

(2) Fifty-fourth Report on action taken by Government on the recommendations contained in their Fifty-first Report on State Trading Corporation of India, New Delhi.

COMMITTEE ON THE WELFARE OF
SCHEDULED CASTES AND
SCHEDULED TRIBES

Fifth Report

SHRI BASUMATARI (Kokrajhar) : I beg to present the Fifth Report of the Committee on the Welfare of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes on the Ministry of Labour, Employment and Rehabilitation (Department of Labour and Employment, Directorate General of Employment and Training-Employment of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in Services.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE

MR. SPEAKER : Shri Hanumanthaiya.

SHRI BAKAR ALI MIRZA (Secunderabad) : I have a submission to make before the discussion starts. The President's Address is to be discussed not only in this House but in the other House.

MR. SPEAKER : It has not started yet.

SHRI BAKAR ALI MIRZA : For four days it is to continue. It is not possible for the Prime Minister to be present here and also in the other House at the same time. Is it fair to this House ?

12.40 hrs.

MOTION OF THANKS ON THE
PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS

SHRI HANUMANTHAIYA (Bangalore): Sir, I beg to move :

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

"That the Members of Lok Sabha assembled in this Session are deeply grateful to the President for the

Address which he has been pleased to deliver to both Houses of Parliament assembled together on the 20th February, 1970."

Sir, the President's Address this year is a unique one. The circumstances...

श्री रवि राय (पुरी) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, मेरा व्यवस्था का प्रश्न है। हनुमताया जी इस समय कौन से भाषण पर मोशन मूव कर रहे हैं—जो संक्रैटरी साहब ने पढ़ा था, उस पर कह रहे हैं या जो प्रेसीडेन्ट महोदय ने स्वयं पढ़ा था, उस पर मूव कर रहे हैं ?

अध्यक्ष महोदय : उस भाषण पर जो इस हाउस में रखा गया है। वहाँ पर क्या हुआ मुझे नहीं मालूम, जो भाषण इस हाउस में रखा गया है, उस पर मूव कर रहे हैं।

श्री बच्चू सिन्धु (मुंगेर) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, जब मैंने उस दिन व्यवस्था का प्रश्न उठाया था, आपने बताया था कि इसके बारे में सही परिस्थिति क्या है, उसका पता लगायें...

अध्यक्ष महोदय : सही परिस्थिति यह है कि वह ज्वाइन्ट सेशन था, उसको न मैं प्रिसाइड करता हूँ और न पाठक साहब करते हैं...

श्री बच्चू सिन्धु : यही तो मैं कह रहा हूँ। आपने मेरे ज्वाइन्ट आफ ऑर्डर पर उस दिन निर्णय नहीं दिया और आज भी नहीं दे रहे हैं।

SHRI PILOO MODY (Godhra) : I think that out of the two speeches that were delivered, the person reading the English speech looked like the President.

MR. SPEAKER : No, no. You are sometimes too much .. (Interruption)

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी (बलरामपुर) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं एक और बात कहना चाहता हूँ। राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण पर चर्चा शुरू हो रही है, इस चर्चा का उत्तर कौन देगा, प्रधान मन्त्री जी सदन में नहीं हैं।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : धीर सभी हैं ।

श्री छत्तल बिहारी बाजपेयी : क्या सभी उत्तर देंगे ?

श्री मधु लिमये : अध्यक्ष महोदय, क्या निर्णय हुआ ? आप यहाँ इस सभा के मालिक हैं। उस दिन नहीं थे मैं इस बात को मानता हूँ।

MR. SPEAKER : That point was disposed of. No please.

श्री मधु लिमये : यह मामला अभी क्या उठाया गया है ।

MR. SPEAKER : I do not want to entertain this point. This was disposed of. The speech was placed on the Table of the House.

श्री मधु लिमये : उस दिन आपने कहा था कि मैं वहाँ प्रिसाइड नहीं कर रहा था, लेकिन यहाँ तो आप प्रिसाइड कर रहे हैं ।

MR. SPEAKER : Do not go into hairsplitting arguments, please.

श्री रवि राय : ये सचिव के भाषण पर बोल रहे हैं, प्रेसिडेन्ट के भाषण पर नहीं बोल रहे हैं ।

SHRI SHEO NARAIN (Basti) : When the President's Address is discussed, where is the Prime Minister ? She must be present here.

MR. SPEAKER : My ruling is, when he is going to speak, every Minister is not bound to be present here. Now, I received this letter from the Prime Minister.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : Now ?

MR. SPEAKER : No ; a little earlier. I did not want that it should be read in the House. She says :

"Immediately after the question Hour, at 12.15 today, I have to leave the House for Raashtrapati Bhavan for lunch

in honour of the King and Queen of Laos." *Interruption.*

डा० राम सुभग सिंह (बक्सर) : लंच तो एक बजे होता है ।

THE MINISTER OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS AND SHIPPING AND TRANSPORT (SHRI RAGHU RAMAIAH) : Lunch is earlier. *(Interruption)*

MR. SPEAKER : Should the King and Queen sit without the Prime Minister ?

श्री छत्तल बिहारी बाजपेयी : अब आपने जो जवाब दिया है, हम सन्तुष्ट हैं ।

SHRI PILOO MODY : Why was not the Foreign Minister invited ?

MR. SPEAKER : Order, order. Mr. Hanumanthaiya.

SHRI HANUMANTHAIYA : The Address by the President this year is a unique one. *(Interruption)*

AN HON. MEMBER : What about the Speaker ? *(Interruption)*

MR. SPEAKER : If the Prime Minister goes, if the Speaker is also invited, then God knows ! Mr. Hanumanthaiya, please go ahead at once.

SHRI HANUMANTHAIYA : (Bangalore) : This year the President's Address is a unique one not merely in its contents, but in its approach to problems. The highlight of the Address is the fact that it contains many measures in order to bring into existence a truly socialistic society. I perused the headlines and editorials of all the leading newspapers in India and I found there was a general welcome. The headlines have been flashed so as to bring into prominence the picture of the society this Government proposes to shape.

For the First time, I feel the preamble of the Constitution has been taken seriously—the preamble which charges us that justice, social, economic and political and equality of status and opportunity should be the guidelines in all our workings, legislative or administrative. For the last 20 years we

knew the preamble but the tempo with which we were implementing it was rather slow. It was to general. For the first time, we have made up our mind to increase the tempo of implementation of these fundamental concepts. If there is any difference between the previous Addresses and this year's Address, it is the pace, the speed, of implementation of these ideas. For example bank nationalisation has been fortunately welcomed by every section of this House except probably one party. I say it not to take political advantage of it, but to project the picture of the enormous amount of public opinion behind this move. Though the SSP and Jan Sangh differ in many matters they are earnest and unanimous in the matter of even going further; they want the Government to nationalise not merely these 14 banks but also all foreign banks, foreign tea estates and foreign oil companies. Therefore, it is an admitted fact that this Government is going in the right direction, even though it may not be possible immediately here and now to implement it all to the full extent. The President says that these important and far-reaching measures cannot be adopted by Parliament at one sitting, not even in one year, maybe because of the question of heavy compensation. Therefore, the President has said that they are building this new society based on justice and equality brick by brick *i.e.* gradually. This has made even the conservative elements happy that we are not rushing pell-mell but progressing methodically. Even from the point of view of implementation, this has brought satisfaction not only to the progressive elements but also to the conservative elements.

Then comes the question of the privy purse in the context of implementing the principle of social justice as well as equality. In case of Bank Nationalisation I have to say that the Supreme Court has done its duty. I do not want to make any adverse comments on its functioning. I myself belong to the legal profession. I know the tenets of interpretation. The primary and the only function of a court is to interpret law and not to make laws.

SHRI RANGA (Srikakulam) : What about judge-made laws ?

SHRI HANUMANTHAIYA : It is outside the jurisdiction of courts to alter

the content of the Constitution or the intention of the Constitution-makers. It is outside the jurisdiction of the court to distort the law so as to defeat the intention of the legislature. I had been a member of the Constituent Assembly; so also many of my colleagues sitting here. One of the cardinal principles of interpretation is that the intention of the framers of the law must be taken into consideration.

SHRI J. B. KRIPALANI (Guna) : No, it is wrong.

SHRI HANUMANTHAIYA : He knows more philosophy than law. He should keep quiet.

SHRI RANGA : You should know the philosophy of law also.

SHRI HANUMANTHAIYA : In the Constituent Assembly it was nobody's case not even the case of my hon. friend, Shri Kripalani, who murmurs now, that there has to be another Constituent Assembly to amend the Constituent. I had been there throughout and I want to ask any hon. Member to show me one sentence in the whole proceedings of the Constituent Assembly which sponsored the idea that this Constitution cannot be amended by Parliament, and that it has to be amended by another Constituent Assembly. Everyone of us took it for granted that the article concerned with the amendment of the Constitution conferred that power exclusively and fully on Parliament. For the Supreme Court to go beyond this known intention and declare that another Constituent Assembly should meet in order to amend the Constitution is something which is not in consonance with or in harmony with the principles of interpretation.

SHRI RANGA : Question.

SHRI HANUMANTHAIYA : I wish the respected Professor Ranga to show me any of his speeches where he has taken the stand, which he is now taking, with reference to the Constitution-amending power of Parliament.

SHRI RANGA : This has reference only to the Chapter on Fundamental Rights; not the entire Constitution.

SHRI HANUMANTHAIYA : Therefore, whether it is the bank nationalisation or the the privy purse, it is my earnest prayer to my hon. friends who differ from me, not to take a partisan view, not to take political advantage of the present position but to see whether the provisions of the Constitution are being rightly implemented by this Government. If that generous and patriotic view and the preamble of the Constitution are taken into consideration, the inevitable conclusion that we reach is that this House has got the power to amend the Constitution.

The Supreme Court decisions themselves are inconsistent. In its earlier decisions it has taken the view which I am holding. Subsequently, the judgment of Mr. Justice Subha Rao brought in a new or different view of the matter. After all, it is a judgment by a majority of one. I have sometimes felt that this judgment has not taken into consideration the true spirit of the previous judgment of the same court.

Therefore, even though I will not blame the court for what it has done, when the case law goes beyond the intention of the Constitution and the enactments of Parliament, it is time that Parliament should sit up and mend matters. Unless this is done the just and humane society which the President speaks of cannot be brought about, the egalitarian order of things that every one of us has in view cannot be implemented and the disparities in income which many members of the House have referred to cannot be mended. I do not exactly know how to deal with this, but what I say is when the administration required reform a Commission was appointed.

Agriculture requires looking into and a commission is proposed to be appointed. Likewise necessity has arisen for a commission to sit to recommend judicial reform in this country. It is everybody's case.

SHRI P. K. DEO (Kalabandi) : I would like to ask the hon. Member as to when the various recommendations of the Administrative Reforms Commission will be implemented by the Government and whether any reference has been made to that in the President's Address.

SHRI HANUMANTHAIYA : Yes, Sir ; the Government has made a declaration on

the floor of the House that 87 per cent of the recommendations of the Administrative Reforms Commission have been accepted. Therefore, I have no quarrel with the Government or with my friend's earnestness in seeing to their proper implementation.

Apart from this constitutional issue, as you know, the law's delay and expense are things that are corroding our society. I need not explain it ; there is no difference of opinion regarding the havoc caused by the delay and expense of legal procedures. This needs to be looked into in order to see that justice is done speedily and without much expense. The Supreme Court, in proportion to its dignity and authority, has become the most expensive mode of seeking and obtaining justice.

Therefore, to look into all aspects of the matter, I want the House to see the reasonableness of a Commission being appointed. In the interest of the country and of shaping a new society that we have in view, a judicial reforms Commission ought to be appointed. The only condition I think of is, that there must be no judges on the commission because the repercussions of the judicial system have a bearing on the people in general, specially the clientele. The Members of Parliament are the best judges to see whether these legal procedures have profited society or whether they have worked havoc in some respects. Any judge can lead evidence before the commission. Any judge can make proposals. But the ultimate authority that shapes judicial procedure and system must be Members chosen by Parliament. The personnel of the commission can be agreed upon by the leaders of the Opposition and the Prime Minister. What I want to emphasize is that people, who are interested in the maintenance of *status quo*, are not the proper judges to give correct decision in the matter.

SHRI RANGA : He wants to get rid of the Supreme Court with the help of Parliament. We cannot co-operate with you.

SHRI HANUMANTHAIYA : I want to make another suggestion. Sir, you rightly remarked that I should straightaway start the speech. That has a bearing of its own because interruptions are rather too many. The President has also made an appeal to

Members of Parliament in the last paragraph of his Address when he said :

"May you truly reflect their urges and aspirations, and may your deliberations and wisdom bring them nearer fulfilment."

The Parliamentary procedure formulated and being worked is almost a century or two old. Here we are paying attention to small controversial matters—somebody's son is like this, somebody is arrested there, somebody is detained here. These take most of the time whereas we have not got one hour of time to discuss public undertakings whose investment is Rs. 3,400 crores.

MR. SPEAKER : He may continue after Lunch. Now we adjourn for Lunch and re-assemble at 2 O'clock.

13.00 hrs.

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

14.05 hrs.

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

[Mr. Deputy-Speaker in the Chair]

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

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Mr. Hanumanthaiya.

SHRI HANUMANTHAIYA : I was making a case for reform of Parliamentary procedure. Much of our time is now being taken away on minor matters, sometimes frivolous matters, and issues—big and far-reaching—are not being discussed thoroughly and in all their depth and consequences. For instance, we have invested Rs. 3,400 crores in our public undertakings. I have not seen for the last one decade this House taking up this big issue for discussion at any length of time. There is no method. May be we make some casual remarks about their working now and then. I want Parliament to have purposeful and effective control over

their administration. It is with that view that I am proposing this reform.

This idea of the Upper House being a Chamber of revision is no longer relevant. It might have been so in England in the 19th century. But here Party High Commands and Legislature Parties process and formulate measures before they come up before Parliament. Therefore.....

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : Sir, I do not want to interrupt Mr. Hanumanthaiya, but I want to draw your attention to the fact that there is not a single Cabinet Minister present while we are discussing the President's Address. Is this the way to treat the House.

SHRI SHASHI BHUSHAN (Khargone) : Here is a Deputy Minister.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : I am told that Cabinet Ministers will be coming.

SHRI CHENGALRAYA NAIDU (Chittoor) : Let Mr. Raghu Ramaiah be promoted as Cabinet Minister.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : Then he will also be absent.

SHRI H. N. MUKERJEE (Calcutta North-East) : You should direct the Minister of Parliamentary Affairs to convey to the Cabinet Ministers the displeasure of the House in their being absent in this fashion in spite of this matter having been raised in this House so many times.

SHRI SEZHIAN (Kumbakonam) : I can understand the Prime Minister having lunch with the King, but what about other Cabinet Ministers ?

SHRI HANUMANTHAIYA : This is the point I want to deal with. If Ministers are not present in full strength, one of the reasons is the duplication of work in both Houses. That is the pattern of procedure in the other House and this House. You will agree that wherever there is duplication, it results in waste of effort and waste of money. Therefore, we have to rationalise the functioning of these two Houses so as to remove duplication of work as far as possible.

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Secondly, this House has to be more effective in the matter of controlling the administration not only in the matter of policy but also in the day to day working. We must project the wisdom and the ability of the House over matters more serious than the minor and frivolous ones we are accustomed to. This procedure which was laid almost two centuries ago in England is *in toto* adopted and it does not fit into the picture. In the old days it was mere administration. It was not a question of building a new society. It was not a question of managing public undertakings. Now the vast area of public undertakings is the task of the administration. So, Sir, this House has to remove duplication of efforts, and make the functioning of this House more purposeful. If this is to be done, the present set of rules has to be amended or changed. Of course, this cannot be done by Government. Parliament is the authority here. It is the question of the Leader of the House and the Leaders of the Opposition putting their heads together and appointing a committee with the unanimous consent of the House, so that the Rules of Procedure of the Houses may be in tune with the times and the new responsibilities we have undertaken.

So far as food production is concerned the President in his Address gave us a happy note. Agricultural production has made a break-through. The other day the Minister of Food and Agriculture made a statement that in an year or so not only will we be self-sufficient but we may be in a position to export Agricultural production, by our scientific approach to the problem has improved. Nobody can deny this proposition. The Agricultural production, in my view, is most important. The first and foremost thing for a human being is food. We have spent during the last 20 years more than Rs. 2,000 crores in importing foodstuffs. This vast drain of our resources has not only affected our economy but also our foreign exchange resources. And the PL-480 has also had its own repercussions on our internal finances and prices. Therefore, if we are able to dispense with food imports, it is a blessing equal to any blessings that we can think of Government. I am happy to say, Sir, has arrived at this point of making the country confident about its food production.

Only one suggestion I want to make in

this connection. The latest scientific discoveries show that use of chemical fertilizers and insecticides is not an unmixed blessing. Many a time the food gets poisoned we have so far invested Rs. 731 crores in chemical fertilizer production and the production in this field is only about fifty per cent of our requirements. The sewerage and wastage, of our cities and towns, are not only polluting the air and water, but are polluting the whole environment. In the United States of America and in Europe, everybody knows, they are now spending billions and billions of pounds and of dollars to prevent this air and water pollution. It is time that we do not commit the same mistake. I therefore propose that besides chemical manures, we have to pay particular attention to the manufacture of natural manure. It is the law of nature that wastage ultimately becomes manure and manure ultimately gets converted into food through plants. In big cities like Calcutta, Bombay, Bangalore and Hyderabad, for instance, the sewage water is polluting the air and is going waste. If at least Rs. 100 crores are invested to convert sewage and other waste into manure it will be a blessing. It will prevent the air pollution, as well as the other dangerous consequences.

Along with the production of chemical fertilizer being allowed to go ahead, we should see that the wastage and sewerage in this country are converted into manure. We have enough public enterprises and private enterprises which can easily manufacture this machinery to convert sewerage into manure and waste into manure. This will not require any foreign exchange or foreign know-how. Government has to see that considerable portion of investment is made to manufacture of composts and conversion of sewerage and waste into manure.

I was very happy to know only two days ago the Mysore Government making an announcement that the Mysore State had become self-sufficient in food. That is one of the happiest news that I have ever read. If the whole country becomes self-sufficient in food, we shall have made much progress. We shall have removed many factors which give rise to irritation and dissatisfaction. That will also bring down prices.

Agriculture is still the most important sector. In our anxiety to promote big

industries, we have forgotten this primary sector. In the Fourth Plan and in the various other plans that we are formulating, agriculture has to receive much more attention and much more investment than it has received so far.

In the industrial field, the picture is equally bright. Recession has receded. Exports are increasing. Imports are becoming less. The position has been well explained in the President's Address. The rate of growth may cross 7 per cent. In the current year the growth rate may still go up. So, in the industrial field also, it is a hopeful picture that we have been presented with. If these two sectors, namely agriculture and industries prosper and produce, then most of our problems are solved. We shall have the satisfaction of seeing that the people are properly fed, properly nourished, properly clothed and provided with the good things of life.

As the Economic Survey has pointed out, one of the reasons why industry is suffering is labour trouble, particularly inter-union trouble. All the time, the labour unions are insisting upon their rights to get more. I have never come across a trade union which says something about production, something about efficiency and something about increasing the national wealth. All the time, all of us sitting here are so anxious to secure votes that we have gone on promising people everything that can be promised. We have egged them on along the lines of insistence upon their rights, side-tracking their duties. I make bold to make a new proposal. Of course many of my friends may not agree with me. If we want a socialist society, then we must work for it in its correct way. Trade unions cannot have it both ways. They cannot have the capitalist way of agitation and strikes and at the same time increase production and bring about social justice. One of the Cabinet Ministers told me that he was having some conference with the Rumanian Ministers, and they were surprised to know that there were strikes in our public undertakings. Nothing of the kind could happen in those socialist countries. Strike way come into the picture and it ought to come into the picture where the motive is private profit.

SHRI RABI RAY : If the bureaucrats replace the capitalists, there should be no strike ?

SHRI HANUMANTHAIYA : They are certainly entitled to bargain, because the capitalist wants to make as much profit as possible for himself and his family. But where the means of production is owned by the State, as in the case of our public undertakings, labour has to realise that the socialist principle...

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA (Alipur) : The management also has to realise that.

SHRI HANUMANTHAIYA : ...requires that there should be no strike. The only right is to produce...

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU (Daimand Harbour) : What about five lakhs of casual labour on the railways ?

SHRI HANUMANTHAIYA : After production, there will be sufficient time for equal distribution of the wealth produced. After all, this Parliament as it is constituted today is not in favour of the capitalist system or of unrestricted growth of private enterprise and wealth. Ultimately, all disputes between labour and management should be adjudged by tribunals. Let there be tribunals. Let there be a supreme authority, and let that be a committee of Parliament to arbitrate. But to go on encouraging inter-union rivalries and agitations will mean the ruin of our enterprises. In the Hindustan Steel enterprises, the labourers some of them, went and even ruined the machinery. They could not be punished or taken to task. This is the most ruinous way of pampering labour...

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU : Like Shri Atulya Ghosh going to Durgapur.

SHRI HANUMANTHAIYA : Labour must be paid properly but they must be made to produce. Without production, there can be neither a capitalist nor a socialist society.

Under some misapprehension and some miscalculation, we do not bring a sense of responsibility and sense of duty to the labour sector to produce. However much we may speak, however high our policy formulation may be, we shall never be able to achieve a socialist society without production. Therefore, labour policy has to be

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so oriented as to fit into the socialistic society. The present policy and the present law has been more or less attuned to the capitalistic system of society. We are afraid to say these things because we are afraid that the popular vote in this sector may not be available to us. But I would submit that it is not a question of votes, but it is a question of prosperity of the whole nation. Any Member who has only his election prospects in view and not the prospects of prosperity of the country will not be serving this House or Parliament or the country effectively.

SHRI CHENGALRAYA NAIDU : We all agree, except his new colleagues.

SHRI HANUMANTHAIYA : Government have now become acclimatised to taking quick and proper decisions. The other day, we had a decision on Chandigarh, which was pending for years and years. Whatever may be the formula, this Government had the determination and the impartial approach to the problem. They have given the decision.

SHRI RABI RAY : Ask Shri Randhir Singh. He is unhappy.

SHRI HANUMANTHAIYA : Let me state the proposition clearly. Here also, we are somewhat weak with reference to our own people. It has become one of our weapons to incite linguistic and regional fanaticism to maintain our hold. It is not the fault of one party. All of us more or less have worked ourselves into such a pitch that it has become almost impossible to retrace our steps. No reasonable discussion can take place when State boundaries are concerned or when the language issue crops up. Each one of us is so much concerned with our own constituents, whether right or wrong, that the atmosphere has been vitiated. It has even erased party distinctions.

This House, being the sovereign authority in the land, consisting of the representatives of the nation has to rise higher, so that we may take decisions in consonance with the interests of the nation, in keeping with the unity of the country and in harmony with the culture and tradition that thousands of

years have bestowed on us. It is in this spirit that I say that the Prime Minister has given decision on Chandigarh. So far as the other linguistic and border disputes are concerned, I believe the Prime Minister is capable of taking equally impartial and determined decisions. It may not be satisfactory to all. But the Prime Minister's decision must be accepted. Even if my very good friend Dr. Ram Subhag Singh becomes the Prime Minister tomorrow, I shall have to accept his decision, whatever it is, because there is no other means of settling it.

Therefore, in our anxiety to decry one another in the anxiety of one party to denigrate another, let us not mix up the issue and fail to see what is right and in the interest of the country. Border disputes have to be decided ultimately by Parliament. Parliament should not be pressurised by any section or group. It so happens that each State may be interested in a particular manner of solution of a problem. But when Parliament as a whole approves a decision, I am sure it will be in the interest of the nation. If you lose faith in Parliament, if you lose faith in the Leader of the House, there is no other method of solving such questions. I hope the Prime Minister will proceed along the lines she is doing and see that every controversy is set at rest.

SHRI RANGA : The Prime Minister is better than the Chief Justice !

SHRI S. M. KRISHNA (Mandya) : Where do we start ?

AN HON. MEMBER : Mysore-Maharashtra.

SHRI HANUMANTHAIYA : The Mysore-Maharashtra border dispute is capable of solution. If you leave it to the Maharashtra people, they want to make the whole of India their Maharashtra ; if you leave it to Mysore, they are permanently fixed to the proposition of the Mahajan Commission Report.

SHRI RANDHIR SINGH (Rohtak) : What does he say about the Shah Commission Report ? Let him not take a contradictory stand.

SHRI HANUMANTHAIYA : I do not want to go into details. There will be occasions for us to discuss details here. I assure you that in spite of my being from Mysore, I will refuse to take a partisan and fanatic view of the matter. The very first imprisonment I suffered was when I hoisted the national flag. In those days, it was treason to hoist any other flag except that of the Maharaja in Mysore. Then I stated, almost 35 years ago, that I am an Indian first and everything else next.

SHRI G. VISWANATHAN (Wandiwash): Indianisation !

SHRI HANUMANTHAIYA : I can give him an effective rejoinder, but my point is not to win a point but to win his heart. I do not want to throw some remark or joke and hurt feelings because here we are coordinating our views and feelings to evolve acceptable solutions. If I have begun with that principle and suffered imprisonment, I have no cause whatever to change it now, and I will abide by the decision of the Prime Minister. I am sure that being neither a Mysori nor a Maharashtrian and being the first citizen in the sense of responsibility, she will take a just and honourable decision which will be good to both the States.

Hon. Members have given notice of as many as 600 amendments

SHRI MADHU LIMAYE : That Shows widespread resentment.

SHRI HANUMANTHAIYA : Widespread interest in the administration.

SHRI RABI RAY : Interest and resentment, both.

SHRI HANUMANTHAIYA : If you have as your profession resentment all the time, your life will be full of resentment and you will end with resentment. Therefore, resentment is not an honourable occupation. In fact, you yourself say in many of your public statements that after the 1972 elections there may be a coalition Government. Prepare your mind, resenting mind into a co-operating mind.

Many hon. Members have taken notice of the law and order situation in Kerala and West Bengal amendments have been

tabled by the leaders of opposition parties. The Government answer is already there. I am not advocating either the cause of the Congress Party or the Communist Party who are in power in these States. Far from it. If you look into the report of the administrative Reforms Commission on Centre-State relationship ..

SHRI MADHU LIMAYE : I want you to be made a Cabinet Minister in charge of administrative reforms.

SHRI HANUMANTHAIYA : Thank you very much for your good wishes. At any rate, there is a certainty that I will be in the Cabinet when you are in power.

In the Centre-States relationship report I have advocated the rights of the States, autonomy for the States, much more than anybody has done up till now. It is not because that I want to make the Centre weak. Delegation of authority, as they say, makes for administrative efficiency and economy. Concentration of power thousands of miles away will not make for efficiency and economy. It is on this high principle of administrative efficiency that I have based all my recommendations. You will see that law and order being a State subject, Parliament and the Government of India cannot lightly interfere. Mahatma Gandhi said we want democracy and we must have the right even to err. Please do not take it literally. If the electorate, if the people of West Bengal and Kerala have made an error in electing the Communist Parties to power, let them realise it. If they feel that the present state of law and order is conducive to their interests, to the national development, I have no quarrel, let them elect them for another term or any number of terms. But if they feel that the position is bad it is for them to revise their opinion. Therefore, on the basis of provincial autonomy and true democratic principle if the Government of India does not interfere in the day-to-day working of the law and order situation in Kerala and West Bengal, it is not that the Government of India is weak. It is that the Government of India is constitutional, correct, in its approach to problems on the basis of autonomy and democratic principles. If some of my hon. friends feel aggrieved that the law and order position is bad, let us go and appeal to the people there. I will

[Shri Hanumanthaiya]

happy that some of the leaders of the opposition do go and they beard the lion in its own den. Instead of doing what is effective, if you merely come and express resentment in this House, it will not solve the situation.

DR. KARANI SINGH (Bikaner) : Did you appeal to the people before you imposed President's rule in Rajasthan ?

SHRI HANUMANTHAIYA : His Highness is quite correct in the question he has posed. But I should like to remind him that before the President's rule is imposed according to the Constitution, there is no question of referendum and taking the people's will. The Governor is confined to a limited question, whether a stable Ministry could be formed or not. He exercises his discretion. The question of taking people's opinion does not arise in these cases. But even this situation I have met in my report on Centre-State relationship. Many members have tabled amendments to the same effect. We found on enquiry and after taking evidence that one Governor acted in a particular way in a particular situation and another Governor in some other way. This should not be done. Under rule of law, there must be a certain uniformity of action. It is, therefore, that we recommended formulation of guidelines for the Governor. Instead of seeing that guidelines are framed, if you merely raise a discussion and ventilate your feelings against the Government, it is of very little use, because this Government is very strong and very stable... (Interruptions). For what I know of the Prime Minister she is not going to change her attitude, policies or methods merely because there is some resentment or some personal attack or some motive attributed... (Interruptions). In order to solve the controversial questions about Governors, we have to formulate guidelines for the Governors. As many of our Opposition leaders suggested there should be an Inter-State Council as contemplated under the Constitution to sort out the differences. The zonal councils do not deal with constitutional matters; they deal with minor administrative matters.

Though it is a minor matter, I am happy at one decision that the Government has

taken. Many years ago the President of the Theosophical Society at Madras who is also the President of the International Society of Theosophists told me that the P form was a big irritant and served no useful purpose. It so happened that a year later I joined Administrative Reforms Commission under the leadership of my esteemed colleague Mr. Morarji Desai. We examined this aspect and by the time we could take a decision, he had left the Commission.

AN HON. MEMBER : He got his P Form.

SHRI HANUMANTHAIYA : When we got it thoroughly examined, it was proved by facts and figures, not merely by sentiments, that the P form had failed to fulfil the intention with which it was introduced. It did not save foreign exchange.

SHRI VASUDEVAN NAIR (Peermade) : After how many years did you realise it ?

SHRI HANUMANTHAIYA : We are a slow set of people and do things progressively, and not by revolution.

When this P form was found to be so useless, and at the same time causing so much annoyance and irritation, we thought it was right to recommend to the Government that it should be abolished. Recently, the Cabinet has taken the decision and abolishing the restriction almost 80 per cent. I would appeal to them to abolish it altogether. No harm will be done. This P form is an indication of the tempo and psychology of bureaucracy. Whenever they get something in their hands, they will never release it. And then the question arises, what to do with the staff who are engaged in the P form work. We are so accustomed to be humane that we do not want anybody to be retrenched. At the same time, we are so public spirited that we want efficiency and economy to be introduced in Government. This is a contradiction that is haunting the House and all of us. It has to be resolved. Merely because we have to maintain a few officers or merely because it is easier to maintain the *status quo* so far as the administrative structure is concerned, we

cannot afford to continue to annoy and irritate people. It is not right.

This Government's hallmark, as they say, is new method, new drive. Wherever there is harassment and annoyance, it is our primary duty to see that they are completely removed. After all, in a democracy we have to be responsive to the people, (*Interruption*) This P form having been done away with to this extent, the Government can as well go the full length and earn the appreciation of the people.

The most important question that faces us today, as the President has said, is unemployment. Many of the leaders of the parties have given amendments stating this problem. This unemployment question has also to be tackled in an altogether new way, as I enunciated the new policy for labour. This unemployment is a characteristic feature of the capitalistic society. Even in the most prosperous country, the United States of America, there is always unemployment of about five lakh people. All schemes which we are formulating and the policies that we pursue, all the new enterprises that we start, increase employment; there is no doubt about about it. But it does not abolish unemployment. Here also, if you are very serious about socialist ways, we must adopt socialist methods in the matter of solving unemployment. I am thinking over the matter and I hope many of my friends who are confirmed socialists, who think that socialism is the ideal that will solve all these problems, will assist me in formulating new proposals.

The first and foremost source of unemployment is the educational system which continuously supplies unemployed people. The people who get educated become fit only for office work. In the rest of the areas they become unemployable. Therefore, the educational system has to be changed. In spite of several Commissions we have not been able to effectively change this educational system.

Secondly, we cannot afford to give the employment that each one asks for. Every graduate may ask that he should be an IAS officer. It is impossible to make all the graduates IAS officers though they may deserve it. So, I formulated the idea of National Service Corps twenty years ago in my report, when the Mysore Government appointed a Commission on educational

reforms. All the educated youth must be harnessed to this corps. There must be a rule that the Public Service Commissions should not entertain any application unless there is a certificate attached that he has served in this new organisation for about a year. Thus, the whole educated class of people can be made to come into this organisation. As soon as somebody gets a degree, by memory tests or by intellectual ability, he may be able to get some employment. The salary figures are so high there is a rush towards employment in offices. Hereafter, we have to so frame our policy that service should be the motive and not salary. In the Administrative Reforms Commission's work, we have found that every sector of Government servants wants more in terms of money. I am yet to see a person who is inspired by the incentive of service and devotion to duty. Over all these years, the whole psychology has been made selfish and everybody thinks in terms of money. Even the ICS officers, who get Rs. 4,000/-, say that they will get Rs. 10,000/- if they go to the private sector. The High Court Judges who get Rs. 3,000/- to Rs. 4,000/- say that the lawyers are getting more money. Though the scheduled rate is 5 per cent, the lawyers take 10 to 15 times that figure as a matter of contract. If a shop-keeper sells an item at 10 paise more than the listed price, he is called a blackmarketeer. But the honourable profession of law knows no blackmarket. On the bases of the blackmarket fees of the lawyers, the Judges develop the argument that they must be paid more.

The whole area has to be re-examined with the purpose of bringing about, as the President says, a just and humane society based upon equality and justice. I hope the House this time will relegate minor and frivolous matters to the background and formulate policies of a fundamental nature on the basis of service and not salary.

श्रीमती सावित्री श्याम (घाबला) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय मैं श्रद्धेय राष्ट्रपति महोदय के प्रतिभाषण पर रखे गये धन्यवाद प्रस्ताव का, जिसको श्री हनुमर्तया जी ने बड़ी कुशलता, दक्षता और बड़े जोश के साथ इस आदरणीय सदन में प्रस्तुत किया है, अनुमोदन करने के लिये खड़ी हुई है।

[श्रीमती सावित्री श्याम]

राष्ट्रपति महोदय का यह अभिभाषण इस देश के करोड़ों नगर-नारियों की डच्छाओं, आशाओं, अक्रांक्षाओं और अभिलाषाओं का प्रतीक है। हम राष्ट्रपति महोदय और उन की सरकार के बड़े अभारी हैं कि उन्हीं इस देश के करोड़ों मजदूरों करोड़ों किसानों, इस देश के विद्यार्थियों, इस देश के पिछड़े वर्गों, इस देश के दबे हुए वर्गों की कराह, उनकी बोखल-हट का पहली बार अहसास किया है। इस अभिभाषण के अन्दर मुझे एक दृढ़ता पहली दफ़ा नज़र आ रही है, इसके अन्दर एक कुशलता है, इसके अन्दर एक इरादा है, इसके अन्दर एक विश्वास है। और मैं जानती हूँ कि इसका क्या कारण है। इसका कारण यही है कि 6-7 महीने पहले इस देश के अन्दर एक वानावरण फैला, लोगों के अन्दर एक चेतना जागृत हुई, लोगों को यह अहसास हुआ कि इस जनतांत्रिक सरकार में हमारे भी कुछ अधिकार हैं, इस देश की बढ़ी हुई एकोनामी में और जो अन्य परिस्थितियाँ उत्पन्न हुई उसका हम लाभ नहीं उठा सकते हैं, केवल कुछ लोग ही उसके भागीदार और हिस्सेदार बने हैं। इस देश की प्रधान मन्त्री बघाई की यात्रा है कि उन्होंने देश के कोने कोने में जाकर लोगों के कष्टों और दुख दवाई का अहसास किया और अब राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण में इस बात का परिचय दिया कि सरकार कुछ करना चाहती है उसका करने का कुछ इरादा है। ... (अध्यक्षान) ... आज देश के कोने कोने में, जहाँ कहीं भी आप देखें, लोगों के अन्दर एक भूख है, किसानों के अन्दर एक भूख है। किसान चाहते हैं कि उनको पानी मिले, फटि-लाइजर मिले, बीज मिले और दूसरी सहायित्तें मिलें। विद्यार्थी चाहते हैं कि उनको शिक्षा में सहायित्तें मिलें। छोटे-मोटे उद्योगपति चाहते हैं कि उनको भी सहायित्तें मिलें। यह भूख क्यों है ? इसलिए कि उन्होंने इसका अहसास किया। पढ़ लिख कर उन्होंने समझा कि हमारे भी कुछ अधिकार हैं, हमको भी जीवन की आवश्यकतायें

उपलब्ध होनी चाहिए। जैसा कि राष्ट्रपति महोदय ने अपने अभिभाषण में कहा है, मैं उससे पूर्णतया सहमत हूँ और प्रत्यक्ष में भी हम इस बात को देखते हैं कि हमारे उद्योगों में बढ़ोत्तरी हुई है। हमने खाद्यान्न पदार्थों में आत्मनिर्भरता हासिल की है। हमारा एक्सपोर्ट बढ़ा है, हमारा इम्पोर्ट सबस्टिट्यूशन हुआ है। और जो हमारे कल-कारखाने पब्लिक सेक्टर, सरकारी क्षेत्र में थे उनमें भी गतिशीलता आई है। मिसाल के तौर पर मैं बताना चाहती हूँ कि जो भिलाई का कारखाना है उसने काफी दिनों के बाद अपनी गति को पकड़ा है। उसके पास अबसे आने वाले एक साल के लिए रेल के बैगन्स के आर्डर्स हैं। इसी तरह से एच० एम० टी० की बात है हालाँकि कल मैंने प्रश्नों के उत्तर में देखा कि उसमें 34 लाख का नुकसान है लेकिन फिर भी मैं देखती हूँ कि इस नुकसान के दूसरे और कारण हो सकते हैं परन्तु उसका टन ओवर बढ़ा है। यह एक शुभ लक्षण है। यह इस बात का द्योतक है कि जो चेतना जनता ने पैदा की है उसी के अनुरूप सरकार ने भी अपने आप को राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण के द्वारा जन जीवन से मिला दिया है। पहली बार हमने इस बात को देखा है।

15 साल हुए इसी सदन में हमने इस बात की घोषणा की थी कि यह देश एक समाजवादी देश होगा, इसकी प्रथम-व्यवस्था समाजवादी होगी। इसके लिए प्रयास भी किए गए। बढ़ोत्तरी भी हुई, देश की इनकम भी बढ़ी, सभी कुछ हुआ लेकिन साथ ही साथ भिन्नतायें बेरोजगारी कराहट, कठक और अन्याय भी लोगों में उत्पन्न होता रहा और यही कारण है कि जगह-जगह पर सारे देश में इम्बैल्स की पाकेट्स हो गई, लोगों में बेचनी हो गयी। लोगों की जब हिस्सा नहीं मिला तो उनमें परेशानी बढ़ गयी। इन सारी चीजों को हम यह कह कर नजरन्दाज नहीं कर सकते कि यह कम्युनिस्टों की स्ट्रेटजी है या नक्सलवादी तरीका

है। यह लोगों की कराहट है, लोगों का दर्द है, यही बात प्रदर्शित होनी है। समाजवाद गरीबी का बटवारा बिल्कुल नहीं है लेकिन बढ़ते हुए लाभ, नया वातावरण और परिस्थिति जो उत्पन्न होती है सरकारों के सहयोग से और जनता के सहयोग से, उसका बटावारा अवश्य है। परन्तु इन प्रगतिशील ताकतों को सदैव ही प्रतिक्रियावादी ताकतों से संघर्ष करना पड़ा है। प्रगतिशील ताकतों के रास्ते में सदैव रुकावटें आई हैं और उन रुकावटों को हटाना पड़ा है। इस सम्बन्ध में आप दुनिया के इतिहास को देखें कि जब भी कभी लड़ना पड़ा है तो उसमें सदैव प्रगतिशील ताकतों की विजय हुई है और उससे देश के अन्दर ताकत आई है। उन देशों ने विकास किया है और उनकी राष्ट्रीयता बढ़ी है। इस समय यही हमारे देश की परिस्थिति है।

देश के हित में जनता की इच्छा से और जनता के सहयोग से, जनता के उत्साह से बैंकों का राष्ट्रीयकरण हुआ। उसका उद्देश्य बहुत अच्छा है। उस उद्देश्य की पूर्ति हर कीमत पर होनी चाहिए। सुप्रीम कोर्ट ने कुछ कानूनी और कुछ सांविधानिक पहलुओं को उठाकर उसको रद्द कर दिया। हमारी जुडीशियरी पर इस देश की जनता की विश्वास है। हमारी जुडीशियरी जनता के अधिकारों की कस्टोडियन और गार्जियन है। लेकिन साथ ही साथ जुडीशियरी के जो ओब्जेक्शन्स हैं उसमें हमें यह जरूर देखना होगा कि पार्लियामेंट जनता की सावरेन वाडी है, जिस पार्लियामेंट इज विल आफ दि प्यूपिल। उसका कहां तक इससे सम्बन्ध हो सकता है। हम बधाई देते हैं सुप्रीम कोर्ट को कि उन्होंने हमें फिर इस बात का अवसर प्रदान किया कि इस बैंक नेशनलाइजेशन बिल को काम्प्रि-हेंसिव और स्पेसिफिक तरीके पर ला सकें। साथ ही हमें इस बात का भी अवसर दिया — शब्द डिस्क्रिमिनेशन लिख करके जो दूसरी बैंकों में हो जाता है, कि हम देश की सारी बैंकों का राष्ट्रीयकरण करें। अब सरकार को

इस प्रकार का बिल लाना चाहिए जो कि बिल्कुल ठोस और स्पेसिफिक हो ताकि हमारे रास्ते में कोई भी रुकावटें न रह जायें।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, देश के अन्दर जितने भी कानून बनते हैं या जितनी भी संविधान की धारयाँ हैं उन का मुख्य उद्देश्य एक ही है कि देश की भलाई हो, जनता की भलाई हो, जनता के साथ सामाजिक और अधिक न्याय हो। मिसाल के तौर पर अगर किसी भी हमारी संविधान की धारा से, किसी भी कानून से भिन्नता पैदा होती है, भेदभाव पैदा होता है या डिस्क्रिमिनेशन पैदा होता है, तो हमें अवश्य उसे दूर करना चाहिए। हमारे संविधान में फंडामेन्टल राइट्स में राइट आफ प्रापर्टी दिया हुआ है। हमारे देश के योग्य व्यक्तियों के द्वारा बनाया हुआ यह अधिकार है। लेकिन देश के प्रजातन्त्र के अन्दर, देश की बदली हुई फिजा के अन्दर, जनता की आकांक्षाओं के अन्दर यदि वे उसूल या धारयाँ फिट नहीं बैठती हैं तो हमें उनको बदल देना चाहिए और ऐसा करने में हमें कोई संकोच नहीं करना चाहिए।

श्री पटल बिहारी बाजपेयी : क्या बदलना चाहिए ?

श्रीमती सावित्री श्याम : राइट आफ प्रापर्टी।

श्री पटल बिहारी बाजपेयी : सतम कर दिया जाये ?

श्रीमती सावित्री श्याम : जी हां। इस देश की अधिकांश जनता जोकि पढ़ी लिखी नहीं थी, वह इस बात को नहीं समझती थी। 80 फीसदी जनता जो कि गांवों में रहती है उसके पास लैंड है जिस पर वह खेती करती है। जब सारी राज्य सरकारें अगने यहाँ उस जमीन पर सीलिंग लगा सकती है, उसकी जमीन को कम कर सकती हैं तो फिर शहरों में रहने वाले लोग अपनी प्रापर्टी को मनमाने

[श्रीमती सावित्री श्याम]

डंग से बढ़ा सकें, यह कहाँ का न्याय है ? यह सामाजिक न्याय नहीं है। आर्थिक न्याय नहीं है। इसलिए हमें इस अधिकार को बुनियादी अधिकारों से निकालना होगा। संविधान की धाराओं की धारणा ले कर [13 (2)], फंशमेंटल गडट्स, बुनियादी अधिकारों के ऊपर पार्लमेंट जो कानून नहीं बना सकती है, मैं नहीं समझती कि यह कोई न्यायोचित बात है। पार्लमेंट को मैं सुप्रीम बाड़ी मानती हूँ। इस बाड़ी को अगर यह अधिकार नहीं है तो फिर मैं नहीं समझती कि कौन सी और बड़ी बाड़ी है या कौन सी बड़ी पंचायत है कि जोकि इस प्रकार के अधिकारों को सुरक्षित रख सकती है और जनता के जीवन में परिवर्तन ला सकती है ? अगर मान लीजिये कि उसके बाद फिर भी संविधान में परिवर्तन करना पड़े, संविधान की धारा 358 के अन्दर परिवर्तन करने का जो प्रोसीजर दिया हुआ है, उसकी भी अगर सहायता ली जाय, और निर्भीकतापूर्वक ली जाये तो मैं समझती हूँ कि सब प्रगतिशील पार्टियों और प्रगतिशील व्यक्तियों का समर्थन मिलेगा। देश की जनता का समर्थन मिलेगा और जो लोग अपने आप को समाजवादी मानते हैं, चाहे वह एस० एस० पी० के हों या पी० एस० पी० के हों, उन का भी समर्थन मिलेगा, क्योंकि जो जनता भी भांग है उस के सामने, जो उस की इच्छा है उसके सामने अगर श्री मसानी, दलराज मधोक या श्री वाजपेयी की सरकार भी घ्रा जाये तो उस को भी वही कार्य करना पड़ेगा जो हम करना चाहते हैं।

15.00 hrs.

राष्ट्रपति महोदय ने अपने अभिभाषणा में बड़ी चिन्ता व्यक्त की है कम्प्यूनल रायट्स के ऊपर, और वास्तव में यह चिन्ता का विषय है। जब बेगुनाह व्यक्तियों का संहार होता है तब इतना दुःख होता है, इतना

कष्ट होता है जिस का ठिकाना नहीं है। बेगुनाहों की जिन्दगी जानी है, बेगुनाहों की जायदादें लूटी जाती हैं, उन के घर बार लूटे जाते हैं। जितनी भी एन्वयारी कमेटियाँ या कमिशन बैठते हैं उन में एक दूसरे पर जिम्मेदारी थोप दी जाती है। यह निश्चय किया जाता है कि किस ने पहले गाय के डंडा मारा, किस ने पहले रंग डाला होली के दिन। लेकिन कुछ दिन के बाद हम सब कुछ भूल जाते हैं और उस का दोहराव या पुनरावृत्ति फिर होती है।

जो नेशनल इंटेग्रेशन कौंसिल की कांफ्रेंस हुई उस में इस बात का निश्चय किया गया था और प्रस्ताव पास हुआ था कि सभी राजनीतिक पार्टियाँ इस में सहयोग देंगी कि देश में एक ऐसा वातावरण उपस्थित किया जाय जिस से कम्प्यूनल हारमोनी स्थपित हो, आपस में कोई झगड़ा न हो। अभी हम ने देखा कि जन संघ के नेता श्री मधोक ने अपने स्टेटमेंट में एक शब्द का प्रयोग किया है जिस को 'इंडियनाइजेशन' कहते हैं। उस पर टीका टिप्पणी भी हुई। उन्होंने उस की सफाई भी दी। मैं नहीं जानती कि इस के क्या माने हो सकते हैं। इसका मतलब तो वही जानते होंगे कि इंडियनाइजेशन का क्या अभिप्राय है और उसके ऊपर यह अर्प्लाई होने वाला है। लेकिन मेरे जैसा बिना पढ़ा लिखा व्यक्ति इस के साफ साफ माने यही समझता है कि जन संघ को इस देश के मुसलमानों में विश्वास नहीं है।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : गलत बात है।

श्रीमती सावित्री श्याम : मैं यही समझ रही हूँ, मेरी फीलिंग यही है। लेकिन यह मेकुलर स्टेट है, इस देश के अन्दर जितनी भी माइनारिटीज हैं सब को इस देश में रहने का पूरा पूरा अधिकार है, चाहे वह माइनारिटी के आदमी हों चाहे मैजोरिटी के हों। जब जब

इस देश के सामने राष्ट्रीय प्रश्न ध्याये और आवश्यकता पड़ी तब तब चाहे यहां के रहने हिन्दू हों चाहे मुसलमान हों सब ने अपनी राष्ट्रीयता और देश भक्ति का परिचय दिया है। जब तक किसी की अराष्ट्रीयता या अभारतीयता साबित न कर दी जाये तब तक मैं नहीं समझती कि किसी को भी अभारतीय कहा जा सकता है। सब से पहले स्वयम् के भारतीय होने का दावा करना चाहिये और उस को राष्ट्रभक्त होना चाहिये। यह सब से बड़ी आवश्यकता है।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : यही हमारा कहना है।

एक माननीय सदस्य : श्री मधोक का भारतीयकरण होना चाहिये।

श्रीमती सावित्री श्याम : इसको कहने की जरूरत ही क्यों पड़े ?

हमारी सारी प्रगति की जो सूची राष्ट्रपति महोदय के अभिभाषण में दी गई है उस सब का मकसद एक ही है। वह मकसद यह है कि जो दबे हुए हैं वह ऊपर उठे उन के साथ सामाजिक और राजनीतिक न्याय हो। चाहे लैंड रिफार्म हो, चाहे इम्बैलेसेज दूर करने की बात हो, चाहे प्राइसेज दूर करने की बात हो, उस सब का मकसद एक ही है, और उसी मकसद को ले कर हमें चलना चाहिये।

लैंड रिफार्म की कुछ बात हुई। नवम्बर में मुख्य मंत्रियों की एक कॉन्फरेस हुई और उस में यह निश्चय होने की बात थी कि भूमि की क्या कीमतें हों। बटवारे की भूमि को लोगों में किन हालात में लिया जा सकता है, मिडल मैन किस प्रकार खत्म किया जा सकता है। इस पर हमारे मंत्रियों के भी भाषण हुए, प्रधान मंत्री ने भी अपना एक भाषण दिया, और उन्होंने इस बात की चेतावनी दी, जो सामायिक चेतावनी थी कि कागजों से लैंड रिफार्म होने वाला नहीं है, कुछ ठोस कदम उठाने होंगे। मुख्य मंत्रियों ने यह निश्चय तो

किया कि सन् 1970 के अन्त तक केवल विचैलिये को खत्म कर देना चाहिये, उस जगह से भी जो संस्थानों में भूमि थी, लेकिन इस का कोई निश्चय नहीं हुआ कि जो जमीन बटवारे पर दी जाये उस की कीमत क्या होगी और बटवारे वाले किन हालातों में अलग अलग हो सकते हैं।

उत्तर प्रदेश के जमींदारी ऐवालिशन ऐक्ट में, जो भूमि सुधार में एक बड़ा घोषणा-पत्र है, देखने को मिलता है कि 10 फीसदी लोगों के पास गांवों में 50 फीसदी भूमि है। मैं नहीं समझती कि ऐसे लैंड रिफार्म से कोई लाभ होने वाला है। यह एक राष्ट्रीय प्रश्न है और इस को राज्य सरकारों और इधर उधर के नेताओं से मिन कर सरकार को सोचना चाहिये कि लैंड रिफार्म किस प्रकार हो सकता है और कहां तक उस को सफनीभूत बनाया जा सकता है।

कीमतों के बारे में भी मैं एक शब्द कहना चाहती हूँ इस में कोई सन्देह नहीं कि पिछले दो वर्षों की बनिस्वत हमारी कीमतें घटी हैं। 1965 में कीमतों में 11 से 16 प्रतिशत तक बढ़ोतरी हुई थी मगर पिछले साल कीमतों में 6 प्रतिशत ही बढ़ोतरी हुई है। इन कीमतों के बढ़ने का एक परिणाम यह है कि हमारे यहां लोगों में बचत की कैंपेसिटी घटी है। जो लोग फिगर्स रखते हैं वह इस बात को अच्छो तरह जानते हैं। कि वचत ही इस देश को ऊंचा उठा सकती है और इस देश के लिये एक बुनियाद बन सकती है। बा.री कर्जों या बाहरी सहायता पर कोई देश बहुत ज्यादा दिनों तक जिन्दा नहीं रह सकता। इसलिये बचत ही एक-मात्र उपाय है जो देश को अपने पैरों पर खड़ा कर सकता है। कीमतें बढ़ने से बचत की शक्ति घटती है और बचत की शक्ति हमारे देश में पिछले वर्ष की बनिस्वत—मैं बहुत दिनों की बात नहीं कर रही हूँ—1.5 प्रतिशत घटी है। इस का कारण है कीमतों का बढ़ना। कीमतों का बढ़ना बहुत चीजों पर निर्भर है।

[श्रीमती सावित्री श्याम]

पिछले वर्ष जब भी मोगराजी देसाई ने इस सदन में बजट उपस्थित किया था तो उन्होंने इस बात को कहा था कि डेफिसिट बजट नहीं होना चाहिये, नहीं तो कीमतें बढ़ेंगी। राज्यों का ओवर-ड्राफ्ट कम होना चाहिये नहीं तो कीमतें बढ़ेंगी। प्रोडक्शन बढ़ना चाहिये, रिसेशन घटना चाहिये, नहीं तो कीमतें बढ़ेंगी। वास्तव में यह बहुत बड़ा ठोस सुझाव है। आज भी हम देखते हैं कि राज्यों का ओवर-ड्राफ्ट है और उस में कोई क्वांट नहीं है। हम को ओवर-ड्राफ्ट की प्रथा को कम करना चाहिये नहीं तो यह हमारी कीमतें घटाने में सहायक नहीं हो सकती। साथ ही साथ हम प्रोडक्शन बढ़ाने की बात करते हैं। मैं ने श्री हनुमन्तया की स्पीच सुनी। उन्होंने लेबर का और मजदूरों का आह्वान किया कि उन्हें समय के अनुसार बदलना चाहिये, समय के अनुसार योगदान देना चाहिये। कभी हम इस बात को नहीं कहते कि हमारी कैपिटल की क्या उत्पादकता हो सकती है, कैपिटल की उत्पादकता इस देश में कितनी बढ़ सकती है। इस बात की कोई डिटेल्ड रिसर्च नहीं हुई, कोई डिटेल्ड सर्वे नहीं हुई। जहां हम लेबर के साथ उसकी प्रोडक्टिविटी की बात करते हैं, टेकनालाजिकल प्रोडक्टिविटी की बात करते हैं वहां हमें यह बात भी करनी चाहिये कि हमारी कैपिटल की उत्पादकता को किस रेशियो से बढ़ना चाहिये, इस को कोई साइंटिफिक आधार होना चाहिये और उस से हमारी प्रोडक्टिविटी बढ़नी चाहिये।

आज हम देखते हैं कि पब्लिक सेक्टर में नुकसान हुआ। उस का कारण यह है कि हमारी कैपिटल की उत्पादकता नहीं है। यदि प्राइवेट सेक्टर में भी प्रोडक्शन बढ़ा हुआ दिखाई देता है तो वह भी बहुत अंध तक फोक है, उस के प्रोडक्शन को फोक साबित किया जा सकता है। इसलिये आवश्यक है कि प्रोडक्शन बढ़ायें और उस के साथ प्रोडक्टिविटी

पर अधिक जोर दे, और उन सब फैक्टर्स को मिला कर जोर दें जो उत्पादन बढ़ाने में सहायक होते हैं।

राष्ट्रपति महोदय ने कुछ सन्तोष व्यक्त किया है हमारी विदेश नीति पर। मैं समझती हूँ कि जिस विदेश नीति को हमने अपने देश में अपनाया, निस्संदेह उस से हमें बहुत लाभ हुआ है दूसरे देशों में हम अपने मित्रवत व्यवहार रख सके हैं, अपनी मित्रता निभा सके हैं। हमारे देश की जो योजनाएँ, परियोजनाएँ हैं उन से लाभ मिला है। अभी जो प्रादान प्रदान हुआ प्रधान मन्त्री का जाना, राष्ट्रपति जी का जाना, या पार्लियामेंट्री डेलिगेशन का जाना, मैं समझती हूँ कि बहुत उचित बात है और इस की बहुत अधिक आवश्यकता है। प्रादान प्रदान से सदैव लाभ होता है। हमारी एक्सपोर्ट्स बढ़ी हैं। हमें वर्ल्ड मार्केट मिली है। हमारा जो शान्ति का नारा है वह दूसरे देशों में फैला है, दूसरे देशों तक पहुंचा है। इसी का यह नतीजा है कि आज प्रेजीडेंट निकसन जब वहां की कांग्रेस को सम्बोधित करते हैं तो हमारे शान्ति के नारे का जिक्र करते हैं, महात्मा गांधी की नान-वायोलेंस वाली बात का अपने सम्बोधन में उल्लेख करते हैं। यह बहुत बड़ी बात है। हमारी जो विदेश नीति रही है वह बिल्कुल निर्भीक रही है। हमने निरा होकर अपनी विदेश नीति का अनुसरण किया है। चाहे वियतनाम का प्रश्न आया हो या इसराइल का हमने निर्भीकतापूर्वक अपने विचार प्रकट किये हैं। आज भी जब लाओस का प्रश्न आया तो भी हमने निर्भीकता पूर्वक अपनी बात को दुनिया के सामने रखा। जो विदेश नीति हमने अपनाई है उसका हमने निर्भीकतापूर्वक प्रतिपादन किया है। हम चाहते हैं कि हमारे जो पड़ोसी देश हैं, चाहे वह पाकिस्तान हो या चीन, सभी के साथ हमारे मित्रता के सम्बन्ध हों। लेकिन हमें इस बात का दुःख है कि चीन इतना बड़ा देश होते हुए

भी जिस की सात सौ मिलियन की आबादी है उससे हमारे सम्बन्ध सुघर नहीं सके हैं। इसका मुख्य कारण मुझे यह दिखाई देता है कि उस देश की लीडरशिप ही इस बात के लिये बहुत हद तक जिम्मेदार है। मैं चाहती हूँ कि हिन्दुस्तान और चीन के सम्बन्ध मित्रवत् हों। लेकिन ऐसा नहीं हो सका है और इसके लिये वहाँ की लीडरशिप बहुत हद तक जिम्मेदार है। लेकिन अभी वहाँ हरकत होनी शुरू हुई है। लोगों में चेतना और जागृति आनी शुरू हुई है और मैं समझती हूँ कि उस चेतना और जागृति के आगे वहाँ की लीडरशिप को झुकना पड़ेगा। वहाँ की लीडरशिप में जरूर एक सुधार होगा, परिवर्तन होगा और दोनों देशों के सम्बन्ध अवश्य सुधरेगे, इनका आपसी व्यवहार अच्छा होगा।

अब मैं सर्विसिस के बारे में कुछ कहना चाहती हूँ। जो नवशा हमारे सामने है और जो चित्र इस अभिभाषण के जरिये से सरकार ने और राष्ट्रपति महोदय ने प्रस्तुत किया है सदन के अन्दर इसको कार्यरूप में परिणत करने का जो काम वह सर्विसिस का है, इसको सरकार रूप देने की जो जिम्मेदारी है वह सर्विसिस की है। मैं मानती हूँ कि हमारे देश की सर्विसिस की साल काफी अच्छी है और हमें उस पर गर्व है। लेकिन हम चाहते हैं कि जितनी गतिशीलता लोगों के अन्दर आई है जितनी तीव्रता लोगों के अन्दर बढ़ रही है, उतनी ही सर्विसिस के अन्दर भी बढ़नी चाहिये, राजनीतिक नेताओं के अन्दर भी बढ़नी चाहिये। इस देश के जो एडमिनिस्ट्रेटर हैं उनके अन्दर भी वही गतिशीलता होनी चाहिये। किसी जगह पर प्रधान मंत्री ने कहा था कि सर्विसिस का इस देश की नीतियों के साथ लगाव होना चाहिये। इसको ले कर बड़ी टीका-टिप्पणी हुई थी। लेकिन प्रधान मंत्री का का अभिप्राय यह कदापि नहीं था कि सर्विसिस की जन संधी होना चाहिये या काँफेसी होना चाहिये। उनका कहना था कि जो नीतियाँ हैं उनके साथ उनका लगाव होना चाहिये।

अगर उन नीतियों के प्रति सर्विसिस की आस्था नहीं, विश्वास नहीं तो कैसे वे उन नीतियों को कार्यान्वित कर सकती हैं। तब कौन उनको इम्प्लेमेंट करेगा? इस बास्ते सर्विसिस के लिए यह आवश्यक है कि जो भी सरकार सत्ताह्व हो उस सरकार की नीतियों का वे प्रतिपादन करें, विश्वास के साथ करें, तन और मन के साथ करें और जब उन्होंने ऐसा किया तभी उन नीतियों से लाभ हो सकता है, समस्याएँ जो हैं उनका हल निकल सकता है। जब नीतियाँ इम्प्लेमेंट नहीं होती हैं। तो लोग राज नेताओं को जिम्मेदार ठहराते हैं, उन को ठहराते हैं। तो इन नीतियों को बनाते हैं। लेकिन वास्तव में कसूर होता है उन लोगों का जो इन नीतियों को कार्यरूप में परिणत करते हैं इन पर अमल करते हैं। इस तरह से एक बहुत बड़ा गैप नीतियों के फामुलेशन में और उनके इम्प्लेमेंटेशन में पैदा हो जाता है। इस को हम को एक दम दूर करना चाहिये, इसको हम को कम करना चाहिये। हमारी जो समस्याएँ हैं उनको हम को वार फुटिंग पर हल करना चाहिये। हर जो काम है वह वार फुटिंग पर होना चाहिये। जनता के अन्दर इतनी शान्ति और सन्तोष नहीं है कि वह अनिश्चित काल तक इंतजार कर सके इस बात का कि कम कौन काम होने वाला है। जनता चाहती है कि तेजी के साथ उसकी समस्याएँ हल हों और उसका भविष्य उज्ज्वल बने। उसको आगे बढ़ने का मौका मिलना चाहिये। उसके अन्दर जो परेशानी आज है, उस में से उसको निकाला जाए। बितने भी कंजर्वेटिक कंसैप्ट हैं उनकी दीवारों को तोड़ना होगा और हम को आगे बढ़ना होगा। यही आज की आवश्यकता है।

मैं आपको धन्यवाद देती हूँ कि आपने मुझे कुछ कहने का अवसर दिया मैं अपने आप को सौभाग्यशाली मानती हूँ कि मुझे इस प्रस्ताव का अनुमोदन करने का अवसर दिया गया। मैं सदन के माननीय सदस्यों के प्रति भी आभार

[श्रीमती सावित्री इय्याम]

प्रदर्शन करती हूँ कि कम योग्यता में जो कुछ भी मैंने कहा उसको उन्होंने बड़े ध्यान से धौर बिना मुझे डिस्टर्ब किए हुए सुनने की कृपा की।

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : The Motion has been moved and seconded and is now before the House.

Motion moved :

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

"That the Members of Lok Sabha assembled in this Session are deeply grateful to the President for the Address which he has been pleased to deliver to both Houses of Parliament assembled together on the 20th February, 1970."

SHRI MANIBHAI J. PATEL (Damoh) : What is the total time they have consumed, Sir ?

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : That will be calculated.

Now there are a large number of amendments to the motion. Hon. Members present in the House who are desirous of moving their amendments, may send slips indicating the serial numbers of the amendments they would like to move. These amendments will be treated as moved.

DR. KARNI SINGH : If there are inaccuracies in the amendments, what is the procedure ?

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Well, I think, the amendments have been listed and circulated.

DR. KARNI SINGH : But there it an inaccuracy in relation to what we have sent.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : We will see when it comes.

SHRI RAM SINGH AYARWAL (Sagar) : I beg to move :

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

"but regret the failure to find a suit-

able solution to the problem of Chandigarh." (1)

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

"but regret the failure to find a satisfactory solution of the Telengana problem to the satisfaction of the people of the area." (2)

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

"but regret the failure to establish a second oil refinery in Assam." (3)

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

"but regret the failure to implement the recommendations of the Gajendra-gadkar Commission regarding the removal of disparity and discrimination between the different regions of the State Jammu and Kashmir." (4)

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

"but regret the failure to take measures to meet war like preparations by Pakistan." (5)

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

"but regret the failure to prevent subversive activities in various parts of the country." (6)

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

"but regret the failure to set up the Third Pay Commission and provide interim relief to the Central Government employees." (7)

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

"but regret the failure to remove the disparity in grades and allowances between the Government employees of the Union Territory of Chandigarh who joined before 1st of November, 1966 and those who joined after 1st November, 1966." (8)

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

"but regret the failure to build houses for the Central Government employees in Chandigarh." (9)

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

"but regret the failure of foreign policy more especially in maintaining good relations with Nepal and other neighbouring countries." (10)

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

"but regret the failure in arresting the rise in prices of essential commodities." (11)

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

"but regret the failure in proper uplift of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes." (12)

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

"but regret the failure to solve the gigantic unemployment problem." (13)

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

"but regret the failure to remove the present disparities in incomes existing between the various sections of the society." (14)

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

"but regret the failure to make the Fourth Five Year Plan completely Swadeshi depending upon the country's own resources." (15)

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

"but regret the failure to maintain Democratic and Constitutional norms by the Governors of Bihar and Uttar Pradesh who have installed minority Governments." (16)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the denigration of the Supreme Court by certain political parties and individuals after their decision invalidating the Bank Nationalisation Law." (17)

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

"but regret that the Address does not spell out the acceptance of popular demand on the manufacture of nuclear weapons." (18)

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

"but regret the failure to nationalise all foreign banks and foreign oil, tea and jute companies." (19)

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

"but regret the failure to provide drinking water in certain areas of the countries." (20)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the slow growth of industrialisation in the country owing to the non-utilisation of installed capacity." (21)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address that even after 20 years of Independence untouchability exists in the country in one form or the other." (22)

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

"but regret the failure to implement the Directive Principle of the Constitution regarding a complete ban on the Slaughter of cows, calves and other milch cattle." (23)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the misuse of power and position by the Prime Minister in undertaking tours of Uttar Pradesh and Gujarat in helicopters and defence planes in order to topple down the Government in those States." (24)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the non-implementation of the recommendations of the Wage Board for non-journalists." (25)

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

"but regret the failure to introduce prohibition throughout the country even after 20 years of independence." (26)

[Shri Ram Singh Ayarwal]

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

"but regret the failure to scrap automation in L. I. C. Railways and other public undertakings." (27)

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

"but regret the failure to secure the implementation of proper land reforms throughout the country." (28)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the misuse of the All India Radio by the party in power and discriminatory treatment meted out to the opposition parties." (29)

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

"but regret the failure to provide adequate relief to the drought affected areas of Rajasthan and Gujarat." (30)

SHRI N. SREEKANTAN NAIR
(Quilon) : I beg to move :

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

"but regret that in the Address no mention has been made of the need to withdraw disciplinary action taken against the Central Government employees for participating in the strike on 19th September, 1968." (31)

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

"but regret that in the Address no mention had been made of the need to nationalise the foreign-owned plantations in the country." (32)

SHRI VISHWA NATH PANDEY
(Saempur) : I beg to move :

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

"but regret that the Address has failed to announce any definite policy towards the safeguarding of minorities in India, reasonable taxation policy specially removing burden on the common man through indirect or direct taxation, removing corruption nepotism

among the high officials and leaders in the ruling party." (33)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the measures to be taken by the Government to secure complete vacation of the areas of Indian territory occupied by the Chinese and by Pakistan in Jammu and Kashmir territory." (34)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the sufferings of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes nor any definite welfare measures are indicated." (35)

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

"but regret that the Address has failed to announce any definite policy :

- (a) improve the conditions of agriculturists and provide adequate irrigation facilities and incentives for increased agricultural production, check increase in prices of the essential commodities and the necessities of life as well as food-grains ;
- (b) check the deteriorating condition of law and order in the States of West Bengal and Kerala and some other States also ;
- (c) improve the lot of the backward areas of the country through adequate development ;
- (d) check the worsening political and administrative situations in many States, specially Kerala, West Bengal and Jammu and Kashmir ;
- (e) adopt strong measures to tackle the activities of fifth columnists in the country.
- (f) provide for adequate water supply in the rural and urban areas and for rural electrification programme throughout the country." (36)

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

"but regret that the Address has not

mentioned any effective measures to remove regional imbalances in the distribution of national economic resources." (37)

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

"but regret that the Address has failed to mention anything about the undemocratic and unconstitutional methods adopted by the Governors of Bihar and Uttar Pradesh States in installing the Government recently in those States." (38)

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

"but regret that the Address has failed to mention anything about the nationalisation of the key industries like sugar and general insurance companies in India." (39)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the deteriorating relations between the Centre and the States." (365)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about any specific steps for removing the deteriorating Centre-State relations which have assumed added importance when the Centre is ruled by a minority Government." (366)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of nationalisation of import and export trade." (367)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address regarding the ceiling on urban properties in view of the declared principle of the socialism by the Central Government." (368)

SHRI RANGA : (Srikakulam) : I beg to move :

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

"but regret that the Address displays a spirit of smug complacency and

claims illusory achievements in the fields of agriculture, industry and employment which are entirely unrelated to the grim realities of the common people's plight." (51)

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

"but regrets that while taking note of the manifestations of violence in the country, the Address :

(a) does not refer to the situation in West Bengal where, according to the Chief Minister of that unfortunate State, there exists an 'uncivilised and barbarous Government', nor contains any statement of intentions as to how the Union Government propose to deal with the situation which involves a complete breakdown of the constitutional machinery and of law and order ;

(b) fails to take note of the widespread seizure of crops in the State of Kerala with the connivance and encouragement of some of the parties in power, both in the past and at present ; and

(c) ignores a factor which aggravates the violence in the country, namely the incitement from the highest quarters towards a disregard for the Rule of Law for the Fundamental Rights of the citizen and for the judiciary." (52)

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

"but regret that while dealing with a regional arrangement for economic cooperation in South, South-East and East Asia the Address indicates no readiness or intention to take steps to develop corresponding measures of political cooperation and for the defence of the region." (53)

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

"but regret that while giving expression to an un realistic expectation that the Chinese Communist regime would respect our sovereignty and territorial integrity, the Address fails to make any mention about steps to redeem the pledge given in Parliament on 22nd

[Shri Ranga]

November, 1962, for the recovery of the territory which continues to be wrongfully occupied by Communist China." (54)

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

"but regret that in regard to the continued hostilities in Vietnam the Address, while advocating a facile and one-side withdrawal of foreign troops, makes no corresponding demand for the withdrawal of the North Vietnamese aggressors from South Vietnam or Laos." (55)

SHRI HEM BARUA (Mangaldai) : I beg to move :

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

"but regret that the Address has failed to mention the following :

- (a) nationalisation of all banks, foreign and Indian ; nationalisation of general insurance, of import and export trade, etc. ; steps to nationalise in a positive manner the commanding heights of the economy and to streamline the administration in public sector industries to make it more efficient and remunerative ;
- (b) legal and other steps for abolition of privy purses and privileges of ex-rulers before the presentation of budget on the 28th February, 1970 ; steps to restore the right of Parliament to amend the Fundamental Rights and Removal of property right from the Chapter on Fundamental Rights ; concrete measures to remove disparity in income pertaining to rural and urban sectors and administration ; positive steps for fixing of ceiling on urban property, enunciation of steps to resolve disputes between the Centre and States on different matters ; and enunciation of concrete steps to eradicate corruption from public and administrative life and to curb ostentatious expenditure ;
- (c) acceptance of recommendations of the Committee on Defections ;

(d) immediate setting up of Third P.I. Commission ;

(e) steps to constitute development authority for famine stricken areas and to institute federal metropolitan authority for development of metropolitan cities and rehabilitation of people living in slum areas

(f) steps regarding political development of anti-national, anti-democratic and communal nature in certain States of India." (56)

SHRI YASHPAL SINGH (Dehra Dun) : I beg to move :

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

"but regret that no mention has been made of the following in the Address :

- (a) failure to vacate the aggression by Pakistan and China and recover those territories ;
- (b) invitation by the Governors of Uttar Pradesh and Bihar for the formation of minority party Governments ;
- (c) payment of proper price to the farmers for their produce and making available seeds and fertilizers to them at fair prices and supply of free irrigation water to the farmers ;
- (d) failure in removing the anarchical and disturbed conditions in the country ;
- (e) ever increasing unemployment in the country ; making available residential units ; cloth and food-grains to the countrymen at cheap rates ; and
- (f) providing doctors and hospitals in rural areas for the treatment of patients there, need to check the propagation and extensive use of contraceptives instead of exercising self-restraint." (66)

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

"but regret that in the Address no mention has been made about the exempting of such cottage industries as khandasari industry from the levy of excise duty." (461)

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE
(Balrampur) : I beg to move :

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

"but regret that in the Address no mention has been made of Government's decision to give interim relief to Central Government employees without any delay." (92)

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

"but regret that in the Address no mention has been made of the steps to be taken by Government for meeting the just demands and aspirations of the people of Telengana." (93)

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

"but regret that in the Address no mention has been made of any concrete measures proposed to be taken by Government to remove economic imbalances in different parts of the country created as a result of economic planning." (94)

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

"but regret that in the Address no mention has been made of the taking over by Government of the import export trade carried on with Communist countries on rupee payment basis." (95)

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

"but regret that in the Address no mention has been made of the need for appointment of a higher-power commission for investigation into bungling, irregularities and corruption rampant in import export trade." (96)

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

"but regret that in the Address no mention has been made of the efforts made by Government to settle Maharashtra-Mysore and Mysore-Kerala boundary disputes." (97)

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

"but regret that in the Address no mention has been made of the need for accepting the demand for Indianisation

of foreign companies in jute, tea, rubber and cigarette industries." (98)

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

"but regret that in the Address no mention has been made of the need for establishing diplomatic relations with Israel, East Germany and Taiwan." (99)

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention about widespread discontent among the people over the decision taken by Government to increase the prices of steel and Vanaspati ghee." (292)

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention that the recommendations of the Fifth Finance Commission to the effect that excise duty on cotton textile, sugar and tobacco should be abolished and sales tax should be levied thereon have been rejected by the Government." (293)

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention of the measures to check the retrenchment of employees by foreign oil companies." (291)

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention about the decision of the Government for giving directions to the Governors to be kept in view while taking decisions at their discretion." (295)

SHRI RAMAVATAR SHASTRI (Patna)
I beg to move :

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address of the need to nationalise basic industries." (100)

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address of the need to nationalise sugar mills." (101)

[Shri Ramavatar Shastri]

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address of the need to nationalise foreign oil companies." (102)

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address of the need to nationalise import and export trade." (103)

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address of the need to nationalise general insurance." (104)

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address of the need to nationalise foreign banks and other Indian banks." (105)

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address of the need to nationalise the tea industry." (106)

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address of the need to nationalise the drug industry." (107)

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address of the need to nationalise the medical service." (108)

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address of the need to accelerate the pace of industrialisation." (109)

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address of the need to develop small industries in rural areas." (110)

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address of the need to remove corruption prevalent in industries." (111)

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address of the need to give up capitalistic method of development and adopting non-capitalistic method therefor." (112)

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address of the need to bridge the gap between wealthy and poor people." (113)

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address of the need to confiscate the wealth of monopolist capitalists and utilising it for development programmes in the country." (114)

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address of the need to stop the capitalists from tax evasion." (115)

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address of the need to realise the arrears of tax of Rs. 500 crores from the monopolist capitalists." (116)

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address about the measures to be adopted for unearthing the black money amounting to Rs. 600 crores." (117)

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address of the need to control the prices." (118)

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

"but regret that no mention has been

made in the Address of the need to nationalise wholesale trade in food-grains." (119)

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address of the need to take strict action against foodgrain black-marketeers, profiteers, hoarders and speculators." (120)

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address of the need to protect the farmers from double loot of profiteers." (121)

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address of the need to fix reasonable prices for farmers' produce." (122)

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address of the need to fix the price of sugar-cane at Rs. 15/- per quintal." (123)

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address of the need to supply industrial equipment to farmers at cheap rates." (124)

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address of the need to fix need-based wages for Government employees." (125)

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address of the need to reinstate without any condition those Government employees who took part in token strike of 19th September, 1968." (126)

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address of the need to withdraw court cases against the

employees and their leaders who were arrested in connection with the token strike of 19th September, 1968." (127)

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address of the need to condone the break in service of those Central Government employees who participated in the strike of 19th September, 1968." (128)

SHRI DEVEN SEN (Asansol) : I beg to move :

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

"but regret that in the Address no mention has been made about the failure to re-instate the Central Government employees not involved in violence in the general strike of 19th September, 1968." (129)

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

"but regret that in the Address no mention has been made about any policy to fix need based minimum wage." (130)

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

"but regret that in the Address no mention has been made about the failure to maintain the export level which is gradually going down." (131)

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

"but regret that in the Address no mention has been made about the failure to evolve a policy to manufacture automatic bombs as a defensive measures." (132)

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

"but regret that in the Address no mention has been made about the failure to propose a dialogue with China for creating trade relations." (133)

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

"but regret that in the Address no mention has been made about any proposal for recognition of German Democratic Republic." (134)

[Shri Deven Sen]

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

"but regret that in the Address no mention has been made about the failure to nationalise foreign banks and foreign oil companies." (135)

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

"but regret that in the Address no mention has been made about the proposed steps for raising the standard of living." (136)

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

"but regret that in the Address no mention has been made about the failure to make provision for the implementation of the scheme of gratuity for the coal industry." (137)

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

"but regret the absence of any proposal to cancel the fertilizer licence granted to the House of Birlas." (641)

SHRI MADHU LIMAYE (Monghyr) :
Sir, I beg to move :

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention that the Government intends to withdraw or recommend withdrawal of all cases against their employees arising out of the 19th September, 1968, token strike, cancel all disciplinary actions, including break in continuity of service and to recognise all the Unions whose recognition was withdrawn after the strike." (138)

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention that the Government propose to take early steps to confer on all those who are 18 years of age or above the right to be registered as voters and to exercise their franchise." (139)

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention of the Government's in-

attention to issue general directions to the Governors in regard to the principles they should observe in forming popular Ministries in the States so as to avoid in future the wide-spread resentment such as was caused by their actions in Kerala, Uttar Pradesh and Bihar." (140)

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention of the Government's decision in regard to the demand of the students and teachers for compulsory recognition of their College and University Unions and for their participation in College and University Administration." (41)

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention of the Government's intention to impose a ceiling on personal income and consumption so as to achieve the objective of austerity, hard work and equitable distribution of good things of life." (142)

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention of any Government plan to enforce their old circular that the representation of Harijans and Adivasis in all classes of Central Government services should be equal to their proportion in the total population of the country." (143)

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention of the Government's intention to nationalise foreign banks, oil companies and rubber, tea and coffee estates so as to free the national economy from foreign control." (144)

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

"but regret to observe that there is no mention of a concrete and time-bound programme for the progressive nationalisation and channelisation through the S. T. C. of the import trade in raw

materials, and, especially, imports, of crude oil at reasonable prices." (145)

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention of the Government's intention to solve the Mysore-Maharashtra border dispute on the basis of the principles of contiguity and majority and with village as the unit." (146)

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

"but regret to observe that there is no mention on the Address of any Government plan to amend the Trade Union Law providing for the compulsory recognition of Unions as the sole bargaining agents and representative Unions and also providing for the settlement of rival trade union claims through the instrumentality of secret ballot." (147)

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention the decision to cancel the fertiliser licence granted to the House of Birlas and the price hikes granted to the producers of Vegetable ghee and steel." (142)

SHRI YASHWANT SINGH KUSHWAH (Bhind) : I beg to move :

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the undemocratic conduct of Governors in U. P., Bihar and other States under Central Government's pressure." (188)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of any change in India's foreign policy which has proved a failure and is unrealistic." (189)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of steps to be taken for the manufacture of nuclear weapon to safeguard national freedom." (190)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about removal of unemployment and taking necessary steps to bring about requisite reforms in educational system." (191)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the withdrawal of privy purses to ex-rulers whereby the promises given to them by Government have been broken." (192)

SHRI SHIVA CHANDRA JHA (Madhubani) : I beg to move :

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

"but regret that the Address has failed to give a scientific view of the socio-economic problems of the Indian economy." (296)

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

"but regret that the Address has failed to highlight the method for bringing about a qualitative change in the relationship of land ownership." (297)

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

"but regret that the Address has failed to prescribe any radical cure of the landlessness problem in Indian agriculture." (298)

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

"but regret that the Address has failed to offer any solution to the problem of the unemployed and under-employed agricultural labourer." (299)

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

"but regret the failure to bring about full employment among the tribal people." (300)

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

"but regret that the Address has failed to show that the new industrial licensing policy has the growing propensity towards *Laissez-faire* economy." (301)

[Shri Shiv Chandra Jha]

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

"but regret that the Address has not explained why in view of the setting up of the enquiry against the Birla firms, the latter were given the licence to set up the fertiliser plant in Goa." (302)

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

"but regret that the Address has failed to point out the imperative need of nationalizing the 75 top monopoly houses." (303)

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

"but regret the failure to stop the inflationary trend in the economy." (304)

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

"but regret that the Address has failed to give categorical to stop deficit financing." (305)

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

"but regret the failure to freeze the PL-480 fund portion unused by the American Embassy." (306)

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

"but regret that the Address has failed to point out the need for immediate nationalization of all the Indian and foreign banks in India." (307)

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

"but regret that the Address has not pointed out the need for nationalizing the plantations, foreign trade, general insurance, sugar industry textile industry and jute industry." (308)

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

"but regret that the Address has not pointed out that the growing private sector is a menace to Indian democracy." (309)

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

"but regret that the Address has failed to point out the planning of the press

industry by nationalizing the Indian newspapers above 1. thousand circulation and by boosting up the party presses by giving an annual subsidy to each." (310)

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

"but regret that the Address has failed to show any policy regarding full employment in the economy." (311)

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

"but regret that the Address has failed to mention about bringing back the Indian brains from abroad." (312)

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

"but regret that the Address has failed to chalk out a new education policy for the whole country." (313)

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

"but regret that the Address has failed to point out the growing corruption in the officialdom in India." (314)

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

"but regret that the Address has failed to end the regional imbalances." (315)

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

"but regret that the Address has failed to recommend the inclusion of the Maithili language in the Eighth Schedule to the Indian Constitution." (316)

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

"but regret that the Address has failed to point out that the U.N.O. is the clearing house of international intrigues." (317)

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

"but regret that the Address has failed to show that American finance capitalism is endangering peace in the World." (318)

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

"but regret that the Address has

failed to point out the importance of getting out of the Commonwealth of Nations." (319)

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

"but regret that the Address has failed to advocate the immediate and of racial discrimination in the world." (320)

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

"but regret that the Address has failed to point out the policy of banning the nuclear weapons." (321)

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

"but regret that the Address has failed to show that India's foreign policy is devoid of both idealism and practicalism." (322)

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

"but regret that the Address has not pointed out categorically the need for the manufacture of nuclear weapons for the defence of the Indian freedom." (323)

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

"but regret the failure to solve the boundary disputes with the neighbouring countries." (324)

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

"but regret that the Address has not pointed out the convening of a new Constituent Assembly for framing a new Constitution where there would be no right to property and where would be the right to work." (325)

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

"but regret that the Address has failed to show that the Government acts according to Gandhiji's behest." (326)

SHRI MANUBHAI PATEL (Dabhoi) :
I beg to move :

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address regarding the deplorable condition of Indians and persons of Indian origins in East Africa

and the facilities to be afforded to settle them in India." (328)

SHRI RABI RAY (Puri) : I beg to move :

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

"but regret that in the Address no mention has been made about the failure of the Government to nationalise foreign companies engaged in the manufacturing drugs and pharmaceuticals." (330)

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

"but regret the failure to nationalise foreign owned rubber, tea and coffee plantations in the country." (331)

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

"but regret that in the Address no mention has been made about the steep rise in steel prices sanctioned by Government as this would give rise to a spurt in prices and accentuate inflationary trends." (332)

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

"but regret that in the Address no mention has been made about the recent increase in the Vanaspati ghee prices which only benefits the monopoly producers like Hindustan Lever resulting in products going underground and causing hardships to the people." (333)

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

"but regret to say that in the Address no mention has been made about the present Constitution not being an adequate and fit instrument for satisfying the urges and aspirations of the vast economically unprivileged and socially repressed sections of our people and for realising a free and equal society." (334)

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

"but regret that in the Address no mention has been made about convening of a new Constituent Assembly to be elected by all those who are eighteen years of age or above before the end of 1970 so as to frame a new Constitution for a socialist India." (335)

[Shri Rabi Ray]

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

“but regret that in the Address no mention has been made about formulating a scheme for taking over through a Governmental agency the import of India's entire requirement of crude oil before the end of 1970.” (336)

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

“but regret the failure to take steps to nationalise all the foreign companies engaged in oil refining and distribution of petroleum products.” (337)

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

“but regret the failure to resort to capital formation by limiting personal expenditure to a sum of Rs. 1500/- a month.” (338)

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

“but regret the failure to nationalise steel, sugar, textile industries, general insurance and imports and exports.” (339)

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

“but regret the failure to undertakings in the public sector in such a manner so that bureaucratisation is checked and economic power is decentralised.” (340)

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

“but regret the failure to reserve at least 60 per cent of the posts for the backward classes including proportional representation in all Central Services through new laws of recruitment and appointment.” (341)

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

“but regret the failure to allow students and teachers to form their unions in the universities and also allow their participation in the management of the universities.” (342)

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

“but regret the failure to conduct examinations for Central Services as well

as all Governmental and Judicial Services in the regional languages.” (343)

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

“but regret the failure to give 75 per cent of the Commissioned jobs in the army to jawans by promotion.” (344)

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

“but regret that there is no mention in the Address regarding establishment of a single class for all sorts of passengers in the Railways.” (392)

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

“but regret that in the Address no mention has been made to fix a price policy for essential commodities in such a manner that the sale price of these essential commodities does not exceed more than 1½ times the combined cost of production and transport.” (393)

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

“but regret that in the Address no mention has been made to establish a fair equilibrium between the prices of industrial and agricultural products.” (394)

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

“but regret that in the Address no mention has been made to regulate the prices of agricultural produce in such a manner that the agriculturist is enabled to earn an income for decent living and also the agricultural prices are not allowed to fluctuate by more than twenty per cent during two crops” (395)

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

“but regret that in the Address no mention has been made to provide employment or to grant unemployment allowance to the unemployed.” (396)

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

“but regret that in the Address no mention has been made to provide drinking water to every village within a definite period.” (397)

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

"but regret that in the Address no mention has been made to provide irrigation facilities to all agricultural land at cheap rates within a stipulated period." (398)

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

"but regret that in the Address no mention has been made regarding legislation for the recognition of trade unions on the basis of secret ballot and thereby ensuring participation of workers in the management of undertakings." (399)

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

"but regret that in the Address no mention has been made to ensure equal wages for equal work for both men and women." (400)

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

"but regret that in the Address no mention has been made to regain our lost territories from China and Pakistan." (401)

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

"but regret that in the Address no mention has been made to work for World Parliament through adult suffrage and establishing a world development authority that could give technical aid and capital to the developing countries so as to come to a par with the developed countries in the world." (402)

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

"but regret that in the Address no mention has been made about severing diplomatic relations with Peking and establishing an exile Government with Dalai Lama as its head so as to free Tibet in the long run." (403)

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

"but regret that in the Address no mention has been made to recognise East Germany and Taiwan Governments in so far as they have been functioning as legitimate Governments in those areas since years." (404)

SHRI VISWANATHA MENON
(Ernakulam) : I beg to move :

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

"but regret that while the Address claims to take steps to curb the growth of monopolies, the Government has sanctioned big increase in steel prices which will help the flow of further huge resources into the hands of the monopolies." (345)

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

"but regret that the Government in violation of its declared policies have granted a new licence to the Birlas to set up a huge fertilizer factory in Goa with foreign collaboration." (446)

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

"but regret that the Central Reserve Police are being used indiscriminately in Kerala to suppress mass movements and oppress the people." (347)

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

"but regret that in order to put down the just struggle of peasants in Rajasthan for the distribution of irrigated land to the cultivators in the Ganganagar District the army and other oppressive forces have been made available by the Central Government, to the State Government." (348)

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

"but regret that the Address has not mentioned anything about the deleterious effect of the continued inflow of large-scale foreign capital into Indian economy and the serious consequences in the drain of our resources resulting from it." (349)

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

"but regret that despite the experience of the last hundred and fifty years of the domination of foreign monopoly capital over our economy the Government continues to encourage and woo fresh foreign imperialist capital into the country with fresh concessions." (350)

[Shri Viswanatha Menon]

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

"but regret that the Government in violation of the industrial policy resolution is continuing to grant majority participation to foreign capital in industries being set up in the name of export-oriented industries etc." (351)

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

"but regret that the Government is utterly indifferent to the serious consequences of its new policy of allowing foreign monopoly capital to set up private companies for research and development which will have a very damaging effect on the development of our national science and technology and will render superfluous the large number of national laboratories and research institutes already set up in the country and in which our Indian scientists and research workers have achieved commendable results." (352)

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

"but regret that the Address has not given any attention to the serious problem of Centre-State relations especially in regard to the problem of the financial autonomy and self-sufficiency of the State in view of the unanimous and persistent demand of the State Governments for transfer of greater resources from the Centre to the State." (353)

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

"but regret that the Address has not elaborated a consistent and effective socio-economic policy towards the solving of the problem of mounting unemployment." (354)

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

"but regret that despite serious situation of unemployment the Government is going ahead with and encouraging the mechanisation of agriculture which will throw out millions of agricultural labour from their traditional occupation and render them destitutes." (355)

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

"but regret that in the utter disregard of the necessity of increasing the employment avenues the Government is going ahead with and helping the private capitalists to enforce automation, rationalisation and such other devices which will reduce both the present labour strength and potential employment in the affected industries." (356)

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

"but regret that while the Address mentions about the necessity of carrying out reforms, it has failed to analyse and locate the basic causes which led to the non-implementation of even the mild measures of land reform already on the statutes of most States and ignores the iron grip of the landlords and rich peasants on the Government's bureaucracy, police and other apparatus of State machinery." (357)

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

"but regret that the Government have not still resiled completely from its policy of victimisation of the Central Government employees who took part in the 19th September, 1968 strike and regret that still a large number of employees are out of job or facing various other disciplinary proceedings in the different departments of the Government of India." (358)

SHRI MRITYUNJAY PRASAD
(Maharajanj) : I beg to move :

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

"but regret that in the Address no mention has been made of the breakdown of the Constitution in West Bengal and the consequential constitutional duty cast on the Central Government to impose President's Rule over West Bengal." (370)

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

"but regret that no effective measures have been outlined in the Address to stop the endemic orgy of political intrigue"

loot and murders in West Bengal where the Chief Minister himself has publicly described his Government as uncivilised and barbarous." (371)

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

"but regret the Government's failure to effectively curb the subversive activities of political parties and groups owing allegiance to foreign countries inimical to India, particularly China and Pakistan." (372)

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

"but regret that in the Address no mention has been made of any concrete steps proposed to be taken to stem the tide of fissiparous tendencies evidenced in fights between various States for realigning boundaries between the neighbouring States or in demands for new States to be carved out of the existing ones." (373)

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

"but regret that in the Address no mention has been made of any concrete steps taken or proposed to be taken to liberate the territories illegally occupied by Pakistan and China, in redemption of solemn pledge given to Parliament by the then Prime Minister Shri Jawaharlal Nehru on the 14th November, 1962." (374)

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

"but regret that in the Address no mention has been made of any concrete steps taken so far or proposed to be taken to nullify the transfer by Pakistan or illegally occupied Indian territory by it to China." (375)

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

"but regret that in the Address no mention has been made of the steps taken or proposed to be taken to sufficiently improve the conditions of the Harijans and Scheduled Tribes so that they may become indistinguishable from other sections of the Society and all types of reservations and special facilities for them may become unnecessary and thus may be withdrawn without any injury or loss to them." (376)

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

"but regret that in the Address neither any anxiety has been expressed regarding the high prices of essential commodities nor have any effective steps been suggested to curb them." (377)

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no expression of any anxiety about the continued industrial backwardness of some of the most densely populated tracts in India, such as North Bihar, nor of any schemes to bring it at par with other industrially advanced areas." (378)

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

"but regret that through the first Uranium mine and mill have been commissioned in Bihar, yet no steps are being taken for setting up an atomic plant in Bihar." (379)

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

"but regret that in the Address no serious concern has been expressed at the growing unemployment of the educated, uneducated, skilled and unskilled labour in the country and the failure of the Government to check the same." (380)

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention of the unwillingness of the Government to introduce prohibition in the country in general and in the Union territories in Particular even in the Gandhi Centenary year after 22 years after independence." (381)

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention of the failure of the Government to check the mounting losses in Public Sector Undertakings, while their counterparts in the Private Sectors are making sizeable profits." (382)

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

"but regret that there is no indication

[Shri Mrityunjay Prasad]

in the Address of adequate awareness of the growing gap between the rich few and the multitude of people in the country nor of the steps contemplated to reduce the growing economic disparities by improving the lot of poorer sections." (383)

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention of the Government's failure to nationalise all Indian and foreign banks, even though ordinance renationalising certain Indian banks has recently been issued." (384)

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

"but regret that there is no expression of concern in the Address over the ineptitude of the Government in rushing through illdrafted legislation which is struck down by the Supreme Court as *ultra-vires* thus rendering even salutary measures as null and in effective." (385)

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

"but regret that the Address does not make mention of any concern about student unrest in the country and the need of a sympathetic approach to the youngmen and their problems in order to help and solve them." (386)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of any schemes to study working conditions in various industries, offices, etc., in order to determine fair and just criteria to fix minimum wages as well as minimum quantum and quality of work per man per day." (387)

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

"but regret that the Government have not given any indication of having a clear policy on 'Gherao', resulting in avoidable, unjustifiable and unfortunate clashes and fall in production." (388)

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

"but regret that there is no mention of repeated orgies of wanton destruction

of public and private property, specially Railway property and Government's failure to check and curb such tendencies." (389)

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

"but regret the Government's failure to provide adequate protection to employees of public utility services, such as Railways, Road transport etc., from beating, killings by disorderly mob, resulting in disruptions of such services." (390)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the acute shortage of facilities of finance, fertilisers, insecticides, improved quality seeds, modern farm implements tractors etc., facilities for their proper repairs etc., and the administrative inadequacy and inefficiency in fair distribution of whatever facilities are there." (391)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address as to how Government have been pressurised to reward a person presumably on the recommendation of the Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi with Padmashri who publicly foully abused Mahatma Gandhi and India's first P. M. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru." (462)

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

"but regret that there is no expression of concern or condemnation of the Prime Minister on her attempts to topple such Chief Ministers as do not play to her tune, particularly Shri C. B. Gupta, despite her professed neutrality." (463)

SHRI NAMBIAR (Triuchirappalli) : I beg to move :

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

"but regret that the Address has failed to declare that foreign banks in India will be nationalised forthwith." (408)

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

"but regret that the Government have failed to declare their intention to nationalize Central Insurance." (409)

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

"but regret that the Government have failed to declare their intention of nationalising the whole of export and import trade of the country." (410)

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

"but regret that the Government have failed to declare their intention of nationalising foreign oil monopolies." (411)

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

"but regret that the Address has failed to mention that any unemployment allowance Bill will be brought forward." (412)

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

"but regret that the Address does not emphasise the necessity of suitable constitutional amendments in order to push through urgently needed agrarian reforms." (413)

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

"but regret that the Address has failed to declare moratorium on peasant indebtedness and division of credits for the labouring peasantry in order to free them from the clutches of usurious moneylenders." (414)

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

"but regret that the Address has failed to pinpoint the necessity of taking over some of viable big concerns of the big capitalists." (415)

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

"but regret that the Address does not declare that a thorough probe will be undertaken in order to locate and weed out bureaucratic elements who sabotage progressive reforms." (416)

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

"but regret that the Address does not promise full autonomy to the States pending which does not promise immediate grant of legislative, executive and financial powers to implement, a radical democratic programme and plan for the rapid industrialisation of the States and execute progressive agrarian reforms." (417)

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

"but regret that the Government have failed to declare any intention of withdrawing and annulling repressive measures and acts like CRP and Industrial Security Force etc." (418)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the victimisation perpetrated on the Central Government employees who went on a token strike on the 19th September, 1968 and the need to cancel all such actions of victimisation forthwith including the break in service imposed on them." (627)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the need to grant an interim relief to the Central Government employees while a promise of a Third Pay Commission has been made." (628)

DR. KARNI SINGH (Bikaner) : I beg to move :

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

"but regret that the President's rule has not been imposed in Rajasthan following mass firings and thousands being put into jail, when on much lesser reason, President's rule was imposed in 1967, bringing the minority party into power in the State." (425)

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

"but regret that Rajasthani language has still not found a place in the Eighth Schedule to our Constitution." (426)

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

"but regret the failure to take up

[Dr. Karni Singh]

Rajasthan Canal Project on a war footing to avoid frequent drought conditions in Rajasthan." (427)

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

"but regret that Rajasthan Canal Project has not been taken over by the Centre." (428)

SHRI INDERAJIT GUPTA (Alipore) :
I beg to move :

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

"but regret to note that the Address does not mention about the urgent need for nationalisation of the entire banking sector, including foreign banks." (438)

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

"but regret to note that the Address does not propose to take necessary steps to remove the right to property from the Fundamental Rights under the Constitution." (439)

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

"but regret to note that the Address does not mention the growing menace to democracy and secularism from the rightist combination of the syndicate, Jana Sangh and Swatantra Parties." (440)

SHRI JANESHWAR MISRA (Phulpur) :
I beg to move :

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention of Government's resolve to free public life and official working from the use of English language this year onwards." (455)

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention of the Government's firm resolve to restore the boundary of India to its position that existed on 15th August, 1947, which has since contracted" (456)

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

"but regret that in the Address there

is no mention in view of the obstruction being caused by caste system in the general progress of the country, of Government's resolve to give special opportunities to the persons belonging to backward classes, Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, Muslims, women, by providing 60 per cent. jobs to them" (457)

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention that Government would remove the unemployment fully by the end of this year, otherwise unemployment allowances would be given to every unemployed person at the rate of *per capita* national income." (458)

DR. RAM SUBHAG SINGH (Buxar) :
I beg to move :

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

"but regret that the Address fails to suggest ways for uncovering potential in the economy for expanding production, increasing productivity and enlarging employment, thereby improving levels of living of the working people." (490)

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

"but regret that the Address makes no reference to people's right to work by assuring them productive employment and deplores the misleading reference to massive rural works programme." (491)

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

"but regret that the Address fails to suggest measures to be taken to arrest the dangerously deteriorating law and order situation in major parts of India." (492)

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

"but regret that while expecting China to respect our right to pursue our own domestic affairs and foreign policy the Address does not make any mention of the measures to be taken to regain our territory forcibly occupied by China." (493)

SHRI SRADHAKAR SUPAKAR
(Sambalpur) : I beg to move :

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

“but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the delay in the finalisation of the Fourth Five Year Plan.” (508)

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

“but regret the failure of the Government to find effective solution to the growing regional economic imbalances in the country.” (509)

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

“but regret the failure of the Government to check the growing disparity between the rich and the poor.” (510)

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

“but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the concrete steps taken to improve our relations with Pakistan or to check the growing hostility of that country.” (511)

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

“but regret that there is no mention about the solution of the problem of the ever increasing number of unemployed persons in the country.” (512)

SHRI TENNETI VISHWANATHAM
(Visakhapatnam) : I beg to move ;

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

“but regret the failure to announce the location of the Fifth and Sixth integrated Steel Plants at Visakhapatnam and an Alloy Steel Plant at Salem and leaving matters to further agitation in the streets.” (516)

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

“but regret the failure that there is no massive programme indicated for the perennial supply of drinking water to all the villages by forming a water grid from the waters of all the Rivers in the country connecting them by cast iron pipe lines with booster pumps and balancing reservoirs wherever needed.” (517)

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

“but regret that there is no massive programme indicated for slum clearance and rehousing of the slum dwellers and the poorer sections of the people living in all Industrial Towns.” (518)

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

“but regret that there is no programme indicated to improve Broadcasting and Television by increasing the strength of the Stations at strategic centres and at places like Visakhapatnam covering the agency areas of Visakhapatnam, East Godavary and Srikakulam Districts.” (519)

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

“but regret that there is no programme indicated to remove beggary in the country, rehabilitate the beggars as useful citizens and confining the disabled ones, shelter and food in State-run beggar Homes.” (520)

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

“but regret that no steps are indicated for the Government—

- (a) to supply raw materials to small scale industries at cheap prices ;
- (b) to make available water and electricity to such industries at concessional rates ; or
- (c) to purchase their products, subject to qualitative standards, without obliging them to follow tender procedures in competition with large scale industrial producers.” (521)

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

“but regret that no large-scale programme is indicated to popularize Sanskrit having regard to its resilience and capacity to bind the Nation together.” (522)

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

“but regret that there is no programme indicated to raise the status of—

- (1) Ayurveda and Siddha ;
- (2) Unani ; and

[Shri Tenneti Vishwanatham]

(3) Homeopathy systems of medicine." (523)

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

"but regret that no steps have been indicated to use atomic power for defensive purposes." (524)

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

"but regret that no programme is indicated to protect the Bay of Bengal and Arabian Sea from foreign domination and safeguard the security of India." (525)

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

"but regret that the Address does not indicate any positive or serious steps to combat the atmosphere of violence and lawlessness prevailing in the country." (526)

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

"but regret that no realistic approach is indicated to strengthen our relations with Dalai Lama and help him and nor are steps indicated to meet the danger arising out of the Chinese massing of military strength in Tibet." (527)

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

"but regret that no effective steps are indicated to widen the scope of banking by nationalising all banks and help the common man by abolishing all private money lending and strengthen the base of Indian economy." (528)

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

"but regret that 'Rajasthani' has not been indicated to be added to the languages mentioned in the Eighth Schedule to the Constitution." (529)

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

"but regret that in the Address no proposal is indicated to abolish awards like Padmavibhushan etc., as no worthwhile principle is disclosed in the selection of the awardees and their prestige has gone down." (585)

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

"but regret that the Address does not disclose any measure to stop the foreign money and monopoly capital flow into the country." (586)

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

"but regret that in the Address no adequate scheme for crop and cattle insurance has been indicated in the interests of the agricultural economy of the country." (587)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about removal of discriminatory treatment of different regions of Jammu and Kashmir." (58.)

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

"but regret that in the Address no legislative measure is indicated to ban the use of words, in surnames and proper names indicative of caste or sect." (589)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about proposals to raise the status of non-journalistic workers in Newspaper establishments or to implement the recommendations of the wage board regarding them." (590)

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

"but regret that in the Address no indications have been given of any steps for bringing all Asiatic nations, particularly of South-Eastern Asia, into a common set up for their economic upliftment and for common security." (591)

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

"but regret that in the Address no steps are indicated to streamline the administration of public sector projects with a view to efficiency and profitability, giving a base for real social economic change." (592)

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

"but regret that in the Address no

comprehensive scheme is indicated to make India fully self-sufficient in food-grains." (593)

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

"but regret that the Address does not disclose a spirit of liberality towards those who participated in the strikes of 1960 and 1968 and who as a consequence have been punished with break in their service, after resorting them in the service as a concession to public agitation." (594)

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

"but regret that in the Address no effective steps are indicated to tackle effectively and impartially the problem of tax-evasion, black money and monopoly devices, which are destroying the plans and adversely affecting about 90 per cent of the population." (595)

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

"but regret that in the Address no measures are indicated to start student and labour participation in the management of Universities and Industrial Undertakings." (596)

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

"but regret that in the Address no effective steps are indicated to compel State Governments to protect the interests of linguistic minorities inhabiting the States in spite of the continued reports of the Linguistic Commissioner." (597)

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

"but regret that in the Address no steps are indicated to take over foreign oil companies in a phased manner, either by purchasing or by participation of equity capital or by following both methods." (598)

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no indication for reversing the present licencing policy which is entirely in favour of monopolists and breeding corruption at all levels." (599)

SHRIMATI SHARDA MUKERJEE (Ratnagiri) : I beg to move :—

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

"but regret that, in making an important departure from national policy,—as evident from the present Government's intentions as regards matters arising out of the historic national settlements made with the then sovereign Rulers, and the pledges given to them on behalf of India, which were embodied in the constitutive instruments or characters of the Union, there being the very first treaties or compacts entered into by free India after independence, the Address gives no assurance :—

- (a) that the Government shall not swerve from respecting the constitutional and other legal guarantees and assurances given to citizens, whether severally or generally, by the State, but shall ensure that the meaning of "guarantee" by the State and Government in India is not contemned or derogated ;
- (b) that in respect of compactual engagements and understandings with people, entered into by Government, for reciprocal advantage and with honest intention and purpose, the state shall faithfully keep the same and discharge its obligations thereunder ;
- (c) that the Government will see to it that nothing is done that may compromise or injure honourable conduct and policy, such that is invoked and enjoined by the Directive Principle of State Policy contained in article 51 of the Constitution ;
- (d) that it shall not merely proclaim moral principles and standards but shall, by its own example, seek to maintain and promote them, in all human dealings, not only in world counsels but in Indian life and affairs ;
- (e) that the public probity and rectitude of the State and public authority in India will not be subordinated to the prevailing proclivities or expediencies of the party in power ;

[Shrimati Sharda Mukerjee]

(f) that the State shall not depart from the universal canons of justice and propriety, for any reason, nor shall resort to arbitrary or coercive means in its dealings with law-abiding citizens; and that the State shall not neglect to recognise and honour those that make useful contributions or sacrifices for the sake of the country and the common good, which would also serve to encourage emulation by others." (530)

SHRI SHINKRE (Panjim): I beg to move:

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

"but regret that in the Address no mention has been made to make use of Pataskar Formula to solve all the Inter-State boundary disputes, including one between Maharashtra and Mysore." (531)

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

"but regret that in the Address no mention has been made to the aspirations of the Marathi speaking people of Dadra and Nagar Haveli who are demanding the integration of these territories into adjoining Maharashtra State since their liberation from Portuguese yoke." (532)

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

"but regret that in the Address no mention has been made to the schemes for the rehabilitation of the people of Indian origin who have been thrown out from many countries of East and West Africa and have been forced to return to India without taking with them their hard-earned belongings." (533)

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

"but regret that in the Address no mention has been made to any well-planned development programme for the industrial growth in the Union Territories so far badly neglected and which deserve better treatment from the Central Government." (534)

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

"but regret that in the Address no mention has been made to analyse the cause of cropping up of regional *senas* like Gopal Sena, Kannad Sena, Shiv Sena, Bangla Sena and others, and devise ways and means to solve the regional problems and put an end to the activities of these disruptionist forces." (535)

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

"but regret that in the Address no mention has been made to the need of implement the recommendations of the Administrative Reforms Committee regarding Union Territories, namely merger of the small units in adjoining States and big ones deserving the status of full-fledged States," (535)

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address of the steps which will be taken by the Government in the near future to strengthen the very cordial relationship between India and South American countries." (636)

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address about the steps taken so far and also which will be taken in the near future to put on sound grounds the commercial relationship between India and South American countries, specially non-aligned ones." (637)

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address of the steps taken by the Government to seek the release of Dr. Telo Mascarenbas, a Goan political worker, who is languishing in Portugal's Jail, even after 9 years of liberation of Goa." (638)

SHRI MOHAMMAD ISMAIL (Barrackpore): I beg to move:

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

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

workers employed under contract Sardari system even in permanent nature of work in almost in all the collieries in the country. (551)

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

“but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the need to introduce gratuity scheme for the coal mine workers, which numbers in lakhs.” (552)

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

“but regret that there is no mention in the Address about stoppage of recruitment through Central Recruiting Organisation in the coal mines.” (553)

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

“but regret that the Address does not mention about full payment to patients suffering from T. B. and other such diseases till full recovery in collieries, and accumulation of sick leave and leave upto four years attendance Bonus on daily attendance to be paid weekly, earned leave for 12 days to underground workers and 16 days for surface workers.” (554)

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

“but regret there is no mention in the Address about the need to take over coal mines, iron ore mines, tea gardens, jute mills, foreign oil companies, which is a source of curbing the monopolists.” (555)

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

“but regret the failure to mention the need to recognise trade unions by secret ballots.” (556)

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

“but regret the failure to mention about large scale eviction of peasants from land by the Zamindars and thousands of arrest cases against the kisan and landless Harijans, in Champaran, Purnea, Monghyr, Bhagalpur and Saharsa districts of Bihar.” (557)

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

“but regret the failure to apply IAC

service conditions rules to the employees working under the private civil aviation companies such as Airways (India) Jamair Co. and failure to nationalise private companies under the IAC or make obligatory to implement service conditions rules of IAC to private companies at the time of granting licences.” (558)

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

“but regret the failure to consider proposal to form another corporation to take over the private routes operated by private companies.” (559)

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

“but regret the failure to prescribe working conditions for employees on permanent muster roles in Bokaro and other public sectors.” (560)

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

“but regret the failure to merge full dearness allowance of the Central Government employees and to grant financial assistance for payment of higher salaries and dearness allowance to the State Government employees.” (561)

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

“but regret the failure to withdraw order of break in service of Government employees who participated in the 19th September, 1968 strike, and stopping of increment and promotions and railway passes for railwaymen etc.” (562)

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

“but regret the failure to mention the need to withdraw dispute of the LIC from the National Tribunal and settle by petition outside, as demanded by the LIC employees.” (563)

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

“but regret the failure to vest land to the landless, such as the Harijans and other Scheduled Caste peasants in the country and prevent eviction from the land.” (564)

[Shri Mohammad Ismail]

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

"but regret the failure to make legislation for giving minimum need based wage to the working-people in the factories and in the rubber plantation mines and offices." (565)

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention about lowering prices of agricultural products at steep rising prices of industrial and other essential commodities prices." (566)

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

"but regret the failure to bring unified wages for the agricultural labour in the country." (567)

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

"but regret the failure to stop heavy workload on the workers, in the railways and abolition of casual system." (568)

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

"but regret the failure to curb the big monopolists and landlords in the country." (569)

SHRI ANBAZHAGAN (Tiruchengode) :
I beg to move :

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the failure of the Government to find a final and just solution to the official language problem." (629)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the demand for removal of the chapter in the Constitution giving official status to Hindi and for suitable amendments to the Constitution in order to remove the present discrimination against and the additional burden on the non-Hindi speaking people, especially in the South," (630)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the failure to recognise the imperative need for empowering the States with more financial and licensing power in order to give them more initiative in development and progress of all regions." (631)

SHRI JAGESHWAR YADAV (Banda) :
I beg to move :

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

"but regret that although in the Address there is a mention about encouraging industries in backward areas yet the names of backward areas have not been mentioned, especially the southern part of Jumna river in U. P. which is a backward area and which has been left untouched as far as industrialisation is concerned and places like Bundelkhand Chitrakut." (639)

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

"but regret that in spite of a mention in the Address about the improving of the conditions of workers in major industries like steel as far as the living condition of labourers is concerned nothing has been done to :—

- (a) improve the conditions, and rates of wages of agricultural labourers who constitute a major part of the population of India in villages ;
- (b) improve the living conditions, education, working conditions of agricultural labourers and Koles and Bbeels living in billy areas." (640)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : The amendments are also before the House.

DR. RAM SUBHAG SINGH (Buxar) :
I am grateful to the President for his Address but I am sorry that he took the trouble of reading out an Address which was prepared by a Government which has lost legitimacy and credibility ; because the Government, as you know, is headed by a person and also contains persons whose words and signatures cannot be relied on.

Now, I do not know what was the credibility of the Address which was described 'unique' by my esteemed friend, Hanumanthaiyaji, because, in my opinion, this is most disappointing and disgusting. (Interruptions) This is thoroughly contradictory. I say this is disappointing because everywhere this Government has created insecurity and disorders by its decisions. Wherever this Government has taken any decision it has bulletted the people. Only recently, over two dozen persons were bulletted in Haryana and over three dozen persons were killed by the supporters of the Prime Minister and her Government apparatus in Rajasthan. (Interruptions) Poor agricultural labourers and peasants who are working in the desert area on the border of this country were killed. Rather than helping them, they are bulletted. The Prime Minister goes on professing in the country-side that she stands for the common man. Did you kill any capitalist in the country? Did you kill any persons who come in the top fifty people in the country? The persons you have got killed by your supporters in Haryana and Rajasthan are the ordinary citizens of this country. I challenge her to prove whether they are ordinary citizens or not. All the measures that have been taken by this Government which has lost all credibility have increased the burden of the common man. Only day before yesterday a burden of Rs. 39 crores has been placed on the weak shoulders of the railway users. The Prime Minister travels by helicopter or plane and her supporters also do so, and also those who are in the higher strata. They never care to go by train, more particularly by Third Class. Now she has come out with a budget through the biggest 'Sadachari' of this country who wanted to root out corruption within two years and in that process got himself rooted out not because he wanted to create reforms in his Department or give any good guidance to the people but because he wanted to change or transfer a Secretary. She was the biggest advocate of that Secretary. Now she has thought better to bring him to increase the burden of the ordinary citizen of this unfortunate land.

Now, Sir during her Vijaya-yatra she reached in Manipur. The Manipurians—Mr Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed knows a little because he comes from that part of the country—thought that they are going to be pressed. They battled with her forces. I

charge this Government that everywhere she uses the CRP and the military to crush the freedom of the common people and the freedoms guaranteed in the Constitution. And therefore I oppose what Shri Hanumanthaiya has said. He and his colleagues consumed three years in preparing this Administrative Reforms Commission's Report. I don't know whether by that report anything good has come out. I again see that he made out a good case for reforming the judiciary. For what purpose? Do you want that the power of judiciary should be transferred to a person whose signatures do not count, to persons who will not be relied upon by any of our countrymen? And therefore I am totally opposed to any packing up of the judiciary however skillfully Mr. Hanumanthaiya might have argued his case.

And in Manipur, Sir, what has happened? The Home Minister is not here. He witnessed last year that the people of Manipur wanted Statehood and gave a challenge that they are going to go on a *satyagraha*. You yourself are familiar because you yourself come from that area. They are very zealous to safeguard their freedom under the Constitution. Therefore, I say, Manipur should be forthwith granted statehood. If you do not do that, I do not know what will happen. You are not interested in popular Government. You are using the institution of Governors to root out the people. I know how skillfully she manoeuvred and what arguments were given by the Home Minister. She used the Governors for this purpose. I charge her, let her say 'No' if she can. She had used Mr. Kanungo for that purpose. I am not interested who is there and who is not there. But what is the good of misutilising a nominee of yours. They have no guts. These people come with bended knees saying 'Give me extension' and only on this issue of extension can they do something. This notorial Governor's institution has not created any tradition so far. And the sooner it goes the better it is for the country and for the people.

In Manipur she used her military force; but the Manipurians were not at all afraid. She got them in her presence killed; but they were not at all afraid. And now they have given notice to this Government, this useless, thoroughly incompetent Government. I say incompetent because, even in some foreign

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countries they have created a statue of Mahatma Gandhi but this useless Government—it is good for nothing—could not construct even a statue of Mahatma Gandhi, by whose name they swear in India Gate. But what have they done? They have done away with the heritage of Mahatma Gandhi, and all that stands good for the country.

The President took so much pains to read out the Address. As regards Haryana, this Address mentioned that they will be setting up another Commission. What for are you going to set up the Commission? You got one man killed in Amritsar, the Sardar Sahib, Mr. Darshan Singh Pheruman. And at that time you were not at all interested, because he was an honest man, because he used to be a congress worker at some time. But later on you yielded. And on bended knees, you got Mr. Randhir Singh's house burnt. (*Interruption*) I say, burnt, because, it was from here. (*Interruption*) Yes, I charge you, because you have all aroused the people who burnt.

SHRI RANDHIR SINGH : People of your party burnt my house.

DR. RAM SUBHAG SINGH : I know you will say what will please the Prime Minister. (*Interruptions*)

श्री रामधोर सिंह : इन में मे कोई भी मेरे मुकाबले में आये, मैं सब की जमानतें ज़ब्त करूँ दूँगा ।

DR. RAM SUBHAG SINGH : This was done by the Prime Minister and her stooges.

In Rajasthan, there is a 20-point demand from the Kisan Samiti. There, as I said, earlier, they reclaimed the forest area. From the forest area, they are being evicted, evicted by a Government headed by a person who is there. How was that Government brought into being in Rajasthan? You know the whole history. The Governor is now dead. I do not want to say anything against him. But a minority government was installed in Rajasthan and that Government is creating conditions there for agricultural labourers and others in which it is difficult for them to exist,

About tenants, the Government express sympathy. Why do they not start and do something for them? Why wait until December 1970? Give the right of security of tenure to all the tenants by an Ordinance. Have they got the guts to do that? Now they are in control of the Union Territories, particularly Delhi. Why don't they get a ceiling imposed on urban property? Why do they fight shy of initiating land reforms according to their Bombay brand of socialism? Why don't they at least get it done here? Why are they hesitating in the name of the Chief Ministers? Why do they not ask their own Chief Ministers to set an example to the country—here is a land reform programme. Ask Sukhadia, ask Bansi Lal, ask your new ally, to give the country a good land reform programme, and legislation on urban property as well.

As regards bank nationalisation, they have come out with an Ordinance covering the 14 banks only. According to the requirement of the Supreme Court judgment, the list should have been expanded. But why did Government fail to come out with that type of acquisition? Because that will create conflict with their interests.

This Government has yielded on the Indus basin waters question. If it is going to yield on the Farakka issue also, I warn them that it will be creating confusion throughout eastern India.

An atmosphere of complete insecurity has been created by this Government. Not only ordinary people but even the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court has got afraid of the situation. Speaking at Agra recently, he expressed his dismay and said that the 'parliamentary system is getting hot in the country. I consider the word 'hot' appropriate...'

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE : He is feeling insecure because of the judgment.

DR. RAM SUBHAG SINGH : May be. He expressed his dismay at the working of parliamentary democracy in India, particularly, the persistent floor-crossings and change in party alliances, and called upon the youth of the country to clean the nation of all elements that clogged the working of parliamentary democracy.

He has given this warning at the appropriate time. He had a very important apparatus of the State.

SHRI HANUMANTHAIYA : Is it open to a Judge to make political comments ?

DR. RAM SUBHAG SINGH : If it is open to the Prime Minister to make an inroad into the judiciary, it is open to everybody to pass any remarks he likes.

SHRI N. K. SOMANI (Nagaur) : Only Khadiilkar can do that.

DR. RAM SUBHAG SINGH : Shri Khadiilkar made the other day a most unfortunate statement. He said in Poona that the number of Judges would be increased.

Gen. Manekshaw, Chief of the Army Staff, has also got fed up because the military is being requisitioned to do police duties.

Everywhere there is insecurity. I do not make any exception, there is insecurity throughout the country and therefore it was very appropriate on his part to give this warning that if the military is used by ordinary magistrates and it is made to act according to their desires, if the military goes on killing people in the way they killed in Haryana and Rajasthan, there will be an end of democracy and there will be a total end of the parliamentary system. Therefore, he said that he does not want that the military should be used in these riots. I demand that there should be a judicial inquiry both into the firings at various places in Ganganagar District as well as in Haryana and elsewhere.

AN. HON. MEMBER : As well as in Mysore.

DR. RAM SUBHAG SINGH : I do not make any exception. Wherever there has been any communal or any type of riot or any insecurity, there should be a thorough judicial inquiry.

A picture has been painted of our economy in the Economic Survey that was given to us today and also in the Bombay resolution, to which I have already referred, that agricultural production has increased, but the picture of dry areas still continue to

be dry and I would like that suitable measures should be taken to improve conditions in dry farming areas, because unless and until we do that, by merely concentrating on irrigated areas, no real service to agriculture can be rendered. Again I would like to remind the Government, because the Government has not succeeded in manufacturing tractors in enough numbers, that they should see that agricultural implements, the most modern implements, are manufactured in the country and made available to agriculturists at reasonable prices.

I do not agree with the view that prices have not appreciated because after Bombay I do not know whether that was socialism or not, I say that that had nothing to do with socialism, it was not at all justified prices of Dalda and steel have been increased. Steel production has fallen due to your errors, your incompetence, your mismanagement. In Durgapur production is less than 50 per cent. If this is going to be the shape of things, only God will help this country.

The price of steel has been increased by Rs. 78 per tonne. Who uses steel? The Prime Minister does not use any steel. She does not know how to handle a *khukri*, *khurpi*, sickle or any such things. Only a labourer or a kisan uses them. Therefore, the burden on the ordinary persons has been increased by Rs. 78 per tonne after the Bombay brand of socialism. And the burden on every housewife has increased by 25 paise per kilo of Dalda by this Bombay brand of socialism. Why? Because they did it—I charge them with this—to help the businessmen who helped to manage their Bombay show, the traders and industrialists who deal in Dalda and steel to mint tons of money overnight.

Industrial production has not gone up as much as was paraded by the Ministry of Industry. Export also has fallen as has been mentioned in this Address, but a larger number of people go to export fairs, to Japan. Even the Prime Minister went to Japan. I do not know what for they go there. So many girls, hundreds of them, and others are sent to the export mela. The Prime Minister was the presiding deity over the selection of the girls who were sent. Not one of the girls comes from an ordinary family. Mr. Deputy-Speaker, your area is highly literate. Can you say that half a

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dozen went from there, though of course more than 300 went to Japan? If this is going to be the picture, again I say that country this will go to hell if this is allowed to continue.

In the Industrial field the situation is fluctuating. The index of industrial production between January-July 1969 and January-July 1968 increased by seven per cent but there was decline in the textile and steel which mean so much for our country. The percentage of industrial advance is rather low; it must be around ten per cent if we have to lift ourselves from the recession. The national income was expected to increase by three per cent during 1968-69; even three per cent was low but it actually increased by 1.8 per cent. Our national income continues to be among the lowest in the world inclusive of Afro-Asian and South-Asian countries. In the current year, when the Prime Minister is not only the Prime Minister but the economic monarch of this country and the Chairman of the Planning Commission and the Finance Minister, what is the position? Yesterday Mr. Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed was saying that the small car project was not cleared by the Planning Commission. If the Government wants to go ahead, I do not know how the Planning Commission headed by the Prime Minister can put obstructions. Plan investments will be lower than last year; it is 7.8 per cent of the national income as compared to 8.4 per cent last year and 11.36 per cent before she became the Prime Minister. Consequently, there has been a steady erosion in activities that help to expand and diversify production and there is erosion and decline in the resources made available to the Plan. That decline is continuous from 36 per cent in 1965-66 to 25 per cent in 1969-70. The momentum is steadily falling and there was a decline from 28 to 25 per cent between last year and the current year. During all these three Plans the foreign investment was only one-fifth or near-about; now it has gone upto two-fifths of the total investment. In that way she has got the country's economy mortgaged to foreign countries. If two-fifths of the investment come from foreign countries, I do not know what will happen to the industrial programme.

Wherever you go, there are hundreds of

young persons who are unemployed. In their calculations they have very cleverly said thousands. Then they say 1600 persons will be given petroleum booths. But these 1600 are not going to help the young of this country. They run into crores. 2.5 million able-bodied young men and women are there; they are in need of employment opportunities. I am likely to agree with Mr. Hanumanthaiya, who has left his seat. (*An Hon. Member*): He has not left; he is there very much). He has changed his colour like his ministerial people. The President has throughout his life been labour leader. When I refer to his Address, I do not refer to him. The Address does not give any guideline for creating new employment opportunities. The little it says is that two per cent more people will be employed in the industries that exist. It is useless and non-sensical and is not going to befool the youth. You must change the entire structure. You are incompetent to provide employment to the people. Manpower in our country is the biggest asset and if you tap it properly you can increase the wealth. But neither the Government nor the Prime Minister possesses that competence.

Even if you emulate the Russian system, I would welcome it, but they are thoroughly incompetent to go in for that either, because, everybody, whoever is not employed, should be given something to depend upon. Give them Rs. 50, if you can succeed; or surrender before them. You say that your brand of socialism is going to solve the problem of youth of this country. How many people have you got employed? After your hurricane tour, what has been the total cost of your tour? I ask this because the total cost is not being borne by any individual. It is being borne by the State Government and the Government of India. What for?

In Kutch, a bridge had been there for the last 16 months or so. She can correct me if I am wrong. I shall then stand corrected. But that bridge was opened now! She went to open the bridge. This is an utter waste of expenditure for the State Government; this is an utter waste of expenditure for the Government of India. I am told that hundreds of acres of land, wet land and other land, were destroyed because of the helipads that were constructed in Uttar Pradesh and

elsewhere. And that is again also a dead loss to the people of this country.

About unemployment, I want to say one thing. It is not a new thing that I am saying. She knows it and her other colleagues know it also. Your Plans have been given a wrong orientation. White-collar jobs are created. This influx from the rural to the urban areas has increased due to the wrong implementation of the Plan. Unless and until you take the manufactures to the rural areas, unless you take the factories to the rural areas, unless and until you make peasant proprietorship a firm institution, unless and until you provide security to the tenant, you would not be able to give any encouragement to the people of India, whatever be your Plans.

About foreign affairs, the less said, the better. Mr. Fakhruddin Ahmed was kicked out of Rabat : everybody knows. I beg your pardon for mentioning your personal personality. I attack the policy. He was kicked out of Rabat, and here they gave big explanations for that kick. You later recalled your ambassador also. Now, they are saying that we are not going to join this Islamic Secretariat. Can you say that there is no contradiction in the two ? At that time they came out with the big arguments that we were correct. Only a foolish person can understand that rash and reckless argument.

She has completely given up the stand of the Government of India from Jawaharlal Nehru's time. Whenever there was any repression or danger to the freedom of the country, he raised his voice on behalf of this vast country.

SHRI RANGA : Except on one occasion.

SHRI RAM SUBHAG SINGH : I stand corrected. Now, there is nothing being done in that regard. I would like to ask, what was the objective of the Congress. If anybody deviated—Gandhiji or Jawaharlal Nehru or anybody, for, I do not hold any brief for them—that was wrong. There should not be any deviation from the declared policy of the Congress. I charge her that she totally deviated from the Congress objective.

AN HON. MEMBER : Which Congress.

DR. RAM SUBHAG SINGH : The parent Congress. Now, the President has mentioned about Ceylon, Nepal, etc. Now, there is a race between the Prime Minister and the rest. I do not want to say anything about the President. Previously it was paraded in the press that the Prime Minister would not go to Nepal and only the President would go. We felt satisfied : "All right, on behalf of this nation, at least the Head of the nation is going to attend that." Suddenly, this morning, the competition is noticeable : the Prime Minister is also following, so that there may not be this grace for the President alone. Anyway, I do not mind that, but among these countries whose names are mentioned and which they visited, is anyone of these countries your real friend ? Can you name any country where from Indians are not being kicked out ? Are you in a position to say it ? You go and parley with them, and exchange pleasantries and return and say in the Consultative Committee meetings and in your room that my foreign policy, my economic policy, my social policy, is the best in the world."

You can have your self-satisfaction. This is a Government of self-interest. But there is no country in the world which is a real friend of India at the moment.

This Parliament has taken a solemn pledge to stand together and regain the areas that we have lost to China. That did not happen a long time back : it happened only in 1962. Everybody, including the Speaker, stood up here and a solemn pledge was taken. But she has completely forgotten it. I do not know whether this Government is possessed of any sense or not to mention it in the Address. It has allowed her to pursue a domestic and foreign policy according to her own likes but at the cost of surrender of 6,000 square miles of sacred Indian soil. I do not have any animosity with China or Pakistan or any other country, but I want that if there is an area which belongs to the people of this country, that area must be regained.

I want a judicial enquiry into the frings in Haryana and Rajasthan to be instituted immediately. A pledge was given here and it was the consensus of opinion that there should be, an enquiry regarding Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose. That enquiry also should be instituted. I want that Madhya

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Gandhi's statue which was earlier decided to be erected at India Gate must be erected there.

AN HON. MEMBER : What about acquiring Birla House ?

DR. RAM SUBHAG SINGH : You took money from Birla for your Bombay Session. You acquire Birla House ; you acquire everything. (*Interruptions*).

I thought Mr. Hanumanthaiya was a fearless person, but after listening to his speech today, I have to change my view. About Haryana, a Commission is being set up. Who is the Prime Minister ? According to the Constitution, it is the Parliament which is Supreme and which has to take a decision, not any individual, however high he or she may be. With what face is she putting it into the President's mouth that a new Commission would be appointed to demarcate the boundary between Punjab, Haryana and Himachal ? What has happened to your Boundary Commission's recommendations ? What are you going to do about the boundaries of Mysore and Madras ? Mr. Hanumanthaiya, you must ask about it. Don't be afraid of your Chairmanship of the Administrative Reforms Commission or ministerial seat. I want that if Government set up any Commission, they must abide by the recommendations of that Commission.

Regarding the Defection Committee report, it was an all party committee and it made certain unanimous recommendations. Those recommendations must be implemented.

I want that the Speaker should institute a High-Powered Parliamentary Committee to lay down norms for the conduct of Governors. The Governors met recently but they proved themselves to be incapable of taking any decision in that Governors' meeting. It did not decide anything in this regard. They are shaping in a manner which is most abominable. The Speaker must appoint a Parliamentary Committee to go into it.

The Speaker must not surrender the right of Parliament to any Embassies. Because, Sir even though you headed a Parliamentary Committee to U.A.R. the Speaker has written to me that he was not

at all consulted. It seems that the list was seen and approved only by U. A. R. Ambassador. Are we going to surrender the right of Parliament to Embassies ? We cannot surrender the sovereign right of this Parliament to any Embassy. Therefore, I want that the Speaker should appoint a Committee to decide these things rather than allow government to do all that.

Then, the Government must immediately implement the land reforms and programme of ceiling on urban property in Union Territories. Statehood should be given to Manipur and Himachal Pradesh.

AN HON. MEMBER : What about Telengana ?

DR. RAM SUBHAG SINGH : Telengana is a dependable area from her point of view. Still, confusion is going on there for the last one year. Why not you consult all the Telengana members who are here and give a verdict according to their wishes ? What is the difficulty ?

I want that every citizen should be treated on a footing of equality irrespective of caste or creed. She professes to be a friend of minorities. But I think she uses that term only in relation to her convenience. That is not proper. This country belongs to all the people who are here, to whatever creed they may belong ; they are equal and respected citizens and no Minister should be allowed to misguide them, and that too by using governmental machinery.

In the Presidential Address she should not have seen to it that only Ahmedabad was mentioned. At that time there was communal trouble in other areas like Indore, Jagatdalpur and Bhilai. Therefore, it is discrimination on the part of the Government to refer to communal trouble only in Ahmedabad and not in other areas. For instance, some Harijans were burnt in Andhra Pradesh which was the most heinous thing which should have been condemned. Why was it not mentioned in the Address of the President ? I want that every citizen, be he a Muslim, Christian, Hindu or Sikh or Harijan should be given equal protection and that there should be no discrimination on any score.

A sum of Rs. 400 crores to 500 crores

should be allocated for rural works programme so that a large number of uneducated and educated people may get employment. Then some of the people who have paraded at the residence of the Prime Minister will also get some employment.

Then, in consultation with State Chief Ministers, a national commission should be appointed to suggest measures to remove the insecurity in the country. Then, certain suitable measures should be forthcoming soon to regain Indian territory forcibly occupied by China. Then, Indian interests being evicted from East Africa and other places everywhere—their number is increasing every year—should be given proper protection. You say that you have washed your hands off those people. Then where will they go? It is only because of your activities that they are in their present pitiable position.

So, the entire Address seems to be most disappointing, contradictory and disgusting. This looks like a Greek mythological story, Penelope...

AN HON. MEMBER : Camilla.

DR. RAM SUBHAG SINGH : She was a woman. Whatever she wove during day time she unwove during the night. Whatever has been woven by Mahatma Gandhi Jawaharlal Nehru and other great leaders is being unwoven now. Perhaps, Shri Fakhruddin Ahmed is undoing what Maulana Azad had done. Shri Gaffar Khan, a leader of whose stature you are not going to find elsewhere, said when he came to India "you have done away with Gandhiji and Gandhism; you do not remember him". It means that you have completely unwoven what Gandhiji had woven during his time.

I think that this Address is an address full of regrets and contradictions and it is prepared by a government which must not be relied upon and must be kicked out.

DR. KARNI SINGH (Bikaner) : Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I wish to speak in support of my amendments many of which are raised on the subject of firing that took place in Rajasthan. Belonging to a group known as the United Independents Parliamentary Group, which gave its conditional support to the Prime Minister

in the interest of stability, I feel that the time has now come when we must stand up like strong men and place the facts before the House. Why we supported the Prime Minister's Government was because there was no viable opposition available in the country.

SHRI RANGA : I should have been called after Dr. Ram Subhag Singh.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Most of the major parties have not given the names of speakers from their parties.

SHRI RANGA : What do you mean by our not giving names? Is it necessary for important things like this that I have to write to you that I am to speak?

DR. KARNI SINGH : Independent Members also should have a chance to open the debate like in the past Parliament. We are 10 per cent of the House.

SHRI RANGA : I have no quarrel with Dr. Karni Singh.

DR. KARNI SINGH : We are not taking away Shri Ranga's right. But we will fight also for our rights. Just as we respect Members of the Opposition, we expect that they respect the independent Members also. We will not allow them to ride roughshod over us. If the Deputy-Speaker recognised an independent, we go right ahead.

Recently, three firings have taken place in Rajasthan in my present constituency and in my exconstituency within a period of one week and all this is done in the name of socialism, in the name of democracy, by my Chief Minister who happens to keep Shrimati Gandhi's party in power. We wanted to support Shrimati Gandhi because we thought that she would help us with a stable government in our country. But it had never occurred to us that this support would mean support to the State Government and by the same State Government to the Centre to spill the blood of innocent people in the States.

I visited the sites of the firing and I saw it with my own eyes that firing had been resorted to on children; little boys of 14 and 15 running away were shot in the back.

[Dr. Karni Singh]

Yet, the same Government calls itself a socialist government! In the time of Nehru and Shastri I would have said that socialism had some real meaning. Today socialism means only one thing—chairism, love of the chair. Anybody who helps to keep these governments in power is a progressive; a man who opposes it is a reactionary. I can tell you that we are not prepared to stand by and see human blood spilled this way even though it may be in the name of socialism.

I would, therefore, request not only Members of the independent groups but the D.M.K. also both of whom helped Mrs. Gandhi, her minority Government to stay in power that we are not the slaves and lackeys of the Congress Party that sits there; we are public representatives and we must stand like men. I am quite sure that if Shri Annadurai had been alive today—a great man—this type of blanket support would never have been given by the D.M.K.

I hope that the Government will take stock of this situation and see that if they speak about socialism, they really in fact mean socialism and not socialism of a type which worships their chairs. If the time so requires, they must be prepared to kick their seats and walk out on principles.

I want to ask Shrimati Gandhi now: Why did they not impose President's rule in Rajasthan this time? 15,000 men are in jail; there is a huge land agitation going on; 20 people have been but into hospitals by firings eight have been killed. I know the reason. The reason is because Shri Sukhadia's men help her to get the votes stay in power. We also give her the votes but certainly not with the intention of permitting this type of rule to continue.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : That was the mistake you committed.

16 hrs.

DR. KARNI SINGH : In 1967 there was absolutely no need for President's rule in Rajasthan but Shri Chavan, the great conjuror, arranged it in such a way that President's rule would be brought about in Rajasthan giving Shri Sukhadia adequate time to be able to purchase Opposition members.

That is precisely what happened and democracy was murdered in Rajasthan. I ask Mrs. Gandhi today, and the circumstances are much worse today, why does she not impose the President's Rule in Rajasthan? Does she have the courage to kick her seat and say, "I stand on principles."? Or is it that Mrs. Gandhi wants the chair so badly that she is not prepared to do so? This is a question which the people of Rajasthan will want to ask her because she has reflected a progressive thought in the country. We would like to know whether the President's Rule will now be imposed, whether a mid-term election will be held in Rajasthan so that the people of Rajasthan are given a chance to decide whether they would like to be ruled by a man like Mr. Sukhadia who rules over the spilt blood of the people. If you, in fact, believe in democracy, we would like you to live upto that belief.

AN HON. MEMBER : What about your privy purses?

DR. KARNI SINGH : As far as privy purses are concerned, as I had said once before, as far as I am concerned they can go to hell. If the hon. Member wants, he can roll it up and put it where the monkey puts his nuts, so far as I am concerned.

ANOTHER HON. MEMBER : What do you mean by that?

DR. KARNI SINGH : That means anything you like.

On a previous occasion, when firing had taken place in another part of the country, I had raised the matter about the use of S.P.A. bullets—Special Police Ammunition. At that time, I brought it to the attention of the Government that these bullets were not making adequate noise resulting in far too many people being killed and injured. The matter was treated very lightly. When the first firing took place in Rajasthan on 7th January, I brought it to the attention of Mr. Y. B. Chavan when I presented my memorandum to him on the 7th January. Again, when the firing took place in Churu, I brought it to his attention once again. I feel that the House should take stock of the situation. This new ammunition, though

less lethal, makes so little noise, that when there is a firing in a large crowd, that the people think that only crackers are going off resulting in more people being killed and injured. Previously, when firing took place, you usually heard one or two people being killed or injured. Today, far too many people are killed and injured. I think, Mr. Chavan has taken it up at last. I got letter only yesterday from him. I am glad for once the Government has seen a little reason.

Sir, Mr. Sukhadia, a great socialist, has not even had the courage to tour the firing areas and he talks about being one of the most popular Chief Ministers. Will the Prime Minister ask him to be good enough to tour his own State? In the interest of socialism, will he have the courage to face the people? He has already imprisoned 15,000 persons. I have seen blood of these people flowing on college floors and bullets fired on students at top-floor galleries by aiming which is never done in police firing.

SOME HON. MEMBER : Shame, shame !

DR. KARNI SINGH : Will Mr. Sukhadia have the courage to face the people? This is something I would like to know.

We have all made a demand—the leader of the Opposition has also made a demand—that there should be a judicial inquiry into these firings. I believe that no judge in Rajasthan is prepared to head such an inquiry because when the Beri Commission of Inquiry was appointed, the Chief Minister said that the Government was not bound by any his recommendation. Now, in the interest of justice, I would appeal to the Prime Minister to see that her Chief Minister in Rajasthan will give an assurance to the people of Rajasthan that, when this inquiry is held, the Government will be bound by the findings of this inquiry.

Now, I would like to say something to my brothers in the Opposition, as I always do being an Independent. I think, we in the Opposition have failed the nation by our lack of unity. There is absolutely no doubt about it. The Congress party is in a minority and, for keeping this Government in power, the Opposition is responsible. Apart from that, I want to ask: Why can't we in the Opposition who fill up so much

of this House from a coalition Government? Have not we got the guts to unite? Don't we have the responsibility to the nation? Are we slavishly going to follow the Congress party? About two years back, I had mentioned the same thing. The time will come when the country will ask these very Opposition leaders, all of them sitting here what did they sacrifice to unite together. We know perfectly well that these small parties can never do anything. It is only through the merger of these parties that something can be brought about. I would like to know what the Swatantra, the Jana Sangh, the D.M.K., the S.S.P., the P.S.P. and other parties are going to do.

I think this is a million dollar question. This, the leader must answer in the interests of the future of democracy. If India becomes a Communist country tomorrow, if we have Stalinlike purges, if we lose our individual freedom, if we lose everything that we stand for as free man, the Opposition will be as much responsible as the Congress. I, therefore, feel that the time has come when we have to take stock of the situation, unite among ourselves in the Opposition and provide the necessary two-Party system which the country is crying for. I have a fear that when the 1972 Elections come, the same picture will be presented—five-cornered contests and ten cornered contests as in the past. What sort of democracy is this? Parties rule on minorities' Votes. If the Opposition leaders, have not learnt any lesson from the four elections, when are we going to learn? If the Opposition cannot unite, then we must prove to the country that the Opposition Parties have failed and are unable to rule and Independents should be returned to Parliament and to Government.

Sir, there is so much I want to say. I know to other Members from my Independent group want to speak. I thank you for giving me time to speak early in the debate. I would request the hon. Opposition Members in the house, 'Please be tolerant to independent members'. We must learn to live together. If you do not, you can never expect any unity in the Opposition.

SHRI R. BARUA (Jorhat) : Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I have the pleasure to associate myself with the motion that has been moved by Mr. Hanumanthaiya on account of the Address the President gave to the joint

[Sh i R. Barua]

session. I also take this opportunity for making a few observations.

I heard with rapt attention the speech that was made by the Leader of the Opposition and it is consistent with the tradition of democracy that it must be listened with due attention. May I also express that the whole speech would have been better if the tinge of bitterness and anger were not there? That is my personal reaction.

Since the General Elections of 1967 this country is facing a political upheaval. The generation gap is showing its manifestation in our thinking, both political and social and in our behaviour too. Besides the scientific and the technological developments that the world is seeing are having their impact on the country and as a result of it we face a sense of restlessness. This restlessness is gripping this generation because in spite of the developments we have not been able to bridge the gap between our aspirations and our achievements. This is one reason why things have gone thus far. Events that have taken place in the last few months in the country are the outcome of the process of the same movement.

Now, the area of one-Party ruling the country both in the Centre and in the States has almost come to an end. Therefore, it will be wrong to presume that it will be possible for any single Party to rule both at the Centre and in the States. As a result of this we should conform ourselves to the new context and see that adjustments are possible. To my mind the posture of extremism, whether of the right or the left, willy-nilly, is not going to give any dividend either politically or socially. This is a lesson one should learn at this moment.

Sir, let us look at the entire spectrum, that is India. Coalition means adjustment. If any one uses strong words to describe it, I have no quarrel over it, but I am concerned with the reality that is presented.

Sir, in the economic field the country after 22 years of independence presents a very difficult picture. I do not say that the Government is not responsible for these. But till yesterday, some persons were sitting on this side, and are they not equally responsible? Therefore, when the Leader of the Opposition was speaking, I was just wondering, was he not a part of the Government till

the other day and is he also not partly responsible.

According to the report released by the Economic and Scientific Research Foundation, India is slipping behind in the race for economic development not only behind the developed countries but with some developing countries. In terms of *per capita* real income, India's growth rate is less than 1.6%. It will take 218 years at this rate to reach the level of the U. S. A. of 1963. In terms of rate of growth India is 20 years behind Brazil, 44 years behind Japan, 45 years behind U. K. I do not deny that during the last 20 years India has made significant progress in many fields. But that does not obviate the grim picture that the *per capita* production of most commodities remained the lowest. When we look back at this state of affairs the responsibility lies not only on this side of the House alone, but on those also on the other side who shared power during these long 20 years and now prefer to sit opposite. I am saying this not to have a dig at anybody. But I am just thinking aloud.

May I remind you, Sir, that the average growth rate of India's *per capita* real income in 1950-60 was 1.6 per cent? And, it is much less than that now. To achieve an average long-term growth-rate of 3.2 per cent *per annum*, India's economy will have to grow at the average rate of 5.3 per cent. Japan's economy growth during the last two decades is really marvellous. Can we not take some lessons out of these countries? Should we get ourselves bogged down in some dogmatism because of some political reasons and should we compete in only slogans and do nothing in the real terms?

Now, Sir, let us look at some of the budget presented in different States. The West Bengal budget has come up with a deficit of Rs. 40 crores. Assam will have a deficit of Rs. 50 crores. In Haryana also there is a big deficit. In the matter of economic growth are they imparting a sense of responsibility in the matter of husbanding the resources, with a view to take the country forward economically? The indication of fiscal choice for quick economic growth is absolutely lacking in the State budgets. I am afraid, if this happens also in the Central budget, I don't know where the country will go.

Sir, we are faced with a serious unemployment problem. The unemployment is rising at the rate of over 7 per cent and we are providing employment only at the nominal rate of 2 per cent. If these things go on like this, in the not-distant future we will be faced with an avalanche the intensity of which we never dreamt of, or we can never dream of. This is a serious thing which one should take note of.

In order to tackle this problem, it is absolutely necessary that the economy should be put in proper gear and in the field of production, we should go forward in a meaningful way. I agree with the Leader of the Opposition completely that in order to tackle the mounting unemployment problem, we must create amenities and initiate economic activities in the rural sector so that there is diversification and people do not get concentrated in urban areas. That alone will be a possible step for meeting the coming emergency.

Not only this. There is increase in the price level. The Economic Survey, through which I have gone, gives the correct picture of the present position. Reading between the lines, it would be apparent that the price rise is assuming disturbing proportions. The increase of the price level by about 7 per cent over last year is very disturbing. The increase in the case of industrial raw materials is between 10-11 per cent. This inflationary trend ought to have been checked long before. Somehow or other, only recently the RBI has come up with a credit squeeze. This should have been done long before in order to correct the imbalance. Money supply in the country was not properly handled during the last few months. The result is that today we are faced with this rise in prices.

I must congratulate the Government on showing some sort of resilience in their industrial policy. For the first time, they have got out of the traditional rut and have extended delicensing for medium size industries. This will go a long way to create a climate of investment and thereby open up possibilities of employment. This is one good thing.

Secondly, I would plead with Government to see that resources in the rural sector are properly husbanded so that they are utilised for development purposes. That alone will not meet with the requirement

of our economy and also create employment opportunities.

There has been a further departure in the attitude of Government in regard to the relaxation of majority-minority participation with foreign collaborators. Of course, there are critics who say that Government are wedded to a particular philosophy which may not be conducive to development, but all the same, these are instances in which you can say that Government are not wedded to any particularism. Allowing majority foreign collaboration participation is a step in this direction.

Recently trade delegations from West Germany, Japan and UK were here. From the talks held, we find that Government propose to make things easier for foreign collaboration. Why is it necessary? Because we must create wealth, we must produce, and for that capital formation is essential. But mere capital formation is not enough. We also require in certain sectors, in certain areas, foreign know-how and critical supplies. That is why it is very pragmatic on the part of Government to take this new and bold step in the direction of industrial growth.

I am aware that Government will be faced with criticism, and this may be loaded with political overtones.

But I am sure the Prime Minister will not succumb to such criticism because she is aware of the economic situation of the country and she means business.

Coming to the eastern region and my State I want to pin-point a few things. Firstly, we are very grateful to the Prime Minister for announcing the package deal for Assam and our people are also equally grateful to Parliament for extending full support when the announcement was made here. But I want to pose a question. When are you going to implement the package deal? Are you getting at least the preliminaries done in the next few months? What is the timetable for this? What about the oil refinery, or for the matter of that, the expanded capacity for refining crude oil? That is one aspect. The other aspect is that unless you improve the communications it will be meaningless to talk of industrial development. The heavy machinery cannot move as speedily and as conveniently on the meter gauge as it can do on broad gauge. Therefore, broad gauge is a must for Assam's

[Shri R. Barua]

industrial development. It is because of the absence of broad gauge that it took a lot of time for us previously to get the few things that we wanted. Nobody could stick to the time schedule because the movement was so slow. We were told that the broad gauge was there, but in the Railway Budget I did not find anything. Will the Government give a reply and say that they mean business, that they will really get going with implementing this broad gauge line? If you do not get a broad gauge at least upto Gauhati, the assurance industrial development will be delayed by another five or eight years, but will the unemployment problem which is assuming greater proportions wait for that time? I submit that an answer from the Government will be very helpful.

I have been insistent that a Brahmaputra Valley Commission should be appointed and the question of flood control of the Brahmaputra should be dealt with by the Centre and that Parliament should be seized of this. We were given an assurance that this would be done because every year for the last few years the Brahmaputra has been causing damage to Assam's economy to the tune of Rs 10 to 12 crores. Everywhere land is being eaten up by the river. Its behaviour is such that if land is eroded on one side, it does not put up similar soil elsewhere. There is no question of alluvium or diluvium as in the case of rivers like Padma, etc. Therefore, erosion means complete washing out of the arable, cultivable land from Assam. Therefore, I would also like to get an answer from the Government as to what they are proposing to do with regard to the Commission. These are some of the problems concerning Assam.

There have been certain problems coming up in the country because they have not been tackled in time. The Chandigarh question could have been settled long ago. Because of the delay we face these things. Himachal Pradesh is also in a similar position. The question of Statehood for Himachal Pradesh was agitating the minds of the State's people and also Parliament was seized of it. If I remember aright the Home Minister also assured that the question of viability with regard to the Statehood of Himachal Pradesh would be examined. I would like to know whether the Government

means to come to a conclusion with regard to the Statehood for Himachal Pradesh.

The State of Manipur also is equally hanging fire. I do not think we will be able to keep the problem of Manipur pending for long. Therefore, these are problems which I hope the Government will efficiently tackle, so that untoward developments, both political and otherwise, do not come to pass.

Particularly in the eastern region we are more concerned that the people living in our borders should be kept content so that we can have a strong and contented people to fight against our border enemies. Unfortunately, even today Pakistan and China are not on friendly terms with us, I found a report in a paper—it is subject to correction—that the Foreign Minister expressed his opinion in favour of Russia on the Russia-China disputes. I do not know if Russia at any time expressed herself in favour of India when China and India were fighting each other. Even today Russian maps are circulated in which Chinese-occupied India is being shown as part of China and not of India. This seems to be unnecessary involvement by India in a dispute between China and Russia in which we should have adopted an attitude of neutrality. That alone would help us to have some sort of a non-alignment approach towards a neighbouring State.

It is very necessary that we maintain very cordial relationship with the African countries. When world powers are poised one against the other, it is difficult to aspire for their friendship. If anybody has got to be our friend that will be our neighbouring countries such as Nepal, Burma, Pakistan and also the African countries. Of late why are the African countries not favourably disposed towards India? Who is answerable for this? I believe our External Affairs Ministry lacks something somewhere and because of that this irritant has started. I am sorry that somebody in Parliament had to use harsh words with regard to our friends in Kenya. I have a soft corner for Kenya, Uganda and all these African countries. I see no reason why there should be any occasion for irritation at all. If we make the right approach at the right time in the right manner, I think this irritation would not be there; Our approach to our

neighbouring countries as well as African countries should be put in the proper gear so that the relations may improve in the not too distant future. With these words I associate myself with the motion moved by my friend Mr. Hanumanthaiya.

SHRI RANGA (Srikakulam) : It is rather strange experience that the proposer and the seconder of the motion commending this Address to Parliament are not in agreement with this Government. Their souls and hearts are so far outside the ambit of this Address that they went on talking about everything else, and made many points which were outside this Address. I welcome this development.

16.29 hrs.

[Shri K. N. Tiwari *In the Chair*]

But I pity the political fortunes of these friends who are obliged to talk thus here ; while their hearts are outside the ambit of this Government, possibly they feel that their interests are within the ambit of this Government.

The Prime Minister, I am told from the press—I speak subject to correction—had said that the most important event or eventful achievement of the past year was bank nationalisation. It shows how parochial her mind has come to be and so self-centred in her own achievement and in her own politics, personal and political, so that she could not think of national problems and international issues that are facing this country. What is the most important event of last year or this year ? It is Gandhiji's centenary. It is the celebration of that centenary all over the world. Although this Government was not capable of drawing the attention of the rest of the world by any of its achievements thanks, to the advent of Mahatma Gandhi in this country hundred years ago, all over the world, all eyes, and all their minds were riveted on Mahatma Gandhi and Sevagram.

My hon. friend, Dr. Rao, was there in London, and he was witness to an extraordinary function, a unique function, and he was glad there to express his gratitude to more than 8,000 Britishers who packed every seat and the corridors of that famous Prince Albert Hall where they had gathered

to pay their homage to Mahatma Gandhi. And yet, Indira Gandhi could not think of this as the most eventful achievement, happening, for India. India has gained so much goodwill and reputation all over the world because of this event.

The other one, which is equally important and perhaps a more intimate one, so far as we are concerned, is the visit of Khan Abdul Ghaflar Khan. All over India, wherever he had gone, as if Mahatma Gandhi himself was coming, lakhs and lakhs of people—I can bear witness to that fact so far as Andhra Pradesh is concerned—rushed to have his darshan, and in spite of the cold shouldering that the Reception Committee had got from the governments and the Central Government the ordinary people, poor people, poured at his feet more than Rs. 30 lakhs of hard-earned money, as their homage, to this grand old sage of the Gandhian age. That is the most eventful achievement of last year.

But, at the same time, we also know the loss of conscience that this country has suffered at the hands of the Prime Minister, the loss of prestige and reputation for the word of honour. And what is worse, the Government comes forward and pays a tribute to the princes for the patriotic manner in which they have placed their crowns and the gaddis at the disposal of this country. It does not say that they have agreed to the abolition of the privy purse. If, between themselves, they have agreed, well and good. But in a unilateral fashion, it is going to do something about which anyhow, at that time, as the framers of the Constitution we thought fit to provide. You may throw it out ; that is a different matter. But you do it in an honourable manner, in a decent fashion, in a manner that will do credit to the Constitution, to the plighted word that we have all given. I would certainly welcome the Princes to come forward and say, "Yes ; we have had enough of this and we are prepared to give it up." You do persuade them through your behaviour, negotiations and goodwill.

Then, may I expect the Prime Minister and then the External Affairs Minister to hasten to express the gratitude of the people to the peoples of the world for having honoured Mahatma Gandhi and about their faith in the principles of Ahimsa, truth and humanism, as they did in the United Nations Assembly and also in the conference of the

[Shri Ranga]

International Parliamentary Association that had its sitting in our Vigyan Bhavan a few months ago? Would the Government assure the country and Parliament that the Gandhi Darshan would be made a permanent institution and similar institutions will come to be organised in all the States? I support the view expressed by Dr. Ram Subhag Singh that Mahatma Gandhi's statue should be installed under that central canopy in front of India Gate.

It is also symbolic of the humble role that this Government has got to be content with in international affairs that the Address is silent about the significance of the recent Sino-Soviet conflict in regard to India's own place in the world. We do deplore these conflicts. My hon. friend who has just sat down made a reference to what the External Affairs Minister had said by supporting Soviet Russia as against China. We wish the wide world to realise that China's indulgence in the Sino-Soviet conflict is only another instance of China's expansionist moves and that China's aggression against India in 1962 and against Tibet since 1949 is the beginning of the threat of Chinese expansionism against all the Asian countries on her borders. It is also indicative of this Government's imbecility that the Address does not protest with enough vehemence against Russia's decision to supply military equipment and against the United States' moves to resume her supplies of military arms and know-how to Pakistan. I appeal to all the parties in the House to register their vehement opposition to these pro-war manoeuvres of the great atomic powers.

How tragic it is that the Address does not express the awareness of the Government to the unique response made to all the world forces for peace and humanism, such as the Gandhi Peace Foundation, Bertrand Russell's Foundation for Peace, by the atomic powers of U.S.S.R. and U.S.A., through their non-proliferation draft treaty and by President Nixon through his unilateral abandonment of bacteriological weapons. It is right for our country not to offer blindfolded support to the non-proliferation draft treaty, but it will be certainly right for us to sign it, subject to whatever conditions that we think of stipulating in the special interests of India, in the same way as Australia has done. Such an acceptance does not mean

eventual ratification but it does give us a favourable opportunity to get the treaty suitably amended and place us in the co-operative circle of peace-loving countries with atomic know-how. Such a posture will minimise the risks posed by China's machinations with Pakistan etc. as against India.

The Address says there can be a settlement with China. What a vain hope that China would respect our territorial integrity! China continues to occupy our territory. I am one with Dr. Ram Subhag Singh in demanding of this Government to tell us what steps it has been taking and it proposes to take in order to liberate that part of India which has come to be illegally and unjustly occupied by China. This Government does not say what it is going to do to vindicate the pledge given to Parliament on 22nd November, 1962 by Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru.

There are people in this country who openly hail Mao and Naxalites. They pose an open challenge to the authority of the government and our nascent democracy. Yet, this ministry is dependent for its continuance on such elements and their allies. What a shame!

The Address gives the call for withdrawal of foreign forces in Vietnam. We are all in favour of it; we have no objection. We do not want any foreign forces in any other country—without giving at the same time a similar call to the North Vietnamese aggressors who are aggressing on South Vietnam and Laos. Only this morning the External Affairs Minister covered himself with shame and brought shame on this country also by the kind of answers he gave this morning. We put a poser before him, as the Chairman of the International Commission, would he be good enough to take the initiative to call a conference of all the countries concerned in order to help Laos in her great trial and tribulation today. Once Jawaharlal Nehru called a conference like that, the Asian Conference, when Indonesia was in trouble. This is an excellent opportunity, if it is to be treated even as an opportunity, for India to take an initiative on its own, taking advantage of the fact that it happens to be the Chairman of

that Commission. Yet, this Foreign Affairs Minister feels himself so humble as not to be willing to take the initiative. Most unfortunately, he forgets the fact that he happens to be the External Affairs Minister of not a very small country with a small population but of this great nation with 550 million people, that he is the External Affairs Minister and not a mere nominee of the Prime Minister.

The other day when the North Vietnamese attacked the plain of Jars and occupied Laotian territory, they said "No Vietnamese had gone there: only some other people went there". Who are they? Are they not invaders? Another argument given is that it is in the centre of Laos. But is Srinagar not in the centre of Kashmir. Yet, did we not send out troops in order to liberate Srinagar as well as the whole of Kashmir from those bandits who attacked it? Still, the External Affairs Minister is anxious to find an excuse for his own failure to take any initiative.

Is it not high time that this government should voluntarily make a patriotic gesture to all the democratic parties to join it in a national democratic coalition—we call it the national democratic front or united front—excluding Communists of all types so that they can work together on the basis of consensus of their common commitment to social justice and thus realise the goal of national integration and provide the people good, honest, efficient and progressive governance and keep the value of their rupee sound, strong and safe. In this connection, I would like to quote one sentence from the resolution we have passed in the National Executive of the Swatantra Party:

"The Swatantra Party will, therefore, continue her efforts to build in co-operation with other socially democratic parties a broad based platform in order to repel the effect of Communist subversion already obvious in Bengal, also in Kerala and elsewhere, so that our country may pursue the path of ordered progress under a broad-based government of democratic unity and progress, resulting in a richer and better life to our people."

(*Interruptions* I know that Shri Jyotirmoy Basu has a beautiful name. Unfortunately, he has joined a dirty party... *Interruptions*.)

All right, I will not say "dirty"; I will say "ugly".

I would appeal to all democratic parties to unite and not to be helpless spectators of further degeneration of the social economy and degradation of the country. Let them hasten to work out and agree upon a minimum programme based upon national integration, respect to States rights, fundamental rights and good, beneficent governance and socio-economic planks of better and greater production, non-exploitative type of distribution and honest and efficient administration—which this government has failed to provide for this country—and a non-discriminatory, non-political employment policy.

Only this morning, my hon. friend, Shri Hanumanthaiya, was shyly and quietly suggesting that courts should be subpoena'd by this government having the power to appoint more and more judges to thrust their own political point of view and soon. I do not agree with him there...

SHRI HANUMANTHAIYA: Sir, on a point of personal explanation. I never suggested anything of the kind stated by the hon. Minister. I want a Commission whose personnel will be agreed upon by the leaders of the opposition and the government to reform the judicial system. I do not take a partisan view. I have never suggested, either restriction of the functions of the court or addition to their number. I have never suggested that.

SHRI RANGA: I am prepared to agree with him if he contents himself with saying that the expenses of courts at the district courts and High Court level and also at the Supreme Court level should be brought down, but I certainly will contest anybody who were to come and say, as the Prime Minister has been saying, as Shri Khadilkar has been saying, as so many of these would-be-ministers, pro-ministers and ex-ministers have been saying, that the Supreme Court's authority has got to be contested and should be posed as against the powers of Parliament.

I have been personally pleading for India's initiative since 1949 in achieving a Pacific concord among all the Asian and Australasian countries in order to achieve an effective spirit of cooperation and

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strengthen mutual defence against the Communist offensive of China. How relevant was that plea of mine has come to be demonstrated by the presence of these people whose sense of patriotism is so thin as to be willing to sponsor the cause of China. How relevant was that plea of mine has come to be demonstrated by Chinese moves against Korea, Vietnam, Cambodia, Thailand, Malaysia, Indonesia and Burma and our own motherland in 1962.

Rajaji has been urging that our Government should develop a Tokyo-Delhi treaty to be buttressed by similar treaties and bilateral agreements with all other democratic countries in this area of the Pacific and Indian Oceans. Unfortunately, our Government has not made any progress since 1957 when the then External Affairs Minister, Shri Chagla, made a shy reference to some such understanding. His successor and the former Finance Minister could only visualise the need for economic cooperation but no concrete steps have so far been taken even in that direction beyond this reference in the Address. Is this enough answer to the call of the exigencies of Pacific-Indian Oceans politics? China has grown so powerful in the atomic sphere and in this area and is so aggressive in its geographical expansionism that even the USA is now obliged to seek an understanding with her and plead for Sino-Soviet understanding in her desperate efforts to protect world peace. Under such dire circumstances of irresistible and growing power and pressure from Communist China is it not high time that India should take active steps to develop firm chords of understanding with as many democratic countries in this wide area as possible?

We learn from the talks that so many of our MPs of different democratic parties have had in recent years with the MPs and leaders of Pacific countries that the atmosphere is ripe for the progress of the proposed concord. I, therefore, hope that this Government would begin to move in this direction if at all it is sincerely keen on augmenting the moral and material defence of this country in our proximate international environment and ensure better and bigger resistance against the Chinese aggression.

The President wants us to believe that

there has been a lot of industrial progress; therefore, we have reached a kind of a take-off stage and we can afford to much more money in these wasteful public enterprises. Only this morning we have been given the information in the *Economic Survey* that Hindustan Steel, in which we have invested more than Rs. 1,000 crores, is still losing up to Rs. 38 crores every year and that four giant engineering concerns are losing Rs. 29 crores. Only 54 concerns have earned some profits, to the tune of Rs. 68 crores. But while they insist that private corporate industry should not distribute more than 6 per cent dividend to their shareholders, here are these profiteers. Indian Telephones have made a profit of 24 per cent; Bharat Electronics of 23 per cent; Hindustan Antibiotics which produces antibiotics for poor people of 15 per cent; Hindustan Insecticides of 11 per cent. This is the story of their public enterprises.

On pp. 14-15 of the *Economic Survey* which was distributed this morning, you will find the information there. I do not wish to burden the House with all the details. I would only mention the names of industries which have not been able to make any progress since 1956, not one or two years, for all these five years. The industries which are not progressing are Machinery except electrical, manufacture of wood and cork except furniture, transport equipment, railway equipment, metal products electrical machinery, electricity generated, basic metals, manufacture of footwear even footwear is losing in production—and then fertilisers. About fertilisers, they say, they are producing so much fertiliser and that they are going to give it the highest possible priority. They say, they are going to produce more and more of fertiliser in the quickest possible way. How? It used to be 30 per cent more every year. And now it is only 21 per cent.

What did they do with Mithapur project? They sent it to the Bay of Cambay. It could have produced millions of tonnes within a couple of years. Yet it was put down. Now, my hon. friend, the Minister, Shri Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed went to Talcher and wanted the country to be proud of this tiny venture. He has started these three ventures. But one Mithapur venture alone would have produced 10 times as

much as all these three put together. Yet they have ignored it.

Then, you find mining and quarrying and also manufacture of textiles, cotton textiles and jute manufactures. What about the handloom weavers? What about all the millions of artisans all over the country? They are all suffering for want of employment. Yet this Government wants us to believe that there has been a great achievement on the industrial front.

The most extra-ordinary thing is this. You produce steel. Why are you expanding the capacity of these three steel mills. It is not because there is too much demand. There is no demand for their products. It is not because there is so much demand from outside also. They are going abegging for export market. And yet they want to expand their capacity. Not being satisfied with it, they want to expand the capacity of Bokaro long before Bokaro is born. Bokaro is being constructed and its capacity is to be increased from 3 million tonnes to 4 million and odd tonnes because their great heavy machine manufacturing concerns which were made a gift by Soviet Russia at Hardwar, at Ranchi and at Bhopal have no orders. They have got surplus capacity. So they say, they want to provide work for them by constructing three steel mills and, when the steel mills are ready, there is no demand for their steel. Is it not a vicious way, a suicidal way, in which our national resources are being diverted and misdirected? This is not enough. Is there proper distribution? Recently, I came across structural concerns in Sanat Nagar area of Hyderabad who do not get raw materials. Aluminium factories do not get raw materials. In Coimbatore, the people who make these pumping sets and such things do not get raw materials. But they are available. In steel mills I am told 1,50,000 tonnes of ingots are available in Bhilai stores and yet they are not being distributed. Why? It is because, they say, there are no orders from anywhere. The orders must come through accredited agents and accredited agents, of course, are there to give necessary percentages and also to take necessary percentages. In this way, the light engineering industry is being starved for want of raw materials in this country. So many other industries also are suffering in this manner.

Then, take textiles. They insist that all

the textile mills should produce utility goods for poor people at uneconomic prices. Why should not the Government adopt the policy of subsidising production instead of forcing this burden on the textile mills and afterwards, saying that so many mills have become sick and they are obliged to take them over by nationalisation or socialisation.

What about sugar industry? Sugarcane growers are suffering like anything. The other day, Mr. Charan Singh said that they want to assure the growers Rs. 100 per tonne. They are not getting even Rs 60 in Madras and Rs. 70 in certain areas. They are not able to find any market. Sugar mills are groaning under their accumulated stocks of sugar. This Government does not release those stocks. If the sugar mills are groaning under these accumulated stocks, how is it possible for them to go on crushing cane? If they do not crush the cane, how will it be possible for cane growers to have any kind of price for their cane at all?

Now I come to agriculture. They are talking of agricultural revolution and agricultural land reforms. It is very easy for my hon friend, the Prime Minister, to talk about it because she has no responsibility except for her own area in respect of which Dr. Ram Subhag Singh has already posed a challenge to her. These reforms have got to be implemented by the State Governments. Has this Government any moral authority, Sir, to help the State Governments, to force or persuade them to do anything? There must be law abolishing Zamindari system in Bihar State. You were also present when I was talking in the Advisory Committee for your State of Bihar Lakhs and lakhs of acres of land belonging to the Government are occupied by the erstwhile land-owners and that land has not been taken away from them and distributed among the agricultural workers. Tens of lakhs of acres of land are not surveyed and registered. The ordinary poor peasants are supposed to have been brought in direct contact with the Government. But, on the other hand, the erstwhile land-owners are collecting rent from these people in an illegal manner. I had to suggest to this Government and the Advisers that such an offence should be treated as a criminal offence. Therefore, the Abolition of Zamindari Acts are not being implemented by those State Governments including that of U.P. and I do not know what my friend,

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Mr. Charan Singh is going to do. On the other hand, he gives a wrong lead to the rest of the country following the wrong lead from the Prime Minister and in the name of half-baked socialistic reforms, they want to reduce the ceiling further. I want to warn this House and the Government that one of these days some of our peasants will have to go to the Supreme Court in order to test the tenability of this wrong proposal. You fix a ceiling. That itself was wrong because it was discriminatory. You did not fix it on anybody else. When Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was Prime Minister, I asked him to fix it first of all on Government servants at Rs. 48,000 per annum. He said, 'It was too low'. At the same time, he called himself a friend of the peasants that he wanted to put it at Rs. 500 per annum per a peasant family. That is why I defied him, his authority and his Party. To-day if one reduces it further, is it right? Is it proper? Is it not unconscionable? It goes against the fundamental rights.

My hon friend, Mr. Hanumanthaiya, was asking us this morning to agree with him that this Parliament should take upon itself the power to change the Constitution. You have got the power to change the rest of the Constitution but, so far as the Chapter on Fundamental Rights is concerned, this Parliament should be wise enough, should be sensible enough, should be democratic enough, to put a curb on its own wishes, even though they have got that power. Fortunately, for us, the Supreme Court has already decreed that this Parliament has not got that right. Who is this Parliament? We were created by the Constituent Assembly. I was also at that time a Member of the Constituent Assembly. As a Constituent Assembly, we did not want to do all these humble things. Therefore, we brought into existence an interim Parliament. This is a creation and a creature of the Constituent Assembly and, it is given the authority as well as the sacred duty to be the custodian of the Constitution. Each one of us who comes over here takes his pledge to stand by the Constitution and to protect it. Yet, how does it lie in the mouth of any hon. Member, any group or this Parliament at any time to think of reviling the Constitution? Secondly, it is wrong to do injustice, to think of desecrating this Chapter on Fundamental Rights. That

is the campaign started by the Prime Minister. This is the kind of atmosphere she has created. Naturally she should be held responsible for this spirit of lawlessness that is prevailing all over India. She wants our co-operation, respect for democratic decencies. But she and her party make common cause, they make strange bedfellows and comfortable bedfellows with the United Front Government in West Bengal. That was a Government which allowed a *bandh* to be organised against established authority, against law and order, against government. That was the time when the Home Minister should have taken courage and dismissed it. But he said 'No'. The Home Minister has realised now that State Governments have got their own power.

17.00 hrs.

But when it suits them, he does not hesitate to utilise this institution of Governors in order to subordinate them, in order to weaken them. But when it does not suit him, he says, law and order is quite safe in West Bengal. What sort of a Home Minister is he? He is a name-sake Home Minister, Indiraji's Home Minister, but not at all the Home Minister for the whole of India, not the Home Minister for Indian democracy, not the Home Minister for Fundamental Rights, not the Home Minister who can be treated to be a decent enough Home Minister according to our Constitution. Otherwise, would that Government have gone on like that? Need I have to provide any proof in regard to the absence of law and order in West Bengal? Ask the Chief Minister there in West Bengal. The poor Chief Minister is held a prisoner of the Communist Parties. Very soon that would be the plight of this Prime Minister also. Similarly she is a prisoner, in secret, covertly and invisibly. The ordinary people in this country are not able to understand this and when we say this they think, Mr. Ranga and other people are exaggerating. Actually she is a prisoner in the hands of these Communist friends here to my left. And, their principals are outside. The very fact that she is a prisoner—she, in fact, is a prisoner—will come out in the open, very soon, to be seen by everybody in this country. Sir, nemesis will overtake them. There have been many Governments here

before. There had been a Bahadur Shah here and there was Aurangzeb before him. Afterwards, so many rulers and maharajas had been here. And this Home Minister is now holding this threat against the Maharajas. Should he not realise that some day the same fate will overtake many people like him including himself? Did it not overtake these friends here to my right? (*Interruption*) Would it take very long for these very friends who are laughing now to come over here and to be laughed at by other people who will be occupying those benches? But there cannot be even that chance if these people have their own way. If they go on dancing this dance of death of democracy in this country, those people as well as ourselves, all of us, will be sent to the guillotine by these Communist friends who have no sympathy at all for any of these people.

SHRI ANANTRAO PATIL (Ahmednagar): Mr. Chairman, Sir, it is very good that the President has made a mention about the decision regarding Chandigarh in his address. The decisions regarding Chandigarh and Fazilka have been just and fair; though these decisions were a bit late, they were not too late. The States of Punjab and Haryana are fortunate enough to have their disputes resolved within 3 years. Not only has the issue of Chandigarh been resolved, but the Boundary Commission is going to be appointed, to settle the claims between Punjab, Haryana and Himachal Pradesh, for the readjustment of their boundaries. Sir, I regret that the President has not made a mention about the other boundary disputes existing in other parts of the country.

Shri Hanumanthaiya in his speech made certain points. It is not a speech only; but I am surprised to hear a sermon from him about nationalism, about integrity, about socialism, about discipline, etc.

He said that he is an Indian first and Mysorean next. Everybody will claim that he is an Indian first and a man from his State next. I would like to remind Shri Hanumanthaiya that considering himself an Indian first, he also led a deputation to the Prime Minister as a Mysorean and urged upon her that the Mahajan Commission's recommendations should be implemented. We have no quarrel with Mysoreans; they are our friends. When we say that disputes should be resolved, we mean they should

be resolved on the basis of some principles.

The House may be knowing that the dispute regarding Belgaum and the adjoining areas was created by the then Chief Minister of Bombay, Shri Morarji Desai, when Bombay State was divided. With some consideration, he handed over Belgaum and the adjoining area to Mysore. Since the last 14 years, the people of Belgaum and adjoining area have been continuously demanding justice and fair deal from the concerned States and the Centre. But they are denied justice. It is said justice delayed is justice denied. Now the patience of the Marathi-speaking people of Belgaum and the adjoining area has come to an end.

The Mahajan Commission was appointed at the instance of Maharashtra; that is the contention of friends from Mysore. Therefore they say, 'Now you must accept the recommendations of the Commission'. But the Prime Minister has recently stated that the reports of Commissions are not sacrosanct; they are open to correction or change.

SHRI G. VISWANATHAN: She has denied it.

SHRI ANANTRAO PATIL: In the case of Chandigarh, the Shah Commission's report has been abandoned and the right solution found. I congratulate the Prime Minister and her colleagues on the bold step she has taken in solving this dispute. The same courage and boldness Maharashtra expects from the Prime Minister and her colleagues in the Cabinet, to do justice to Maharashtra and resolve the border dispute between Maharashtra and Mysore?

We want this dispute to be settled on principles. These are simple principles enunciated in the Pataskar formula. Take the village as the unit. Take the relative majority. Take geographical contiguity and take the wishes of the people, which Shri Hanumanthaiya has already conceded. We are prepared to lose anything, if all these principles are applied. We do not seek an inch of territory belonging to Mysore. We want that territory which belongs to Maharashtra. That is our claim. Belgaum has a predominantly Marathi speaking population, with 47 per cent. Hence it should come to Maharashtra. Division is not going to solve the problem; on the contrary, it will com-

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plicate it. We do not want Karwar City ; if it is predominantly Kannada-speaking, let it go to Mysore. But Belgium should come to Maharashtra, the city as a whole.

In the Mahajan report, even the border which is contiguous Goa which is a Marathi-speaking area has been awarded to Mysore. We are demanding that area on principle. When a Boundary Commission is being appointed to settle the claims of Punjab, Haryana and Himachal Pradesh, why should there not be a Boundary Commission to resolve all disputes, wherever they exist in India, and solve the problems.

I regret very much the remark of Shri Hanumanthaiya—there will be not only regret but there is general resentment in Maharashtra—when he says that Maharashtra will claim the whole India. That means that Maharashtra is expansionist.

SHRI G VISWANATHAN : He must be proud of it.

SHRI ANANTRAO PATIL : I am sorry a leader, elder statesman and a parliamentarian of the stature of Shri Hanumanthaiya should stoop so low and charge Maharashtra like this.

With pride I can say that whenever the country gets into difficulties it is Maharashtra which comes to help the country with its solidarity and strength, whenever this party gets into difficulties it is Maharashtra which comes to the rescue of the party with its strength and solidarity. We do not want to bring any pressure. We agree that Parliament is supreme. We have got faith in the Prime Minister's leadership. She has resolved the dispute regarding Chandigarh between Punjab and Haryana. She should take a bold step and resolve the boundary dispute between Maharashtra and Mysore without delay and without division of Belgaum.

DR. SUSHILA NAYAR (Jhansi) : I wish I could associate myself with the Motion of Thanks moved by my friend Shri Hanumanthaiya from the other side. I am sorry I am unable to do so because I find that there is too much lacking in the President's Address.

It is a matter of deep regret to me that though the President in his Address at the close of Gandhi Centenary paid glowing tri-

butes to Gandhiji, yesterday when he went to the closing function of the exhibition Gandhi Darshan, the President did not say a word either about Mahatma Gandhi or about Kasturba or any of the programmes connected with Mahatma Gandhi in his Address to the two Houses.

The President made an eloquent speech when he inaugurated the International Conference on Prohibition a few weeks ago in New Delhi. He went to the extent of saying that he would introduce prohibition all over in the interests of the workers, industrial as well as others, and he regretted that many States had gone back on the policy of prohibition. Yet, the same President did not say a word regarding prohibition or any other programme connected with Mahatma Gandhi in his Address to the two Houses. Gandhiji had said that if he was made a dictator of India for one hour, his first job would be to close down all liquor shops without paying any compensation to anyone. And yet this Government under the leadership of Mrs. Indira Gandhi, who has the honour to have the name which adorned the Father of the Nation, does not think it necessary that the President should say anything on the subject.

I do not blame the President for not mentioning these very important things because, after all, the President merely reads the Address that is prepared for him by the Government and the fault is entirely that of the Government for these serious omissions. I do not expect Mrs. Gandhi to have done anything else. I find that recently Mrs. Gandhi, while she was having a talk with the representative of a well-known French Magazine, *Elle*, said something which are rather shocking to me. Her words are shocking to me because I had put faith in Mrs. Gandhi where that faith did not really belong, which she did not deserve. She has ridiculed Gandhiji and Gandhiji's ideas in the issue of that magazine dated October 6th, 1969, under the title "The Beloved Dictator". The magazine has called Mrs. Gandhi the beloved dictator.

Mrs. Gandhi is quoted there as having said that Gandhiji was a reactionary and more or less a mad-cap who wanted Indians to live in the villages and travel by bullock carts...(*Interruptions*). It is a French magazine, *Elle*, which published this in its

issue of October 6, 1969, four days after the birthday of Mahatma Gandhi; Mrs. Gandhi says :

"If we decided to follow the line of Mahatma Gandhi..."

SHRI N. K. SANGHI (Jodhpur) : How can such charges, quoting from a foreign magazine, be put in the mouth of the Prime Minister; we cannot take cognisance of a foreign paper; it is absurd.

DR. SUSHILA NAYAR : That magazine published an interview with the Prime Minister and I am quoting the words of the Prime Minister. The Prime Minister is reported to have said :

"If we decide to follow the line of Mahatma Gandhi one has to admit that in that case we would all remain in villages and travel in bullock carts and refuse all the advantages of modern life. If we are ready to accept that it follows that we do not need industries. But if we want trains, cars, planes and all the equipment that we are used to in our daily life, the problem is to know whether we should buy this material or whether we should manufacture them."

Gandhiji has never talked in that manner. All that Gandhiji has said is that machines should serve man and not become the masters of man. May I remind Mrs. Gandhi and her supporters, that at the recent seminar on the relevance of Gandhiji most highly qualified economists and technical people from all over the world, came up clearly with the view that what Gandhiji preached was the need of the world today and that he was fifty or perhaps seventy years ahead of his time, he was not ante-diluvian or a reactionary. I was glad that Mrs. Gandhi got a befitting reply from the President of her Congress, Shri Jagjivan Ram. In the course of his address to the Requisitionists' Congress at Bombay he is reported to have said :

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

What is wrong about it? If Gandhiji said : do not exploit the villagers and the poor people but use the machines in such a way that they provide people with such things that they could not make with their own

hands so that machines do not take away the employment opportunities upon the people, what is wrong about it? How dare Mrs. Gandhi ridicule the Father of the Nation in the Gandhi Centenary year as she has done? Does she only want to take advantage of the name Gandhi? Many people outside think that she is the daughter-in-law of Mahatma Gandhi. Unfortunately, or fortunately, it is not so. Upto this time it is obvious that Mrs. Gandhi has neither bothered to read his writings of Mahatma Gandhi or understand them. She only wants to distort things for her own purpose and talk of socialism with her tongue in the cheek.

SHRI RANDHIR SINGH : What is this? What is she saying about them? It is a very low standard of speech.

DR. SUSHILA NAYAR : Why are they being touchy about it when home truths are being told?

SHRI RANDHIR SINGH : The Prime Minister is the daughter of the great Jawaharlal Nehru and the grand daughter of the great Motilal Nehru.

DR. SUSHILA NAYAR : I congratulate my friend Shri Randhir Singh for his respect for dynesties. I too have great respect for the great Motilal Nehru and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, but that does not mean that the progeny of that family is necessarily going to be as great.

SHRI RANDHIR SINGH : You are not as great as Gandhiji.

DR. SUSHILA NAYAR : I do not claim that. There was a time when I myself supported Mrs. Gandhi and her policies, and I expected her prove that she will be the worthy daughter of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. (*Inter uption*). If her actions have disillusioned me and I hold a different opinion today, I do not see why Shri Randhir Singh should get upset over it. He is welcome to build up that dynasty if he can.

श्री एरणधीर सिंह : यह पांच छः साल गांधीजी की सेक्रेटरी रही हैं क्या इमं मे इन्होंने गांधीवाद का ठेका उठा लिया है :

DR. SUSHILA NAYAR : About all this talk of socialism, as I said, one would like to know how earnest and how serious it is. Sir, Shri Jagjiwan Ram said, "Gandhism is a way of life." I accept it. But may I know if the Ruling Congress accepts that Gandhism is a way of life? To what extent have they adopted it or put it into practice in their own lives? If they did that, I would have no quarrel with them, but they only talk of socialism.

Bank nationalisation : yes ; by all means ; there is no quarrel about it. But what is the result? I was at Ajmer last week and I found a lot of people who were very much disillusioned. A tongawalla went to the State Bank and he took a bag with him. He said, "I have come for money." The State Bank Manager there said, "Well, what have you to offer?" The man said, "Well, what have I to offer? I went for the demonstration to the Prime Minister's house and she told me, "You can go for money to the State Bank." I have come here for money, and I have been standing." When the State Bank man could not give him money, he was very angry and bitter about it. May I say that, after all, the State Bank man has also to save his skin.

SHRI DHIRESWAR KALITA (Gauhati);
What is the name of that State Bank man?

DR. SUSHILA NAYAR : Sir, my time is being taken like this.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Why do you yield? You need not yield.

DR. SUSHILA NAYAR : But please at least prevent these interruptions. Now, they talk of socialism. The State Bank man told me, "Now, if I give him a loan and if it is not recovered, I will be hauled over the coals. If I do not give the loan, I am in difficulties. What have I to do?" It is a very difficult situation for these people who are working in the banks. He said that at least the Government should say that Government will make up 50 per cent of the loss if there are losses, but the Government does not say that.

I also met a representative of the farmers, a big man who has in his own way tried to serve the farmers quite a lot. He said you should be prepared to sink Rs. 500

crores in the rural areas every year. I have no doubt in my mind that the rural areas need money.

But whose 500 crores are to be sunk? If the banks are to sink this money, they do not have the money of rich people alone. They have the deposits of five, ten, hundred and two hundred rupees of the small people also. Surely it is not right for any one to think that this money can be sunk in this manner. Therefore, the bank employees have to see to the safety of this money. If they see to the safety of the money, they become unpopular with the people. It is for the Government to make clear all these implications, so that the people understand what they can get and what they cannot get and the poor bank employees are not put into difficulty.

By all means let privy purses go ; nobody stands for them. Even Mr. Karni Singh said, let them go to hell. But is it not bankruptcy of diplomacy on the part of this Government that they cannot negotiate peacefully with them and come to some kind of arrangement by which these things can be ended? That great man, Sardar Patel, made the princes give up all their powers, pomp and everything. There was a day when Gandhiji went on fast for reforms in that tiny State of Rajkot, and there was a day when the princes surrendered all the power that they had. Surely if this Government shows some courtesy to them, there can be a peaceful solution. But this Government does not know what courtesy is. They only want to show off their power. Every human being has a certain amount of self-respect. People respond to love, courtesy and gentleness ; they do not respond to this kind of dictatorial attitude.

Let them take over general insurance. Let them take over all means of production, but let them run there efficiently. There was a loss of Rs. 58 crores last year and Rs. 38 crores this year in the Hindustan Steel Ltd. Against that, Rs. 4 crores that we pay to the princes, in a year is a small sum. By all means, if they want let them do away with the privy purses, but there should be very clear thinking on the subject. Let us do things in a way that does credit to us and brings prosperity to our people.

There is talk of communal riots, I agree communal riots are a cause of shame to us.

But why should the President mention only Ahmedabad and not mention Jagdalpur, Banaras and other places where communal riots took place and the dangerous lawlessness in West Bengal? Is there a political motive behind it? While mentioning draught, the President has mentioned Kutch and Saurashtra. But they are not the worst affected places. Why did he not mention Banaskantha? Is there any political motive? Even if the Government puts these things into his mouth, the President should be more careful, not to be used as a tool for political manoeuvres of the ruling groups.

Much has been said about these political manoeuvres in U.P. and Bihar. It is something about which we have to be very careful in the interest of democracy. What is the situation today? The situation is that due to political machinations there is a government in U.P. and Bihar which, God alone knows, how long it will last. There is a Government here and God alone knows how long it will last. The President has not said a word about the political instability or the problems in Andhra and other States. Then, what is the position of Harijans in this Gandhi Centenary year? Have the Government done something to remove their suffering? It is not only a question of mere reservation of seats. By all means, let them have it. But what about their socio-economic conditions, their jobs, their services which are more important? There is state persecution of Harijans. Nothing has been said about them.

Look at the position of Bundalkhand, Uttarkhand or eastern districts of Uttar Pradesh. There are in a bad state. The Government of U.P. wants more money. How are they going to get more money? By reimposing the land revenue on an small holdings. By liquor shops and lotteries! The poor people have to be paid a little more because the workers demand it, the peasants demand better prices for their products. But these people have formed a way of getting that money back through liquor shops so that the poor remain poor and their conditions of life never improve. This is how this government is functioning. This is their brand of socialism. Under the circumstances, I am very sorry to say

that the Address of the President is most disappointing, colourless and lifeless.

17.32 hrs.

HALF AN HOUR DISCUSSION

Delhi Police

MR. CHAIRMAN: We will now take up the half an hour discussion. Shri Jyotirmoy Basu.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU: Sir...

श्री मधु लिमये (मुंगेर): एक बेरा व्यवस्था का प्रश्न इस पर है। ग्राज नोटिस बोर्ड पर मैंने देखा कि कोई नया बिल्ट इस के ऊपर किया गया और नये नाम लिए गए। यह बहुत ही गैर-कानूनी काम है।... (व्यवधान) मैं इन का विरोध नहीं कर रहा हूँ। ज्योतिर्मय बसु की आघे घण्टे की जो चर्चा है वह असल में परसों होने वाली थी और जिन दिन आघे घण्टे की चर्चा होती है उस दिन जिन्होंने नाम दिए हैं उन के नाम बिल्ट होते हैं। अब ग्राज मुझे पता ही नहीं चला नया बिल्ट क्यों किया गया। यह जो उस दिन चर्चा नहीं हो पाई उस को मुलतवी रखा गया तो नई चर्चा तो यह नहीं है...

सनापति महोदय: यह दूसरे दिन जो इस पर बहस होने को थी, वह आघा घण्टा चूकि उस रोज दूसरी बीज के लिए दे दिया गया इसलिए इस को ग्राज समय दिया है।

श्री मधु लिमये: नहीं, नहीं, उस को पोस्टपोन करने का तो ग्राज को अधिकार है लेकिन उस के ऊपर नया बिल्ट लेने की क्या जरूरत है? हमारा पता खरामखरह क्यों काट दिया? पुलिस वालों की बात में विद्याचरण जी से ग्राज करना चाहता है।... (व्यवधान)

SHRI M. L. SONDHI (New Delhi): Sir, your interpretation should be liberal.