compared to others simply on account of the spirit of jealous possession. I might assure my brothers in the House that before we ask the Rulers or compel them to surrender their Privy purses and become common men, let the Governors, Ministers, Members of Parliament, Ambassadors and the officers of this Government make sacrifice of half their assets and privileges. To start with, let all the Ministers and all the legislators and all the Members of Parliament and all officials make honest disclosures of their riches and possessions every half year and let the copies of such returns be made available to anyone who wants them. I have no reason to doubt that thereafter the Rulers themselves shall willingly surrender and more willingly come

[Shri S. N. Misra]

forward and join the common man, as nobody will permit others to lord over them in a real democracy. If really our brothers in Parliament can honestly and justly think, they should first use their power by imposing controls on such newly sprung up monarchs, may they be at the Centre or in the States or in the districts

I am averse to rushing headlong. I am opposed to total nationalisation as free production for at least a decade without controls and bottle-necks shall alone give impetus and supplement production for the needs of all. We should take one cautious step, consolidate again and then proceed onwards. I am reminded of a remark of the late Shri Gokhale, the great patriot and statesman. When someone who belonged to the rival school of thought taunted him and said:

"Your theory and your course of conduct will postpone the goal till the Greek calendars".

he similingly remarked:

"I do not wish to see the distance scene, One step is enough for me."

The above remark epitomises the wisdom of ages.

The much-talked of abolition of privy purses will mean at the most Rs. 3.75 crores annually. I do not think that we can in these circumstances commit a breach of faith and prove ourselves unreliable, dishonest and selfish. Let our new majestic order establish their desire and determination to throw themselves with the common man first.

To compensate for the loss of about Rs 3.75 crores annually on privy purses in the large national interest, Government should nationalise cinema-houses throughout the country. It will serve a dual purpose. Firstly, we can educate the masses through the cinemas in the right direction and secondly we shall have an annual income of over Rs. 50 crores to start with and then we can increase it to at least Rs. 100 crores annually. India is the second or third

largest producer of cinema films, but our share is hardly 2 per cent of the total revenues abroad. By a careful handling, we can make another Rs. 200 crores annually from this industry alone by proper planning, assistance and guidance.

It appears that free education and free medical facilities to the country as a whole have not been considered in the Address obviously because of the tremendous expense on these items. The entire country can have free primary education and free medical treatment if we can have adequate revenue from other sources.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : How long will the hon. Member take to read it?

SHRI S. N. MISHRA : I am entitled to have fifteen minutes, and I have taken only about five minutes.

SHRI P. K. DEO (Kalabhandi) : Is reading from a written speech allowed ?

SHRI S. N. MISHRA : We cannot continue to believe in moonshine. Prohibition has proved to be a complete failure. I may tell you that I am an absolute teetotaler and nobody can change my creed. We are losing on prohibition at least about Rs. 500 crores a year by all means including loss of revenue, evasion of taxes and the like. I read only yesterday that in two days in Rajasthan alone there was a loss of about Rs. 2 crores, and if this is the basis of the data, it should be very much more than Rs. 500 crores annually. Instead of spending tons of money in enforcing prohibition and there still being a tremendous increase in illegal activities, feeding of at least 25,000 criminals all over and the death of 2000 or 3000 per year by substituted poison for liquor, it is better to withdraw prohibition and educate the people. The revenue can be spent on free education and free medical treatment. I am conscious of hurting the feelings of some of my friends here, but cannot resist saying that those who are still preaching prohibition are really blind to the practical state of affairs and the fact that we have been lagging behind only on account of lack of practical foresight. We have only believed in talking and talking and nothing more. Our tourist

income is even less than one per cent whereas the international tourist budget is about Rs. 90,000 crores annually. With the withdrawal of prohibition and with the provision of other facilities, we can, without great effort, get at least five per cent of the international tourist income to supplement our plans for free education and free medical treatment.

India has a glorious past with possibilities of a still more glorious future. The past had its roots in prayer, purity, peace and production, according to Mahatma Gandhi. I am also reminded of Burke's immortal dictum:

"What is morally wrong can never be politically right".

I shall develop on these fundamental principles of Mahatma Gandhi. These four fundamental principles were prayer, purity, peace and production. In spite of the centenary of Mahatma Gandhi, I was surprised that there was absolutely no mention of it in the President's Address. These were the four things advocated all his lifetime by Mahatma Gandhi. Prayer is very necessary. A secular State does not mean a non-religious State. We are losing our children and we are losing the morality of the next generation only because in the name of secularism, we have not devoted ourselves to prayer. It is necessary that we should be able to have a secular prayer.

I would suggest that the following secular prayer should be enforced by legislation:

"O you, the all-powerful, the all pervading The Creator and the Preserver of the Universe, *In whom I have faith*, give me the power and Strength to discern the right and the wrong, To lead a moral righteous and pure life. To serve my people and the Nation, to bring Abiding peace and prosperity to my Motherland."

The next principle which has always been preached during his lifetime, by Mahatma Gandhi, was purity. We have abdicated the fundamental principles of purity. There should be purity in thinking ; purity in talk-

ing ; purity in action. Nowhere has purity been given the importance that is its due.

The third principle of Mahatma Gandhi was, wherever he sat down there should be eternal peace. (*Interruption*) We might have invested crores of rupees, but (*Interruption*)

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Please conclude now.

SHRI S. N. MISHRA : I shall finish in two minutes. Peace is necessary. Now, Sir, the last fundamental principle given to us by Mahatma Gandhi through the silent Takli and Charka was production. My learned friends and brothers in Parliament were laughing when Mr. Birla was speaking. They have not been able to realise that the principle of production is the foremost thing. Nationalisation or no nationalisation, we will be glad if we have free production for at least five years in this country. (*Interruption*)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Order, order. He is going to conclude now.

SHRI S. N. MISHRA : Sir, Japan is a small island. But in 1969 it exported goods worth Rs. 11,700 crores. But India has been able to export only Rs. 1,000 crores worth of goods, Japan is today exporting 3,000 cars everyday.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Kindly conclude.

SHRI S. N. MISHRA : I am finishing in two minutes. Therefore, I say it will be necessary for us to believe in the four fundamental principles of Mahatma Gandhi: prayer, purity, peace and production. (*Interruption*) I would close with a request to the President that in future and in the years to come he should place emphasis on the fundamental principles preached by Mahatma Gandhi, and the country and the world as a whole be happier if it is done.

With these words, I recommend that the House should accept in toto the President's Address.

SHRI J. B. KRIPALANI (Guna) : Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, both the old Congress

[ Shri J. B. Kripalani ]

party and the new Congress party have considered the President's Address is unique. I do not remember any occasion when the President's Address was not unique. It has always been unique because the President is the actor and the persons who sets the tune is, what they call in cinema, the back-singer ; that is the part that she has to play, but she begins to praise herself. This time this praise is more elaborate than usual. This is very unfair on the part of a fair one.

There have been two speeches delivered by ex-Ministers who are sitting now in the opposition. They were declared in the press to be very impressive speeches. I also believe that they were impressive speeches. How could they be otherwise ? Because they know what is happening in the government. As against the official figures, they have given their figures. They also know how to manipulate figures. So, They were able to detect the defects in the figures given by the official ruling party. It is taking out a thorn by a thorn. I am not a statistician, but I know that there are lies, black lies and statistics. A manufacturer manufactures one car in a year. Next year he produces two cars. He can very well say that he has improved his production by 100 per cent.

We see this happening in the budget. We are told that there is such a per centage of increase in this tax and that tax and other taxes; but people do not live by the per centages of tax they have to pay from their pockets.

Apart from statistics, we find that production is increasing. High yielding varieties of seeds are given to the people and also more water and they say that there is increased production. We also find that the population rate is decreasing on account of their propaganda and their supply of Contraceptives, whatever they may call them. Yet, we find that the price of every commodity is increasing every day. Sir, you must have found it yourself if you consulted your servant who brings your provision. My servant told me that in these three days the prices of wheat, dal, sugar and tea have already increased. The government

should ensure that the prices are not increased until the Finance Bill is passed. If they cannot take care of this, that shows that they are prepared to allow the public to be looted in the mean time. This happens only when the writ of the government does not run.

One speaker from the Congress benches very eloquently told us-I think he was from Bihar, and Biharis are very intelligent people.... (Interruptions) Buddha was from Bihar. That member from Bihar told us that the Constituent Assembly was not representative I am astounded at that statement. I think the Constituent Assembly was more representative than any Parliament that has assembled here. The pick of the nation was there; they may not have been elected by adult franchise but the Congress in those days was liberal enough to see that every opinion in the nation was represented in the Constituent Assembly.

The leader of the Harijans, Ambedkar, was an opponent of the Congress; and he was allowed to pioneer the deliberations of the Constituent Assembly. We had learned lawyers from the South who were never in the Congress. It was because Congress then was not a party; it was a national organisation so that every interest in the nation was represented there.

Why did he say this ? Why did he call the Constituent Assembly, which made our Constitution, not being representative ? It was because a judgment had been given in the case of nationalisation of some banks which goes against the grain of some people. Is the Supreme Court to be criticized because of the fault of our Law Minister who did not know how to frame his Ordinance or the law after it ? One's own fault is put upon the Judges. The Judges have to interpret the law.

If there had been no Judges, the Communists who were arrested illegally could not have been released. Not only that, Dr. Lohia was released umpteen times because the courts were there. My friend, who sits here, Madhu Limaye, has been released often enough by the courts. I do not know where we will be if the courts were not there. Courts are our only safeguard

against executive tyranny and executive injustice.

If we tampered with the courts, we will have lost our democracy. It is open to Parliament to change the Constitution in a way that is prescribed. But when the Constitution is there, when the law is made under that and when the courts go according to the law, they are merely doing their duty. If they went according to the fashions that rise and that political parties are able to create, I think they will be failing in their duty.

Our President has talked of democracy. I am not talking of socialism. One week before I wrote a long article on socialism in the Sunday edition of the *Express*. I would request the socialists and those who swear by socialism to read it. It will give them some light about what socialism is. Today I am only talking of democracy.

Democracy is based upon fundamental moral values. There can be no democracy unless there is respect for law, there is respect for healthy conventions and there is respect for respectability. I beg to submit that all these have been violated in these last six months or so. Otherwise, how could the two Governors at once decide as to who had the majority and who did not have the majority when in one State 50 people were found in both the lists that were given to him? How could he at once make up his mind? As for UP the Governor, he came here and even after returning he said that he would have to take some time to decide. But the very next day, at 2.40 P. M., because that was the auspicious hour prescribed by the astrologers of Mr. Charan Singh, he was sworn in as the Chief Minister. If the time was prescribed by the astrologers as in the case of the Presidential Election 11.30 A. M. was the auspicious hour at which his election should take place, whereas the election of the Vice-President took place, as usual, at 10 O'Clock. This is our socialism and this is our democracy.

AN HON. MEMBER : What is wrong in that ? (*Interruptions*)

SHRI J. B. KRIPALANI : Now, there is something which is very painful for me

to talk of here and that is how our leaders in the Centenary Year of Gandhiji's birthday talk about Gandhiji. In an interview given to a French paper, our Prime Minister who is also the Chairman of the Celebrations Committee of the Gandhi Centenary Year says about Gandhiji and she says that Gandhiji was a reactionary, that he wanted us to travel in bullock-carts and that he did not want us to take advantage of modern technology and modern science. I do not know. I thought that world history was written for this young lady. And she does not know Contemporary history. Gandhiji himself did go in trains and he used many things that are the result of science and technology. I do not remember any occasion when Gandhiji would call a *hakim* or a  *vaid* to his bed-side. Even when he was hard-pressed, he would call a practitioner of modern medicine. He was once operated upon in jail and he said, "I trust the Civil Surgeon. As a medical man, he will do the right thing." Both of them became friends. Gandhiji was the most scientific person that I have ever known. He calls his autobiography as "Experiments with Truth". And here is what Mrs. Gandhi says about Gandhiji in whose lap she must have sat when she was only a couple of years old. These are the exact words in which she has described Gandhiji as a reactionary :

" If we decide to follow the line of Mahatma Gandhi, one has to admit that, in that case, we would all remain in villages travelling by bullock-carts and refuse all the advantages of modern life...

SOME HON. MEMBERS : Shame, shame !

SHRI J. B. KRIPALANI : Further :

" If we are ready to accept that, if follows that we do not need industries. But if we want trains, planes and all the equipment we are used to in our daily life, the problem is to know whether we should buy these materials or manufacture them. The second is, obviously, more advantageous".

It is a French paper . (*Interruptions*)

SHRI MANUBHAI PATEL (Dabhoi) : Let the Prime Minister contradict it.

SHRI J. B. KRIPALANI : After I have finished, you can ask me any questions, you can denounce me or you can call me a fool or whatever you like. Allow me to finish.

15. 30 hrs.

[SHRI SHRI CHAND GOYAL in the Chair]

What I say is the truth. I cannot be diverted like this. I say that she was the Chairman of the Celebrations Committee of Gandhiji's Centenary and she is our leader and if she says like that, what will others say ? I will tell you that now. About six months or more back, there was a play staged in one of the Universities. In that play Gandhiji is called a son of a pig from the very beginning. I approached the Chief Minister. Sir, it is not very pleasant for me to talk all these things, but I must talk because we must know where we stand as far as Gandhiji is concerned. I met the Education Minister, Prof. V. K. R. V. Rao. When I told him this he told me that he was glad that this expression was not used in the House. I said 'You are not a politician. People must know what is being said by what persons'. I told the Chief Minister. I told the Home Minister. I said 'Do something'. But nothing was done. (Interruptions) Yet, something was done. The author of that drama has been given the title of Padma Sri. (Interruptions) That man is a Padma Sri and this is the Government under which we are living. This is the Government that swears by Gandhiji and spends crores of rupees to celebrate the centenary of the great man. I think in this respect I must say what other leaders say. What did Mr Jagjiwan Ram say about Gandhiji's economic ideas. He says :

" It is wrong to maintain that Gandhiji was opposed to machines or to industrialisation. All that he cared for was that machines should not be meant or used for exploitation."

DR. MAHADEVA PRASAD (Maharajan) : Mr. Chairman, may I know the name of the paper from which the quotations are being read here ?

MR. CHAIRMAN : Kindly don't interrupt him.

डा० महादेव प्रसाद : यह किसी पेपर से अभी पढ़ा गया है। अगर यह चाहते हैं कि हम लोग भी उसमें हिस्सा लें तो उसका नाम तो हमें मालूम होना चाहिए।

SHRI J. B. KRIPALANI : I will give you the name.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Kindly disclose the name of the paper, Acharyaji.

SHRI J. B. KRIPALANI : It is for Mrs. Gandhi to deny this statement. If she denies it, I will accept it. That is all. It is not a question of what paper has said it.

SHRIMATI SUCHETA KRIPALANI (Gonda) : It is a French paper called 'Elle'.

SHRI J. B. KRIPALANI : Sir, I seek your protection. It is open to Mrs. Gandhi to say that she has not said that and I will accept it. Why are they quarrelling about it ? They think that they love the Congress better than I do ? They are much mistaken there. Since you are impatient, since my friends of the Congress are impatient, let Mr. Jagjiwan Ram deny that he has made this statement about Gandhiji's economic policies. This is merely a question of denying I say, let them deny and I accept it.

Sir, I will only say a few words about one very controversial subject.

श्री योगेन्द्र शर्मा : मेरा व्यवस्था का प्रश्न है। अभी आपने उस पेपर का नाम डिस्कलोज करने के लिए कहा जिससे कि प्रोफेसर समर गुहा ने उद्धरण दिया। मेरा प्वाइंट आफ ऑर्डर यह है कि जिस पेपर से अभी पढ़ा गया है वह फ्रेंच पेपर नहीं है जैसा कि सुचेता जी ने कहा वल्कि वह 'मार्च आफ दी टाइम' है। यह हाउस को मिसलीड किया गया है, रॉंग स्टेटमेंट दिया गया है।

सभापति महोदय : आप इसके सम्बन्ध में वाद में कार्यवाही कर सकते हैं।

श्री योगेन्द्र शर्मा : मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि जब आपने पेपर का नाम डिस्कलोज

करने के लिए कहा तो क्या मेम्बर को एक गलत पेपर का नाम देना चाहिए ?

**श्रीमती सुचेता कृपालानी :** यह एक फ्रॉच पेपर है Elle उसी का इन्टरव्यू गिवला था उसी का रिप्रोडक्शन इस में किया है ।

**श्री योगेन्द्र शर्मा :** जिस पेपर को अभी पढ़ा गया वह 'मार्च आफ दि टाइम' है, फ्रॉच पेपर नहीं है । गलत स्टेटमेंट किया गया है, हाउस को मिसलीड किया गया है । यहां इस तरह की गलत बात नहीं होनी चाहिए ।.....  
(व्यवधान)

**SHRI J. B. KRIPALANI :** Sir, you will excuse me. It is absurd. Let Mrs Gandhi deny it. (Interruptions).

**श्री योगेन्द्र शर्मा :** मेरे व्यवस्था के प्रश्न का क्या हुआ ?

**सभापति महोदय :** मैंने कहा कि कोई आप को कार्यवाही करनी हो तो बाद में कर लीजिएगा ।

**श्री योगेन्द्र शर्मा :** मैं तो आपके सामने पेश कर रहा हूँ । क्या किसी मेम्बर को यह अधिकार है कि वह गलत नाम यहां पेश करे और इस तरह से हाउस को मिसलीड करे ?

**सभापति महोदय :** शर्मा जी, अगर आप चाहें तो बाद में उसे सिद्ध करके उसके ऊपर कार्यवाही कर सकते हैं । अब इस समय आप बैठ जाइए ।

**श्री योगेन्द्र शर्मा :** आप कुर्सी पर हैं । आप यहां की कार्यविधि के संचालक और संरक्षक हैं, इसलिए हम आपके सामने पेश कर रहे हैं ।

**सभापति महोदय :** वह आपकी बात हम मानते हैं । आप इसको सबूत देकर बाद में इस के ऊपर कार्यवाही कर सकते हैं ।

**श्री योगेन्द्र शर्मा :** वह पेपर 'मार्च आफ दि टाइम' है, फ्रॉच पेपर नहीं है ।

**श्री मधु लिमये :** मेरा भी एक व्यवस्था का प्रश्न है ।

**श्री योगेन्द्र शर्मा :** पहले मेरे व्यवस्था के प्रश्न का निराय हो जायगा तब आप अपना प्रश्न उठाइएगा ।

**श्री मधु लिमये :** तो ले लीजिए न आप मुझे क्यों लड़ना चाहते हैं ।

**श्री योगेन्द्र शर्मा :** पहले मेरा व्यवस्था का प्रश्न खत्म हो जाय, तब आप उठाइए ।

**सभापति महोदय :** शर्मा जी, आप बैठ जाइए ।

**श्री योगेन्द्र शर्मा :** सभापति जी, मैं बैठ जाता हूँ । मगर मेरी दरखास्त यह है कि आप ने कहा डिस्कलोज दि नेम आफ दी पेपर, उस पर उन्होंने कहा कि फ्रॉच पेपर है, जबकि उन्होंने 'मार्च आफ दी टाइम' से पढ़ा ।

**सभापति महोदय :** मैंने उस पर रूलिंग दे दी है कि इस सिलसिले में अगर आपको कोई और कार्यवाही करनी है तो आप कर सकते हैं । उनका कहना है कि वह सही पत्र है जिसका उन्होंने उद्धरण दिया है । आपको इस सिलसिले में कोई कार्यवाही करनी हो तो बाद में कर सकते हैं ।

**श्री प्रकाश वीर शास्त्री (हापुड़) :** सभापति महोदय, मेरा निवेदन है कि जब से आचार्य कृपालानी जी ने अपना भाषण शुरू किया है, पहले शब्द से लेकर आखीर तक मैंने उनके भाषण को ध्यान से सुना है । आचार्य जी ने जब महात्मा गांधी के सम्बन्ध में प्रधान मन्त्री जी की राय का उल्लेख किया तो स्पष्ट रूप से यह कहा कि फ्रांस का एक पत्र है जिसमें यह इन्टरव्यू प्रकाशित हुआ है । उस इन्टरव्यू को यदि भारत का कोई पत्र प्रकाशित करता है तो

[श्री प्रकाश वीर शास्त्री]

वह इन्टरव्यू उसी पत्र का माना जाता है, भारत के किसी पत्र का नहीं माना जाएगा। तो इसमें विसंगति कहाँ है, जिसके लिए व्यवस्था का प्रश्न उठाया जा रहा है ?

SHRI J. B. KRIPALANI : I will have to shout more than this man. What can I do ? I cannot shout like this.

I said definitely that the question of paper and no paper, French paper or Indian paper, does not arise, I said : let Shrimati Gandhi deny this. That should be fair for any man who has any little grey matter in his brain. Let it be denied.

Let it also be denied that the man who called Gandhiji 'the son of a pig' has been given a title. Let them deny it. If they deny it, I will accept it. Even when they tell a lie, I will accept it. That is all I have to say.

I want not only this House but the whole nation to realise that those who are uttering the name of Gandhiji have no right to do so. I give all honour to the communists who say that they do not believe in these things. For them there is no morality but that which benefits their party.

SHRI YOGENDRA SHARMA : Question. We have the highest morality, not hypocrisy. We do not believe in the morality of hypocrats.

SHRI J. B. KRIPALANI : He does not understand. What can I say ? I said they do not believe in this morality.

SHRI YOGENDRA SHARMA : He is a capitalist hypocrat.

SHRI J. B. KRIPALANI : I thought the communists had at least brains. What can I do ?

SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAIAH (Nau-dyal) : We know what the communists have said about Mahatma Gandhi. We have not forgotten it.

SHRI DHIRESWAR KALITA (Gauhati) : Is it the Gandhian way to speak.

SHRI J. B. KRIPALANI : May I Submit with great humility that I said, and I say again, that when I have finished my speech, they can ask me umpteen questions and I will reply.

AN HON MEMBER : This is not a debating society.

SHRI J. B. KRIPALANI : I am going to utter another very foolish thing. (*Interruptions*) You do not allow me to speak, you do not keep the House in order. (*Interruptions*)

I will have to tread on some people's corns again, I cannot help it. I have to do my duty to my country. I am talking of the privy purses. I say people do not know in what conditions we were when independence came and the country was divided, I can say with all the emphasis that I command and all the knowledge that I have that the princes played their part very well, and if we are not going to play our part...

SHRI J. M. BISWAS (Bankura) : This is the real Gandhian speaking.

SHRI J. B. KRIPALANI : They have a right to call me reactionary, they have a right to call me a friend of the capitalist and landlords and ex-princes, but I say that I was the President of the Congress then, remember it, it may have been a degenerate Congress. when all these things took place under me, and I can certify that the big States could have behaved as Hyderabad behaved. I tell you that with all the strength of the people, the people could have done as little as they could do in Hyderabad. We would have had to send armies to all those big States, though we might have called it a police action. What I want to say is that you have a right to repudiate the promises given by those on whose account you are here today. (*Interruptions*).

Let them show what stuff they are made of as they are not willing to hear reason. Reason can be countered by reason, not by shouting. I never shout in this House, I never ask questions. I make my speech. I say that if this agreement is to be repudiated, it has to be repudiated with the good will of the ex-princes. There should be a

dialogue between the Government and these people. I know that the money that is given to these people is already diminishing. I only request the Government that if they have no regard for the word of those on whose account they are sitting in their exalted place today, they must do at least this little justice: they must have a dialogue with them and induce them to do what they want.

**श्री प्रेम चन्द वर्मा (हमीरपुर) :** सभापति जी, मुझे बोलने का अवसर ऐसे समय में मिला है जबकि मुझ से पहले सदन के आदरणीय सदस्य, आचार्य कृपानानी जी बोल चुके हैं। मैं सबसे पहले एक दुःखभरी बात कहना चाहता हूँ।

**सभापति महोदय :** आपके दस मिनट हैं उसी में आपको समाप्त करना है।

**श्री प्रेम चन्द वर्मा :** एक बात मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि आज से 10-15 साल पहले मैं यह सोचना था जबकि मैं सामाजिक काम करता था कि मैं पार्लियामेंट में जाऊंगा। उस समय मेरे दिमाग में यह बात थी कि हिन्दुस्तान की जो लोकसभा है उसमें हिन्दुस्तान के बड़े बड़े नेता होते हैं, बड़े दिमाग के अच्छे कार्यकर्ता उसमें जाते हैं, वहाँ पर कितनी अच्छी बातें होती होंगी। मैं भी वहाँ पर पहुँचने की कोशिश करूँगा और वहाँ जाकर कुछ सीख सकूँगा। लेकिन आपने देखा होगा कि किस प्रकार का स्टेडर्ड आज लोकसभा का हो गया है। मेरे जैसे जो नये सदस्य हैं वे भी घाँसू बहाते हैं कि किस प्रकार से यहाँ पर काम होता है। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि अगर यहाँ पर जमहूरियत है तो फिर कोई वजह नहीं है कि यहाँ पर नीतियों के आधार पर बातें क्यों न की जाय। प्राइम मिनिस्टर को कोसने के लिए जब कोई बात नहीं मिलती है तो फ्रान्स के किमी पेपर का यहाँ पर हवाला दे दिया जाता है। .... (उपबधान) .... मैं नहीं समझता इस तरह की बात करना कहाँ तक मुनासिब है। इससे तो बेहतर था कि नीतियों के आधार पर

यहाँ बहस की जाती। अगर वे नीतियों के आधार पर बात करते तो हम उनकी बात को मानते हालाँकि उन्होंने खुद कहा है कि तर्क का जवाब तर्क से ही दिया जाता है। सरकार की नीतियाँ गलत हैं, इस आधार पर अगर वे प्रधान मन्त्री को कोसने तो हम भी उनका जवाब देते लेकिन उनकी इस तरह की बातों का हम क्या जवाब दे सकते हैं। इस तरह की बातें तो किसी भी आधार पर अच्छी नहीं कही जा सकती हैं।

सभापति जी, यहाँ पर राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण पर जो भाषण हुए उनमें विभिन्न प्रकार के विचार व्यक्त किए गए हैं। मैं तो यह जानता हूँ कि राष्ट्रपति जी के भाषण को पढ़कर ऐसा मालूम होता है कि अब हमारी सरकार की नीतियाँ सही प्रकार से आगे बढ़ेंगी और समाजवाद की ओर हम सही तौर पर कदम आगे बढ़ायेंगे। राष्ट्रपति जी के भाषण में जहाँ तक नीतियों का सम्बन्ध है, उनके सम्बन्ध में सदस्यों के अलग विचार हो सकते हैं लेकिन उन्होंने जो सरकार की सफलताओं का जिक्र किया है उनसे कोई भी इनकार नहीं कर सकता है कि देश ने इस सम्बन्ध में कुछ तरक्की की है। राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण को कुछ बातों पर विचार करने से पहले मैं आपके सामने दो एक बातें रखना चाहता हूँ। उन्होंने अपने अभिभाषण के पैरा 2, 3, 11, 12, 18, 24 और 30 में कुछ बातों का जिक्र किया है। मैं उनका समर्थन करता हूँ और उन्हें इस बात के लिए धन्यवाद भी देता हूँ कि उनका जो अभिभाषण है उसमें सरकार की नीतियों का बड़ी अच्छी तरह से विश्लेषण किया गया है। लेकिन हम केवल य. सोचें कि राष्ट्रपति जी ने अभिभाषण दिया है और सरकार कुछ कहे तो केवल उसी से इस देश की समस्याएँ हल हो जायेंगी, ऐसी बात नहीं है। केवल कहने से ही समस्याएँ हल नहीं हो जायेंगी। आज जो सत्तारूढ़ दल है और जो विपक्षी दल है, दोनों की ही जिम्मेदारी हो जाती है कि जनता के काम के लिए, जनता

[श्री प्रेमचन्द बर्मा]

की सेवा के लिए, जनता की बेहतरी के लिए और इस देश की बेहतरी के लिए जुटकर काम करें। आज हमारे देश के सामने बहुत सारी समस्याएँ हैं—दरोजगारी की समस्या है, भ्रमीरी और गरीबी का बढ़ता हुआ फर्क है, मंहगाई दिन ब दिन बढ़ती जा रही है। राष्ट्र हित का जहाँ तक सवाल है, राष्ट्र हित की बातें इस देश में बहुत कम होती हैं बल्कि दूसरी तरफ आप यह देखेंगे कि सुबह से लेकर शाम तक कहीं रेलगाड़ियाँ उल्टाई जाती हैं तो कहीं पर घाग लगाई जाती है। इस प्रकार से राष्ट्र के अहित की बातें होती हैं जिनसे देश का नुकसान होता है।

इसके अलावा आज हम देखते हैं कि विभिन्न प्रान्तों में विकास का बहुत बड़ा अन्तर है। इस अन्तर को भी हमें कम करना होगा। साथ ही हम देखते हैं कि चरित्रहीनता और गुन्डागर्दी दिन ब दिन बढ़ती चली जा रही है। इसी प्रकार भाषाई आधार और रीजनलिज्म भी बढ़ता चला जा रहा है। फिरकापरस्ती, चाहे वह बहुमत की हो या अल्पमत की, उसमें भी कोई अन्तर आने वाला नहीं है। इसी प्रकार से आने अधिकारों का अनुचित लाभ उठाने की बात है। चाहे किसी भी दल के लोग हों, कांग्रेस, कम्युनिस्ट या जनसंघ, या फिर सरकारी व गैर-सरकारी आदमी हों, बहरहाल जिसके पास भी कोई अधिकार है वह उसका अनुचित लाभ उठाता है। और फिर इस प्रकार अनुचित लाभ उठाने से भ्रष्टाचार बढ़ता है और हमारा सामाजिक पतन होता है। इसके साथ ही हमारे देश में राजनीतिक अस्थिरता भी आ गई है।

सभापति महोदय, देहाती होने के नाते एक बात मैं और कहना चाहता हूँ। यहाँ पर जब कोई बात कही जाती है तो उसमें यह मांग होती है कि शहर के अन्दर अन्डरग्राउन्ड रेलवे लाई होनी चाहिए। इसी प्रकार सरकार से

शहरों के लिए नयी नयी सुविधाओं की मांग की जाती है। लेकिन सभापति महोदय, आप भी चंडीगढ़ के रहने वाले हैं, आप भी जानते हैं कि वहाँ के गांवों की क्या हालत है। इस देश की 85 फीसदी जनता गांवों में रहती है। उन लोगों के लिए वहाँ पर पीने के लिए पानी नहीं है। उनके खेतों में पानी नहीं है। बिजली देखने के लिए भी नहीं है। सड़कों की हालत यह है कि दस-दस मील तक कोई लिंक रोड्स नहीं हैं। बस पकड़ने के लिए 15-20 मील तक पैदल जाना पड़ता है तब कहीं जाकर बस मिल सकती है। ट्रान्सपोर्ट के और कोई साधन नहीं हैं। जहाँ तक इंसफ का ताल्लुक है, इस देश की जनता को सस्ता इंसफ नहीं मिलता है। हालत यह है कि सारे देश को वकील लूट रहे हैं। ....(व्यवधान)... श्री रणधीर सिंह जो हंस रहे हैं, वे भी एक वकील हैं। यहाँ पर शहरों में आपको सौ सौ तारघर और डाकखाने मिलेंगे लेकिन देहातों में पांच पांच और दस दस मील तक कोई तारघर नहीं मिलता है। किसी के यहाँ कोई मर जाये तो उसके पास तार देने या चिट्ठी-पत्री देने का कोई साधन नहीं होता है।

जहाँ तक तालीम का सवाल है, यहाँ पर शहरों में सैकड़ों स्कूल और कालेज हैं लेकिन गांवों की हालत यह है कि 4-6 मील तक आपको कोई हाई स्कूल नहीं मिलेगा। लड़कियों को पढ़ने के लिए जंगलों से होकर भेज नहीं सकते हैं। वहाँ दस दस मील तक आपको कोई स्कूल नहीं मिलेगा। हम कहते हैं कि सभी को बढ़ने का बराबर मौका मिलता है लेकिन मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि कहां मौका मिलता है? मैं जनता का एक छोटा सा नुमाइन्दा होने की हैसियत से कह सकता हूँ कि आज देहातों की हालत बहुत ही खराब है। राष्ट्रपति जी ने कुछ थोड़ी सी बातें इस सम्बन्ध में कही हैं लेकिन मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि जब तक टोम कदम नहीं उठाये जायेंगे तब तक वहाँ पर कोई भी सुधार नहीं हो सकता है। जिस रफ्तार से हम चल रहे हैं उसमें वहाँ पर सुधार नहीं हो

सकता है। यहां पर शहरों में तो तालीम का भी बन्दोबस्त है और दूसरे भी बन्दोबस्त हैं। जहां तक जानवरों की बात है, यहां पर बड़े बड़े सांड रखे हुए हैं लेकिन गांधों में हालत यह है कि छोटी छोटी गायें और भैंसें हैं लेकिन उनको तरकीबी कैसे हो सकती है?....(व्यवधान) ....वहां पर स्वास्थ्य के लिए अस्पताल नहीं हैं। ....(व्यवधान)....

अब मैं कुछ बातें अपने प्रदेश के बारे में रखना चाहता हूं। हिमाचल प्रदेश यूनिजन टेरिटरी है। हिन्दुस्तान की सरकार और उसकी होम मिनिस्ट्री वहां का प्रशासन चलाती है। हमको सेक्रेटरी ग्रेड शहरी का दर्जा दे रखा है।

आपको मालूम होगा कि हमारे हिमाचल प्रदेश के एक लाख से ज्यादा जो सरकारी कर्मचारी हैं वह अपनी मांगों को लेकर भूख हड़ताल पर हैं। उनकी मांग है कि हमको पंजाब के स्केल दिए जायें। वहां के 40 हजार टीचर्स की जो मांग है वह भी आपको मालूम होगी। उनकी भी यह मांग है कि हमको पंजाब के स्केल दिए जायें। हमें कहा जाता था कि फाइनेंस मिनिस्ट्री जो है वह रोड़े अटकती है लेकिन अब हमारी खुशकिस्मती है कि फाइनेंस मिनिस्ट्री हमारी प्रधान मंत्रीजी के पास है। हम उम्मीद करते हैं कि हिमाचल प्रदेश के इम्प्लाइज और टीचर्स की जो डिमांड है उसके सम्बन्ध में 31 मार्च से पहले पहले फैसला करके उनको पंजाब के ग्रेड्स मिल जायेंगे। आज वहां पर हड़ताल हो रही है, घेराव हो रहे हैं जिसकी वजह से सारा का सारा काम ठप्प है। हम पहाड़ के रहने वाले हैं, हम अपनी बात शांति से कहते हैं, हम गाड़ियां नहीं जलाते। हिमाचल प्रदेश के तीस लाख लोग की आवाज़, है जब कभी आप मौका दें तभी हम उस बात को इस पार्लैमेंट में रख सकते हैं।

राष्ट्रपति जी ने एक बात बाउंड्री कमिशन के बारे में कही है। उन्होंने कहा है कि चंडीगढ़

का जो मसला है वह न्यायपूर्ण ढंग से हल हुआ है लेकिन मैं इस बात से मुतफिक नहीं हूं। चंडीगढ़ का जो फैसला है वह न्यायपूर्ण नहीं बल्कि एक तरफा है। चंडीगढ़ का जो फैसला है वह अफ़ानियों के दबाव में आकर हुआ है। हम मिलमिले में हिमाचल प्रदेश को विल्कुल टग्नोर कर दिया गया है, उसके साथ बेईसाफी की गई है। मैं इस बात से इनफ़ारम नहीं करता हूं कि चण्डीगढ़ का फैसला न्याय के ऊपर है, लेकिन मैं इस बात का स्वागत करना हूं कि सरकार ने बाउंड्री कमिशन नियुक्त किया है। बाउंड्री कमिशन के बारे में मेरा कहना यह है कि मैं बेलकम करता हूं, हिमाचल प्रदेश बेलकम करता है इसको और मैं आप के द्वारा कहना चाहूंगा कि बाउंड्री कमिशन के टर्म्स आफ रिफरेंस में यह बात साफ़ आनी चाहिये कि उस सारे इलाके के बारे में सोचा जायेगा जिस में तहसील पठानकोट, ऊना, होशियारपुर जिला, मुकेरिया, कालवा और भखड़ा नंगल वगैरह क्षेत्र आते हैं। यह सारे का सारा इलाका टर्म्स आफ रिफरेंस में आना चाहिये जिसका फैसला उन के जरिये से होना चाहिये।

16 hrs.

इस के साथ ही मैं कहना चाहूंगा कि र.श. फतेह सिंह ने इस बात की मुखालिफत की है कि हिमाचल प्रदेश को तीसरा फरीक बनाया जाय मैं उन से पूछना चाहता हूं कि वह सौन होते हैं यह कहने वाले कि हिमाचल प्रदेश को तीसरा फरीक न बनाया जाय? हम को इस का हक है। चण्डीगढ़ का फैसला जब हुआ तो हमारे साथ बेइन्साफी हुई। मैं प्रधान मंत्री और राष्ट्रपति द्वारा जो बाउंड्री कमिशन बनाने की बात कही गई है उसको बेलकम करता हूं और कहना चाहूंगा कि सारी चीजों को उस के सामने रखना जाय।

इसी तरह से भाखरा नंगल और न्यास डेम के बारे में भी आप से कहना चाहूंगा कि वह इलाके हिमाचल प्रदेश को बिलांग करते हैं

[श्री प्रेम चन्द वर्मा]

इस लिये कोई वजह नहीं है कि वह रंजाव के पास रहें, कोई वजह नहीं है कि वह सेंटर के पास रहें क्योंकि हमारे पास आमदनी के कोई साधन नहीं हैं। चूंकि हमारे पास आमदनी के कोई साधन नहीं हैं इस लिये अपनी छोटी छोटी समस्याओं को हल करने के लिये हम को सेंटर के पास जाना पड़ता है। यहाँ पर हमारे साथ जो सलूक होता है वह इसी से मालूम हो जायेगा कि यहाँ अभी एजुकेशन मिनिस्टर बैठे हुए थे। उन के पास हिमाचल प्रदेश के टीचरों का मसला आया हुआ है। उन के पास उस को पड़े हुए दो साल हो गये हैं, लेकिन यहाँ से फाइल नहीं निकलती। हिमाचल प्रदेश सरकार कहती है कि सेंटर फंसला करेगा और सेंटर कहता है कि हिमाचल प्रदेश सरकार फंसला करेगी। मेरी प्रार्थना है कि या तो आप इन मसलों का फंसला कीजिये या फिर हम को स्टेटहुड का दर्जा दीजिये ताकि हम फंसला कर सकें।

हिमाचल प्रदेश में कोई भी पब्लिक सेक्टर का कारखाना नहीं है, कोई भी फेक्ट्री पब्लिक सेक्टर की नहीं है। राष्ट्रपति ने अपने भाषण में असन्तुलन की बात कही है, यह बहुत अच्छी बात है लेकिन देखना यह है कि इस का कितना असर होता है और कितना असन्तुलन कम होता है। असन्तुलन के सम्बन्ध में मैं बड़े बड़े प्रदेशों का नाम तो नहीं लेना चाहूंगा उन के पास पब्लिक सेक्टर में लाखों-अरबों रुपये लगे हुए हैं मगर हिमाचल प्रदेश में एक भी पब्लिक सेक्टर का कारखाना नहीं है। इस के अलावा वहाँ पीने के लिये पानी नहीं है, चूने के लिये सड़कें नहीं हैं, किसी प्रकार की सुविधा नहीं हैं, बिजली वहाँ से निकलती है यहाँ आती है जिस से सारे इलाके चकाचौंध होते हैं, लेकिन जब हम यूनियन टेरिटरीज की बात करते हैं तो कोई मुनने वाला नहीं है क्योंकि हमारे पास पूरी विधान सभा नहीं है। हम को हक है विधान सभा का लेकिन हमारी सरकार हमारी विधान

सभा की कोई कीमत नहीं जानती है और इस सरकार से हम कुछ कह नहीं सकते। आपको हमारी बात सुननी होगी।

आप को खुशी होगी कि मैं उस प्रदेश से आता हूँ जहाँ के हजारों वीर डोगरे फौजों में जा कर कटते हैं और देश की रक्षा के लिये जाते हैं, मैं उस प्रदेश से ताल्लुक रखता हूँ जहाँ के वीर डोगरे अपनी जान की परवाह नहीं करते, अपने परिवार की परवाह नहीं करते, जब भी देश के लिये जरूरत पड़ती है तब सब लोग तो घर में घुम जाते हैं और वीर डोगरे जा कर अपना सर कटाते हैं। मैं इन वीर डोगरों की बात कहना चाहता हूँ कि उन के प्रदेश के ऊपर पूरी तौर से ध्यान दिया जाय और हमारे प्रदेश को मुकम्मल स्टेट का दर्जा दिया जाय। जब तक वह दर्जा उन को नहीं मिलता तब तक वह अपनी बात यहाँ तक नहीं पहुँचा सकेंगे।

SHRI MORARJI DESAI (Surat) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I do not want to raise any passions on the discussion on the President's Address, because that does not help in any way a proper consideration of the Address. I would not have ordinarily even spoken on this Address but for the fact that my hon. friend, who moved the motion of thanks, described it as a unique address. I have been wondering what is the unique part of it. Is the unique part this that my hon. friend, who spoke last, had all complaints to make and no credit to give? Is that the unique part of it? Has the Address disclosed any remedies for removing the complaints which he made one after another in a very passionate manner? That is what has been done by several others also. Is it unique because there is no mention of Mahatma Gandhi, who was the Father of the Nation, in the very centenary year in which this Address has been delivered to the joint Houses?

SOME HON. MEMBERS: Shame Shame !

SHRI MORARJI DESAI : Is it unique that the Prime Minister, in this very year of

Gandhi Centenary in an interview published in October in a French paper and quoted here in an Indian paper, in the *March of the Nation*, should have said that if we accepted to follow in the foot-steps of Mahatma Gandhi, we would have to go back to the villages and move in bullock-carts? Is this the unique part which this Address plays in the government of this country? It is this which has made me speak on this Address.

The unique part of it perhaps is that the hon. Mover has chosen to speak in a unique manner, a manner completely different from his whole life-time manner of speaking. From a person who always spoke independently, he became a courtier and said that he would accept whatever the Prime Minister decided in the matter of Mysore and Maharashtra. That is perhaps what makes it unique.

I do not want to dilate long on that part of the story. I would like to point out some of the features which I consider require consideration by the Government and by all of us. I would refer to the mention in the Address of the nationalisation of banks and the Bill that has been moved in this House. There is no question of going back on the nationalisation of banks. That does not arise at all and that is not what I want to say. When it was pointed out that it was done in a hurry and for political purposes, those who said that were considered enemies of socialism or were considered people who came in the way. But the Supreme Court showed how hasty it was and how it was not considered fully in all its aspects because it was brought in a hurry, after 36 hours of drafting probably.

The question that it raises is whether even now what has been done satisfies the Supreme Court's judgement and the requirement of the Constitution. This is what makes me wonder. I wish it does; the Government have said that they have taken full care to see that the Supreme Court's judgement is fully satisfied. But there is one aspect of it which does worry me.

The Supreme Court struck it down on the ground of hostile discrimination. Has that completely disappeared simply because

now the provision, which was there to debar the companies whose banks have been nationalised from doing banking business, is not there? Does that make it more valid?

I find that the 14 banks were nationalised on the ground that all banks with deposits over Rs. 50 crores were nationalised. That was the criterion which was applied. If that is so, what is the justification for not nationalising foreign banks which also fall in that category? Out of 13 foreign banks, I think, at least four or five fall in the category of Rs. 50 crores and above of deposits. Will this not be considered hostile discrimination? I do not know. I am only posing this problem for the Government's consideration. I do not want that Government's Bills should come to grief. Then, even the Prime Minister should express dissatisfaction and some of her fans should go to the Supreme Court in an unresigned manner is what worries me even more.

The Prime Minister says that she respects the Supreme Court and that she has not criticised the Supreme Court. Is it correct? In her speech at Ujjain or Ajmer or Indore, I forget where it was, soon afterwards, while referring to the judgment she said, "This shows how hurdles come in our way when we want to make a change in the economy." If the judgment is considered a hurdle, then, where is the respect for the Supreme Court? After all, the Prime Minister also agreed in the other House that the Supreme Court is one of the pillars of democracy. There are four pillars of democracy in my view, not only three. The four pillars are the legislature, the executive, the judiciary and the press. All these four pillars have to be strong and each one has to see that other three are also strong. If one pillar crumbles, the whole democracy goes down. It is therefore, that I had taken the earliest opportunity to separate the judiciary from the executive in the Bombay State where I was the Home Minister in the earlier years in spite of the caution which was given to me by the Government of India at that time.

It is very necessary to see that the Supreme Court remains above criticism.

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It is not necessary and it cannot be expected that everybody will accept the Supreme Court judgment, in every case, as correct in his own view. But, after all, that is not the criterion. The Supreme Court is the highest court of justice in this country and it is the duty of the Supreme Court, and that is what is envisaged in the Constitution and in the democratic framework, to see that the executive and also the legislature work within the framework of the Constitution which is supreme.

I can understand that where inconvenience is found by Government is pushing through their policies for social welfare or social change, that there is something in the Constitution which comes in the way of doing so, they can certainly take steps to amend the Constitution. I would not say that they cannot take that course—but that should not be merely because one does not like the Supreme Court judgment. The Supreme Court judgment, in this particular case, I think, is one of the most learned judgments ever seen in the world. If anybody takes pains to read the judgment, he will be convinced. One may not agree with it. One may agree with it. I may only talking about the learned part of it. There is another part of it also that they have accepted that Parliament has the right to pass legislation for nationalisation. That is also there. They also gave sufficient time to the Government to pass an Ordinance if they wanted to do so to rectify the situation. Otherwise, they could have pronounced the judgment late. But they are not interested in that.

Then, the Supreme Court cannot be considered a non-progressive court at all as can be obvious from one judgment which I have seen recently, when I was looking at it, as to what they have stated about progressive legislation. This was stated in Civil Appellate Jurisdiction, Civil Appeal No. 1617 of 1967 in the case of Chandra Bhavan Boarding and Lodging, Bangalore *vs* the State of Mysore. There, they have said :

“Our attention was not drawn to any material on record to show that the minimum wages fixed are basically

wrong. *Prima facie* they appear to be reasonable. We are not convinced that the rates prescribed would adversely affect the industry or even a small unit therein. If they do, then the industry or the unit as the case may be has no right to exist. Freedom of trade does not mean freedom to exploit...”

“The provisions of the Constitution are not erected as the barriers to progress. They provide a plan for orderly progress towards the social order contemplated by the Preamble to the Constitution. They do not permit any kind of slavery social, economic or political. It is a fallacy to think that under our Constitution, there are only rights and no duties.”

This is what the Supreme Court has pronounced from time to time. This is not the first time and yet if it does not become convenient to us, we begin to cavil at it and then begin to say that the Supreme Court is a bar to progress. Of course, my hon. friends, Communists, will always say that because for them the Court must be within their grasp and within their dictates. That is their philosophy. Theirs also is an honest philosophy. I won't say that their philosophy is not honest. They honestly try to follow that philosophy but the only difficulty between them and us is that their definition of 'honesty' is different from my definition. They consider everything is honest which serves the people. I say, honesty can have only one criterion and that is truth. And that truth also is a truth which serves their purpose and everything else is a lie. Their people also are those people who support them, and those who do not support them are enemies of the people. I consider that all are people. Others who oppose me also are people and they must be respected more than those who are my friends. This is what a man who believes in democracy believes. Only the Supreme Court has got to decide what is to be done. If the laws are deficient, it is not the fault of the Supreme Court. The Supreme Court would have failed in its duty if it had not done that. It is, therefore, that the Supreme Court must not be criticised by people who believe in democracy. I have no quarrel with my hon.

friends, the Communists, when they criticise it because it is their business. But when they become friends of the Prime Minister, then it is the Prime Minister who gets the blame because in her name they go on talking about it. Then some other people from the ruling Party also begin to say that. Actually one of the Ministers of State has been served with a notice for contempt of court in this very connection. (*Interruptions*)

**SOME HON MEMBERS :** He should Resign.

**SHRI MORARJI DESAI :** But the position has come to this that a Minister has got to be served with a notice for contempt of court. What does it mean ? It means that he was not at all prudent in saying what he said. It means that in his own mind he was more following the Communist trend than the democratic trend. (*Interruptions*) This is what is to my mind very worrisome in the matter of nationalisation of banks and I hope the Government will see to it that the Supreme Court is not allowed to be given names by anybody, at any rate, by members of her Party, if not anybody else, over whom she has full control. Therefore, it is not enough to say that she respects the Supreme Court. It is necessary for her to restrain all others in the Party also from saying anything disparaging to the Supreme Court.

Then it was because of all these difficulties that have cropped up - legal, specially legal difficulties, that I had brought in social control and what has been mentioned in the Economic Survey. That will reveal how social control was working and why bank nationalisation has become a political act. In paragraph 91 of the Economic Survey it has been said and figures have been given as to how progressive measures have been taken by banks. It is said here :

“Thus between end-June 1968 and end-June 1969, total outstanding credit rose from Rs. 45 crores to Rs. 188 crores in respect of agriculture, from Rs. 194 crores to Rs. 294 crores in respect of small scale industries and from Rs. 174 crores to Rs. 255 crores in respect of exports.”

These are the purposes for which banks had been directed by social control. This has been done fully and the Economic Survey is silent on what progress has been achieved six months after I had left. These figures must not have been very convenient. Therefore, they have not been given. I feel even in this reference what has been said is :

“As a result of the various measures taken by the Reserve Bank...”

this has been done, Did the Reserve Bank take the steps ? Or did I take the steps ? Did the Government take the steps ? Did the Finance Minister take the steps ? This is forgotten. This was done by me more than by anybody else. This was done personally by me even before social control legislation was passed. Six months before that this was put into effect. They do not have even the courtesy to acknowledge that. Otherwise bank nationalisation would be exposed in its proper colour. This is what makes the Presidential Address unique perhaps. Then, I would like to refer to what is mentioned about Bokaro. It has been stated here :

“Government have now decided to take in hand immediately the work on the second stage of the Bokaro plant.”

The House has always been informed that the Indian consultants, that is, the Central Engineering and Designs Bureau of Hindustan Steel Limited have been appointed consultants for the second stage. I happen to know something about the background of Bokaro project and therefore I would like the House to know this. Indian consultants Messrs Dastur and company, have been pushed out of Bokaro and now Russians have been brought in the garb of collaboration. I would like to point out that as far back as 1958 M/s. Dastur and Company had prepared a preliminary project report for Bokaro. and detailed project report in 1963. This was accepted and they were appointed consultants, principal Indian consultants, for the complete engineering for Bokaro. The American offer came first for these plants; but that was rejected because they wanted a turn-key job and I think it was rightly rejected. But afterwards what happened ? The moment the Russian

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offer came, all this was reversed. Dastur and Company who were appointed as consultants for Bokaro were pushed out because the Russians would not accept them. And then they did this camouflage, GEDB entered into this design collaboration with Giproem, Russian Design Organisation. They have another collaboration for Engineering with U. S. A. Perhaps it has equalised the two—I do not know. But this particular matter comes entirely to the Russians. Now, it is known that the Russian machinery and the Russian projects are very costly and their machinery outdated. It is not an up-to-date machinery at all in my view. It happened in the case of the MIGs and yet we go on doing it and the cost goes on mounting and these costs make steel more and more costly. And, because the Russians would not agree, Dastur and Co. were not given in the first stage also, about consultancy. Then, in the second stage, they were promised but that also was not given. They get pushed out of it and this Indian company as it is called, is doing it. This puts people at a disadvantage. We are dependent on the Russians for the HEC; we are dependent on the Russians for Bokaro; we are dependent on the Russians for this consultant company. All this has come into effect and the costs go on mounting. I would like to show to you how these costs have increased. The Rourkela steelworks have cost Rs. 1977 per ton; Bhilai steelworks have cost Rs. 1700 per ton; Durgapur steel works have cost Rs. 1795 per ton; whereas in some steel factories in other countries like Japan Fukuyama steel works, it costs Rs. 992 per ton; Spencer Works in the UK costs Rs. 1170 per ton; Taranto in Italy costs Rs. 861 per ton;

What is Bokaro going to cost? Bokaro will cost Rs. 2,860 per ton, excluding customs duty, township, offsite facilities, design and engineering. If all these are included, Bokaro is likely to cost Rs. 4,120 per ton.

16.25 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER *in the Chair.*]

SHRI V. KRISHNAMOORTHY (Cudalōre) : All this happened when he was

Finance Minister. Is he doing a *post-mortem* ?

S-SRI MORARJI DESAI : I was saying this then. But no action had been taken. It is for pointing out inconvenient things that I am out. That also ought to be realised. I had pointed out to the Minister of Steel and Heavy Engineering that these costs are very heavy and, therefore, they must be looked into, and the costs must be reduced. This is what I had said. Beyond that, the Finance Minister cannot do anything more. It is the Prime Minister who can do whatever the Prime Minister may want to do, not the Finance Minister or the Deputy Prime Minister. He can only advise; he can do nothing more than that.

Therefore, these costs of Bokaro are going to be more than double. How will this steel be of any great use to the country? I do not know. The cost will be greater and greater in all the engineering works which will use this steel. This is why we have come to grief. This is what requires to be examined and set right. This is so because they are overcapitalised, because also there is far more labour than necessary, sometimes 4,000-5,000 more than required in several projects. And we are not taking any action to see that this is set right.

The management also is not properly done. That is why we come to grief in the matter of our steel plants and other such public sector areas. I am for these public sector areas. These public sector projects are very necessary; otherwise, the country will not go ahead. They will not help us if we do not bring down costs. If the costs go up, then our economy will never benefit. We will not go to the haven where we want to go, at any rate where we are promised to be taken by the President's Address or by the budget as it is so-called . . . (*Interruption*). This is how I know. This is what I was pointing out. This is why it was not liked.

Then I was also intrigued a bit when in her budget speech, the Prime Minister said that she had levied some taxes on whisky and brandy imported from outside as a matter of personal reconciliation, if not political reconciliation. The meaning is obvious. But I do not want to go in-

to that. I have no cause for not reconciling myself with the Prime Minister. I consider her a friend; I do not consider her anything else.

But where is Prohibition? That is what I want to know. That is not mentioned at all. If this is so, how can Gandhiji be mentioned in the Address at all in the centenary year? This is why it is not mentioned. Then in order that it is not mentioned, the ground is being prepared with the help of my hon. friends, the communists, to do all this kind of things. Where shall we go? I do not know. I am not saying about one particular person. (*An Hon. Member: Let him ask Veerendra Patil.*)

When my hon. friend and leader, Kripalanjii, mentioned about the interview which the Prime Minister had chosen to give to a French newspaper editor or somebody, objection was taken about the paper. What does the paper matter? What she said matters. And that has been quoted in inverted commas. Has it been denied? Let it be denied and I will accept that denial, if that is so. But that is all in inverted commas. That is why that paper, the French paper, wrote about Mahatma Gandhi as the 'beloved dictator'. That is how it is titled. Then, this is how it is all described, that he would have taken us to the villages. This was not what he meant. He only did not want us to be slaves of machines, he wanted us to see that machines are used for our benefit. That is how things should go on. He was a realist, he was not a person who trod in air or in the skies, he trod on the earth and that is why, if he is to be treated like that, how can any of us be treated better? We are bound to be treated worse than that, I have no doubt, because we have the effrontery to go on reminding them about this. This is not liked. Therefore, if even he is a reactionary we are bound to be total reactionaries, because how can we be better men? If this is the ground on which the President's Address is considered to be unique, well, God help them, that is all I can say.

I would like also to mention about what is said about China in this Address that also perhaps makes it unique. Here it is

said :

"With China also our aim has been to conduct our relations on the principles of mutual respect of each other's sovereignty and territorial integrity and non-interference in each other's internal affairs. We expect China to respect our right to pursue our own domestic affairs and foreign policy."

That is, China should oblige us by behaving all right and kindly to us. We have taken a unanimous vow in this hon. House that we will not rest until we get back our territory illegally occupied by China. There is no mention of that determination. On the contrary, we request China to allow us to function properly. If this is the way we are going to do this, I do not know where this country is going to be led to. That is what I would like my hon. friends to understand, to ponder over and to see what they can do about it to see that the self-respect and integrity of this great country are preserved and safeguarded by those in power.

Lastly, I would refer to the statement of the Chief of Staff made at Bulandshahar. He disapproved of frequent calling of the army for suppressing civil disturbances. He said it was the duty of the police and the police should do it. This has perhaps been said before also by some people. I would agree as a theory that the military should be called on as few occasions as is physically possible. But does this mean that the Chief of Staff considers that the Government has been reckless in using the military during last year or in recent years? If that is so, can the Chief of staff criticise the Government under whom he is? Is it for the Chief of Staff to consider where the military is to be used and where it is not to be used? Is it the function of the civil power or the military power? I have great respect for the Chief of Staff, for his capacity. but I do not know how these great officers can speak in public in this manner where the Government is run down and where the Government's authority is not respected, because this is just challenging the actions of Government, and this is what I object to. If this is what we are going to encourage in this country, God help us, that is all that I can say. Let my friends in this House ponder over this and see that we are saved from wrong situations

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arising as a result of what is mentioned in the President's Address.

**SHRI M. MUHAMMAD ISMAIL (Manjeri)** : Sir, the President's Address gives a correct picture of the country's position today. It is refreshingly vigorous and clear in tone and Style which is characteristic of the President. (*Interruptions*). Parts of the Address may not be to the liking of some of our friends, but the picture itself is a true one.

As I already indicated, the Address speaks of the undeniable fact that the country is now in a ferment and that the aspirations of our people and their hopes and expectations had been aroused, unleashing a vast amount of energy and enthusiasm. It is good that the Government are determined to give to these forces a new sense of direction and purpose as well as a realizable goal, to go forward at a faster pace towards the achievement of a social order which is just and humane.

I may mention here that the nationalisation of banks has already begun to show its beneficial results and many small men and petty traders are able to get money, more easily and readily, for eking out their living in a better manner. I would only say in this connection that along with making money available, care should also be taken to see that money is put to proper and beneficial use. It is a matter for gratification that the Government recognises we more keenly the vital importance of agriculture to our country. Agriculture is an industry which is vital in our economy and in which more than 75 per cent of our people are engaged. In any planning this must have taken topmost and uppermost priority. The principle ought to have been to encourage this industry, which was already in existence and those industries required for improving agriculture, before launching upon any other industrial programme. If this had been done at the beginning of the Plan, it would have served as a stable deep and unshakable foundation for the industrialisation of the country. Agro-industries would have led to many other industries. Now at last this point is recognised and vigorous attempts are made in this direction,

As the Address points out, the agricultural industry was given a new strategy to go upon and the results are already known and appreciated even in foreign countries.

Sir, minor irrigation like the tanks and underground water resources are receiving better and more consideration now. It was of the utmost importance and it was recognised so by some parties even at the beginning of Independence. It was urged that these resources must be tapped first and foremost, because this will give dividends even in a few months' time and it will supplement the resources for other greater industrial development in a quicker and satisfactory manner.

In this connection, I would say that in Kerala, the fishing industry is as important as agriculture because Kerala is a land which is suffering from extreme scantiness of agricultural land. A large number of people are engaged in the fishing industry and they are in a very bad way. A recent technological survey of the State gave the *per capita* income of a fisherman at 25 paise, and it is in that State that a much larger portion of the fishing industry in the country is concentrated. About a year ago, the Government of that State had submitted to the Government of India a Master Plan for modernising and developing the fishing industry and appealing for loans or grants for carrying out those schemes, and still they have not found any response from the Central Government. The sooner they pass that Master Plan and send it to the Government of Kerala, the sooner it will be immensely helping the people of that State, and it will have a vital bearing on the economic development of that industrially backward State.

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

**SHRI M. MUHAMMAD ISMAIL** : So Soon ? I have a number of points which will take me twice the time that I have already taken.

**MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER** : You are completing 10 minutes. The other Members are there who are interested in speaking.

**SHRI M. MUHAMMAD ISMAIL** : In Tamil Nadu, a new scheme has been

prepared for renovating the old Pennar and Kaveri delta scheme. A team which came from a UN agency recently for studying and inspecting the scheme on the spot have approved of it and they expressed their admiration for the efficient way in which that plan has been prepared. Their opinion was expressed publicly, and it was found in the papers. If only that project was executed, the production of food in Tamil Nadu would at least be doubled in quantity in a short while. I think it is now under examination by some agency outside our country. I would request the Government of India to see that quick clearance is given to that scheme and that it is put through. It will be not only for the benefit of that State but also for the benefit of the whole country.

It is a good idea that now more attention is being paid to agriculture. But I hope the case of cash crops would not be neglected or ignored.

Government are now concentrating more upon steel, oil and fertilizer, so far as industries go. In that connection, I would like to refer to the Salem steel plant. People have been agitating for it for a pretty long time. I would suggest that it should be set up as soon as possible. It will have an important bearing on the development of Tamilnadu and it will create enthusiasm in the people for the industrial development of the area.

There has been a new discovery of iron ore in Kerala and it has been testified by the authorities concerned as the best kind of ore. It has been found in workable quantities and the Government of Kerala is anxious that it should be exploited as soon as possible. I hope something substantial will be done by the Government of India for this enterprise.

There was some oil exploration by offshore drilling in Tamilnadu. What is the report that has been given and what is the further procedure about it, one does not know. Oil is important for industrial development and it is very necessary that Tamilnadu and the country as a whole should get the benefits of the exploitation of this particular commodity. This will also considerably reduce the present regional imbalance in the States.

It is said that the government are going to intensify their efforts for the development of small-scale and medium-scale industries. It is all to the good. But, at the same time, I want to say that red tape and routine should not come in the way of helping these industries quickly. I do not say that red tape and routine must be abolished altogether because they also represent a necessary portion of the procedure that has to be adopted in such cases, but they must be reduced and things must pass through very quickly. Now there are instances in which the government servants takes two years to consider an application and that too, to reject it finally. That is not a satisfactory arrangement.

**MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER :** I cannot allow him any more time. He has already taken fifteen minutes. He should conclude.

**SHRI M. MUHAMMAD ISMAIL :** While speaking of the development of the country the President has stressed on communal harmony and peaceful atmosphere in the country. He says that when we were expecting that things were improving there came the shocking events in Ahmedabad causing national humiliation and leaving a blot on our honour.

We are grateful to the Government for recognising the enormity of the happenings in Ahmedabad and other places. The State Governments with the assistance of the Central Government are charged with the rehabilitation of the victims of those happenings. Of course, dead men cannot be brought to life; but what is being done in the matter of rehabilitation of the victims who are alive? We do not know. There are innumerable widows and people who suffered from that holocaust. *(Interruption)*.

**MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER :** I would request all Members to be brief so that everybody has a chance. I cannot give you more time.

**SHRI M. MUHAMMAD ISMAIL :** I would only mention that whatever measures they have taken for rehabilitation of those people must be published.

Then, injustice to Urdu still continues. Unless and until Urdu gets justice, it would

[ Shri M. Muhammad Ismail ]

not mean that the minority community has received full satisfaction at the hands of the authorities.

**SHRI BISWANARAYAN SHASTRI** (Lakhimpur) : Sir, I support the motion moved on the President's Address. Before speaking I would like to draw your attention to the fact that there is no provision for translating our speeches, which we want to deliver in our regional languages. Therefore I would like to speak in Sanskrit.

**MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER** : Whatever you speak in whatever language, kindly conclude in five minutes. I do not think there is any arrangement for the translation of a speech in Sanskrit. Therefore, after your speech kindly give a translation of your speech to the reporters.

**\*\* SHRI BISWANARAYAN SHASTRI :**

I rise to support the motion of thanks on President's address moved by Shri K. Hanumanthaya. Before I speak on the subject I am to observe that there is no facility for translating speeches from the languages of the eastern region. I would like to speak in Sanskrit.

The President in his address was briefly referred to the policy of the Govt. and the achievement so far made in different fields. He has also pointed out the steps that the Govt. have taken and are likely to take in future. We are thankful to him that he has focussed our attention on the peresent day socio-political problem of the country.

The tree is known by the **fruits** it bears. The success of the policies pursued by the Govt. can be judged by the results so far achieved in removing poverty and boosting up agriculture and industry. No light is required to see the rising sun. No elucidation is necessary to understand the progress made by Govt. in different fields. No doubt, Govt. have achieved something, done many things, but much more yet to be done in the field of agriculture, industry and rural upliftment. We have heard much about 'green revolution' and there is wide range publicity about it. Even then the

target is yet to be achieved. Still there is shortage of foodstuff in our country. We are procuring food from other countries by spending hundreds of thousand of foreign exchange. I wish more attention be paid on productivity, not on publicity, green revolution is in the field, not on papers.

For the welfare of the agriculturists much more yet to be done. The land, agricultural implement, water and fertilisers. these four things are must for the improvement of agriculture. I shall speak about land later on.

I mean by agricultural implement the bullock and small tractors. Credit societies which are to advance loan to the cultivators for purchasing bullocks or tractors in most cases, in name only. Suppose, a farmer needs rupees one thousand to purchase a pair of bullocks and if he is granted a loan of five hundred only, what will he do with that five hundred. Is it expected that he would purchase one bullocks with that amount and place himself in place of other bullock and carry on cultivation. The loan advanced to the cultivators must be adequate and timely.

To irrigate the agricultural land dams are constructed and canals are there. There are hundreds of miles irrigation canal in other states but not a mile in Assam. It is regretted.

Lift irrigation is more beneficial to the small farmers. For this electricity is a must. Who does not know about it In Assam villages are plunged into darkness, let alone power for irrigation. Alas, natural gas worth lacks of rupees are fared out daily in Assam.

We are hearing tall talks about agrarian reform. Such reforms should not remain as slogans and in papers. If the land reform is not carried out peacefully in legal way and the land is not made available to the tillers who can prevent the Naxalite method from operation.

In ancient time the land was considered as the property of the entire Nation, the state. Therefore Bharata is land lord neither Yadu, nor Madu. This concept, land belongs to the state was remembered on all socio-religious occasions in this way.

Bhuswamine Bharatya namah.

Bharata is to be taken as symbolic one, it represents nation and the state. It is not an individual.

In ancient times the wellbeing of the farmers was the primary concern of the state. Therefore, whenever there was a Royal visitor to the hermitage those sages devoted for universal good used to enquire about the condition of the agriculturists. The Mahabharata says :

क्वचित् कृषिकरा राष्ट्रं न जहात्यतिपीडिताः ।  
ये वहन्ति धुरं राज्ञां संभरन्तीतरानपि ॥

Whether the agriculturists, who not only bear the burden of the king but support all others, being heavily oppressed (by taxes levied on them and by the persons who collect it) have not left the kingdom ?

The cultivators must get reasonable price of their products. The price of agricultural products must have relation to labour put in and investment made on in the field.

Now, I switch over to English. Regarding my State, I would like to draw your attention ..

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : No translation now, You should give the translation in writing to the office.

SHRI BISWANARAYAN SHASTRI : Only two or three minutes.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : No please; your time is up. There are other Members also who are anxious to speak.

SHRI BISWANARAYAN SHASTRI : I am concluding.

No major industries have been established in the public sector in my State except the Namrup fertiliser. But there is a grievance that the local people are not employed there. This should be looked into. We are grateful to the Prime Minister that she has made an announcement regarding industrialisation and about the establishment of a second refinery or petro-chemical-complex there. But I am afraid the expert opinion does not stand in the way.

Industrialisation of Assam should be taken as a package deal. Before Pakistan aggression, there was a water route and an air route from Assam to Calcutta. During Pakistan aggression that was closed. Later on, in their own interest, Pakistan allowed Indian aircraft to fly over East Pakistan. But they did not open the water route. Since they have no necessity of the water route, they do not allow Indian ships to ply through East Pakistan to Calcutta. I do not consider it a wise decision on the part of our Foreign Ministry. Both water route and air route should have been taken as a package deal. If the transport bottle-neck of the State of Assam is not removed, the acceleration of industrialisation cannot be achieved. Therefore, I appeal to the Government that the question of industrialisation should be taken along with removing the transport bottle-neck of Assam.

I want to make only one point more that during the Third Plan period, the *percapita* income in Assam has gone down from sixth position to eleventh position whereas in other States it has gone up. Why is it so? There is no major industry in Assam. Assam is surrounded by foreign countries and, therefore, private capital is shy there. Unless the Government of India comes forward with a concrete proposal, Assam cannot prosper in the field of industrialisation. Sir, the Fifth Finance Commission did not do full justice to Assam. Therefore, I will be happy if a more sympathetic consideration is given to this backward and under-developed State.

17 hrs.

श्री देवेन सेन (असमसोल) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, इस सदन में चन्द दिनों पहले हम लोगों ने माननीय श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी का भाषण सुना था। इस में उन्होंने भारतीय-करण पर प्रकाश डालने का प्रयास किया था। जहाँ पर उन्होंने कहा कि भारतीयकरण का एक पहलू है स्वदेशी, तो उस को मानने में हमें कोई ऐतराज नहीं, कोई दिक्कत नहीं, जहाँ पर उन्होंने कहा कि भारतीयकरण का एक पहलू है विदेशी मुक्तों से सहायता न लेना, उस में भी हम लोगों को कोई ऐतराज नहीं है अगर इस के साथ यह भी जोड़ दिया कि सी आई ए से भी

[ श्री देवेन सेन ]

कोई मदद न ली जाये। लेकिन तीसरे पहलू के सम्बन्ध में उन से जरूर कहना चाहता हूँ कि जिस दिन उन्होंने यह व्याख्यान दिया था उसी दिन दिल्ली में गुरु गोलवलकर जी का व्याख्यान हुआ था, जिस में उन्होंने कहा था कि :

“Only a united Hindu India can save the country.”

मैं दोनों को मिला कर उन से पूछूंगा कि क्या उन का भारतीयकरण और गुरु गोलवलकर का यूनाइटेड हिन्दू इंडिया दोनों एक साथ चलेंगे ? इस का वह स्पष्टीकरण करें। उन्होंने अभी तक इस के बारे में कुछ नहीं कहा। श्री वाजपेयी बाहर से रुपया नहीं लेना चाहते, इस में तो हम लोग उन के साथ सहमत हैं, लेकिन क्या वह हिटलर की जो फिलासफी थी हिटलरिज्म की उस को भी इंडिया में लाना चाहते हैं। हिटलर भी कहता था कि :

“Germany is the ego of the nation.”

हिटलर कहता था कि जिस की नसों में एरियन ब्लड नहीं है वह जर्मन नहीं हो सकता और इस मुल्क में बसने का उसे कोई हक नहीं है। इस बहाने से जर्मनों का कस्ट्रेशन किया गया और लाखों आदमी मारे गये। हम लोगों को डर है कि अगर यह फिलासफी हिन्दुस्तान में आती है और उसको रोकने की कोशिश नहीं की गई तो हिन्दुस्तान में ऐसे ढंग के अत्याचार चल जायेंगे की हिन्दुस्तान के टुकड़े-टुकड़े हो जायेंगे। यहां पर पांच करोड़ मुसलिम हैं और आप सब को हिन्दू नहीं बना सकते, और हम लोग करने भी नहीं देंगे।

श्री हरदयाल देवगुण (पूर्व दिल्ली) : किसने कहा है कि इस तरह से किया जायेगा ? लेकिन क्या हिन्दुओं का संगठन करना बुरा है ?

श्री देवेन सेन : मैं यह भी कहना चाहता हूँ कि आज स्वतन्त्र पार्टी का बहुत जोरों से

प्रचार चल रहा है कि हम लोग डिक्टेटरशिप नहीं चाहते। हमें इस की खुशी है कि डिक्टेटरशिप हम लोग भी नहीं चाहते, लेकिन मैं स्वतन्त्र पार्टी को श्री टाटा का यह वाक्य सुनाना चाहता हूँ जो कि सन् 1968 का है।

Speech delivered at the 60th Annual General meeting of the Indian Merchants' Chamber, Bombay.

इस में उन्होंने कहा था :

“Between now and the next General Elections in 1972, so overwhelming may be the disillusion of our voters that they may turn their faces totally away from the procedures and practices of parliamentary democracy.”

दूसरे इस का सोल्यूशन क्या है यह मैं खुद उन से पूछता हूँ।

“What then is the solution ? What then is the alternative ? Might it not be a Presidential system of Federal Government in which a Chief at the Centre and the Executive Governors in the States are elected, for a term of years, during which they are irremovable and free to govern through cabinets of experts appointed by them and who may, but need not, include professional politicians.”

यह श्री टाटा का कहना है और टाटा उन के मैनेजर हैं।

श्री एस० एम० जोशी (पूना) : वह जज हेगडे का बात कहते हैं।

श्री देवेन सेन : इस के साथ ही माननीय सदस्य स्थाल करें कि श्री राजगोपालचारी ने प्रेजिडेंट के लिए क्या सजेसन दिया था। वह एक्स मिलिटरीमेन का। एक तरफ स्वतन्त्र पार्टी और एक तरफ मिलिटरी मैन, एक तरफ जन संघ और एक तरफ नेटिव स्टेट्स, इन सब को मिला कर हिन्दुस्तानी में डिक्टेटरशिप कायम करने का प्रयास चल रहा है। इस लिये मैं चेतावनी देता हूँ कि इस के फन्दे में हिन्दुस्तान के लोग न पड़े, यह बहुत खतरनाक है। जन

संघ और स्वतन्त्र पार्टी का यह जो कहना है, यह जो प्रचार है वह बहुत खतरनाक है देश के लिये और इससे देश टुकड़े टुकड़े हो जायेगा। मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि क्या श्री वाजपेयी ने जा कर किसी मुसलमान को अपनी पार्टी का मेम्बर बनाया ?

श्री हरदयाल देवगुण : जी हाँ।

श्री देवेन सेन : कहां बनाया ?

श्री हरदयाल देवगुण : मेट्रोपोलिटन कौंसिल का एक मेम्बर दिल्ली का एम ए पाम मुसलमान देशभक्त जनसंघी है।

श्री देवेन सेन : जन संघ में मुसलमानों की तादाद कितनी है ?

श्री हरदयाल देवगुण : जन संघ के टिकट पर वह खड़ा हुआ था और मेट्रोपोलिटन कौंसिल का मेम्बर है।

श्री देवेन सेन : क्या आप जागा मस्जिद के सामने जा कर अपनी फिलासफी पर दुल्ल-मखुल्ला बोल सकेंगे ?

श्री हरदयाल देवगुण : हाँ जाया मस्जिद में जाकर हम अपना जल्सा करते हैं।

श्री देवेन सेन : इस सिलसिले में मैं अपनी पार्टी के रुख को इंडिकेट और सिडिकेट के बारे में स्पष्टीकरण कर देना चाहता हूँ। हम लोग किसी को पाटिकुलरली नहीं मानते हैं, हम न इंडिकेट की बात करते हैं और न सिडिकेट की बात करते हैं। हमारी अपनी फिलासफी है। हम कहते हैं कि दोनों ही के साथ हमारा कोई ताल्लुक नहीं। न हम इंडिकेट के पक्षदार हैं और न सिडिकेट के पक्षदार हैं। (व्यवधान) क्या आप चाहते हैं कि हम किसी का साथ करें ? (व्यवधान) हम को जितनी भी आशाओं शासन की तरफ से दिलाई गई थीं वह हम लोग राष्ट्र-पति के अभिभाषण में नहीं पाते। इस बात का हम को दुःख है। लेकिन सब प्वाइंट्स पर बोलने का इस समय वक़्त नहीं है इस लिये मैं सिर्फ़ दो तीन प्वाइंट्स पर बोलूंगा।

हमारे राष्ट्रपति एक ट्रेड यूनियनिस्ट हैं, हमारा सौभाग्य है कि एक ट्रेड यूनियनिस्ट भारत का राष्ट्रपति बना हैं, लेकिन उन के व्याख्यान में लेबर के बारे में कोई बात नहीं पाई। हम लोग चाहते थे कि उन के भाषण में नीड बेस्ट मिनिमम वेज का जिक्र रहे क्योंकि हम देखते हैं कि इंडीनिअरिंग इंडस्ट्रीज में हर साल मालिक लोग अपने एम्प्लायोज से 4,000 रु० कमाते हैं। Value added by manufacture is Rs. 6,000 per year, wages paid per year is Rs. 2,000 so the excess is Rs. 4,000 which the employers will get. लेकिन इतना होने पर भी अभिभाषण में नीड बेस्ट मिनिमम वेज का कोई जिक्र नहीं है।

हमने यह भी देखा है कि नेशनल कमीशन आन लेबर ने एक स्थान पर कहा है कि भारत में वेज कास्ट इन प्रोपोर्शन टू टोटल मैनुफैक्चर कास्ट इज डिक्वाइनिंग। लेकिन हमारी जो नीड बेस्ट मिनिमम वेज की डिमांड है उसको उभाने नहीं माना है। राष्ट्रपति जी ने कहा है कि लेबर कमीशन की रिपोर्ट आपके सामने है और उसको आप देख लो। लेकिन कमीशन की रिपोर्ट को तो हमने ठुकरा दिया है। हम उसको मान नहीं सकते हैं। कमीशन ने नीड बेस्ट मिनिमम वेज की हमारी डिमांड को नहीं माना है। कमीशन ने यह भी सिफारिश की है कि एसेंशन सर्विसिस में स्ट्राइक बन्द कर दी जाए, इसका राइट छीन लिया जाए। हम इसको भी नहीं मान सकते हैं। इसलिए मेरा कहना यह है कि राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण में लेबर के बारे में कोई आशा नहीं बंधाई गई है।

अब मैं सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट एम्प्लायोज के बारे में कुछ कहना चाहता हूँ। यह ठीक है कि आज यह आया है कि जो सर्विस में ब्रेक आया था, उसको ब्रेक नहीं माना जाएगा। लेकिन हमारी मांग यह है कि सारे केसिस को विद्वुड किया जाए। हमारी मांग है कि जो आदर्भ भी डिस्मिस हुए हैं उनको रिइस्टेट किया जाए।

[ श्री देवेन सेन ]

हम चाहते हैं कि कोर्ट केसिस को विदड़ा किया जाए। साथ ही जो डिपार्टमेंटल प्रोसीडिग्स चल रही हैं, उनको विदड़ा किया जाए। हम चाहते हैं कि उनके खिलाफ कोई डिसिप्लनरी एक्शन भी न हो।

अन्त में मैं इतना ही कहना चाहता हूँ कि राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण में हमारे लिए आशा और उम्मीद करने के लिए कुछ भी नहीं है।

**SHRI VIKRAM CHAND MAHAJAN (Chamba) :** The President has correctly emphasised the growing and rapid development of industry and agriculture. He also correctly laid emphasis on the point that the nationalisation of banks will improve the unemployment situation in the country. But there are a few points the President has not touched which I wish he had. One of them is the prevailing linguistic fanaticism in the country. What we find is that the country is facing the grave problem of disintegration because of linguistic fanaticism.

The original proposal to divide the country into linguistic States might have been good and probably it might have proved successful, but it seems now that this division on the basis of language has been proving a source of disintegration.

If one goes from one State to another, neither can he read the milestones nor the sign-boards. He does not know which State he is in or what to do because the residents of that State do not know the language in which he is talking. If a person is transferred from Punjab to Kerala, his children cannot get proper education because they are not used to the language in which teaching is imparted in that State.

Not only this. People of each State are fighting with people of the neighbouring States as if they were separate sovereign countries. In this way they are only fighting their neighbours, but they are destroying national property like railways, posts and telegraph installations. I need not mention the States. All this is splashed everyday in newspapers. Some steps must be taken

which will eliminate this fanaticism. I hope this Parliament will soon ask for the reorganisation of States not on linguistic basis but on administrative convenience.

**SHRI VASUDEVAN NAIR (Peermade) :** That is Nijalingappa's idea.

**SHRI VIKRAM CHAND MAHAJAN :** Does not matter. The idea is good.

The second point I want to make is about instability in States. In spite of the mid-term poll, in many States, there is political instability. The reason is not far to seek. The answer is simple. What will suit our country more than the present system of parliamentary democracy which we have blindly followed on the British pattern is the presidential system of Government. The reason is that in a developing country illiteracy is enormous, the capacity of people to withstand temptations is less, and the country cannot bear an expensive system. We know that the Cabinet system which we have adopted is a very expensive system. You have 40 to 50 Ministers in small States leading to enormous increase in the charge on the revenues of the States. Not only this. There is no stability and within a period of five years there can be two or three mid-term elections which a poor country cannot afford. The candidates cannot fight on their own and they have to take support from moneyed classes and with the help of the moneyed classes you cannot bring in socialism. Therefore, I suggest that our Constitution should be suitably amended.

Last year, the Home Minister gave an assurance in this House on a resolution which I tabled that the Union Territory of Himachal Pradesh would be given Statehood. So far the assurance has not been fulfilled and I hope that soon a Bill will be introduced in this House giving Statehood to Himachal Pradesh and also to other Territories.

Again, all our economic gains are being nullified by the increase in our population. Not only this the percentage of the weaker section of society is rising. The result is that large masses of our population are under-nourished. We have tried our best to introduce voluntary family planning but

it is not making much of a dent. I suggest that an element of compulsion be introduced to help in at least reducing the rate of increase of our population, if not completely stabilising the population.

The unemployment problem is becoming a serious menace. Most of our problems and the troubles are due to the fact that there is a large army of unemployed persons in our country. The basic reason for that is that the educational system is defective. Emphasis is being laid on the services. This system was developed by the Britishers with a particular objective namely that they wanted a class of clerks, but independent India needs a class of better agriculturists, technicians and industrialists. The present educational system, does not meet that need. The educationists, Ministers and the Vice-chancellors have failed this country because they have not been able to bring the educational system in tune with the needs of the nation. Therefore, I suggest that the time has come when more emphasis should be laid on agriculture and industry than on merely learning languages. Our schools and colleges are becoming workshops of linguistics. They think that by learning more languages they can create a better India. I suggest more emphasis should be laid on the industrial and agricultural aspects than on the linguistic aspect.

**SHRI S. M. KRISHNA (Mandya) :** We have gone through the motions of yet another ritualistic Address by the President of the Republic and hon Members who have supported the Motion of Thanks have made the Address more unique. The plethora of problems that the country is faced with today I do realise cannot be solved in a few years. We may not even be able to solve these problems in our generation. The problems are gigantic; the solutions are to match that giganticism. But at some point of the other a beginning will have to be made to solve at least some of the pressing problems that confront the country. The most colossal of the problems that we face today is the demon of unemployment that has raised its ugly head in the country. It is reaching proportions which certainly would disturb the very tranquility that we find in this country today. In every town and in every place in this country we find the problem of unemployed young men and women. Let

us realise that there is a limit to their patience also. They cannot be fed by addresses and slogans or speeches or by appointing commissions.

The other day when we called on the Prime Minister and pressed for some radical measures to meet the question of unemployment head on, the Prime Minister gave us an assurance that a committee under the leadership of Prof. Dantewala had been appointed and that they were awaiting the decision or the report of that committee. The magnitude of the problem is such that a hundred Dantewala Committees could not solve this problem of unemployment. It is only the Government which can think of solving this problem. They must apply their mind with all the seriousness that the problem demands. There are so many other problems also and within the short time that I have I would not be able to refer to all of them.

I shall make a passing reference to the nationalisation of banking system in this country. We were one of the very few political parties in this country who had always been demanding from the Government that the sooner the banking institutions in this country got nationalised, the better it would be for everybody. When at last whether due to political compulsions or other compulsions the Prime Minister came before the country and announced that she was going to nationalise fourteen banks, we welcomed that step. We wanted the Prime Minister to go a few steps further and nationalise the rest of the banking institutions. We know the exploitation of the banking institutions by the big business houses. We welcomed that step. When the Bill was introduced here we suggested to the Prime Minister that a hasty motion would not do, in a serious matter like this. We wanted that the Bill be referred to a Select Committee which would make its report in just seven days. The Prime Minister did not listen to us what happened? The Supreme Court struck it down. We hear unrestrained derisive comments about the Supreme Court's verdict. Let us not create a situation in this country where a picture is going to be projected in which the Supreme Court and the Legislature are at logger heads. Mr. Khadiikar drew attention of the country to what happened in

[ Shri S. M. Krishna ]

the United States of America. In 1930 when Franklin Delano Roosevelt became President he is said to have packed the court with some judges. Let us not forget that the first judge that Roosevelt nominated to the Supreme Court, Justice Frankfurter turned out to be one of the most conservative judges in American judicial history. So, let us not commit the mistake which Franklin Delano Roosevelt committed. No doubt the new deal which Franklin Delano Roosevelt conceived in the 1930s did shake up the United States and its people. So also the Act on bank nationalisation by the Prime Minister has certainly shaken up this country also, but let us not try to find scapegoats. I told the Prime Minister that the decision of the Supreme Court posed a challenge as well as an opportunity; an opportunity to mollify any fears in this country about her socialist protestations, and a challenge so that she could meet the question head on because the Supreme Court has said that there has been hostile discrimination. Here was an opportunity wherein she could bring in all the banking systems in this country for further nationalisation.

One more reference and I am done. Let me refer to the inter-State quarrels or the inter-State disputes over territory, with particular reference to the Mysore-Maharashtra boundary dispute. Sir, I am intrigued about the timing of raking up this question. There was a lull both in Maharashtra and in Mysore, but then came the proposals from the Prime Minister: an urgent summons to the Chief Minister of Mysore and an equally urgent summons to the Chief Minister of Maharashtra. The Chief Minister rushed from Maharashtra, but the Chief Minister of Mysore, though young, lagged behind. Two emissaries were sent from here carrying the proposals.

What happened to the Mahajan Commission report? No doubt that great jurist died, but the report is there before us. I asked the Government even during the last budget, on the debate over the Demands of the Home Ministry, "For Heaven's sake, take a decision on the report of the Mahajan Commission." Say that we are going to reject it outright or say that we are going

to implement the Mahajan Commission's award. Do not keep the sword of Damocles hanging both on Maharashtra and Mysore. This was the game which the Britishers played in this country before 1947. Let us not perpetuate this inter-State border dispute. Let us find some solution at some point or the other.

I am not so parochial as to claim that wherever there are no Kannada-speaking people, by hook or crook, they should stay in Mysore State. Far from it. You appointed a Commission; you get the Commission appointed. You had some say in the nomination of the judge also, but when the verdict goes against you, if you shy from accepting the verdict, that report, with certain grace left in you, with a certain sportsmanship left in you, I most humbly submit that we are not playing the game of politics or we have not played the game aright.

With these few words, I call upon the Prime Minister that she should settle all these border disputes, and then she should take an early decision on the Mahajan Commission award, thereby bringing this dispute to an end.

श्री ५० ला० बारूपाल (गंगानगर) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं आपका बहुत आभारी हूँ कि आपने मुझे बोलने का अवसर प्रदान किया।

माननीय राष्ट्रपति जी ने देश की अन्य समस्याओं के बारे में जिक्र किया है, लेकिन मेरे निर्वाचनक्षेत्र में तीन महीने से किसानों का जो आन्दोलन चल रहा है, जिसमें हजारों व्यक्ति जेल गये हैं और बेज़ावता कार्यवाही के कारण गोली चलाए जाने से दर्जनों व्यक्ति मारे गये हैं, उस का कोई जिक्र नहीं किया है। मैं व्यक्तिगत रूप से उन लोगों को अपनी श्रद्धांजलि अर्पित करता हूँ। यह जो आन्दोलन चल रहा है, वह किसी पार्टी का नहीं है। पाटियों ने तो उसमें ख्वाहमख्वाह भाग लिया। वहाँ पर लगान में वृद्धि कर दी गई है। पहले लगान 6, 7 आने प्रति-बीघा था, जो कि अब दस रुपये प्रति-बीघा हो गया है। जहाँ पहले पंद्रह रुपये दिये जाते थे, वहाँ आज 80 रुपये देने

पड़ते हैं। इस को ले कर के इस के विरोध में यह आन्दोलन हो रहा है। आप ने पांच मिनट टाइम दिया है, मैं ज्यादा वक्त नहीं लेना चाहता। वहाँ की जो मांगें हैं वह यह 32 मांगें हैं। उन को मैं पढ़ूँगा तो समय खर्च होगा। इन को अगर मेरे भाषण में जोड़ दें तो मैं यह टेबल पर रख दूँ। अगर यह आश्वासन आप मुझे दें कि यह उस में जोड़ दिया जायेगा तो मैं इसे टेबल पर रखता हूँ।

अब एक बात मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि हमारे देश का दुर्भाग्य है और दुर्भाग्य यह है कि आज भाषा और जाति के नाम पर जो हमारा एक समृद्धिशाली देश था उसे लोग द्विज-भिन्न कर रहे हैं। व्यक्तिगत रूप से मेरी बातों से लोग सहमत हों या न हों इस देश में तो ऐसी परम्परा रही है कि :

ज्यों केले के पात पात में पात  
ज्यों गधे की लात लात में लात  
ज्यों हिन्दुओं की जात जात में जात  
ज्यों कानून की बात बात में बात  
त्यों भारत में प्रान्त प्रान्त में प्रान्त ॥

मैं आप से कहना चाहता हूँ कि जहाँ माननीय राष्ट्रपति जी ने इस के संबंध में सुभाव दिया है, उस में मेरा एक सुभाव है कि भारत का पुनर्गठन किया जाये और देश का प्रशासन केवल पांच मंडलों द्वारा चलाया जाये जिस में पूर्व, पश्चिम, उत्तर और दक्षिण तथा एक केन्द्र शासित प्रदेश हों। इन मण्डलों के द्वारा इस देश का प्रशासन हो। पूर्वी जोन उड़ीसा, बंगाल, त्रिपुरा, मनीपुर, आसाम, नागालैंड, अंडमान-निकोबार और मेघालय को मिला कर बनाया जाये। पश्चिमी जोन पश्चिमी पाकिस्तान की सीमा से लगता हुआ राजस्थान, हरियाणा, पंजाब, हिमाचल प्रदेश तथा जम्मू काश्मीर को मिला कर बने। उत्तरी जोन उत्तरकाशी, देहरादून, पुरी, नैनीताल, बरेली, सीतापुर, गोंडा, बस्ती, गाजियाबाद, गोरखपुर और बिहार का भूटान से मिलता

हुआ सीमान्त क्षेत्र मिला कर बने। दक्षिणी जोन गुजरात, महाराष्ट्र, मध्य-प्रदेश का भोपाँल, मैसूर, तामिलनाडु, और आन्ध्र प्रदेश को मिला कर बने। और केन्द्र शासित जोन राजस्थान के जिले भुनभुनू, अलवर, भरतपुर, मध्य प्रदेश का ग्वालियर, भामो, खण्डवा, उत्तर प्रदेश का मेरठ, बुलन्दशहर, अलीगढ़ और आगरा को मिला कर बनाया जाय। इस प्रकार का प्रशासन बनाया जायगा तो देश का खर्च कम होगा और जो एक एक स्टेट में मिनिस्ट्रों की बाढ़ आई हुई है, 45-45 मिनिस्ट्र एक-एक स्टेट में बोझ बने रहते हैं वह सारा देश के ऊपर खर्चा पड़ता है, उस से बचत होगी। मैं आप से कहूँगा यह कोई मेरी व्यक्तिगत बात नहीं है। अगर देश के लोगों को सद्बुद्धि आए तो इस तरह का संगठन किया जाये।

मैं जिस इलाके से चुन कर आया हूँ और चार बार वहाँ से चुना गया हूँ, वह जिला गंगानगर है। उस जिले ने मुझे स्नेह दिया, प्यार दिया, सम्मान दिया और चार बार मुझे बेलाग यहाँ चुन कर भेजा है। उस इलाके की कुछ समस्याएँ हैं और उन के संबंध में मैं सरकार से अनुरोध करूँगा कि अगर देश को ऊँचा उठाना चाहते हैं, देश के अन्दर कृषि का उत्पादन बढ़ाना चाहते हैं और अमेरिका, आस्ट्रेलिया के सामने भिखमंगे नहीं बने रहना चाहते हैं तो राजस्थान नहर का निर्माण शीघ्रातिशीघ्र कराया जाये और नहरों में पानी पहुँचाया जाये जिस से वहाँ पर अन्न उत्पादन कर सकें। उद्योग-धन्धों की बात भी वहाँ पर है....(व्यवधान).... आज चार वर्षों से वहाँ अकाल पड़ा हुआ है। लाखों पशु मर गए हैं। वहाँ पर मानवता रो रही है। एक तरफ तो इस तरह की गगनचुम्बी, बड़ी-बड़ी इमारतें बनी हैं, कितने उचित और अनुचित खर्च हो रहे हैं और वहाँ एक व्यक्ति को एक रुपया और आठ आने रोज मिलता है। तो मैं आप से कहना चाहता हूँ कि अकाल से राहत जल्दी पहुँचाई जाये और राजस्थान सरकार के माध्यम से वहाँ पर पैसा

[ श्री प० ला० बारूपाल ]

ज्यादा खर्च किया जाय। वहाँ के जो लोग दुखी हैं उन के लिए ऐसा प्रयत्न किया जाय कि भविष्य में वहाँ अकाल न पड़े।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं आपका बहुत आभारी हूँ कि आप ने मुझे समय दिया। जो मैं ने गंगानगर के सत्रध में कहा है वह ध्यान में रखा जाय और यह मेरी 32-33 माँगें हैं, इन को मेरे भाषण में जोड़ लिया जाय।

SHRI ESWARA REDDY \*\* (Cuddapah): Mr. Deputy Speaker, in the President's address much concern has been expressed about the regional imbalances and the growing monopolistic trends and weaker section of the Society. These are only noble and welcome sentiments. But what use is there until the policies and programmes of the Government are reoriented accordingly? People want a clear break from the past rut through which the Government encouraged monopolistic trends and let down toiling masses. I cannot go in detail into these matters as the time at my disposal is very short. I will try to confine myself to the problems of the drought affected people and to the callous and unsympathetic approach of the Government in regard thereto. In our country there is roughly 390 million acres of cultivated land, out of which only 90 million acres are irrigated. Even in that only 60-70 million acres have got assured irrigation facilities. The rest of the land entirely depends on tanks and rains. The Government has not taken any suitable steps to extend irrigation facilities to the land which at present does not have assured supply of water and hence has become vulnerable to famines. In the recent Budget which has been presented by the Prime Minister only 25 crores of rupees have been earmarked for rural works and drought relief. This is not adequate, it would not even touch the fringe of the problem. In the past three years much more was spent on drought relief. Instead of taking preventive measures on permanent basis the Government generally attempts at temporary relief measures to keep under control the disasters following the occurrence of drought. But there have failed to yield desired

results. What I would urge upon the Government is that they should allocate one hundred crores of rupees every year for the remaining four years of the Fourth Plan to fight drought. This sum of Rs. 400 crores should be over and above the plan sums already earmarked in the Central and State Plans for relief works. Instead of taking temporary relief measures to mitigate the hardships of the people consequent on the occurrence of drought, the Government should take measures to eradicate drought permanently from this country. Temporary measures and *ad hoc* allotments are not going to do any lasting good to the people. The region from where I hail namely Rayalaseema is well known for the frequent occurrence of drought and chronic drought conditions. Recently a Board by the name of Royalaseema Planning Board has been constituted. This is a Government nominated Board which has drawn up schemes involving an expenditure of Rs. 150 crores for the coming 4 years. But the State Government finance are very meagre. As the problem is too colossal and gigantic for the States to deal, it should be taken up by the Central Government which should constitute an organisation at national level-call it whatever name you like-for the eradication of drought from this country. This body should draw out an integrated programme and make concerted efforts to fight drought. The sum of Rs. 400 crores to which I referred a little earlier should be placed at the disposal of this body. While formulating schemes for the purpose of the problems of my State especially those of Rayalaseema should be borne in mind. In addition to the sum accepted by the State, a further sum of Rs. 70 crores should be provided for 1970-71 year by the Centre to fight drought in Rayalaseema area. Finding resources should not stand in the way of formulating a policy to make a concerted effort to fight drought. Of late Andhra Government is imposing advance betterment levy on farmers for every irrigation project even in drought affected areas, while on the one hand these works started by the Government are designed to give relief to the drought affected people it is most unjust and unreasonable to collect this advance betterment levy from them. If an industry is set up or electric power is supplied in

\*\* The original speech was delivered in Telugu.

such areas as a relief measure against drought, collection of advance betterment levy from the drought affected people of that area is highly deplorable. 'Betterment levy is generally collected after a development project is completed; that itself is questionable whether it should be imposed in drought affected areas or not. But even before the foundation is laid, to say that the project will not be taken up unless the betterment levy is paid in advance is highly unjust and grossly unfair. The people of Rayalaseema have agitated against this policy. The Rayalaseema Conference has protested against it. The Speaker of the Andhra Pradesh Legislative Assembly, Shri B. V. Subba Reddy, who was also Chairman of the Rayalaseema Board Constituted by the State Government had visited Pulivendala canal area on which advance betterment levy is imposed. After seeing the conditions a resolution at his instance was also passed in the Board to the effect that the conditions there were highly miserable and, therefore, that levy should be waived. The kisan conferences held at Allagadda and Sirisilla have also denounced this policy of advance collection of betterment levy on the Pulivadala canal project. But the Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh has turned a deaf ear to these demands. This problem has arisen also in Ganganagar area of Rajasthan. After the farmers agitation in Ganganagar it was decided that holdings of less than 3 acres should be exempt from the payment of betterment levy. I appeal to the Prime Minister to take personal interest in this matter and she should not say that it is a matter concerning the State Government. Because the Chief Minister of both Andhra Pradesh and Rajasthan belong to her party she should prevail upon them to accede to the demands of the people. This problem should be tackled as a national problem. If this is not done by the Government the people will have to resort to united mass struggle and Ganganagar way will be the way of all drought affected areas. That would then be the only way to pressurise the Government to see the justness and force of their demand. The tragedy of the Pulivandala canal is such whose foundation stone was laid by the then Chief Minister Shri Sanjivayya 8 years back. The Tungabhadra high level canal stage-II, whose foundation was laid three years ago by the Prime Minister herself has also not made

any headway due to inadequate allocation of funds. The Tungabhadra high level canal work at Mylavaram, is almost at standstill as there are no funds for further work. If this is the pace of progress I do not know how many decades it will take to be completed.

Now, Sir, we are very much agitated about underemployment and unemployment which are burning problems of the day. More serious than that, because of the unimaginative and short sighted policies of the Government, the people in employment are being thrown out of employment. In this connection I refer to the lot of handloom weavers. Of the people engaged in handicrafts the number of handloom weavers in the biggest and would run easily into millions. Because of the rise in prices of yarn, chemicals, dyes and also of the daily necessities of life, their plight is miserable. In my district especially in the areas of Pullampeta, Proddatur and Jammulaniadugu, the handloom weavers are starving for want of work. While these are starving for want of work, the weavers in Khammam and Godavari Districts have been deprived of even opportunity of work due to the ravages of cyclone and Government's apathy to their lot. The problems of unemployment and underemployment of millions of these handloom weavers all over the country should be seriously and urgently tackled at the national level as a national problem by setting up a Commission.

There is a relaying station of All India Radio in Cuddapah. Shri B. Gopala Reddy, the then Minister at the Centre, who inaugurated this station, had assured the people that this station would be upgraded to fullfledged broadcasting station. The Prime Minister Shrimati Indira Gandhi also made similar promises to the people there in 1965 when she was the Minister for Information and Broadcasting. I request that this station be converted into a fullfledged broadcasting station. In the meantime the station should be made to function during the day also and broadcast regional programmes. The small office of the relaying station should also be correspondingly upgraded along with the upgradation of the station.

श्री रामजी राम (अकबरपुर) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं आपका बहुत मशकूर हूँ कि आपने

[ श्री रामजी राम ]

मुझे राष्ट्रपति महोदय के अभिभाषण पर धन्यवाद प्रस्ताव पर बोलने का मौका दिया। मैंने अभी माननीय सदस्य श्री बिरला और माननीय आचार्य कृपालानी जी का भाषण सुना। यह बात तो समझ में आ सकती है कि बिरला जी का पूंजीवाद समाजवाद हो सकता है, लेकिन आचार्य कृपालानी जी के समाजवाद में पूंजीवाद और सामन्तवाद कहां से आ गया—यह मैं नहीं समझ पा रहा हूँ। यह इस लिये कि एक वक्त था जब वह मेरे जिले से इलैक्शन लड़ने गये थे, उस वक्त उन्होंने समाजवाद का जो बड़ा भारी डंका पीटा था, उस से हम आशाश्रित हो गये थे कि हो सकता है कि यह धुरन्धर नेता समाजवाद की कोई कल्पना चरितार्थ कर के दिखावायेंगे, लेकिन जब आज मैं उन के लेक्चर को सुनता हूँ तो मुझे बड़ी निराशा हुई। आज उन को प्रीवी पर्स और सामन्तों के हितों की रक्षा की बड़ी चिन्ता है, बड़ी टीस है। लेकिन संविधान में निहित और संविधान में प्रदत्त शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट्स और शेड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स के लिये जो दिया हुआ है, उस के तेहत आज तक पिछले 22 सालों में क्या हुआ, उनकी क्या प्रगति हुई, इसके ऊपर उन के दिल में कोई टीस नहीं है।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, जब आज हम समाजवाद के संकल्प की तरफ जाते हैं तो समाजवाद के रास्ते में जो मुख्य रोड़ा है— वह है ज्योतिषवाद और अफसरवाद—इस के ऊपर भी हम को विश्लेषण करना चाहिये था, जिसको नहीं किया गया। जब समाजवाद को चलाने के लिये ये नेतागण जाते हैं तो मुहुर्त देख कर उस शासन को चलाना चाहते हैं। मुहुर्त से उन के दिमाग और तकदीर का कायाकल्प तो हो सकता है, लेकिन जो शोषित जनता गांवों में आज भी जानवरों की तरह रहती है, जो भूखे हैं, जो नंगे हैं, उन की तकदीर का फंसला कौन कर सकता है, यह सवाल आज हमारे सामने है। इसलिये ज्योतिषवाद अन्धविश्वास से

निकलना जरूरी है। उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, आज समाजवाद के लिये जरूरी है कि अफसरों का जनताकरण हो। मुझे अफसोस के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि अब तक अफसरों का जनताकरण नहीं हुआ, इस लिये कि ये प्रशासन को चलाते हैं, समाजवाद को चरितार्थ करने की जिम्मेदारी इन्हीं लोगों पर है। अंग्रेजी और अंग्रेजियट आज उन के दिलो-दिमाग में घर कर गई है। हम यहां पर समाजवाद की बातें करते हैं, लेकिन इसे अफसरों पर छोड़ देते हैं। जिसका नतीजा यह होता है कि उन्हीं के लोग ठेकेदार हो जाते हैं, जो निर्माण का काम लेते हैं, कागज पर निर्माण का काम हो जाता है, पुल बन जाते हैं, सड़कें बन जाती हैं, बिल्डिंगें बन जाती हैं, लेकिन अफसोस के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि सही मानों में वहां भौके पर कुछ नहीं होता है। इस लिये जब तक इन समाजवादी के कर्णधारों का, अफसरवाद का जनताकरण नहीं होगा, तब तक सही तौर पर समाजवाद इस धरती पर, भारत में नहीं उतर सकेगा।

मैं इस बात को इस लिये कहना चाहता हूँ कि हम गांवों के रहने वाले हैं। इन्होंने अभिभाषण 14 पैसे में लिखा है—“सरकार को इस का पूरा आभास है कि देहातों में असंतुलन बढ़ रहा है।” क्यों बढ़ रहा है? इसीलिये कि :—

हद से बढ़ जाती है जब आदमी की मजबूरी, अमनपसन्द बगावत की बात करते हैं।

वे मजबूर हो कर बगावत की बात सोचते हैं। अगर संविधान में निहित भूमिहीनों, आदिवासियों की तरफ ईमानदारी के साथ आपने ध्यान दिया होता, तो ये बातें जो आज उनके दिमाग में घर कर गई हैं, पैदा नहीं होतीं। आप कहते हैं कि लोग हिंसा पर उतर आते हैं, क्यों उतरते हैं? इसी लिये कि :—

किसी तरह न गई, जब चमन की तारीकी, लगाती आग नशेनम में रोशनी के लिये।

जब कहीं से उस को उजाला दिखाई नहीं देता, तब ही वह आग लगाते हैं। इस लिये मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि यह तरीका आपका अब नहीं चलेगा, अब आपको सही तौर से इस को चरितार्थ कर के दिखलाना होगा।

मैं आपके माध्यम से सरकार का ध्यान शिक्षा की तरफ़ दिलाना चाहता हूँ। आज जब देश में समाजवाद है तो शिक्षा का राष्ट्रीयकरण क्यों नहीं होता। कुछ वर्ग विशेष, जिनको सुविधायें प्राप्त हैं, उन के बच्चे पब्लिक स्कूलों में पढ़ने जाते हैं, उन के बच्चों को उमदा तरवियत मिलती है, अनुशासन की तालीम मिलती है, लेकिन वे करोड़ों इन्सान जो अनपढ़ हैं, जो रात दिन अथक परिश्रम के बाद भी नंगे हैं, भूखे पेट रहते हैं, जानवरों की तरह से अपनी जिन्दगी गुज़ार रहे हैं, उन को टाट-पट्टी भी नसीब नहीं होती। उन के बच्चों को शिक्षा कैसे मिले। ज़िला परिषदों के जो मालिकान हैं, उन के दिमाग में उन लोगों के लिये कोई टीस और दर्द नहीं है। इस लिये समाजवाद लाने के लिये आपको शिक्षा का राष्ट्रीयकरण करना पड़ेगा। मैं इस बात को आपके माध्यम से सरकार के दिमाग में लाना चाहता हूँ। आर्टिकल 347 में भाषा की बात कही जाती है। ....(व्यवधान)....

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, समा करें, मुझे अछूत समझ कर आप ने आखीर में बोलने का मौका दिया। मैं भी अपने अधिकारों का उपयोग करूंगा। मेरा कहना है कि आज संविधान में तरमीम होनी चाहिए। आर्टिकल 31 जिसमें सम्पत्ति का अधिकार है उसमें संशोधन होना चाहिए। आज एक तरफ़ कुछ लोग करोड़ों रुपए लेकर तरह तरह के ऐश करें और दूसरी तरफ़ गरीब लोग टूटी हुई भोपड़ियों में पड़े हुए कराहें जिनके लिए खाने पीने और इलाज का कोई इन्तजाम न हो, यह बात अब नहीं चल सकती है। इसलिए मेरी मांग है कि आर्टिकल 31 जिसमें सम्पत्ति का अधिकार है उसमें तरमीम होनी चाहिये। इसी प्रकार से धारा 335 के अन्तर्गत शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट, शेड्यूल्ड

ड्राइज्ज को कुछ अधिकार दिए गए हैं लेकिन उसमें भी बन्धन लगा दिया गया है—एफीश-एन्सी,आफ एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन का। मैं कहता हूँ कि आप पहले उनको जगह दो और फिर कार्यदक्षता की बात करो। ये अफसर लोग जो हैं वह कह देते हैं कि कंडीडेट सूटेबिल नहीं हैं इसलिए इनको नहीं लिया जायेगा। वे सूटेबिल तो हैं ही क्योंकि उन्होंने इम्तहान पास किया है और इन्टरव्यू दिया है। उसके पास डिग्री है। फिर आप कैसे कह सकते हैं कि वे सूटेबिल नहीं हैं। एक तरफ़ तो आप उनको तालीम नहीं देते, उनको पब्लिक स्कूल में नहीं भेजते, उनको तवियत नहीं मिलती और फिर जब वे कम्प्टो-शन में पास भी हो जाते हैं तो उसके बाद भी आप कहते हैं कि सूटेबिल नहीं हैं। क्या यही आपका समाजवाद है ?....(व्यवधान)....

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण में गांवों के बारे में भी चर्चा की गई है। लेकिन मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि गांवों का विकास कैसे हो सकता है जबकि पढ़े लिखे नौजवान वहां जाने के लिए तैयार नहीं हैं क्योंकि वहां पर अस्पताल नहीं है और दूसरी सहायित्तें नहीं हैं। वहां पर स्कूल और सड़कें नहीं हैं। वहां पर नागरिकों के जीवन की सुरक्षा की कोई गारन्टी नहीं है। वहां पर कोई मीन्स आफ रेक्रिएशन नहीं हैं। आग कम्पलसरी करके प्रशिक्षित नौजवानों को गांवों में भेजिए। इस देश में 8 लाख गांव हैं। जब तक उन गांवों में समाजवाद नहीं आयेगा तब तक इस देश में समाजवाद नहीं आ सकता। आप तो दिल्ली में सड़कों पर सड़कें बनाकर ही समाजवाद लाना चाहते हैं। आप शहरों के अन्दर करोड़पति और अरबपति बनाकर समाजवाद नहीं ला सकते हैं। ....(व्यवधान).... यहां दिल्ली में काशमीरी गेट पर बस स्टैंड के लिए ठेका 94 लाख में दिया गया था जो कि डेढ़ वर्ष में कम्प्लीट हो जाना चाहिए था। मुझे अफसोस के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि जो ठेकेदार है वे शायद इनके कोई मिलने वाले ही होंगे, उन्होंने उस ठेके का दसवां हिस्सा भी आज तक पूरा

[ श्री रामजी राम ]

करके नहीं दिया है। इसी प्रकार से सैम्पुल फ्लेट्स के लिए अध्यापिकाओं को ठेका दिया गया। ऐसा मालूम होता है कि इनके पास कोई ठेका लेने वाला ही नहीं है। इस तरह की फेक्टिज्म चल रही है। यह जो विरादरीवाद है उसका उन्मूलन होना चाहिए।

आज भारतीयकरण की बात कही जाती है। लेकिन मैं पूछता हूँ ये बतावें कि देश में जहाँ चीबे हैं, जहाँ शुक्ला हैं, जहाँ वाजपेयी हैं, जहाँ त्रिवेदी हैं और जहाँ पाठक हैं। आज यहाँ भारतीयकरण की बात करते हैं। वे खुद तो कोट पतलून पहनते हैं और जनता से कहते हैं मिरजई पहनो। अब यह चीज नहीं चलेगी। आज गांवों में मजदूरों और हरिजनों के पास रहने के लिए जगह नहीं है और यहाँ पर इतनी बड़ी बड़ी कोठियाँ बनी हुई हैं। उत्तर प्रदेश में हमारे मुख्य मन्त्री ने 30 एकड़ लैंड सीलिंग करने के लिए कहा लेकिन उसमें भी दिक्कत पैदा कर दी गई है। मैं तो कहता हूँ कि बजाये 30 एकड़ के 20 एकड़ ही होना चाहिए। मैं तमिलनाडू सरकार को घन्यवाद देना चाहता हूँ कि उन्होंने 15 एकड़ की सीलिंग लगाई है। वहाँ भी 15-20 एकड़ की सीलिंग ही रखनी चाहिए। ....(व्यवधान).... आज गांवों में लोगों के पास जमीन नहीं है लेकिन ग्रहरों में डिप्टी कमिश्नर और पुलिस कप्तान के लिए जो महल बने हुए हैं उसमें तमाम जमीन पड़ी हुई है। उन अफसरों के पास आज खेती भी है, नौकरी भी है और तिजारत भी है। इसलिए मेरा कहना है कि जब तक आय के मुताल्लिक सीमा नहीं बांधी जायेगी तब तक इस देश में समाजवाद नहीं आ सकता है। इन अफसरों के लिए अंग्रेजों ने महल बनवाये थे उनके अन्दर जो जमीनें पड़ी हुई हैं वह जमीनें गांव के भूमिहीनों को दी जानी चाहिए।

आखीर में मैं एक बात उर्दू जवान के मुताल्लिक कहना चाहता हूँ। आर्टिकल 347

के तहत राष्ट्रपति महोदय को यह अधिकार हासिल है, किसी भी जवान को, जिसको वे उचित समझते हैं वह इलाकाई जवान घोषित हो जवानी चाहिए। उर्दू के बारे में उत्तर प्रदेश से हमारे साथियों का एक डेपुटेशन भी मिला लेकिन आज तक उस पर कोई कार्यवाही नहीं की गई है। इसलिये मैं सरकार से कहना चाहता हूँ कि अगर आप सही तौर पर समाजवाद लाना चाहते हैं तो अक्लियत, पिछड़ेवर्ग शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट शेड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स और जो हिन्दुस्तान के 8 लाख गांव हैं उनका स्तर नीचे से उठाकर ऊपर लाइये, तभी इस देश में समाजवाद आ सकता है।

श्री हरदयाल देवगुण (पूर्व दिल्ली) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मुझे खेद है कि राष्ट्रपति महोदय ने अपने अभिभाषण में देश की वर्तु-स्थिति का चित्रण नहीं किया है। उन्होंने अपने अभिभाषण में कहा है कि "सरकार का यह दृढ़ निश्चय है कि वह एक ऐसी सामाजिक व्यवस्था लाने की दिशा में तेजी के साथ आगे बढ़ेगी जो न्यायपूर्ण एवं मानवीय भावना से ओतप्रोत हो। ऐसा करते समय वह समाज के गरीब वर्गों का विशेष ध्यान रखेगी।" इस अभिभाषण के प्रति सरकार कितनी ईमानदार है उसका सबूत उसने पिछले दिनों में पेश हुए दो बजटों में दे दिया है—एक तो रेलवे बजट और दूसरा सामान्य बजट। पहले बजट में तीसरे दर्जे के यात्रियों, रोज यात्रा करने वालों के किराये बढ़ाये गए हैं, और अनाज, दालों और जीवोपभोगी आवश्यक वस्तुओं को ढोने के भाड़े बढ़ाए गये हैं, उनका गरीबों पर असर नहीं पड़ेगा ऐसा कोई भी समझदार मानने के लिये तैयार नहीं होगा। दूसरे बजट में, जीवन की जितनी जरूरियात हैं उन सभी पर नये कर लगाये गये हैं, जैसे चीनी है.... (व्यवधान).... मैं यह बता रहा हूँ कि गरीबों की भलाई किस तरह से हो रही है। चीनी, मिट्टी के तेल, वनस्पति और दूसरी जरूरी चीजों पर जो टैक्स लगाया गया है, उसका उदाहरण देकर मैं बता रहा हूँ कि राष्ट्रपति

गरीबों के कितने हमदर्द हैं। दो सौ करोड़ के नये टैक्स लगाकर उन्होंने गरीबों के प्रति अपनी हमदर्दी जाहिर कर दी है। इससे साबित होता है कि यह सरकार कितनी इमानदार है। इसलिए जो सव्जबाग इसमें दिखाए गये हैं, देश उनसे गुमराह नहीं होगा। इन स्टन्ट्स और नारों से गरीबों का पेट नहीं भर सकता है। इससे उनको रोजी नहीं मिल सकती है। इन नये करों से दो सौ रुपये से एक हजार तनख्वाह पाने वाले लोगों के बजट पर 30 रुपये से लेकर 100 रुपये प्रतिमास तक का अतिरिक्त बोझा पड़ेगा। यही है गरीबों की भलाई और यही है समाजवाद जिसका इसमें उल्लेख किया गया है। इसलिए यह जो अभिभाषण है वह वस्तुस्थिति को चित्रित नहीं करता, नये करों से मंहगाई बढ़ेगी। उसके बाद पाटियों की फिर मांग होगी, जो कि बिल्कुल जायज होगी, फिर सरकारी कर्मचारियों की आय में कमी हुई है और उनका अपने वेतन में गुजारा नहीं होता। उनकी ओर से मंहगाई भत्ते की प्रबल मांग उठेगी और वह जायज होगी उनकी इन्टेरिम रिलीफ की मांग से भी इन्कार नहीं किया जा सकेगा। इसलिये इस अभिभाषण में जो बातें गरीबों की भलाई और समाजवाद की कही गई हैं वह केवल स्टन्ट है, वह केवल सव्ज बाग है। उसमें कोई यथार्थवाद नहीं है।

18 hrs.

कल प्राइम मिनिस्टर ने अपनी पार्टी की भीटिंग में कहा कि हमने उस चाय पर ड्यूटी लगाई है जो अच्छी क्वालिटी की है, जो ब्रैंडेड है। प्राइम मिनिस्टर यह कहना चाहती है कि गरीब लोग अच्छी किस्म की चाय न पियें, वह सिर्फ घटिया किस्म की चाय पियें। दुनिया का कोई भी अर्थशास्त्र कर्त जानकार 200 करोड़ २० के टैक्सेशन और 225 २० के घाटे की अर्थ-व्यवस्था के बाद यह नहीं मान सकता कि इससे मंहगाई नहीं बढ़ेगी और गरीबों पर इसका भार नहीं पड़ेगा। प्रधान मन्त्री भले ही यह बात कहें लेकिन, कोई पढ़ा लिखा

आदमी यह बात नहीं मान सकता कि एक किस्म की चाय की कीमत बढ़ाने का असर दूसरी किस्म की चाय पर नहीं पड़ेगा।

मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि इस अभिभाषण में जो बातें कही गई हैं वह वस्तुस्थिति के बिल्कुल विपरीत हैं। वस्तुस्थिति यह है प्रधान मन्त्री ने राष्ट्रपति के चुनाव के समय जो हरकतों की उनसे लोकतन्त्री प्रणाली और लोकतन्त्र की व्यवस्था के प्रति आशंकायें पैदा हो गई हैं। देश के सब से बड़े पद के लिये कागज भरना उस आदमी के द्वारा जो दूसरे नम्बर के सबसे बड़े पद पर है और उसके बाद उसी के द्वारा उसको हराया जाना, इससे बढ़कर कोई भी राजनीतिक अनैतिकता नहीं हो सकती। श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी ही इस तरह की अनियमितता कर सकती हैं जिससे राजनीतिक अस्थिरता बढ़े और लोकतन्त्र तथा लोकतन्त्री प्रणाली के बारे में लोगों में आशंकायें पैदा हों।

• श्री शिंदरे (पंजिम) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, हमारे कास्मापोलिटन यानी बहुरंगी और बहुदंगी वर्गों के संसद सदस्य श्री पाटिल ने अपनी दंगदार शैली से राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण पर जो प्रभावी हमला किया या वह तो सभी सदस्यों के ध्यान में रहा है। उन्होंने कहा कि राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण में कोई सव्स्टेंस ही नहीं था। असामान्यत्व ही नहीं था। इसमें कोई दो रायें नहीं हो सकतीं। श्री पाटिल के आचार विचारों के बारे में इस सदन में बहुत मतभेद होंगे, लेकिन राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण में राष्ट्रपति की आत्मा की, कांशिंस की आवाज नहीं सुनी गई, यह एक कट्टर सत्य है। वह भाषण उनके द्वारा दिया जाता है लेकिन वह भाषण मंत्रिमंडल का, सरकार का कार्यक्रम प्रसारित करता है, वह भाषण जिसकी सरकार है उस संगठन का कार्यक्रम प्रसारित करता है।

तो मेरे सामने यह सवाल खड़ा होता है कि क्या इस अभिभाषण में 'राम' है क्या? मराठी में कहावत है जिसका अर्थ होता है कि

[ श्री शिकरे ]

“जिसमें कोई तथ्यांश नहीं, कोई सस्टेंस नहीं आत्मा नहीं, उसमें ‘राम’ नहीं।” राम, जगजीवन राम आज नई कांग्रेस के प्रतीक हैं, सिवल है। क्या उस भाषण में कांग्रेस का जो बुनियादी तत्व है उस पर आधारित कार्यक्रम प्रतीत होता है, प्रतिबिम्बित होता है ?

जब रामभक्त हनुमान से सवाल किया कि राम कहाँ है, तो उन्होंने अपनी छाती फाड़ कर बन्दरों को राममूर्ति दिखलाई। हमारे श्री हनुमन्तैया राष्ट्रपति के भाषण में राम है यह दिखाने के लिए अपनी छाती दुर्भंग करेंगे तो क्या दिखलाई देगा ? राम ? नहीं, केवल इन्दिरा। कांग्रेस का कार्यक्रम नहीं, केवल इन्दिरा गांधी की स्तुति, प्रशंसा।

श्री पाटिल उस अभिभाषण में राष्ट्रीय और अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय समस्याओं के बारे में इस सरकार की नीतियों का प्रतिबिम्ब देखना चाहते थे। श्री हनुमन्तैया के भाषण में भी वह उन नीतियों का विश्लेषण देखना चाहते थे। लेकिन वे उस में सस्टेंस देखने में असफल हो गये। मैंने भी वही प्रयत्न किया, तो मुझे उनके भाषण में और हृदय में एक भयानक सस्टेंस दिखलाई पड़ा। वह जहर है।

आज न केवल भारत के शहरों में बल्कि देशांत में भी जातीयता प्रांतीयता, अराष्ट्रीयता, भाषावाद की वजह से राष्ट्रीय एकात्मकता भंग हो रही है, भावनात्मक एकात्मता भंग हो रही है। इस परिस्थिति में हमारे राष्ट्रीय नेता प्रयत्न करते हैं कि हम इन दुष्प्रवृत्तियों को रोकें। जब श्री हनुमन्तैया जैसे वरिष्ठ नेता अपने विचार प्रदर्शित करते हैं तो वे भी वही दृष्टिकोण सामने रखें।

मैं समझता हूँ कि राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण का स्वागत करने वाला, उसके बारे में कृतज्ञता व्यक्त करने वाला जो प्रस्ताव रखता जाता है, यह प्रतिनिधिक समझा जाता है।

श्री हनुमन्तैया ने यहां वह प्रस्ताव रखा। तो क्या मैं समझूँ कि उनके भाषण में जो विचार प्रकट हो गये वे सब नई कांग्रेस के प्रतिनिधिक विचार हैं ?

मैंने कहा कि श्री हनुमन्तैया के भाषण में मैंने जहर देखा, भयानक जहर। जब महाराष्ट्र और मैसूर के बीच में सीमा के प्रश्न के बारे में जो भगड़ा है उसका निर्देश उन्होंने किया तब उन्होंने जो जरूरी विचार प्रकट किये वे मेरे ध्यान में हैं। उन्होंने कहा कि महाराष्ट्र आक्रामक है, विस्तारवादी है। उसका समाधान जब सारा भारत उसको मिले तभी होगा। यह विचार यदि वे किसी महाराष्ट्र के नेता के बारे में कहते तो मैं समझ सकता था, किसी दल के बारे में भी यह कहते तो भी मैं दुर्लक्ष्य कर सकता था, लेकिन उन्होंने सब मराठी जनता और महाराष्ट्र पर इल्जाम लगाया है, अपमान किया है।

जब पाण्डव और कौरव में जायदाद के बारे में भगड़ा हुआ तो वीरवेश्वर दुर्योधन ने कहा कि सुई को अग्र भाग पर भी जितनी भूमि रह सकती है उतनी भी वह पांडव को देने के लिये तैयार नहीं। वही भाषा आज मैसूर के सब नेता मैसूर-महाराष्ट्र की सीमा के प्रश्न के बारे में बोलते हैं। शिवप्पा लकापा, दासप्पा, नागप्पा, कृष्णप्पा और निजलिगप्पा आदि सभी अप्पा नेता वही भाषा बोलते हैं। तो क्या मैं मैसूरी जनता को कौरवों का नाम दूँ ? मैं नहीं दूँगा क्योंकि पोलिटिकल नेता के विचार अलग रहते हैं और जनता की राय अलग होती है।

मुझे खेद होता है, बहुत दुःख होता है कि श्री हनुमन्तैया जैसे नेता प्रांतीयता के आहारी बन कर इतने असहिष्णु बने, और उन्होंने संयम छोड़ा। लेकिन श्री हनुमन्तैया से मैं इतना ही कहना चाहता हूँ कि मराठी खून पानीपत में नहीं बहता तो श्री हनुमन्तैया और मेरे पूर्वजों के लिये ‘सुन्ता’ के सिवा दूसरा श्रेयस्कर मार्ग ही नहीं रहता। मराठा सैनिक अटक तक नहीं

जाते तो अफगानों का आक्रमण दक्षिण भारत को आसानी से पादाक्रान्त करता। मोगल साम्राज्य-वादियों को किस ने रोका? कृतघ्न क्यों बनते हैं?

मैं अप्रोधा करता था कि अपने भाषण में श्री हनुमन्तैया लंका या नेपाल, पाकिस्तान या ब्रह्मदेश तक तो उड़ान करते। हाँ, अमरीका या रशिया, इंग्लैंड या चीन तक उनकी उड़ान नहीं जा सकती है क्योंकि वे अब वृद्ध बन गये हैं लेकिन मैं नहीं समझता था कि उनकी उड़ान वेलगांव-कारवार के आगे नहीं जा सकेगी। महाराष्ट्र को बदनाम करने में ही उन्होंने समाधान माना। हाँ, यहाँ श्रीर जो सदस्य हैं, जिनको केवल गोडसे का महाराष्ट्र दिखता है और तिलक तथा अम्बेदकर, ज्ञानेश्वर और तुकाराम, शिवाजी और सम्भाजी, महात्मा फुले और महर्षि करवे और जिन सहस्रावधों मराठे जवानों ने भारत की आजादी के लिए सुरक्षा के लिये खून बहाया उनके महाराष्ट्र की जानकारी नहीं, उन पर इस जहरी प्रचार का प्रभाव पड़ता है। इसलिये मैं आप के द्वारा श्री हनुमन्तैया को आवाहन, प्रार्थना करता हूँ कि जब सरकार की तरफ से वह यहाँ भाषण देते हैं तो संयम रक्खें, सहिष्णुता रक्खें।

एक ही प्रश्न के बारे में श्रीर दो शब्द मैं बोलना चाहता हूँ। आप जानते होंगे कि महाराष्ट्र ने सीमा प्रश्न को हल करने के लिए एक कमिशन की मांग की थी। तभी उसने साढ़े छः सौ वर्ग मील का कन्नडभाषी इलाका मैसूर को देने की तैयारी प्रकट की थी और मैसूर राज्य स्थित मराठी इलाके की मांग की थी। महाजन कमिशन का एवार्ड जब आया तो महाराष्ट्र को केवल साढ़े छः सौ वर्ग मील का इलाका ही उसके अनुसार नहीं देना था, तेरह सौ वर्ग मील का इलाका उसको मैसूर को देना पड़ता अगर उसकी सिफारिशों को मान लिया जाता और उनको लागू कर दिया जाता। इस सदन के माननीय सदस्यों की शायद कमिशन की रिपोर्ट की इस बात की

जानकारी नहीं है। शायद यही कारण है कि जब श्री हनुमन्तैया जैसे लोग महाराष्ट्र को आक्रामक कहते हैं तब वे चुपचाप बैठे रहते हैं। आप जानते होंगे कि यहाँ जब श्री अनन्त राव पाटिल ने भाषण दिया तो उसमें यह कहा था कि हम कारवार मैसूर को देने के लिए तैयार हैं मैं उनके मतों से सहमत नहीं हूँ। लेकिन मैसूर का एक भी नेता आगे आकर यह नहीं कहता कि हम इस प्रश्न के बारे में कुछ करना चाहते हैं, श्रीर वह समस्या का हल करने को अपने प्रदेश का कुछ भाग भी महाराष्ट्र को देने के लिए तैयार हैं, मराठी भाषी कुछ इलाके जी मैसूर में हैं, उनको महाराष्ट्र को देने के लिए तैयार हैं।

अब एक बात मैं गोश्रा के बारे में कहना चाहता हूँ। मराठी में एक कहावत है कि 'बाग भोख नहीं मांगने देता और मां खाना नहीं देता।' आप जानते होंगे कि गोश्रा में जो फटिलाइजर प्लांट स्थापित होने जा रहा है, बहूछ से माननीय सदस्यों ने उसको क्रिटिसाइज किया है। हमारी तो मांग ही यह है कि हमें कोई पब्लिक अण्डरटेकिंग गोश्रा में आप दें। अगर आप हमें कोई पब्लिक अण्डरटेकिंग नहीं देते है तो फिर प्राइवेट अण्डरटेकिंग तो मिले। जब प्राइवेट अण्डरटेकिंग मिलता है तो नई कांग्रेस के कई नेता कहते हैं और प्रचार करते हैं कि बिड़लाजी को फटिलाइजर प्लांट लगाने का लाइसेंस दिया गया वह नहीं दिया जाना चाहिये था। अगर इन क्रिटिसाइज करने वाले माननीय सदस्यों की यह मांग होती कि यह फटिलाइजर प्लांट पब्लिक सेक्टर में वहाँ हो तो मैं कृतज्ञता प्रकट कर सकता था। लेकिन वे नहीं करते हैं।

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Shri Bakar Ali Mirza.

SHRI BAKAR ALI MIRZA (Secunderabad): I want to know how much time you will give me.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Five to six minutes.

SHRI BAKAR ALI MIRZA : I want at least 10 minutes.

MR. DEPUTY -SPEAKER : All right 10 minutes, but do not take more than 10 minutes. If you all agree, Mr. Mirza will be the last speaker.

श्री बांगर अडके (मंडला) : हाउस में 37 टाइमल मैम्बर हैं। किसी भी टाइमल मैम्बर को किसी भी पार्टी से बोलने का अवसर नहीं मिला है। चार दिन से मेरा नाम आउके पास पड़ा हुआ है।

MR. DEPUTY - SPEAKER : I will call Mr. Uikey after Mr. Mirza. If you all agree, Mr. Uikey will be the last speaker. (*Interruption*) Yes; we are agreed on that.

SHRI BAKAR ALI MIRZA : Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, Mr. Hanumantbaiya said that the Prime Minister wants to bring a socialist revolution here and that too with great speed. But Mr. Hanumantbaiya did not carefully read the Address of the President in which the President has said that the work has to be done brick by brick and that the task is so great, the road is hard and long and there is no model. After 50 years of socialist experience and achievement in half of the civilised world, to say there is no model to go by for a socialist order is really surprising. What else does she want? She wants a change in the attitude and the approach of the Supreme Court; they must be conscious of the social forces that are prevalent in the country. She wants the bureaucracy to have a sense of commitment. She wants that the people should realise the wind of change. All these mental revolutions to take place for what?

In the Address I find only two important items worth considering--one is the question of bank nationalisation and the second is the question of privy purses. I ask this House whether any of the measures that have been taken so far are really hundred per cent socialist.

The Supreme Court has struck down the Act. At the same time, it gave room for further extension of nationalisation. It said that all the banks can be nationalised. With

the investment of a few more crores all the banks could have been nationalised. A socialist Prime Minister, who is hastening and impatient and wants speed should have been the first to say. Here is the verdict of the Supreme Court; so, we will nationalise all the banks. If you calculate, it will cost only a few more crores of rupees. But see the advantages. There is a lot of foreign money working in this country. There are complaints that our elections have been financed by foreign countries and foreign agents against which enquiries have been made. It is a fact which has been admitted by the Home Minister. At least one influence of outside finance gripping and spoiling the political structure of this country could have been stopped if all the banks, national and international, were nationalised and taken in the public sector. But they did not do it. That would have been really a socialist measure. All these are not socialist but liberal policies. You can label this Government and the Prime Minister as very good liberals but you cannot call her government a socialist government.

I could give you another example to show by contrast what socialism really involves. I come from a backward State, Hyderabad. Before independence we had a State bank, our Railways and bus transport services were nationalised and the important industries were in the public sector; government was the main partner in those industries. Still, you called it a feudal State. In India now, apart from railways and postal services--which were nationalised services in Hyderabad also--how many of the industries are entirely in the public sector? You are still subscribing to the view that some industries can be nationalised in some States while they can be in the private sector in some other States. Is this your concept of socialism? I submit that it is not.

Then I come to another important factor. We are all very much concerned about the welfare of the poor man, the common man, the man in the street. The people of India live in the villages. If you have got the interest of the people of India, you must have the interest of the peasant community. For the last twentytwo years we have been talking about land reforms? What is the position today? No foreign capital is required, no technical know-how is involved;

it involves only a change of the structural pattern of distribution. What have you done in this direction ? Precious little.

In Hyderabad State, for example, the tenancy reform was much more progressive than in other States. When the State was divided, one part went to Andhra Pradesh and another part to Maharashtra. Even today the ceiling in Telengana is lower than the ceiling in the Andhra region. In Maharashtra, the State from which our great socialist Home Minister, Shri Chavan comes the ceiling is lower in the Marathwada region than in the rest of the State. Even the record of rights has not been completed for the people. Is this your concern for the poor people ? Is this your concern for forming or creating a socialist State ? I very much doubt it.

Things have come to such a pass that the Americans, whose experts have been here, have been asking for land reforms so that production could rise. What MacArthur did in Japan was more socialistic than what we have done in this country. That is really the position today.

About corruption and so on, the question of Lokpal is hanging fire for the last three years. Nothing has been done about the appointment of the Lokpal.

I am concerned specially with the question of Telengana. There has been a movement for the last one year—a unique movement. If the Address was not unique, at least this movement was unique. For eight months all the schools and colleges—the whole university—were closed. This has not happened even in the history of the freedom movement. There was a lot of firing, arrests and so on. 300 people were killed. But not a single judicial inquiry was instituted either by this Government or by the State Government. Is this justice ? Is this concern for the poor people ? Is this concern for public opinion ? Neither will they set up a commission to tackle the question of smaller States nor will they come forward straightway and say that Telengana will be given because they are concerned with power politics. The block of votes that the Chief Minister holds is really acting as a brake to any move by the Centre.

I want to say one thing about small States. Today we have divided the country into several linguistic states. Every State is as big as a country of Europe or any other place. Culturally they are united; linguistically they are so. If disintegration is to come, it would be because of these big States.

You know, Vietnam has been divided. Other countries also have been divided. They have been divided by external agencies. Here also the external agents will have smooth sailing in dividing the country. The only thing that is keeping them back is that China, our Counter poise, is united as one big country. Once China is divided, we are vulnerable. Therefore I would beg of the Prime Minister to grant Telengana as a separate State and have a commission to re-examine the whole pattern of division of the country on linguistic basis.

Instability has been introduced all over the country. Who is responsible is not my concern just now. The point is that in every State Ayaram and Gayaram is going on and there is a feeling of instability. The conditions are which usually are there before a dictatorship. I warn this country that conditions are ripe for dictatorship whether it is civil or military, of a man or of a woman, is a different matter—and if we are democrats, we must see that this is prevented.

श्री मंगल उडके (मंडला) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, माननीय सदस्य, श्री हनुमन्तया, ने राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण पर जो धन्यवाद का प्रस्ताव रखा है, मैं उसका समर्थन करने के लिए खड़ा हुआ हूँ।

राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण में पहली बार भारत की 85 फी सदी गरीब जनता के विकास का संकल्प किया गया है। इस अभिभाषण में कृषि-उत्पादन बढ़ाने, भूमि-सुधार, उचित लगान, जोत के निर्धारण, भूमिहीनों में भूमि के वितरण और छोटे किसानों को कृषि के लिए आवश्यक वस्तुओं की उपलब्धि का जिक्र किया गया है। इसमें यह भी कहा गया है कि भारत सरकार अपना ध्यान मुख्ये क्षेत्रों की समस्याओं पर केन्द्रित करेगी, पिछड़े इलाकों

[ श्री मंगरू उड्के ]

में उद्योगों को बढ़ावा देगी, समुचित स्थानों पर इस्पात कारखाने लगाने की व्यवस्था करेगी। इसके अलावा मजदूरों का वेतन और मजदूरी बढ़ाने, रहन-सहन तथा काम करने की दशा में सुधार करने, लोगों को काम देने और वैरो-जगारी दूर करने का आश्वासन भी दिया गया है। जहाँ तक सरकार की आर्थिक नीति का सम्बन्ध है, अभिभाषण में कहा गया है कि रोजगार के लिए धन-संपदा का अधिक उत्पादन किया जाय और उसके समुचित वितरण की व्यवस्था की जाय, और आय-उत्पादन के साधन बढ़ाये जायें। राष्ट्रपति ने अपने अभिभाषण में यह भी कहा है, “भूमि-मुधारों पर तेजी के साथ अमल करने से अनुसूचित जातियों, अनुसूचित आदिम जातियों और अन्य पिछड़े हुए वर्गों के सामाजिक और आर्थिक उत्थान के कार्यों को बढ़ावा मिलेगा। मेरी सरकार को इन लोगों के कल्याण की विशेष चिन्ता है।”

पिछले अठारह सालों में मैंने राष्ट्रपति के जितने भी अभिभाषण सुने हैं, उनमें पहली बार इस अभिभाषण में भारत की पिछड़ी हुई जनता, विशेषतः आदिवासियों, हरिजनों और अन्य गरीब लोगों के लिए, जो देश की जनता का 85 फी सदी हैं, जरूरी काम करने की बात कही गई है। इस अभिभाषण में चाहे शहर के और शिक्षित लोगों के बारे में कोई बात न कही गई हो, लेकिन देश की 85 फी सदी गरीब जनता के विकास का संकल्प इसमें किया गया है। श्री हनुमन्तया ने इस अभिभाषण के लिए “युनीक” शब्द का प्रयोग किया है, जिस पर कई माननीय सदस्यों ने टीका की है, लेकिन पिछड़े हुए समाज के लिए यह एक अत्यन्त “युनीक” भाषण है।

आदिवासियों और हरिजनों के कल्याण के लिए सब कुछ करते हुए भी एक काम करने की बहुत आवश्यकता है और वह है एकस्प्लायटेशन

से उनका सेफगार्ड। जब तक यह सेफगार्ड नहीं होगा, तब तक आदिवासियों और हरिजनों का, विशेषतः आदिवासी इलाकों में, कल्याण नहीं होगा। अभी मैं झाठ जिलों में घूम कर आया हूँ और मैंने रीमोटेस्ट एरियाज में कई हजार गांवों का दौरा किया है। मैं आप वो बस्तर जिले, जहाँ दो मर्तवा गोली चल चुकी है, और भाबुआ जिले की परिस्थिति बताना चाहता हूँ।

बस्तर जिले में छः बोलियां बोली जाती हैं : गोंडी, मारिया, मुरिया, हलबी, डोर्ली, भत्रा और भीली। लेकिन वहाँ पर जितने भी अधिारी और कर्मचारी हैं, वे सब उत्तर भारत के हैं, जो उन लोगों की कोई भी बोली नहीं समझते हैं। उन लोगों की सम्पत्ति केवल सूखी लोकी के पांच छः बर्तन, बांस के कुछ पोंगले, देगची, पत्तों में बंधा हुआ थोड़ा सा नमक और बांस के दो चार टोकने होती है। शायद किसी के पास पांच दस किनो मोटा अनाज रखा हो। शायद किसी के पास जर्मन सिल्वर के एक-दो बर्तन हों। उनके मकान पर ताला या सांरुल नहीं होता है। उनकी सम्पत्ति पन्चीस रुपये से अधिक किसी हालत में नहीं होती है।

ऐसे गरीब लोगों का शोषण किस तरीके से होता है? बस्तर जिले में 73 लाख रुपये के शराब के ठेके हुये हैं, जिसमें से आधे जिले के ठेके पटना, बिहार के एक ठेकेदार ने लिया है। उसके पास पचास जीपें, बन्दूकधारी आदमी, लठैत हैं। ये लोग भारत के सब से पिछड़े हुए इलाके, बस्तर, में नंगे और अधनंगे आदिवासियों के घर घर जाकर शराब देते हैं। वहाँ के आदिवासियों की शिकायत है कि हम लोग त्योहार के समय या बाजार जाने पर शराब पीते हैं। लेकिन वे लोग घर घर में शराब रख देते हैं और पैसा न दिये जाने पर उन आदिवासियों को मारते हैं। पुलिस और एकसाइज वाले भी ठेकेदार के साथ हैं। खुद एस० पी० ने स्टेटमेंट दिया है कि वहाँ सब-इन्स्पेक्टर ठेकेदार के आदिमियों से भय खाते हैं, क्योंकि

ठेकेदार का आर्डर है कि अगर कोई पुलिस वाला बीच में आये, तो उसको घूट कर दिया जाये। केन्द्रीय सरकार या राज्य सरकार ने इस तरफ ध्यान नहीं दिया है।

दंडकारण्य में बहुत से शरणाथी ले जा कर बसा दिये गये हैं। उनका काम बहुत अच्छा चल रहा है और उनकी आर्थिक स्थिति सुधर गई है। उन शरणाथियों को वन साफ करके वहां नहीं बसाया गया है। आदिवासी इलाके पहले जंगलों के नाम से पुकारे जाते थे, जैसे दंडकारण्य, नैमिशारण्य और किष्किंधारण्य आदि। तो वह बस्तर जो रियासत थी उसमें जो अलग अलग गांवों के टापू थे उनके गांवों की सरहद में साइड वाई साइड बुलडोजर से जमीन जोत कर और वहां काश्तकारी करने के लिए शरणाथियों को बसा दिया। अब उन्होंने उनके वच्चों को बैल चराने के लिए या और इस तरह के अन्य काम जैसे निस्तार या कृषि में अड़चनें पैदा कर दीं।....(व्यवधान) मुझे थोड़ा टाइम आप दें।

तो यह परिस्थिति वहां हमने देखी। अब इनको जो पच्चीस परसेंट सुधारी कृषि भूमि या 2600 रुपया ट्राइबल्स को देने की व्यवस्था है उसके लिए दण्डकारण्य अधिकारियों ने क्या किया कि उनके क्षेत्रों को भी जोत डाला और 25 परसेंट दिखा दिया। यह 25 परसेंट दिखाया कैसे। जिस गांव में दो भूमिहीन है तो वहां दस आदिमियों के लिए कृषि भूमि जोत कर दे दिया और जहां पर दस भूमिहीन हैं वहां पर एक भी आदिवासी के लिए भूमि सुधार के नहीं दी गई। वह गांव छोड़कर दूसरी जगह जाना भी नहीं चाहते। यह एक्सप्लायटेशन वहां देखने को मिला।

दूसरी बात क्या देखने को मिली? कई आदिमियों की जमीन जिसमें दण्डकारण्य वालों ने तालाब बांधें, या सड़क बनाई या मकान बनाए उसके अन्दर आज दस साल से गई है लेकिन उनको कोई कम्पेन्सेशन नहीं मिला या उसके बदले में कोई जगह नहीं मिली। ऐसे कई

मामले हैं जो मैं देखकर सीधा वहीं से यहां आया हूँ। जहां से सड़क निकली वहां से आदिवासी हटाये जाते या दूर चले जाते हैं—हमारे ट्राइबल वेलफेयर के लोग ऐसी स्थिति देखते हैं या नहीं देखते हैं, मुझे पता नहीं क्या करते हैं? जहां से सड़क निकली वहां से दस मील दूर वह आदिवासी लोग हट जाते हैं और वह सारी जमीन दूकानदारों और ठेकेदारों के कब्जे में चली जाती है। वह उसके ऊपर में जोत करते हैं। इस तरांके से आदिवासी हटते हुए चले जा रहे हैं। जितने कारखाने, तालाब, बांध या प्रोजेक्ट्स होंगे उन सबके अन्दर आज आदिवासियों की जमीन गई है। इनको मुआवजा देने वाला कोई नहीं है। तो यह जितनी एक्सप्लायटेशन की बातें हैं इनके ऊपर ध्यान देना चाहिए।

अब टी० डी० ब्लाक्स निकाले। बस्तर में 32 टी डी ब्लाक्स हैं। दस लाख रुपये एक ब्लाक पर दिये जाते हैं। पर होता क्या है? वह आदिवासी गरीब जो 20 का अंक नहीं समझ सकते हैं उनको यह अधिकारी कहते हैं कि तीन हजार रुपये मिलेंगे, पचास फीसदी या अस्सी फीसदी छूट मिलेगी, कुआं खोदो। तीन हजार रुपये के ऊपर उस आदिवासी का अंगूठा हो जाता है। कुएं में पानी नहीं लगा, गड्ढा बना हुआ है, न उसके काम आया न कुछ हुआ और आधा पैसा उसको देना है। वह इतनी बड़ी रकम दे नहीं सकता है। उसमें उसकी जमीन नीलाम हो जाती है। कोआपरेटिव बैंक का पैसा सौ रुपया लिया, किसी कारण दे न सका तो उसमें उसकी दो सौ एकड़ जमीन है तो वह सब नीलाम कर डालते हैं। कोई पृष्ठने वाला नहीं है। जो बेचारे कोआपरेटिव के प्रेसीडेंट बने, यह हमारी मिनिस्टर साहिबा बंठी हुई हैं, 1 करोड़ 15 लाख रुपयों की हानि हुई उसमें गरीब आदिवासियों के 11-11 रुपये के शेयर का 41 लाख रुपया था वह भी खत्म कर दिया। इन्होंने लेटर भी लिखा हुआ है एन्वयायरी करने के लिए। आज जितनी को-

[ श्री मंगरू उडके ]

आपरेटिव दुकान हैं वह सारी की सारी खाली पड़ी हुई हैं। उस को आपरेटिव समितियों के प्रेसिडेंट आदिवासी है जो अंगूठेबाज है और आज कई आदिवासी जेलों में जा रहे हैं। खाने वाले लोग पैसे खा गए और यह आदिवासी जेल जा रहें हैं। ग्राम पंचायत के सरपंच लोग, राहत कार्य में जितने कार्य हुए उसमें उनके अंगूठे मास्टर रोल पर ले लिये गये, इसलिए आज जगह जगह से सैकड़ों आदिवासी गिरफ्तार हो रहे हैं। सैकड़ों आदिवासियों को सजा हो रही है। यह क्या ट्राइबल वेलफेयर है? अब केन्द्र का इतना पैसा गया, उसके लिए क्या कर रहे हैं यह नहीं मालूम। कमिश्नर की रिपोर्ट जो लिखी हुई है उसमें 60-61 में 1135 आदिवासी परिवार सन 58 से 60 तक कई प्रोजेक्ट में विस्थापित हुए। उसमें से सिर्फ अस्सी परिवारों को बसाया गया लेकिन उनको जमीन नहीं दी गई। शेष परिवारों को कुछ नहीं दिया गया।

अब एक आखिरी बात कह कर मैं समाप्त करता हूँ। 1971 की जन-गणना के सम्बन्ध में राष्ट्रपति के भाषण में उल्लेख हुआ है। अब इस जन-गणना में क्या होता है? 1901 की जनगणना में एक लाख में से 13090 आदिवासी आदिवासी धर्मावलम्बी थे। यह रेलीजन का सेन्सस पेपर नं० 2, 1953 है, इसके पेज नं० 32 पर यह दिया है। इतने आदिवासी धर्मावलम्बी थे जिसमें विवाह दत्तक वारिसान, विवाह-विच्छेद यह सब उनकी अपनी प्रथाओं

के अनुसार होते हैं। उनके सिविल कैसे परसनल ला से गवर्न होते हैं और इसलिए इस सम्बन्ध में जितने कायदे हिन्दू ला के बने हुए हैं वह आदिवासियों पर लागू नहीं होते। हिन्दू ला अगर लागू किये जाते हैं तो सिविल केस में उनकी जमीनें लैंड एलियनेशन एक्ट का प्राविजन होते हुए भी चली जाती हैं। तो 1911 में वह एक लाख में 15532 थे, 1921 में 13229, 1931 में 10945, 1941 में 22597, 1951 में 5 और 1961 की जनगणना में शून्य। तो यह आदिवासियों का धर्म कहां गया? यह क्या हुआ? आदिवासी सब मर गए या क्या हो गए? तो इस तरीके से इनके धर्म का खात्मा कर दिया है जनगणना वालों ने। राष्ट्रपति के भाषण के ऊपर में सबसे विशेष बल देकर यह बात कहता हूँ कि यह जो 1971 की मट्टु मशुमारी होने वाली है इस में जितनी आदिवासियों की संख्या है, वह अपना धर्म कुछ भी बताएं, कोई कुछ भी कहें, जनगणना वालों का कार्य है कि वह आदिवासी धर्मावलम्बी जो उनका है वह लिखें ताकि सिविल केसेज में जो उनकी मिल्कियत जाती है वह जाने से बचे, तथा उनकी प्रथाओं के विपरीत कानूनी फँगले न हो सकें।

बस इतना ही कहते हुए चूँकि समय नहीं है, इसलिए मैं अपनी बात समाप्त करता हूँ।

18.36 hrs.

*The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Wednesday, March 4, 1970/ Phalgun 13, 1891 (Saka)*