[श्री रामसेवक यादव]
पे तब क्या उन से नागा विद्रोहियों के पाकिस्तान में जाने प्रोर रेलगा़़ी ल़टने प्रोर इस तरह की कायं ज्राहियों के बारे में कोई बातचीत हुई थी यदि हुई थी तो उस की प्रतिक्रिया क्या थी ? उस प्रतिक्रिया के सम्बनध में में घह जानना बाहूंगा कि क्या प्रधान मंती महोदय इस नतीजें पर पहुंची हैं कि नागा विद्रोहियों से बातथीत हो यकती है भोर देश के संविधान के घन्तरंत (1) इस समस्या का समाधान हो आयेगा ?

थीमती पंविरा गाषी : कोशिण तो उसी की हो रही है ।

भो रामसेबक यावष : भोर जो पहला प्रश्न है ।

भोमती ांविता गांती: मुक्स से कोई बात वहीं हुई 1

बी राभसे बकं।याब्ल: उपाध्यक्ष महोष्य मेरे प्रश्न का उत्तर नहीं भाराया 1 मिने साक़ पूछा था कि प्रषान मंही जी की द्रन बोतों दे बारे में क्या प्रतिक्रिया थी

ज्राः वर्ष महोवय : अवाब दे दिया कबत है। क्री ज्योतिषी।
15.25 hrs.
re. PAPERS LAID ON THE TABLE
Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath (Hoshangabad): There is another ftem held over-item 4 of the Order Paper.

Mr. Depaty-Speaker: I am not coneerned with that item.

Shri Hart Vishma Kamath: We are concerned; the House is concerned;
you may not be concerned. They have to make a statement. Shri Raj Bahadur has to make a statement.... (Interruptions.)

> श्री रामसेवक गवत (बाराबंकी)

इस प्रश्न का उत्तर तो ध्राने दें ।
Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Order, Order.
Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: I am sorry, Sir; it is very unfortunate that you make such a statement. I would request you to refrain in future from making such brusque and brash statements. It was the Speaker who held it over but you said that you are not concerned.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I did not know that. Is Mr. Raj Bahadur making any statement?

The Minister of Information and Broadcasting (Shri Raj Bahadur): I have no statement to make. We have laid some reports of the Chanda committee on the Table of the House. I am told that Mr. Kamath put a question whether we are going to lay more reports. The main report of the committee is expected by the end of March and we shall lay a copy of that report before the House as soon as possible.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: That is what is needed. Nobody said it then. Your Deputy was urable to say so.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Now, Mr. Jyotishi.

### 15.27 hrs.

MOTION ON PRESIDENTTS
ADDRESS-contd.
ची जा० प्र० ज्योfिती (सागर) : उपाप्यक्ष महोदय, मैं फपने मिन्न श्री देशम़स्त वारा प्रस्ठुत किये गये कृतज़ा जापन के प्रस्ताव का समर्षन करते हुए भत्यन्त गोरव का घनुभव करता हूं । महोषय, महार्महिम राष्ट्र-

पति जी ने घपने अभिभाषण के भारम्भ में श्रद्देय पास्ती जी के निघन पर मपना सोक प्रकट किया । निष्चय ही शास्त्री जी इस देश की सामान्य मिट्टी से उठ कर मनुष्यता की हिमालयन ऊंषाई तक उठे। जारीर से वामन हो कर मी वे विराट ये 1 वे ईमानदारी, ोोमलता और सरलता के जीवन्मय प्रतीक - । उन की त्याग बीरता भौर संकटकाल में दर्षाई गई फ़ोलादी दुक़ता भारतीय भ्रजातंब के इतिहास में प्रविस्मरणीय रहेगी ।

महोदय, हूमें बेद है कि शास्त्वी जी का निघन ऐसे समय में हुमा जब कि उन्होंने शान्ति की स्थापना मोर गुदों के बारमे की दिशा में एक नये मंगल पथ के निर्माण का शिलान्यास किया था । तापकंद समक्षीते के इस या उस मुद्दे से हस या उस दल को कम या ज्यावा पसन्तोष हो सकता है। संसार के किस समझीते ते किस देश को कब पूगा संतोष हुमा है ? राजनीति का बेल ही समझ्नोतों का बेल है । राष्ट्रीय स्वाभिमान को मुऱकित रखते हुए जो समझोता हमें एक मुखी घ्रोर मजबूत राष्ट्र के निर्माण की विशा में दो कदम प्रागे बढ़ाये बह् समझ्मोता भादरणीय होता है ।
15.28 hrs.
[Shrimatt Renu Chakravartiy in the Chair]

मह्रोवया, प्रिहास के ऐमे परिबतं नकारी बषों में हृमें भपनी बं यकिकक मान्यतापों घोर ब्रपेक्षापों मे ऊपर उट कर देग्रा के अ्यापक हितों औौर विश $₹$ की स्पितियों पर ध्यान रखने ड़ विजार करना होता है । यदि यहु सक है कि घ्रन्तत: हम सब शान्ति प्रेमी है, हम युदों का बारमा काहते है, हम हर भगड़े को संगीनों की नोकों के जोर पर नहीं बर्ग् विबेकपू ${ }^{-}$ बार्ता द्वारा तय करना चाहते हैं तो निरिचत इप में ता शकंद घोषणा ह्मारे प्रादर्नों की जीत का नया क्रष्याय है। हुम सोवियत इस के अ्रान म्री कोसीगिन के निशिकित हप से प्राभारी है जिन्मोनि एसिया बंड के बो मह्दन् गाष्ट्रों

को इकट्रा कर के एक सुद्क़ भांतिमय विएव के निर्माण की दिशा में एक कदम उठाया है ।

हम जानते हैं कि ताशकंद षोषणा संसार के अंगख़ोर देशों की छाती के लिए एक बहुत बड़ा भाषात है। हम यह् की जानते हैं कि जो जंगब़ोर देश प्रपने शस्वास्त्र बे च कर सरमाया बटारते हैं, बे पाज भी इस बात की कोशिश करेंगे कि हिन्दुम्तान मोर पारिस्तान के बीष में घान्ति न हो। लेकिन हुम जानते हैं कि एक धोर जहां मध्यस्थ गष्ट्र, सस, दे $े ग$ कि उस के थल से उजारा गया जान्ति का दिया बाहरी हृबापों से बुमे नहीं, बहां हूसरी घोर हम यह मी भाशा करते हैं कि पाकिस्तान साव्याज्यकाषी राष्ट्रों के सासे में महीं ध्रायेगा। हमें पाशा है कि पाकिस्तान पब तक के संघर्ष से मबक लेगा। भारन से भगढ़ कर उसमे भपनो जनता को कितना भू ब्रा गखा है। इस से उस के विकास का मार्ग कितना पबरुद हुमा है । प्रब तक के संषषं ने उस को यहु मिम्बला विया होगा कि युख उस के लिए हितकर कहीं होने वाला है। हम सब जानते हैं कि हिम कोनों भाइयों न प्रापस में उलभ कर कितना नुकसान उठाया है। हमें विशवास है कि पर्ब तक पाकिस्तान पह समक्न चुका होगा कि मुफ्त के सम्बाम्बों से ศी धपने पड़ोसी के षर में भ्राग सगाने की कोणिण ब़तरनाक होती है ।

हमें भरोसा है कि प्रस्तुत बालणा ममस्त एकिया बंड को एक्ता की भांग पप्रसर करेगी, जहा़ कही भी टूट है, उसे जांड़ने में बहायक होगी । हम ममस्न मानब जाति की एकता मोग समानता में विल्वाम कर्ता है। मुझे भाष्यं है कि समानता का हुलाई देने बाले कुछ्छ देश भपनी महता स्वार्वपत करने के लिए मात्र भी श्राक्रामक नीनि पपनाये हुए हैं। में याणा कग्ता कें कि नामकंद घोपणा उनों धपनी रोनिन्मीन पर पुर्नविषान कर्ने के लिए बाष्य कगेगा। विएव की रागनीिि
[श्री ज्वा० प्र० ज्योतिषी]
को वह निश्चित रूप से एक नया मोड़ दे कर रहेगी। श्राकाश के तारों का ज्योतिष न जानते हुए भां पृर्थ्वा के ज्योतिप के श्रनुसार मैं यह भविप्यवार्ण कर सकता हुं कि हम इस ताशकंद घोषणा के द्वारा एशिया में एक नये युग का श्रारम्भ देख रहे हैं। मुके निश्चय है कि छस घोषणा के द्वारा दुनिया पान्ति की दिशा में व्रधिक शक्ति के साथ चलने को श्रग्रसर होगी ।

महार्महिम राप्ट्रप्पत जंा ने पाकिस्तानी संघर्ष में पहीद हुए वीरों को श्दांजलि भ्रपित कर्ते हुए उन जांबाज़ बहादुरों की प्रघांसा की, जिन्होंमे श्रपनी वीरता द्वारा देश के गोरवशाली इतिहास में एक नया घध्याय जाड़ा । यह निश्चित है कि राष्ट्रों के भवन की नींव शहीदों की है्डियों पर खड़ी होती है । जो देश श्रवसर भ्राने पर रक्तदान नहीं दे सकते, उन के नाम घतिहास के पृष्ठों से मिट जाया करते हैं। हमें गोरव है हस बात का कि हम उन वर्षों की हवा में सांस ले रहे हैं, जो बलिदान के रक्त-कमल की सहत्नों पंखड़ियों की खुपयू से सुगंधित हो रहे हैं । निश्चय ही हम पान्ति भौर प्रेम के उपासक हैं। लेकिन शान्ति घोर प्रेम की उपासना कायर की उपासना नहीं है। रहस्पवादी मलिक मूह्म्मद जायसी ने छः सात सो बरस पहले कहा था : "धुब तें ऊंब प्रेम धूव ऊमा, सिर देई पांव देई सोई छूवा"। प्रेम का धुव भाकाश के धुव तारे से भी ऊपर उगता हैं। जो लोग सिर काट कर उस पर पेर रब कर अंचे उठते हैं, वही उस धबन्तारे को छू सकते हैं। देश भक्ति श्रोर राष्ट्रोप्पान का धुब-तारा भी उर्नति के भाकाश में उगता है। उसे वही कौमें छू सकती हैं, जो भपने मिर को जमीन में दफ्नाने को तत्पर रहती हैं। हमें इस बात का गौर्व है कि पिकले यद्य में हमारे देश के नौजवानों ने, हमारे देश्र की जनता ने इस ब्वात को सिख कर दिया कि वे रफ़दान में संसार की किसी बौम से वीछे नहीं हैं ।

हमें खुशी है कि इस बात की कि राष्ट्रपषि जी ने गुट-विमुक्त शान्तिपूर्ण सह-प्रस्तित्व की हमारी नीति का पुनरुद्धोष किया है । हम जानते हैं कि दुनिया में-ख्रोर हमारे देश में भी-कुछ लोग हम को इस या उस गुट में आामिल करने के लिए बार-बार क्षटके दिया करते हैं। दुर्पाग्यवश हमारे देश में भी कुछ ऐसे राजनैतिक दल हैं, जो प्रत्यक्ष या प्रच्छम्न रूप से इस या उस गुट के हारी हैं। हेंें हर्ष है छस बात का कि पंडित नेहरू के विशाल दूरदर्शी नेतृत्व में राष्ट्र ने जिस निर्गुटी नीति का पुरश्च्चरण किया, उन के सोम्य सहयोगी शास्ती जी के नेतृत्ब में भो देश उस नीति पर चला घ्रोर श्राज कान्तिर्दाशिनी हन्दिरा जी के नेतृत्व में भी हमारी सरकार उस नीति पर मजबूती तो भड़ी है । यह सच है कि हम हमारे साष्ब ईमानदार मैनी निभाने बाले राष्ट्रों के प्रति सर्बदा भ्राभारा हैं। ऐसे मित्नों के हम सर्वदा के लिए ईमानदार मिन्न हैं। लेकिन यह भी सच है कि हम कभी भी भपनी रीति घ्रोर नीति के निर्धारण में श्रपने बिबेक घौर न्याष की तराजू को फैंक कर कलने को तैयार नहीं हैं । हमारी सरकार इस बात को बार-बार षोषित कर चुकी है कि हम किसो राष्ट्र की पूछ के दुमछल्ले नहीं हैं। हमें इस बात का गोरव है कि हमारी इस नीति कों हमारे मिन्न सोवियत हस, यु गोस्लाविया, रोमानिया, चेकोस्लोबाकिया, य्नाइटिड प्ररब रिषन्सिक, केनेडा, जापान पौर भमरीका औसे महान् देशों ने सराहा है ।

भ्रपने श्रभिभाषण में राष्ट्रृपति जी ने पुतंगाल द्वारा थधिकृत छोटे-छोटे देशों के प्रति सहानुर्भूति प्रकट की प्रोर रोडेषिया की जनता पर कुछ मुट्ठी भर लोगों द्वारा किसे जा रहे भत्पाचारों पर खेद प्रकट किया । हम स्वाधीनता भौर प्रजातंत्न के समर्यक हैं । उहां भी कोई देग दूसरे देश पर हाबी है, हमारी सहानुपूति ह्र जगह बलितों घोर कोषितों के प्रति है। जहा पर भी एक वेष्ब.

दूसरे देश का घोषण करता है, एक देश भपनी रियाया को पंरों तले रोंदता है, वहां हमारी बहानूमूति भोर हमदर्दी उन घोषितों भौर बदर्चलितों के साथ है ।

हमागे नेता ने हमें सिख्बाया है कि हमारी जाजादी विश्व की भाजादी का एक भंग माब है। जब तक सम्पूर्ण विष्व भाजाब नहीं होना हैं, हम प्रपनी भ्राजादी को पषूरा जमझते हैं। छमारे नेता ने हमें सिखाया हैं कि बारा संसार एक है भौर उस संसार के प्रति हम ने एकता का भाब स्पापित करना है । हमारो भाजादों सारे संसार की भाज़ादी से बम्बद है। जब तक हम सारे संसार को भाज्ञाद कराने में सफल नहीं होते हैं, तब तक हमारी भाजादी मधरी हैं।

हमें हुषं है कि राष्प्रपति जी ने वक्षिण भफीका में बर्णंभद के विक्य बल रहे संघष्ष के प्रति भ्रपनी सहानुर्भूति प्रफट की। हम स्वयं धपने देश में माषा, जाति, बरां मोर धर्म के भेदों को गहरा दफ़्ला कर समननता की एक उन्न समर्भूम के निर्माण में जूटे हैं। वैषक्तिक विकास की परिपूर्ण स्वार्षानता के हामी होते हुए भो हम किसी व्यक्ति, दल पषषा उमाज द्वारा मन्पाय ख्पक्तियों, वलों भथवा उभाजों के सोषण के कहृर विरोधी हैं । हमारा पूर्ण समर्षन है उन के लिए, जो पाजारारा, आन्ब की एकता भोर समानता के लिए संख्ष कर रहे हैं। हम उन सब के भाई हैं, यो र्वलित हैं, लोषित हैं, पदर्मदित हैं। उन का संषर्ष हमारा संषर्ष है ।

हमें दुब्ब है कि पाकिस्नानी संघं के समय पेट किटेन ने ईमानदारां के साय हमारे म्वाबपूर्ण मुद़ों पर है को महयोग मोर उपर्षन नहीं दिया। कामनबेल्य का मीजिया जोर प्रजतांब का समर्षक होने के भाते इस उस्ष ते वह्द घयेषा करते से कि वहु


उस ने ऐसा नही किया। न्याय हमारे पक में होते हुए मी उस ने काप्मोर के मुदे को उसमाया । यही नहीं, ब़बर है कि बीनी संघषं के वक्त भी उस ने चीन को गम्त्वास्त्र बेच कर संषष्ष की भाग में छंधन गता । हमारे देश का उनता का दस बा गहरा सदमा है। हमें यह जान कर पोर भां बेद हुमा कि उस ने प्रजातंत्र के समर्षक, हमारे सायी, भमरीका को भी हम से पृथक हटाने की कोणिया की भोर उसे गुमराह किया । पाजादावे के संघर्ष के बिनों में हमारे महान् नेता, राप्ट्रपिता गांधीजो, ने हमें संषषं करते हुए पपने बिरोधी से मी प्रेम रबने का पाठ पक़ाया बा । फलतः संघर्ष के बिनों में इंग्लंड भौर हमारे बोष कटुता नहीं बढ़ने पाई धी। हमें बेद है कि पिछले दो संषषों के वोग़न किरेटन छारा प्रपनाई गई नीति ने हमारे प्रोर उस के बीच की मिठास को कम किया है । हू काहेंगे कि बिटेन बदलते हुए ज्रमाने के तेबर? समझे मोर हमारे न्यायोषित मुद़ों कां समर्षन दे। बह यहु बाता महदूस करे कि. भागर उस है भारतवर्षं के साष मिबता कायम रबर्गी है, तो उस को ईमानदारी के साथ हमारे ईमानदार मुद्धों पर भारतबष्ष का माष देना पड़ेगा।

हमें बेद है कि पाकिस्तान हारा किंये गयंय भाकमण का भुकाबता करने के लिए हमें घ्रपनी परिकाए उत्वादन-णाक्ति उम दिशा में लगा देनी पड़ी बी मोर हरलिए तथा कर्षा की कमी के कारण हमारे रार्प्र्दाय उत्पाबन में हस बरं काफी कमी भाई है। उपमोग्य पदायों की कमी के कारण मूल्यों में भी वृधि हुई है पोर पनेक प्रकार के भाकस्मिक बोसों के बारण थारिक उमझनें मी हमागे कामने बती़ हुं हैं। लेकित्न यह निज्बित है कि जिस प्रकार हमारे बीरों ने मोंन पर जवृषल का बहादुती मे सामना किया, उसी. प्रफारार हमारी जनता हर दिकमतों का भी बीरता से सायना कर के उन पर किस्य श्राप्त करेनी.।
[श्री जवा० प्र० ज्योतिषी]
"भारतवासी बचत करो, मां की झोली धन से भरो", हमारा भाज का नारा है। पह सच है कि कुछ विदेशी सरकारें हमें भपने इस घ्रर्थ-संकट में सहयोग देना चाहु रही हैं। वे हमें घ्रश्न श्रोर श्रस्नोत्पादन की वृद्धि के श्रन्यान्य उपकरण देने को तैयार हैं। हम उन सब के भाभारी हैं। समस्त विश्व में एकता प्रौर भाई-चरा कायम करने के लिए छस तरह का सहयोग ग्रावश्यक भी है श्रोर वांछनीय भी। लेकिन हमें स्मरण रखना चाहिये कि बाहरी सहायता का कम से कम उपयोग करें। विदेशी सहायता का हर कदम हमारे स्वावलम्बन के भाव को कम करता है पोर देश में मुद्रा स्फीति की स्थिति भी पेदा करता है । हम घ्रंदस्नी मानोपोलिस्ट प्रवृत्तियों के खिलाफ बहुत कुछ चीखते श्रोर भिल्लाते ग्हते हैं । हमें देख्बना होगा ग्रोर हमें ध्यान रखना होगा कि बाहरी मानोपोलिस्ट इस देश में नये घोंसले तैयार न करने पावें। भपनी ग्रोद्योगिक घ्रोर श्रर्य निति को हमं एक बार फिर तोखी नज़र से देखना होगा। यह् निशिचत है कि धन का कंसैंट्रेशन या तो कुछ बहुत सक्त मुट्ठियों में हीं र्हा है जिन से देग के उत्पादन में वृद्धि को बल नहीं मिल र्हा है या फिर कुछ राशि एसे हाधों में पहुंच रही है जो उपभोग में ही उसे ख्रर्च कर रहे हैं । मैं महसूस करता हूं कि जासन जिस गाड़ी पर सवार है, वह उसे श्रपेक्षित तेज़ी से विकास के पथ पर ले जाने में सहायक नहीं हो रही है । में भनुभव करता हूं कि कुछ भुज बहुत 謸से हैं। कुछ कमजोर घातु के बने हैं। कुछ जलरत से ज्यादा घ्राबाज़ कर रहे हैं । कुछ ज्यादा प्रीज खा रहे हैं । कुछ पहिये, मै महसूस करता हूं विरोधी दिशाक्रों में भुक रहे हैं या बेकार सिर हिला रहे हैं । पद्रोल का कंजम्पशन मी हमारी छस गाड़ी के लिए भ्षिक है, वह ज्पादा पट्रोल खा रही है। सरकार को निशिषत रूप से इस दोर पषिक ध्यान देना होगा। सरकार को इस बात को बेबना होगा मौर सष्टी से

इस पर भमल करना होगा कि जह्रत तो एक वंसा भी प्रधिक खर्च न हो, एक पैसा भी बरबाद न हो। हस घीज को में बहुत जहरी समझ्षता हूं कि शासन के कर्मचारियों को घासन की नीति पर ईमानदारी के साथ श्रमल करने के लिए मजबूर किया जाय । यदि हम प्रजातंत्न को सफल बनाना चाहते हैं तो हमें देखना होगा कि हर लेवल पर निर्धारित नीतियों पर ईमानदारी श्रोर मजबृती के साथ अ्रमल हों।

राष्ट्रपति जी ने केरल का जिक करते हुए देश की खाद्याष्न समस्या पर चिंता प्रकट की है। हम इस बात को स्वीकार करते हैं कि सरकार का उत्तरदायित्व है कि वह देखे कि एक भी ग्रादमी भूखा न रहे । सरकार श्रपनो इस जिग्मेत्रारो से कभी भो दूँ नहीं हुट सकती है । हैमें इस बात की पारं भाती है कि श्रटारह वर्ष के बाद भी हम देश को स्वाद्याम्र के मामले में श्रारमनिमर नहीं बना सके हैं। लेकिन यह निश्चित सन्य है कि पूर्ण जन सह्योग के बगैर कोई भी सरकार कोई भी बड़ी ची़्र प्राप्त नहीं कर सकती है। यगों मे चन्नी क्राई हमारी भवैजनिककृषि पद्रनि, कृष्क को जिदगी में धंमी भीषण गरीवरा, प्रवृनि की मल्हड़ता प्रोर जोरों से बढ़ती श्राबादी को देख्ष देश को खाब्याष्न की दष्टि मे परिपूर्ण बना देना सरल काम नहीं है। वावामाष्र का प्रश्न किसी दल भ्रथवा वर्ग का प्रश्न नहीं है। यह राष्ट्रष्यापी सवाल है भौर एक युत्द जैसा यह सवाल है घ्रोर इस को सम्पूर्ण देश के लोगों को श्रपने समस्त मतभेदों कों मृला कर, मिल जुल कर हल करना पड़ेगा ।

मैं छस मुद्दे पर स्पष्टतया कहना बाहूंगा कि दुर्माप्ययश डस समस्पा को हल करने में बेश घारम्भ से ही सम्मिलित सूप से विषार कर के निर्धारित किये गए निस्षयों पर मुस्सीदी से पमस नहीं कर रहा है। एक

पोर शासन ने लैं सीलिग का फेसला किया। सीलिग के परिरिक्त जभीन भूमिहीनों में वितरित करने की घोषणा की । लेकिन जमींदारों के कब्ते से निकल कर सरपलस जमीन गरीब के पान्त न पहुंज सकी । कागज पर सीलिग हो गपा। नेकिन कहीं मेकेनाइज्ड फार्म के नाम पर तो कहीं बनावटी सह्कारी बेती के नाम पर शक्तिशाली जनींग़र की जमीन उसके कण्जे में बनी रही। मिं चाहंगा कि इस का तलमीना हमारे सामने क्रना चरहिये कि जब से सरकार ने सीलिग का फैसला किया है, तन से ले कर भ्रब तक किननी भूमि जमींदार के कञ्रे से निकल कर गरोब किसान के पास, भूमिहीन के पास पहृंची है। में तो यह समभता हूं कि पासन को यह देखना चाहिये कि उसकी जो नीति इस सम्बन्ध में रही है वह ठीक तोर से कार्यान्वित हो पाई है या नहीं हो पाई है।

कुवि के मुधार के लिय बड़ी, म्ोटी भोए मम्रली सिचाई योजनाग्रों को कार्यान्वित्त किया गया । इरिंगेन पोटे िियल तैयार हुप्रा लेकित कहीं fिचिन क्षेत्र में मनांकाप का उलादन गृरू हो गया पोर कहों सिजाई के दामों को चृकाने की उलमन बड़ी कर के इरिंगेगन पाटेंशियल का पूरा उपयोग नहीं किया गया। फारेन एकमषेज की प्राजि के fिए जक्रर को कैष्ट्रियां बही की गईं। उन के लिए गष्षा सेयार हांने लगा । कहीं तम्बाक प्रोर मूंगफली मी हांने लगो। लेकिन मश्र के उत्पाबन को बताने के लिए भए इरीमेपन पोटेंशियन का कदाचित ही उपयोग किया गया । कुछ ईमानदारी से पन्न वंक्ष करसे बाले हलाकों में बा तो सिचाई की योजनार्मों को हाप में ही नहीं लिया गया भषवा उना की प्रगति ीौटी की रफ्तार तक ही सीमित रहां। मेरे क्षेत्र में बीना भीर बारना प्रार्येट की वही हालत हुई । कुछ पफसर नियुक्त हो गए, कागडी काम धधिक वृषा घोर ब्मीन पर कम

हुप्रा 1 छ: छ: बर्ष बीत जाने पर मी कोई प्रगति नहीं हुई । बीना प्रत्बेष्ट की चर्था तो संस के पागे बजने वाली बीन की पावाज की तर्ह रही । नो वर्ष में भी शासन के करा मुहरों तक उसकी गुहार ₹ पहुंची । घासन के कानों पर जूं तक न रेंीी । उस दिशा में क्या कदम उठाये गये, यह विचारणीय हैं ।

होगंगाबाद जिले को सरसम्ब करसे वाला तथा प्राज्जैट कीड़े की रफ्तार से कल रहा है प्रोर नरसिहपुर तथा जबसपुर को सरसबत बना कर धन धान्य से मरपूर बनाने बाले नर्मदा प्राजेक्ट की मुर्गी तो भमी भंडा ही दे रही है। में समक्षता हैं कि बार फुटिटग पर हन प्रश्नों को तय किया जाना चाहिये था । भूष्र की समस्पा को मुलसाने के लिए वहृ बहुत जल्टी है । हमने देबा है कि हमारे इंगीनियरों ने प्राजैक्टों के नाम पर घासन के धन का पूरा पूरा सदुपयोग नहीं किया है फ्रोर कागडी घोड़े ही ज्वादा दोड़ायें हैं।

बम्बल के बीहड़ों कां रिक्लेम करने की योजना पर ध्रगर शामन रुपया बर्ब करन्ना तो उमे में बहुत्र मृफीट ममझता । विंदेगो मे भम्र मंगाने पर जो बवं होता है वह भी कम होता प्रोर जिन के पास भूमि नही़ी है उन को मी भमि मिल जाती। मैं बाहतना हूं कि हम घ्रपने हन बहहड़ों पर रुपा पर्वं करक्रे हन को नोक़ष प्रोर नई जर्मीन तंपार कर के उस में भ्रश्र वैदा करने की कोशिश करें। है हस को उचित समझना हां कि जमीन के एक एक इप्ये में क्षेती की जाय। एक एक षप्या उमीन ओो है उस को घह़ा एक हालने या पन्बह दिन के भम्द्र गरीबों के बीच में बांट देना बाहिये था पौर उनहें सहुलियत वी जानी चाहिये बी, उन की सहायता की जानी बाहिये बी वाकि वे उस ज्रीन में भा कैषा कर सकते । इस से धाप की बो था की बमस्या वी उस को इए करो में मरल्य मिल धकती ब। ।
[श्री ज्वा० प्र० ज्योतिषी]
मैं यह भी चाहता हूं कि श्राज जो गाय का गोबर जला दिया जाता है, उस को जलने से बचाया जाए। हमारे देश में कोयले की छफरात है। में चाहता हूं कि जहां जहां भी रेलवे ट्रिक हैं, जहां जहां भी रेलवे स्टेश्रन हैं वहां वहां पर शासन हिपू खोले भ्रौर किसानों को सस्ते दामों पर कोयला देने का प्रबन्ध करे लाकि बे धपनी रोटी उस पर पका कर गोबर को बचा सकें, प्रोर वे ख्बाद की जगह मोबर इस्तेमाल कर सकें ।

सरकार ने जो प्रोक्योरमेंट की पालिसी बनाई है, जो जोन्ज़ की पालिसी बनाई है, उस पर मैं विस्तृत रूप से चर्च करना चाहता बा । मैं महसूस करता हूं कि देशा में भह्र का घभाव है भोर इसलिए यह जलूरी हो यवा है कि हमारे देश में कहीं भी यह हालत बैदा न हो जोकि बिटिश गवर्नमेंट के जामाने में इस देश में ठुई थी घ्योर कलकत्ता जंसे नगर में भक्न के घ्रभाव के कारण हजारों भादमी भूखों मर गए थे । में चाहता हू कि बासन हस स्थिति से देश को बशाये। गासन को मअसर हों कर बार बार क्यापारी बर्ग को यह कहना पड़ा है कि सस्से दामों पर गल्ला लोगों को वे दें । चूंकि घह की कमी है इस वास्ते शासन को मजदूर हो कर जोन बनाने की नीति घ्रसत्यार करनी पड़ी है प्रोर साप ही साथ प्रोक्योरमेंट की नोति को घषत्यार करना पड़ा है। मुषे इस बात का दुख है कि कुछ लोग, कुछ पूंजीपति लोग मिल कर के देश को बरगला रहे है हैर कुछ किसान मी हैं जो इसी रास्ते पर बसने लग कए हैं घोर बे यह महसूस करने लग गए हैं कि उन से उन का गल्ला छीना जता है । हैं इसको बहुत भावस्पक समझता हूं कि किसान को उसके उत्पावन का उषित मूल्य किया जाए। लेकिन हस बात को मी मैं बहुत . जहरी समझता हूं कि इस देश के गरीब घादमी को ख्बाने के लिए भावस्यक माना में उशित मूल्य पर भक्ष उपलह्ष किजा जाए।

जमाखोरी की जो प्रवृत्ति पाई जाती है, जो पैसे वाले हैं, जो साधन सम्पष्म हैं वे प्रोर जो पैसा पैदा करना चाहते हैं इसको ले उन पर भ्रंकुष लगाना चर्हाहिं । घ्राज किसान की मी ऐसी ही मनोवृसि बनती है। वह भी वही चाहता है जो बाकी चाहते हैं । मैं कहांगा कि किसान छस त्षरह की बात से दूर रहें। जो गरीब हैं वे यह समहते हैं कि उन को देश के लिए श्रम करमा है घोर वे शान्तभाव भी रखते हैं। इसी में उन का कल्याण है । जो हो, मैं समझता हूं कि सर्कार ने जां जोनल सिस्टम बनाया है, वर्तमान हालत में मैं उस का हामी हूं । में महसूस कर्ता हूं कि हस को शोक से नहीं किया गया है, मगर मजब्री में इस को घ्रख्यत्यार किया गया है ।

ड्न शघ्दों के साथ यूग ॠषि महाममहिम राष्ट्रपति जी ने जो भमिभाषण दिया है उस का मैं स्वागत करता हूं भोर ध्रस्थवाद का जो प्रस्ताव पेश हुमा है, उस का में समर्षन करता हं ।

Mr. Chairman: 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 14th February, 1968'."

I will now ask hon. Members to move their substitute motions, amendments.

Shri Ranga (Chittoor): I propose to move my amendments Nos. 1 and 12.

[^0]1325 President's PHALGUNA 2, 1887 (SAKAQ Address (Motion) ${ }^{1} 326$.

Shri Sivamurthi Swamy (Koppal): 1 propose to move my amendments Nos. 3, 4, 54 and 55.

Mr. Chairman: Shri H. N. Mukerjee, Shri Daji, Shri Ranen Sen, Shri Warior-absent. I think I have to move them myself! Nos. 5,6 and 7.
Shri Khadilkar (Khed): Is it permissible for the Chair to move amendments?

Mr. Chairman: No, no; the Chair is not moving.

Shri Ranga: Then what happens to your amendments?

Mr. Chairman: They fall. There is nobody to move them.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath (Hoshangabad): That is a misfortune. You can move them tomorrow.

Dr. L. M. Singhvi (Jodhpur): I propese to move my amendments 13 to 32, both inclusive.

Shri Pottekkatt (Tellicherry): I propose to move my amendments 35 and 36.

Shri Madhu Limaye (Monghyr): I would move my amendment No. 37.

Shri Mesoharan (Madras South): I propose to move my amendments Nos. 38, 38, 40, 41.
Shri Keshi Ram Gupta (Alwar): I move my amendment No. 42.

Shri Ram Sewak Yadav (Bara Banki): I propose to move my amendments Nos. 43 to 49.

Shri Bade (Khargone): I wanted to move my amendment No. 51.

Dr. M. S. Aney (Nagpur): I want to move my amendment No. 52.

Shri tiari Vimhna Kamath: Madam, While commiserating with you on your inability to move your own amendments, I want to move my sensiment No. 88.

Mr. Chalrman: Thank you very much.

Shri Dinen Bhattacharya (Serampore): I propose to move my amendments Nos. 59, 60, 61.

Shri Mohammed Koya (Kozhikode): Madam, I was in a committee. I may be allowed to move my amendments. Nos. 9 and 10.

Shri Ranga: I beg to move:
(i) That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not give any indication of an intention immediately to end the state of Emergency declared by the President and to restore the normal functioning of full democratic liberties in the country" (1).
(ii) That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

## "but regret that-

(a) the Address fails to suggest a complete reorientation of the Government's policies to deal with the serious economic situation and the distreas caused by its faulty food policies and concrete measures to put agriculture on its feet so as to end the present over-dependence on imported foodgrains, such 8s,-
(i) abolishing of zonal and local restrictions on the sale and movement of foodgrains. gur, groundnut and all edible oils and the re-eata. blishment of a common market throughout India;
(ii) giving the highest priority in all plans and allocations for water, credit, roads and providing incentives and. facilitie to farmerg through

## [Shri Ranga]

the availability of implements, diesel and kerosene oll at reasonable prices;
(iii) putting an end to compulsory procurement and accepting the right of the farmer to sell his grain in the free market without any maximum price being imposed;
(iv) working out a price support policy under which the Government would alongside of the traders, be an unlimited buyer of foodgrains from producers at re_ munerative prices to be determined according to clearly stated principles enun-. ciated by an Agricultural Price Commission functioning as an independent statutory body; and
(v) as a temporary measure, until production catches up with demand supplying the poorer sections of the population with subsidised foodgrains purchased by the Government from the larger farmers at remunerative prices;
(b) the Address fails to admit the Union Government's responsibility for the current debacle in the provision of adequate food supplies to the people of Kerala and to mention the existence of scarcity conditions in Orissa;
(c) the Address does not show any recognition of the fact that the defence of South Vietnam and of Malaysia against aggression is in India's vital national interests nor any readiness to take the initiative in building up a system of regional ocoperation and security
among the countries that lie between India, Japan and Australia to meet the threat of Chinese Communist expansionism; and
(d) the Address does not indicate any readiness to follow up the implementation of the Tashkent Agreement by building an economic basis for Ifriendship between India and Pakistan by the abolition of tariffs and duties on goods crassing the frontier between the two countries and by setting up a Joint Committee to consider ways and means by which economic and other forms of cooperation between the two countries may be furthered to the mutual benefit of both". (12).

Shri Sivamurthi Swamy: I beg to move:
(i) That at the end of the motion; the following be added, namely:-
"but regret that in the Address no direction has been given to the Government to-
(a) make the country self-suffcient and a welfare State by reserving at least 51 per cent. of its budget for nation building activities instead of only 19 per cent.;
", provide at least 51 per cent. of its yearly budget for food and agriculture; and
(c) increase the expenditure on productive purposes rather than on non-productive purposes". (3).
(ii) That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-
"but regret that the Address has failed to call upon all Members of Parliament to rise above narrow party feelings to solve the difincult
problems of the nation as a whole by becoming: -
(a) responsible to the general voters or the people of their respective constituencies which they represent in Parliament; and
(b) united with other political and non-political parties to make the Government really a national one which could save the nation from poverty and outside aggression." (4).
(iii) That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-
"but regret that the Address has not mentioned anything about inter-state water disputes and the ${ }^{-}$ appointment of a tribunal under the Inter-State Water Disputes Act, 1956 before the beginning of the Fourth Five Year Plan." (54).
(iv) That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-
"but regret the failure to draw up a master plan to irrigate the famine stricken areas in the country by launching upon small or big projects during the Fourth Five Year Plan". (55).

Dr. L. M. Singhvi: I beg to move:
(i) That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-
"but regret that the Address containg nelther an analysis nor an appreciation of the tasks facing the nation." (13).
(ii) That at the ond of the motion, the following be added, namely:-
"but regret that the Addreas does not refer to the political, legal and strategic implications of the withdrawal of Indian armed personnel from certain Indian terrtories." (14).
(iii) That at the end of the motions the following be added, namely:-
"but regret that the withdrawal of India from Indian territory is an act of cession which the Constitution does not countenance without an amendment of the Constitution itself." (15).
(iv) That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-
"but regret that the Addresa fails to apprise the Parliament and the nation of the deterioration in the economic situation and the virtual stagnation brought about by slogan-mongering." (16).
(v) That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-
"but regret that that the Address does not disclose the low ebb at which the public sector is functioning and fails to give an indication of how the Government propose to improve their working." (17).
(vi) That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-
"but regret that the Address contains no reference to the plan of the Government to bring about extensive and radical administrative reforms to lift the country from stagnation and cynicism." (18).
(vii) That at the end of the motion. the following be added, namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not contain a blueprint for streamlining agricultural production and for providing substantial incentives." (19).
(viii) That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not deal with the gigantic proportions of the runaway inflation with which the country is anficted.' (20)
(ix) That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

> Wut regret that the Addres does not contain eny reference to
[Dr. L. M. Singhvi]
the need for administrative reforms and for eradication of corruption in administration." (21).
(x) That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not concern itself with the sharp decline in the growth rate of our economy." (22).
(xi) That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-
"but regret that the Address contains no assurance of emanclpating planning from orthodox ideological and dogmatic considerations." (23).
(xii) That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-
"but regret that the Address contains no assurance of reorienting our educational system to subserve more adequately the needs of the nation." (24).
(xiii) That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-
"but regret that the Addreas does not contain an assurance recarding the establishment of a Desert Development Authority." (25).
(xiv) That at the end of the motion, the following be added namely:-
"But regret that the Addreas does not spell out the Government's policy regarding the establishment of an Ombudsman-type institution in India." (28).
(xv) That at the end of the motion, the following be added namely:-
"but regret that the Addrees does not contain any reference to the lifting of energency which seems to have no ground for its continuance." (27).
(xvi) That at the end of the motion the following be added namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not include any statement of policy regarding dearness allownces and particularly regarding adequate dearness allowances for lower, middle and upper middle classes of employees." (28).
(xvii) That at the end of the motion, the following be added namely: -
"but regret that the Address does not contain an assessment of the magnitude of the Chinese threat." (29).
. (xviii) That at the end of the motion the following be added, name $\mathrm{ly}:-$
"but regret that the Address does not spell out the Government's stand on manufacture of nuclear weapons in view of the failure to check proliferation and particularly in view of the fact that Pakistan and China are making great strides in the field." (30).
(xix) That at the end of the motion the following be added namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not refer to increasing unemployment and under-employment in the country." (31).
(xx) That at the end of the motion, the following be added namely: -
"but regret that the Address does not contain any reference to the grave foreign exchange crises confronting the country and the increasing idleness in installed capacity." (32).

Shri Pottekkatt: I beg to move:
(i) That at the end of the motion, the following be added namely: -

[^1]suitable and immediate stepa to meet the alarming food situation in Kerala State." (35).
(ii) That at the end of the motion, the following be added namely:-
"but regret that no steps have been taken against the Police excesses that have taken place in various parts of Kerala State during the recent food agitation." (36).

Shri Madhu Limaye: I beg to move:
That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-
"but regret that mention has not been made in the Address of the following:
(a) free and adequate supply of water to poor farmers for irrigation purpoeser;
(b) suggestion to State Governments to abolish land revenue in respect of unremunerative farming;
(c) policy to bring about a balance between the prices of finished products, cashcrops and the prices of foodgrains;
(d) ban on giving licences to close relatives of Ministera and Secretaries in order to wipe out corruption, acceptance of jobs in private companies by Government offlcials and the appointment of Judges to other posts;
(c) ending the state of Emergency and releasing all detenus held under D.I.R.;
(f) provision for immediate elections in Orissa; and Kerala: and
(g) intention to fulfil the promise, in regard to Haji Pir, Tithwal, Kargll, UriPoonch." (37).

Shri Manoharan: I beg to move:
(i) 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 desirability of ending the state of Emergency and the DIR to create a healthy atmosphere for proper functioning of democracy in the country." (38).
(ii) That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-
"but regret that in the Addreas no mention has been made of the failure of the Government to tackle the food situation especially in Kerala." (38).
(iii) That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-
"but regret that in the Addrese no mention has been made of the failure of the Government in not implementing in statutory form Pandit Nehru's assurance to the non-Hindi speaking people and not according equal status to all the national languages of the country." (40).
(iv) 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 to eliminate corruption and to control rising prices." (41).

Shri Kashi Ram Gupta: 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-
(a) scarcity of food materials in several parts of the countery resulting in famine conditions, violence and lawlemBens;
[Shri Kashi Ram Gupta.]
(b) any scheme of the Government of India to take immediate steps to provide famine relief in such parts of the country which have really been hard hit on account of failure of Kharif crop;
(ع) soaring prices of essential commodities and absence of any scheme of Government to compensate proportionately in the shape of D.A. to Government employees;
(d) growing corruption in every walk of life particularly in the fair and equitable distribution of daily necessities to common folk;
(e) continuance of zonal restrictions in the movement of food grains which is a challenge to national integrity;
(f) appointment of a large number of Cabinet, State and Deputy Ministers from amongst the members of Rajya Sabha which is an open challenge to cardinal principles of democratic set up in the country based on adult franchise;
(g) failure to implement the mandatory provision of Constitution regarding free education to the children up to the age limit as prescribed; and
(h) lack of proper measures in tackling the problems of weaker sections of the population including Scheduled Castes. Scheduled Tribes, Adivasis and hill are people." (42).

Shri Ram Sewak Yadav: I beg to move:
(i) That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-
"but regret that there is no men-
tion in the Address of increaning
disparity and poverty and any programme to bring about equality and eradication of poverty among people." (43).
(ii) That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-
"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the everincreasing dearness and critical situation arising therefrom and any proposal or programme to counter it" (44).
(iii) That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-
"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of increasing law lessness, corruption, favouritism, bribery and any proposal to eradicate the same." (45).
(iv) 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 D.I.R., and steps to abrogate it." (46).
(v) That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-
"but regret that the Government had gone back on the assurance given by the late Prime Minister to Lok Sabha and the country regarding not withdrawing from Haji-Peer, Kargil, Uri and Poonch in any circumstances and has failed to establish lasting peace between India and Pakistan, by the formation of Indo-Pak confederation or the merger of the two countries." (47).
(vi) 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 replace English by Indian languages according to the provisions of the Constitution." (48).
(vii) 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 stop dispensation of education in two different ways-viz. through public schools and ordinary schools resulting in the failure to bring uniformity in education of all citi-zens in the country." (49).

Shri Ramchandra Vithal Bade: I beg to move:

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-
"but regret-
(a) that in the Address there is no concrete programme chalked out as to ways and means of making country strong and vigilant against the Chinese menace;
(b) that the Address fails to mention the solemn pledge taken by Parliament to drive out the Chinese aggrestion from our sacred soll;
(c) that in the Address no mention has been made of the economic crisis due to the shortage of foreign exchange;
(d) that the Address fails to mention the anti-national activities carried by hortile Nagas and the failure of the peace mission to establish law and order in Nagaland;
(e) that the Address has not laid sufficient stress on the failure of Government to supply sufficient foodgrain in famine stricken areas such as Kerala, Madhya Pradech, Rajasthan, Gujarat etc.;
(f) that in the Address no reference has been made about the manufacture of atonic bomb especially when China has already prepared the same:
(g) that the Address fails to mention the deplorable condition of refugees in Jammu \& Dandakaranya;
(h) that the Address has made no declaration that compulsory military training will be given in all Higher Secondary Schools and Colleges and to all young men, women above the age of elghteen;
(i) that in the Address no reference has been made about the failure of Government to bring self-sufficiency in foodgrain;
(j) no reference has been made in the Address regarding the failure of Government to supply adequate quantity of fertilisers and seeds and pesticides;
$(k)$ in the Address no mention has been made about the failure of Government to give cultivable waste land in Tribal areas to Adivasis and monetary aid and implements to grow more food;
(1) the Address fails to mention the failure of the Government to take effective steps to remove indebtedness and illiteracy among agriculturists in rribal areas and to give more aid to the States which are thickly populated by Adivasis;
( $m$ ) that the Address has not mentioned the increase in prices and consequently the price index and thus steps to increase the salary of the Government employees;
( $n$ ) that the Address has not mentioned as to how the gap between lowest and hichest income $b_{e}$ brought down so that it may not be more than in the ratio of 1 to 10 : and
(o) that in the Address while mentioning the Tashkent
[Shri Ram Chandra Vithal Bade.]
Agreement it has not been mentioned that the Government has miserably failed in diplomacy and ceded that portion of Kashmir which legitimately belonged to India and which was conquered by our brave Jawana and thus by agreeing to withdraw our forces from Haji Pir pass, Tithwal and Kargil without taking guarantee from Pakistan not ro send inflitrators in future and to call back the infiltrators already sent, the Government has failed to keep up solemn assurances given to Parliament and people." (51).

Dr. M. S. Aney: I beg to move:
That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not refer to the discontent prevalling in certain States like Punjab, Himachal Pradesh, Vidarbha for a reconsideration of the present existance of the State of Punjab into two or three States based on linguistic. cultural, economic or other considerations as well as the position of States like Hariana in Punjab or Vidarbha in Maharashtra for separation from the existing Punjab State or Maharashtra State etc.; and has taken no notice of the Consultative Parliamentary Committee and the Cabinet Committee appointed by the Government of India to consider the demand of Punjabi Suba made by a certain section of the people of the Punjab." (52).

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: I beg to move:

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-
"but regret-
(a) that there is no clear mention in the Address of the
measures and steps, such as reduction in income disparities and provision of social security, to be taken to further the nationally accepted goal of a democratic socialist society;
(b) the failure to check the spiralling arise in prices of essential commodities of every day use;
(c) the failure to ensure the equitable distribution of foodgrains at controlled prices;
(d) the failure to revoke the Proclamation of Emergency and thus restore fundemental freedoms to our people; and
(e) that the Address make no mention of steps to mitigate the hardship caused to large masses of our people by growing unemployment and continuing retrenchment." (53).

Shri Dinen Bhatucharya: I beg to move:
(i) That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not contain any indication about the intention of the Government to immediately revoke emergency and release all political detenus." (59).
(ii) That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not mention that India will extend the Tashkent spirit to settle peacefully all border disputes with all neighbouring coumtries including China." (60).
(iii) That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely: -
"but regret that the Address does not mention the gravity of the most alarming food situation prevailing in the country due to the wrong policy pursued by the Government." (61).

Shri Mohammed Koya: I beg to move:
(i) That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-
"but regret that the Address has not taken adequate notice of the grave food situation in Kerala nor does it contain any adequate measures to relieve the situation." (9).
(ii) That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not mention at all the police repression and indiscriminate arrests that are taking place in Kerala at present." (10).

Mr. Chairman: These amendments are before the House.

Shri N. Dandeker (Gonda): Madam Chairman, I have great pleasure to support the amendments that have been tabled to the President's Address by my leader, Professor Ranga. The President's Address is usually good in epote, but on this oocasion there is only one spot that seems to be good, and that is the only one on which, as far as I could make out, the Mover of the motion to thank the President epent most of his time, namely, that concerned with the Tashkent Declaration. For the rest, I am unable to find in the Address anything to get enthusiastic about. I will deal with some of the main defects as I see in them and then, perhaps, if I have time, I will also deal with the Tashkent Declaration very briefly.

Madam, on the home front, in so far as political matters and developments in this country are concerned, 2465 ( Ai ) LS- 10.

I notice that a veil of complete silence has been lowered by the President over some major matters of urgent public interest and concern. Firstly, for example, there is the utterly unconstitutional continuance of the Governor's rule in Kerala. There can be no doubt whatever that, from the debate that took place on the subject in this House as well as the public notice that this matter received in the Press, there is a considerable body of opinion which, quite rightly, objects to the basically unconstitutional procedure in continuing the Governor's rule in Kerala.

Equally, Madam, another serious matter is the expressed intention of Government to be deliberately unconstitutional, as shown by the decision announced by Government at the end of the last session that they intended to continue the life of the Orissa legislature by another year. It was an extraordinary propodition which they have made, and they have done it, quite obviously. for party reasons, because it is plain to anyone who makes even a brief visit and goes round Orissa that the Government today and the legislature today in that State do not command the confidence of the public. The proper thing would have been that this year, with the completion of the full term of the State legislature, that legislature ought to go out and there ought to be fresh elections. But, as I sald earlier, the Government have taken the utterly unconstitutional decision, for no reason that is justifiable except only of administrative convenience, that the life of the legialature in Orissa should be extended so as to coincide the next general elections to the State legislature with the general elections for the country as a whole.

Yet another matter of great concern in internal affairs about which the Address is completely silent is the mounting corruption in public life at high levels. There was a debate about this last year in this House. It wat a debate, in general terms, about no
[Shri N. Dandeker]
confidence; but the House agreed that it should be a debate concerned mainly with the tremendous extent of corruption revealed in the acts and doings of Mr. Biju Patnaik and Mr. Biren Mitra at the time when they were Chief Minister and Deputy Chief Minister respectively in the State of Orissa. The House knows with what great concern this matter was approached by everybody and the notice which it received in the Press and, in particular, in Orissa which was immediately concerned with the matter. Nevertheless, one finds no mention whatever of this growing corruption. I will cencede that among the last great acts which the late Prime Minister had the courage to do-infact, on the New Year Day-was the great decision he took that there had to be certain procedural forms and certain procedtral necessities for dealing with matters of corruption at high levels; and that if that was not acceptable to any high level person concerned, then that high level person was perfectly at liberty to quit.

Now, if someone should object that it is not usual to refer to matters like corruption in the President's Address, I would like to correct them, Midam, by referring to the President's Address of 1964 in which there was a reference to corruption, at that time, at administrative levels. This is what paragraph 12 of that Address said:
"To improve the tone of administration and to deal effactively and promptly with complaints of corruption, or lack of integrity, it has been decided to set up a Central Yigilance Commission which will have a status in its own sphere broadly corresponding to that of the Union Public Service Commission. Its annual reports will be placed before both Houses of Parliament."

1 would have expected, Madam, a similar announcement of policy and procedure in relation to complaints
of corruption at higher ministerial levels as distinguished from corruption at administrative level. The absence of this in the Address, I consider a very serious matter in view of the developments in the course of last year.

## 16 hrs

Another matter of internal politics that causes grave concern, and which has been referred to even during the few days that this session has been in progress, is the thoroughly unjustifiable continuance of the "Emergency" by Proclamation. That emergency proclamation, as everybody is aware, is supported by innumerable statutory rules called the Defence of India Rules which today pervade the entire range of human activities in this country, economic, political, law and order, every conceivable matter in this country is now being dealt with, practically wholly, under the Defence of India Rules. And everybody is equally aware that the chief charasteristics of the Defence of India Rules are that they involve total suspension of all personal liberties and all freedoms and all fundamental rights, whereas in fact no emergency any longer exists in reality. There was a defence attempted about this in this House when the hon. Shr: Hathi said that Government had no intention whatsoever of using these powers for political purposes. It is an assurance which no one believes and no one is propared to accept. I gathered subsequently there was a meeting of the Home Ministers of the various States and they found that the artificial continuance of emergency and the proclamation of emergency and the Defence of India Rules were very convenient tools in their hand in order to govern the country in a lawless way. When this tool gives them so much power, I do not suppose they will ever give consideration to its abrogation. It is in the light of this that I fear that this suggestion will not receive the slightest
reeponse and that is why I particularly feel that we on this side of the House must reiterate, in view of what I have soid before, the urgent need of a review of the continuance of the vast powers under the Defence of India Rules. I would like to reiterate the appeal which wir made before the general elections, namely, that six months before the next general elections all the State governments ought to go out of office, because that alone would ensure impartiality and fairness in elections. "Free and fair elections" should not be just a phrase; it should be something implemented and known to be implemented. I am asking for this assurance because so long as the state of affairs continues as I have described it and so long as these vast powers continue to be exercised by the State Governments and the Central Government, we do not expect that there will be a fair use of these powers, nor will there be free and fair elections.

Shri Ranga: It is a challenge to their conscience.

Shri N. Dandeker: I speak about this from considerable personal experience as to what constitutes free and fair elections.

Turning now to the economic as: pects of the whole affair, on reading the President's Address I find the same dismal dirge, the same funcral song repeated for the last two years, not only in the President's Address, but also in the statements made by Finance Ministers, in statements made by various Ministers, that the state of the economay is continually deteriorating. It is an oft repeaked story of extravagant public expenditure which must be stopped but nobody is doing anything about stopping that extravagance, of leading to merciless taxation and gencrous deficit financing. which again the Governments keeps on repeating must be stopped. but nothing is done about stopping it. In this connection, 1 was estonished
the other day when I was reading. I think about two or three weeks ago the periodical statements issued by the Reserve Bank to find that the State Governments have an overdraft with the Reserve Bank of India of something like Re. 180 crores.

## Shri Ragea: Bankruptcy.

Bhri N. Dandeker: It is, therefore, not merely the Central Government that is continuing to resort to deficit financing, both overt and covert, but also the State Governments are apparently attempting to $d_{0}$ the same on an extensive scale. Of course, the consequences of this are again wellknown, namely, an acute and contlnuing state of inflation reflected in steadily rising prices and ever-mounting cost of living. Again, it is a repetition of a tale year after year; the tale of backruptcy in food and foreign exchange, of continuing mismanagement and costly failures in the public sector enterprises which yie:d little or no return; of deadly stagnancy in the private sector, and of steadily falling rate of growth in real terms, whether it is industrial growib or economic growth generally, or whether it is growth in the agricultural sector. The story is the same.

In other words, the chief characteristics of the President's Address, in so far as the economic front is conceraed, are that it is the samp story, of the same disease, of the same rymptoms and of the same quack remedies and nostrums. of the same promizes which are never fulfilled. Year after year, in the President's Address, in the Finance Ministers windy speeches, broadcasts and statemonts they keep on repeating these things ad nauseam. They $R O$ on repeating some of the remedies Jike cutting down non-Plan expenditure, about the need to economise on Plan expenditure. about the need for quickening up the pace of production in the public sector within the Plan expenditure. but nothing seems ever to happen. It is a story of failures

## [Shri N. Dandeker]

and shortcomings of policy, not admitted, and of the need for radical changes in policy, also not admitted.

I would like to illustrate it this a few minutes by some observations on the food situation, which is an excellent example of allowing in the same muck year after year. It is a story of reviling traders and abusing the farmers, but saying nothing at all either about incompetence or profiteering by the various State Governments. It is a story of persisting in food zones with their logical corollary of smaller and smaller sealed off areas, such as districts, talukas and even groups of villages, with separate food zones of their own, and of compulsory procurement or levy in excessive quantities at unremunerative prices.

Today India is no longer one country; it is a moth-eaten fabric. It reminds me of the state of affairs with us in the years 1948 and 1949, immediately after the Indian Independence Act of 1947, when there were in this country apart from the British Provinces which we in India inherited, something like 560 Indian States. And in case Hon'ble Members are not aware of the fact, I would like to remind them that every Indian State and every Province was then a food zone and would prevent the movement of food from one area to another. That was the state of affairs right up to the end of 1949. In 1950 the country was united into one zone. All these food barriers, customs barriers and land customs, all those kinds of things that cut up the country into several bits-they were all abolished by the Constitution, when it came into force on the 26th January, 1950.

### 16.07 hrs.

[Mr. Defputy-Splaker in the Chair]
About the same time the compulsory procurement was also abolished. largely under the lead of Shri

Rajagopalachari, who was then the Chief Minister of Madras.

I would like to indicate very briefly the consequences of so integrating the country into one zone, in not breaking it into food districts, food talukas and food groups of villages. The consequence of such abolition of food zones and of compulsory procurement can be seen by one very simple test, namely, what was the effect on production and, therefore, what was the effect on imports. I would like to give only the figures for imports. The figure for import of foodgrains in 1951, at the commencement of the policy of abolition of compulsory procurement based on food zones and restriction on movements stood at 4:8 million tons. In 1952 it was down to $\mathbf{3 . 6}$ million tons. In 1953 it went down to 2 million tons, in 1954 to 0.8 million tons and in 1955 it was down to 0.7 millions. Then began our Second Five Year Plan, followed by the Third Five Year Plan. These were ten years of utter indifference and total absence of food policy, with neither a floor price policy, nor a policy of remunerative price, but juat a policy of drift; merely speaking of high targets but doing nothing for effectively achieving them, talking a lot about fertilizers, but with utter neglect in estab'ishing fertilizer plants and, in fact, taking years and years over negotiations for the establishment of fertilizer plants until it was only in 1965 that there appeared some possibility of new fertilizer plants on a glant scale being established in this country, under utilisation of Irrigation potential, and neglect of small irrigation schemes, failure to supply diesel oil and electric power for irrigation purposes, neglect of seed farms. There was over this decade nothing done in fact that one would call a policy geared to the needs of the grand eloquent targets which were solemnly propounded in the two Plans.

Again, I would like to give picture of the consequences of all this,
quite straightforwardly, on the import of foodgrains over the past ten years commencing from 1956. As I said, in 1955 the import of foodgrains was down to 0.7 million tons. Here is the subsequent story. In 1956 it was 1.4 million tons, in 1957 it. was 3.6 million tons, in 1958 it was 3.3 million tons, in 1959 it was 3.9 million tons and in 19605.1 million tons. That covers the Second Plan. In 1961 there was a little drop in import as compared to the previous two years; it was $3: 3$ million tons. Then it started rising again. In 1962 it was 3.6 million tons, in 1963 it was $4 \cdot 6$ million tons, in 1964 it was 6:3 millions and in 1965 it was $7 \cdot 5$ million tons.

Now, perhaps, it will be 12, 13 or 15 million tonnes 1966;-heaven only knows what. But the conclusion that emerges here is that we need not have been in any of these years so shrort of foodgrains as we apparently were; we need not have had a food shortage, except in a year of particularly bad drought, of anything more than about a million or a million and a half tonnes whereas in fact we had been importing in the Second Five Year Plan at an average 31 million tonnes per annum and in the Third Five Year Plan up to over 5 million tonnes per annum on the average.

Sir, we are going back again to the conditions of 1950 in all respects. The Government want to have food zones; they want to have districts hived off from districts; they want to have talukas and villages hived off from other talukas and villages. You cannot move rice from $A$ to $B$; you carnot move wheat from $B$ to $C$ and so on. The whole country is one blocked economy cut up into fractions so far as movement in foodgraing is concerned.

Shri Bade: The collectors also are Moghrul emperora.

Shat N. Dasdeicer: On the top of it, the furtification is that that is the only why we could have compulsory
procurement. I would like to surgest, in the first place, that this is about the best atmosphere for a thriving industry in corruption; I cannot think of any other name for it. One thing I am certain, namely that the activity that is going to thrive in a very big way over this year, next year and so long as we continue this wretched zone system and restriction on movement, is corruption; you are going to have a vast trade in organised corruption. However, the policy of compulsory procurement will not, of course, be effectively implemented because it cannot be effectively implemented. You cannot have millions of farmers being subjected to measures of this kind, in terms of compulsory procurement and so on, and hope to get away with it.

The only right policy, I submit, would be to restore the first and primary thing, the incentive of a free market and a free market price to the farmer to produce the best that he can coupled with-and this is necessary because the agricultural coonomy depends so much on the vagaries of monsoon which can also play the opposite trick, namely, there could be such a good monsoon and you can have such a bumper crop that prices may collapse-remunerative floor prices which are also an essential part of a proper pricing policy. That will be the time for facilities to secure the necessary inputs. You cannot expect the agriculturist to be enthusiastic about inputs on the sait! and of the type that are being envisaged in all the speeches made by the Food Minister. You cannot expect any farmer to put in inputs on the scale and of the kind involved in scientific farming-chemicals, water, irrigation, improved seeds and all that kind of thing; inputs that are going to coat a good deal-unlesg in the first place he is assured of the floor price and secondly, and much more importantly, he is also assured of the iree market price if the tree market price happens to be better than the floor
[Stri N. Dandeker]
price. Then and then only you can have interim measures for deffit areas based largely upon free movement of trade within the country supplemented by imports.

Now, Sir, I will briefly turn to the Yoreign affairs part of the President's Address. The hollowness of our claim to success in foreign policy, it is well known, was exposed last year, when we stood alone and friendless. Everyone, including Russia, stood nonaligned against $u_{s}$ except for two little friends, that have always stood by us-Malaysia and Singapore. It $i_{s}$ obvious to everybody after that situation that arose during those three or four months of conflict with Pakistan when the eyes of everybody were opened to the utter futility of the foreign policies until then followed. There was a debate in this House and it was clearly accepted that the situation demanded a reappraisal of the principles of our foreign policy and of our friends and foes. Reorientation was indeed promised in the course of that debate. I think, Shri Chagla who spoke quite piainly and bluntly said that there was no doubt about it that the foreign policy of this country needed re-orientation as to its basic principles.

I also feel bound to say that subsequently a re-oriented policy was indeed followed by our late beloved Prime Minister, Lal Bahadur Shastri, with very happy results in Burma. Ceylon and Nepal and with conspicuous success at Tashkent. I have no doubt. had destiny spared him to serve this country a little longer, he would mave carried this on and reoriented our Poreign policy on the lines on which, it was agreed during the debate in this House, re-orientation was necessary.

Unfortunately. We have lost him; and we seem to be back again to the old, old chants.

I was, in fact, astoniehed to read tals. It could have been something
written in Prime Minister Nehru's times. I find in it a remarkable exposition of the same old foreign policy that we had been following over all the years; a policy that threw us into the ditch vis-a-vis China and which threw us into another ditch vis-a-vis Pakistan. . "Our Government will continue to work for peace in the world. "Om!. Shantih. shantih, shantih. "Peace is essential for our own developmemt and progress and for the well-being of all peoples. To this end, we shall strive to strengthen international cooperation, based on the principles of peaceful co-existence, non-interference ir the internal affairs of others"-and it must always be there-"non-alignment"; and so on. All this is in the President's Address. When I read this I begin wondering. I asked, are we back again to the ancient times so to speak? Apparently, we were; though I hope, we are not.

It is in the light of our exper: nce both as to the need for changing our foreign policy principles, its basic objective and its mode of operation that I would like to examine what is stated here in relation to, for instance, our relationship with China. China is dismissed, notwithstanding the long time which the External Affairs Minister took over China, in the President's speech in three lines of iwo sentences; and they are misterpieces of understatement. "Unfortunately", says the President, "our relations with the People's Republic of China still continue to be strained." We just do not get on; we are just a little bit estranged. And so "The country has to be vigilant and strong." That is all of our Chinese policy. It is a remarkable exposition, a masterly understatement, as I said. of which an Englishman might well be proud, because they are supposed to be masters of understatement.

Now and again when there are official speeches about China, we have also a continued insistence on Colambo proposels as if the Colombo proposals
ever were, or ever will be, a substitute for a foreign pollicy vis-a-vis China. The Colombo proposals were, everybody knows, stillborn. They were not merely rejected, but they have been flouted by China. There is no part of the demilitarized zone which the Chinese do not occupy, if they wish to wilh impunity. The Chinese for their part have also committed breach of the agreement about Tibet, in regard to the autonomy of Tibet. What do we do? We say, "No; we are bound by the agreement about Tibet; all that we will do is to join in a resolution about the ill treatment of the people of Tibet."

Shrl Ranga: That too in an apologetic manner.

Shri N. Dandeker: The Chinese are flouting all agreements. They have openly said so. They do not accept what they have previously agreed to about our relationship with Bhutan and Sikkim. The special position of Bhutan and Sikkim with or within the Indian Union, or the Indian Constitution or whatever you tike to call it. is now rejected by China.

And what has happened to those famous Colombo powers that propounded these wonder Colombo proposals? The UAR and Ghana stand exposed as a result of the happenings of last year and the things they then said. Burma and Cambodia are of no consequence. In fact. one Member of Parliament whom I will not name, did not quite know where Cambodia was: whether in South Africa or in South America. I told him that Cambodia was in South East Ania, and he said, "Is that so?" Ceylon has a different Government now and Indo. nexia has no povernment at all. Those are the Colombo powers and those are the Colombo proposals that we keep on repeating like parrots.

What should be our policy vis-a-vis China? Defore I answer that or attempt to do so, 1 think, we must take. a look at South Viet-Nam, because buth Viet-nam. in my judrement. is
a specific example of the Chinese Communist policy of deliberate and ruthless expansion ... (Interrnption). I have got here with me some papers which will take too long to read but which contain ample evidence to prove for instance, that Dr . Ho Chi-minh always intended to and did in fact sabotage the Geneva Agreement of 1954. We keep on harping back to this Geneva Agreement of 1954..... (Interruption). I do not want to quote from newspapers, but if Members who keep on interrupting me from the back would care to read the reports of the International Control Commission.... (Interruption), there will be plenty of evidence to show that this gituation in fact is one which Dr. Ho Chi-minh always intended and that he has been steadily planning for the overthrow of South Viet-nam. Since 1982, in any event in so far as India is concerned, the attitude of North Viatnam to India is patently and abeolutely clear; and it is one of continuing hostility.

Here, I will take a little time of the House to refer to certain outstanding indications of this. In 1062, this is what the Party Organ of North Vietnam remarked:
"In opposition to China's policy for peace are the policies of the Indian authorities to seize Chinese territories by force and their attitude of obstinately rejecting China's reasonable proposition".

On July 13, 1985, last year, Hoang Van Hoan, leading a delegation of North Vietnam National Aseembly said at Peking:
"While opposing imperialism, China has been holding high the banner of anti-revisionism to defend the purity of MarximLeninism . . .

- lot of 'isms'-
". . to push forward the revolutionary struggle in Ada . . ."


## [Shri N. Dandeker]

In reply to Ho Chi-Minh's letter of January 24 a Chinese gentleman called Liu Shao-chi who holds an important position, said:
"China and Vietnam are neighbours closely related like the lips and the teeth".

That hostility towards India, and that declared intention to swallow South Vietnam by subversive movements called "Tliberating movements", has been the policy of North Vietnam vis-a-vis South Vietnam.

As I said earlier, however, one has to understand this as part of the over-all Chinese policy, not just part of the North Vietnam policy. It is essential to recognise what is happening to North Korea and South Korea...... (Interruption) and the attitude as between China and Taiwan; the chinese position vis-a-vis North Vietnam and South Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos; Thagla Ridge, Bhutan and Sikkim, Bara Hoti and Ladakh-the whole thing. You have to look at the whole picture that begins somewhere in the north-east corner of Asia and ends with the noth-west corner of India. It is a picture of power politics; it is a picture of China doing everything possible to establish Chinese hegemony in the whole of east and shouth-east Asia.

Sir, I submit what has to be recognised is that the Chinese problem is a power problem. It is not a problem of border disputes. It is not a problem of some Vietcong or any other such thing. It is a problem of power. It is a problem in which the Chinese recognise us as the only obstacle in this part of the world to their gaining complete hegemony and control over the whole of south-asast Asia. I submit, in that siturtion, what is needed is that we must become very realistic. But we keep mouthing these phrases of non-alignment and co-existence and what not.

Let us, I say, come down to brass tacks instead. So what should we do about this? Let us work out a system of regional collective security and cooperative assistance in this part of the world, with Japan and Taiwan, with Malaysia who has stood by us all the time, with possibly Ceylon with its new Government, with Australia, with Philippines, with all those people who are frightened about China, frightened of China, knowing that we could be the only effective block in the way of the expanding Chinese power. I submit our policy must be one of approaching this problem from that angle and attempting to evolve a Chinese policy that is not concerned just with borders in the Thagla Ridge or Bara Hoti or some place in Ladakh, not just mouthing Colombo proposals land a whole lot of nonsense of that kind which became meaningless years ago.

Finally, Sir, a word about Pakistan. I regard the Tashkent Declaration as a great act of faith. I consider the Tashkent Declaration as something which, if ever possible, human beings ought to endeavour to achieve. As might be expected, it will encounter strong oppositions from the last ditchers in this country and from the obscurantists in Pakistan. I know attempts will be made to whittle down all kinds of things in it. But the main thing remains that the two countries at last did not have their heads knocked together by Mr. Kosygin as some people believed. Possibly, under the persuasive atmosphere presided over by Mr. Kosygin -one does not know what Mr. Kosyghn said to them; maybe, he described the sort of picture about Chinese hegemony or whatever it is-the point to be remembered is that it is one of the greatest acts of faith in intermational affeirs. It is not just a matter of a little clause here and a little word there. What. after all, is the difference between human beings and
animals? The difference is qualitative: that we have judgment; that we can distinguish between the good and the bad and that we are capable of committing acts of faith for the sake of human good. But I submit, acts of faith cannot thrive on batren soil nor in an environment that is hostile. If you believe in faith, if you believe in goodness, if you believe in the essential goodness of man . . .

Shrl Bade: Pakistan does not believe in that.

Shri N. Dandeker: I stress it does not matter what Pakistan does or does not believe. What matters, Sir, is what you and I believe. I am not concerned with what Mr. Bhutto says or somebody else says. But what 1 am concerned with is that the great little man, our late Prime Minister and the greatman, President Mr. Ayub Khan-I have had also the honour of knowing him, though much less than Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri-got together and committed an act of faith. If it comes off-I $a^{\text {ttach }}$ importance to the word 'if'; for I am not one who lives in the clouds; I am a realist-I say, if this sort of act of faith comes off, what is the future, the great future, for both India and Pakistan? I suggest, Sir, instead of carping criticisms and having obscurantist approaches and legalistic quibbles about this and that-if the Agreement is broken, it is broken; we are back where we were and everybody racognises that. But if on the other hand the Agreement is to be implemerted, which is the only way in which things can move along the path that was being given to us by our late Prime Minister, it is necessary to abide by it and to commit other acts of faith, to develop trade and coconomice relations with Pakistan. It is, I suggest, fantastic that whereas formerly between this country and what is now Pakistan, there used to be enormous trade and traffic, all that han come to a stand-still. Is anybody going to tell me that-that is for the gocd of
either of these countries? I suggest what is required is further acts of faith. If a breach of faith is committed, well, we get back to where we were. But the posalbility of a breach of faith is I submit no arswer and is no ground for suggesting that we have no faith in the essential goodness of man. I suggest that are vast fields for mutual benefit to be explored; there are financial disputes with Pakistan; there are trade disputes with Pakistan; there are also possibilities of tremendous economic development in both countries if we got together and if we made our best attempts to get together and not keop on looking back at the past all the time.

In this connection, Sir, I would like to remind the House about the great change that has taken place in ten years in Western Europe as a result of the European Common Market. It is a fantastic change. If one were to go to Europe, if one were to read the European journals, il one were to see the economic development in Western Europe over the past decade, one would realise what an act of faith can mean. They have their difficulties. I am not going to blame anybody for those diffliculties. Maybe, some may blame De Gaulle; some may blame Adenauer and others may blame Erhard. But that is not the point. The point is this that there is a lively and continual attempt to get together and to build on acts of faith which constituted the European Common Market, the Coal Community, the Steel Community and so on. There is no reason why in this great subcontinent similar acts of faith cannot be committed.

However, Sir, with this aingle ex-ception-and it is a great exceptionof the Tashkent Declaration that is relerred to with due and just praise in the President's Address, I am sorry I find very ittle else to commend to this House in that Address.

Shrimatl Renu Chakravarty: Sir, may I be permitted to move my amendments? The numbers are 5 , 6, 7 and 11 .

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: They will be treated as moved.

Sbrimati Renu Chakravartty: I beg to move:
(i) That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-
"but regret that the Address fails to condemn the resumption of bombing of North Vietnam and the continued violation of the Geneva Agreement and escalation of hostilities by U.S.A. endangering world peace and particularly peace in South East Asia." (5)
(ii) That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-
"but regret that the Address fails to recognise the dismal failure of the food and agriculture policy of the Government leading to starvation, high prices, widespread distress whose extreme example was Kerala and dangerous dependence on imports; and also fails to spell out the necessary steps for self-sufflciency in food and the national control over the wholesale trade and distribution of food-grains."
(iii) That at the end of the motion. the following be added, namely:-
"but regret that the Address fails to announce the immediate end of the State of Emergency and the release of the political detenus." (7)
(iv) That at the end of the motion, - the following be added, namely:-
"but regret that in the Address no mention has been made of-
(a) any concrete steps to raise the rice ration in Kerala State
to the satisfaction of the people there;
(b) Police repression let loose on the people especially on students in Quilon, Trichur and other districts of Kerala State;
(c) release of arrested persons and withdrawal of prosecutions in connection with the recent food agitation in Kerala;
(d) misuse of DIR to arrest and detain political workers of the Opposition Parties; and
(e) failure of the Government to take steps to hold elections and set up a popular government in Kerala." (11)

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Shrimati Renu Chakravartty.

Sarimati Renu Chakravartiy: I wanted to speak tomorrow morning.

Shri Warier (Trichur): We thought. after the opening speech made by Mr. Dandeker, you would be calling somebody from the Congress Benches.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Shri Kashi Ram Gupta.

थो काइी राम गुत्त चान्ता मह़ोदय. देंम के मामने नान प्रमुल्न समस्यागे है। एक जन वंख्या में वृधि को है. दूनरी प्रन्र के उत्वादन में कमी की है घ्रोग गोसरी देश की सुरक्षा की है । इन मन के बारे में हम मब पवने घ्रणने तृष्टिंजों से विजार करने हैं श्रोर कारवं कग्ने हैं। किन्तु इस सब को जढ़ में जों एक मूलमूत बराीी है उसकी तरफ सभ्भवतः एस चत्रम के सन्व्यों का ढग्रान नहीं जाता है। वह्त ख्वराबी पह है कि जिस प्रकार से हृम घवना प्रज्ञातंब्र कला रहे है, इम लंगड़े लूले प्रजातंज को कला रहे हैं, ₹म बीमार प्रजातंत्र को बला रहे हैं, उस में मब मे बड़ा दोष कियका का है ?

मेऱी समक्न में।बह्ही दोष इस काप्रेस पार्टी घ्रोर इस काग्रेंन सर कार का हैं। साय ही भै यह भी समझत्रता हू कि उसके बाद बहै दोष हभारे विगेंशी पक्ष का है। दोनों ही उस में दोषी हैं । बौन किस है तक दोरी है यह् मैं विस्सेषण करके श्रायको बतनाना घाह़ता है 1

प्राज बिटेन में मब्ऩ ग़ बल की सरकार है। बह्ती तोन के बहुमन से चन गही है। किन्त् हमारे देश में क्या नीति घपनाई जाती है केन्द्र में या किज्र fिघ्न प्रवेकों में, इसको भाप देबें । केत्दा की सरकार पोर बाल तोर से प्रद्रेशों की सरकारें चुनाव के बाद विपक्षी वलों का गबनलंतिक धर्म प्रट्ट करने पन उातह हो जाती हैं। ससास्क दल कां भायद यह लउजा की बान मो नहीं सगती, वहु इसका पापकमें भी नहीं समझती, उनकां यह़ स्रपनी राजनीति समझती है ।

एक मालनीय सरस्प : दोनों तरफ से पेसा ह्रोता है ।
at काले राज चुप्त : जिस को यहा वहते है कि होनों तर्व: से होता है, उसफे बारे में एकको मालूम होना चाहिये कि सत्तावाली दल के पाम जो मता होती है, बही उस सत्ता का दूसरे को पष्ट करने का उपयोग करता है ; यह् हैमेणा से घहिहास की बात रही है। हमलिए जो म्वयं सताधारी दल होता है उसका ही हस में मुस्य बंख होता है। दसके लिए क्षाप हूर न जा कर एक एक प्रदेग का उदाहरण से कर देब में 1

千िहार का उबहृग्ण धाप लें । बहा़ पर एक प्रकार से एक पार्टी को जम कग्ने का तरीका भ्रपनाया गया। स्वतंव कार्टीं को वहां नेल्लोनायूद करने की ओीका को गा उसको घपने घन्दर किलाने की कोमिश की गई। उसको ष्हुों होचादिया।

भाज इन्होंने भारबज पारी का थी यही हाल किया है। हसका नरीका यह घपनाया है कि किमी को मंनी बना दो, किमी को उपमझी बना दो। एम प्रकार का जाल सतास्द दल ग्वया गहा है।

मध्य प्रदेश में मी यहो द़भा है। मध्य प्रदेण में षांगेंम दल बहुमन में नही धाया। बार पांच की यमी थी। घ्रपना बहुमत बनाने के लिए जितने ह्यकंहे हो सकते हे प्रथनाये गये । पाहिस्ता पाहिस्ता उन लोगों को जो विरोध पक्ष में हे उनकां माध लेने के उपाय किये गये । उसका नतीजा घहा है कि उनण्ष लजनितिक धर्म प्रष्ट करके हन्होंने घपना बहुमत बना किया है।

ग़जस्थान को प्राप देषें । गजस्थान में मी पार्टी की संख्या प्राग्म में करीब करीब विरोध पक्ष के बराबग थो। पौर किमी को नहीं तां उन्होने निंतरीय मदस्यों को तोड़ना जुए कर दिया । निर्दलीय गायद सम्ते होने हैं नोध्रेने के fित्। उनको तां कर बहुमन बना निया। प्राहिम्ता धारहिम्ता जन मंघ गा वखंत्र पार्ड़ं के लोगों बो जुमायमान एन्ठोंने कग्ने की कोणिए की। पब प्रानिमी दिनों में यह़ उसकर बलाया है, Шक महीनेने गहले यह चषकर बलाया कि वही़ के एक प्रमुग्ब महागजा नां एँबेसहट बना बर लिग्र में में दिया गया है । बहा यंग्य नही है, तेमा मी नही मानना है। बह यंग्या है में कर्टर णक नहा है (रंटर्णनँच) जर्मा का बहृत इताषलापन
 है कि बह जान्नि मे मेरी बात को मुने । बलिंन यह निवृधित्न यंग्यना के साप्रा 97 नही र्षिक गजनाँचक कं पाराग पर कार गई है। भागको मावूम होंणा कि इसी गदन में एक काग प्रादग्णीय भुनपर्व प्रान मंबी भी नेहाल ने कह़ा षा कित हें उन क्रार्बमयों दों प्रार्थमिक्ता देंने हैं प्रेंक्र बनामें मामनें में जिन का वलिया बहुत हुन्यर बूंती है, मृटेबस हांनी है पोर किन में की
[श्री कागी राम गुप्त]
भो खूवियां होती हैं। उसका मतलब यह् है कि बे उनके साथ रहें । भ्राज वह् स्थिति यहा नहीं है कयोंकि यह़ एक राजनीतिक चाल है । सताधारी दल यह जानता है कि वह धागामी चुनाग्रों में हन बातों का उपयोग कर सकता है। जो पार्टी द्र प्रकार की काम करती है, उसकी दस प्रकार की नीतियां देश के लिए घातक सिद्ध होती हैं, भयंकर सिद्ध हो सकती हैं ।

प्रभी भ्रभी घाप देबें कि क्या हुमा है । प्रधान मंत्री का चुनाव सन्पन्न हुप्रा है। इनकी पार्टी के श्रध्यक्ष ने दुनिया को यह दिखाने का प्रयत्न किया है कि वाह् यह तो सारे देश कां चुनाव करना है, छस में बीक मिनिस्टर श्रा गए तो क्या हुश्रा 1 मेरे साथी श्री शिवमूनि स्वामी कहा करते हैं कि प्रधान मंत्री का चुनाव सारे सदन को करना चाहिये। मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि जब सारे देशा को प्रधान मंवी का चुनाव करना था तो इस सदन को क्यों नहीं पूद्रा गया। लेकिन ऐसा नहीं हुपा है । इसका कारएा यह है कि इनका एक तरीका है काम करने का। इसी का यह् फल है कि प्राज कोई परिएाम नबर नहीं मा रहे हैं। चाहे ग्रभी ये नजर न पायें लेंकिन घागे घल कर ये इतने षातक सिद्ध हो सकते हैं कि जिसकी कर्पना भी नहीं की जा सकती है। इस वामते में कहूंगा कि स्वस्थ परम्परायें ही डाली जानी चाहिये ।

दूसरो तरफ भी भाप देबॅं । विरोषी पक्ष में मी कई दल हैं भौर उसमें बामपक्ष मी है । इन सभी दलों को मिला कर विरोषी दल कहा जाता है। ये दल एक दो या तीन नहीं, पाठ हैं। इनके भ्न्बर मतभेद हैं पोर पह सम्भब नहीं ये सत्ता लेने की बात करें वह्ह सम्भव नहीं हो सकता है। जब सब मिल ब कर ब्वात करने की कोमिश करते है

भोर एक होने की कोषिश करते हैं तो हनके रास्ते में रोड़े भटकते हैं भ्रोर भगर कोई कसर बाकी रह जातो है तो उसको कांप्रेत वाले भाकर पूरा कर देते हैं । वे भो भा कर रोड़ा श्रटका देते हैं। इस प्रकार से इस वेश में कांम्रेस को सत्ता में बनाये रखने के लिए मदद विरोधी दल बाले जाने या घनजाने में बराबर दे रहे हैं । उसका नतीजा पह होता हैं कि इस देश में कमी इस प्रकार की कत्पना भी नहीं होती है कि काओघेस के सिया किसी दूस्तरे दल का राज्य भी स्थापित हो सकता है । भ्रगले पांच कर्षों में पह स्थिति पैदा हो जाएगी कि इतिहास यह कहेगा कि इस देश के प्रन्दर लोगों के न चाहते हए भी कांप्रेस का राज्य रहा है। लोग तो कहते हैं कि हम दुखी है भोर हम परिवर्तन चाहते हैं लेकिन परिवतंन लाने वालो जो मशीन है उस मशीन में ही घुन लगा हुश्रा है, कारों तरफ से लगा हुपा है । इसलिए में यह कहना चाहता हूं कि एक भाषार संहिता हम जो राजनीतिक लोग हैं, छनको बनानी चाहिये। नन्दा जी प्रष्टाचार को समाप्त करने की बात करते हैं। वे घष्टाचार के उन्मूलन में लगे मी ठुए हैं लेकिन में समक्षता हूं कि इस मामले में वह मी उतने हो प्रष्टानारा हैं जितने प्रोर लोग उनकी पार्टी के हैं । वे भी घ्रष्ट हैं जो दूसरों को इस तरह से प्रष्ट करते हैं । जो इस तरह के कार्य कर हे हैं वे हस प्रजातंत्र को खोलबा करते जा हें हैं। उनको हतिहास में क्या कहा जाएगा, समक्न में नहीं भाता है ।

एक मालनोय सबस्य : सदाषारी।
घी कम्ती राम पुप्त : भागर ऐसे को सदाषारी कहा जाएगा तो दुराषारी कोई जोर ही होगा ।

मै भर्डं करना चाहता हु कि" कुछ दिन पहले जयपुर में ह्रकी पाटीं का भधिकेशान हुपा बा। बहां पर एक नटक क्षेसा गया बा।

बह कहा गया था कि सुबाडिया जी कांप्रेस की ए० पाई० सी० सो० के से केटरी बनने जा रहे हैं। उसका नतोजा यह हुमा कि उन्होंने जो बांचा बनाया था, एकता का जो मलम्मा चढ़ाया था, उसका पर्वाफाश हो गया.

थी जिएब नारायण (बांसी) : श्रीमन् मुबाधिया जी इस हाउस के मेम्बर नहीं हैं। उनका नाम नहीं लिया जाना काहिये । ही ज़ा लाट बी रेफं ।

घी बांर्मनिजाल खोषरी (म वा) : मेरा प्वाइंट भाफ भाडरंर है । वह हमारे एक प्रान्त के मुष्य मंत्री हैं।

घो मोकार लाल बेरता (कोटा) : कोन से लूल के तहत भ्राप प्वारंट प्राक भारंर उठा रहें हैं ?

ग्राम्पफ महोषय : कोन सा रल हनफफल हुपा है ?

थी षार्मनि लाल छोषरी : मूल बताता हूं। भाप बामोसी से सुन तो लें ।

Mr. Depnty-Speaker: Let not the hon. Member bring in names of persons who are not here to defend themselves.

थी लानी राप गुप्त : हैं यह निवेष्न कर रहा था कि वहा पर एक नंगा नाश उसका कुमा पोर जो लोग वे के पापस में घस बुरी तरह लड़ने लग गए, इस खूरी तरह एक दूसरे पर कीबड़ उछालने लग गए कि विदेशी लोग यह समक्न गए कि हमारो सोबने की क्या दिशा है । कहने का मतलब वह है कि जो चीज हमें बहुत पहले करनी खाहिये थी उसको क्षाज मी हम कर लें तो मी भण्ता होगा । भ्रव भी समय है ।

Shri Sheo Narain: Tomorrow, you should permit us to take names from the other side also.

Mr. Depaty-Speaker: He should set his own house in order first before referring to others.

भी कासी राम गुप्त : में वह नाम नहीं ले रहा हूं जिस नाम से किसी व्यक्ति का कोई ज्याना सम्बन्ध हो। में तो fि,फें विद गेफेंस टू दी कंटै कसट बात कर रहा हूं ।

मेरा निवेदन हैं कि यदि हम सब यह चाहते हैं कि हमारे देश में प्रजातंक्ष की नींब मजबूत हो तो हमको बाहियें कि हम एक भाषार संहिता बं 5 कर बनायें, कम से कम एक बात तो हो कि जो भादमी जिस जगह् से, जिस टिकट पर बुन कर भाषया हो, उस भादमी को उस काल के भ्न्तर दल परिवतंन करने का पघिकार न हो।

Mr. Depaty-Speaker: All muat combine. Then only democracy can be saved.

Shri Kachi Ram Cripta: Democracy can be sustained only when people attach importance to the voters who elected them.

Mr. Deputy-Spenker: Voteri know what to do.

थी नागेराम गुष्त : भाज भरंज्ञों के यहा यहा हालत है कि वहा पस बात को बहत दूरा मानते द्र पगर कोई घूगाब के बोष में पपर्मी पाटी को छोड़ कर किसी दूसरी वटीं में कला आये, इस लिये किसी की दिम्मत इस तरह की नहीं होतो। किन्तु जिस प्रकार से यहां रोजाना घ्रदल-बवस कलतां है, सौठेकाजी होती है, वहु बहुत ही घातक है मोर जहा तक हो सके इस को हतोस्साहित करमा काहिये। रस लिये एक उपाय हो सकता है, लेकिन पता नहीं भाप उसे कर्ला जांते या नहीं। एक उपाय पह है कि लोक सभा के पोर विष्यान सभापों के जो न्नाब हों बद़ प्रणक्-पयक हुं, जिस से द्लों के जा प्राराम्य हों बे लोलों को ठीक तरह्ह से समभाय जा
[थ्री कागीराम गुप्त]
सकें। किन्तु यदि यह् न किया जा सके तो कम से कम जो चुनाब चिन्हों के गोल माल होते हैं उन को ही रोका जाये । इसके लिये जो मी राजनीतिक दल हों उन के प्रदेशों के चुनाव fिन्ह घ्रलग हों क्रोर लोक सभा के चुनाव चिन्ह भ्रलग हों । इस के साथ साथ जो उन के चुनाव घोषणा पत्न होते हैं वह स्थानीय परिस्थितियों को देखते हुए प्रदेशों के लिये भ्मलग मलग होने चाहियें। घ्रभी हमारे देश में स्थिति यह्ह है कि सारे देश के लिये घोषणा पत्न रक्षे जाते हैं जब कि चुनाव स्थानीय होंते हैं । नतीजा होता है कि चुनाव चिन्हों का गोल माल होता है। भाज इस बात को देखते हुए भी कि कांम्रेंस को मतदान में 40 प्रतिशत में श्रधिक मत नहीं मिले; लोक सभा में उस का बहुमत हो जाता है । इसी प्रकार से जो लोग वोट काटने के लिये खड़े होते हैं वह भी एक प्रम्टाबार की प्रसाली है। उस को समाप्त कर देना चाहिये

इस के साथ-साथ एक समस्या यह् है, हो सकता है कि कोष्चेस के सदस्य घस की हुंसी उड़ाये लेकिन उनको मी एक घ्रच्छे विरोधी पक्ष की जलरत है, कि विरोधी दलों की संख्या किसी प्रकार से कम हो। छस बात को करना बहुत जलरी होजाता है क्यों कि उनकी संख्या बढ़ती आती है । जब मैं इस सदन में प्राया था तब एक कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी थी, भ्रब दो हो गई हैं। उस वषतप्रजा समाजषादी मीर समाज बादी दो दलa 1 उः होंने $\left(\right.$ क $\begin{array}{l}\text { ने } \\ \text { की कोशिश }\end{array}$ की लेकिन फिर घलग प्रलग हो गये । यहा तो वाम पक्षी दलो बात हुई। जिन को दक्षिण पन्पी कहतं हैं उन के बारे में घाज कुछ विमेष कहने की पावम्यकता नहीं ब्योंकि वह् श्रपनी जगह पर मोगूद हैं ।

भर मै कुछ्छ घन्य विषयों की घोर भत्ता 8. 1 सब मे पती घात है घूझि सुक्षार कानूों

के बारे में ? इस बारे में घायद की शिव नारायण मुकसे सहमत होंगे ।

> बी किष्य नारायक : जहूर, जहुर।

थी काइो राम गुपा : जो कानून भाज बनते हैं वह जिस ढंग से चलते हैं उस का नतीजा यह होता है कि गरीब किसान मुकदमों में फंसते चले जाते हैं । 100 रु० की जमीन नहीं होती है लेकिन 500 रु० मुकदमें में लग जाते हैं जिसके कारण भूमिहीनों की वह् दुर्गंत हीती है जिसका कोई ठिकाना नहीं । इधर हम कहते हैं कि फीजियों को जमीनें दंगे, उधर पटवारी फोजियों को ध्रोखा दे कर ऐसी हालत में फंसा देते हैं कि वह मारे-मारे फिरते हैं 1 फोजी लोग यहां तक गुस्से में घ्राते हैं कि कहते हैं कि ह्में जमीन न मिलती तो भच्छा होता 1 बसिक एक फोजी हमारे पास श्राया घ्रोर कहने लणा कि उसे तो इतना गुस्सा मा रहा है कि वह पटवारी के ऊपर बन्दूक निकाल दें। मैं ने कहा कि उस पर बन्दूक निकालने से काम नहीं चलेगा । समस्या श्राज जो हो रही है उस का इलाज कर्ना होगा । भाज घगर देखा जाये कि जहां पर जमीन देने का काम हुषा है वहां कितनों को सस्ती जमीन मिली है, प्रोर कितने भूमिह्दोन किसानों को बमीन दी गई है, तो सारी कलई सुल जायेगी इस बात की । नतीजा यह् हुमा है जो भी भूमि सुध़ार हुप्रा है उस का फायदा धग? किसी ने उठाया है तो पाक्तिवालों ने उठाया है या राजनीतिभों ने उठाया है। ऐसे ऐसे लोंगो को जमीनें दी गई हैं जिन्होंने कमी हल में हाँथ नहीं लगाया बा 1 जो शह्र में रहते हैं या कसबों में रहते हैं उन्हें गांबों में जमीनें घ्रलाट कर दी जाती हैं क्योंकि बह मत्ताधारी दल के समथंक हैं या उन के दल के सदस्य है। जब इस तरह की बींचातानी चलती है तब भूमि सुष्वार का कोई सबल षैदा नहीं होता। प्रकोत्पादन का सवाल पैदा नहीं होता ।

हमारे राष्ट्रपति महोदय ने भपने भभिमाषण में कहा है कि हम गांबों में विजली पहुं बावर्ग । लेकिन बह़े द्डु: ख्र की बात है कि इस बात का जिक नहीं किया गया कि किस बुरी दशा में श्राज राजस्थान है पौर किस बुरी दशा में भाज मध्य प्रदेश है या सारा देश है । जहां तक पर्नबजली की योजना का प्रश्न है, वह फेल हो चुकी है श्रोर उन के लिये कह दिया जाता है कि पानी नहीं भ्राया । में कह्ना चाहता हुं कि हर पांच सात साल पर ऐसा होता है कि पानी नहीं बरसता 1 यदि चोथी प्लान इस तरह की बना दी गई कि. बिजली गांवों में पद्धुंचा दी जायेगी श्रोर पानी नहीं बरसा तो किसान मी तबाह होंगे घौर उद्योग भी तबाद्ट होंगे । प्राखिर इस बात की जिं्मेदारी किस पर डाली जाये ? मैं समक्षता हू कि दस की जिम्मेदारी सिवा इस सरकार से ग्रोर किसी के उपर नहीं था संकंती है । प्राज जब भापके पास बिजली है ही नहीं तो ग्रामों की घ्राप बिजली देंगे कहां से ? इस लिये क्रभिभाषण में जो बातें सरकार लिखती है उन का नतीजा यह् हो रहा है कि लोग कहते हैं कि उनकी करनी घोर क्यनी में रात दिन का फकं है, इस लिषे उनका विश्वास मत करो भौर बेती में पं सा न लगाप्रो ।

गोबर गैस का प्लान्ट चलाया गया । उस के लिये बार-बार प्रश्न पाते रहे। भाबिर बह फेल ही गया 1 क्यों फेल हों गया। इस का भी म्रपना पतिहास है । भ्रगर ह्मारे बं भानिक इतने कमजोर हैं कि गोबर की गैस乡कानिमक नहीं बना सकते या उस की बाद इकानामिक नहीं बना सकते तो हम किस तरह् से भागे चल पायेंग जिस से कि गांबों के भ्रन्दर कान्ति श्रा पाये ।

एक मालनीय सबस्य : धूप घून्रे का क्या दुपा ?

धो काशोराण गुप्त : धूप चून्हं की बात छोड़िये । पहले इस बीज के बारे में कह

रहा हूं । घ्रभी भी नुमायशों में गोलर गैस की बात जोर शोर से रक्डी जाती है । संपुर में कहा गया कि इससे 100 क्यूविक फीट गंस निकलेगी घ्रोर उस का नतीजा यह्ह निकाला जात्ता है कि लघु उथ्रोग प्रागे जायेगे। मैं बड़े बडे उघोग धन्धों की बात तो नहीं कह सकसा क्योंकि वह मजबूती पर बंठ हैं, लेकिन जो छोटे उद्योग हैं उन के घन्दर न मालिक खुश हैं मीर न उन में काम करने बाले मजदूर युग हैं । कारण यह़ है कि जो भी कानून बनाये जाते हैं वह्ट बड़े उद्योगों के हित में बनाये जाते हैं । छोटे उखोगों में न तो वह मालिक के हित में होते हैं भौर न मजदूरों के हित में होते हैं। यह् सरकार कमी मी इस बात की परवाह नहीं करती कि छोटे उधोगों का क्या होने बाला है ।

घ्रभी-परी हिमाने यही यद चुर्रा है कि सर्कार ने कह्दा कि विल्ट्रेग एंडन का काम करने वाले लोंगों के लिंग प्राविहेंत्र फ.ड की स्करस . चालू होगी। लोकन उन को नहीं मालूभ कि गग्य सग्कारें बया करती हैं । के पांच-याँ बर्ग्र के हैं देती हैं। लेकिन थाज गेका किस्ता के पाम है, दो तोन वर्ष , के बाद बह टेका किसी घोग के पास होगा दों कि नोज का ममय शनना ही बाकी है । प्रगण पाष मरफल के निये प्रावितेंट फंड कालु किया गया नां उन मउदूरों को उन मे कोई गाल नही होगा पोर बहल मारे-मारे किरें। । हत की घोर ध्यान बेने की बण्न ग्रावभ्यकता है। हम सम्बन्ध में क्राप को बनला देमा बाहता हूं किं मेजग मिनर्लंम वे: निए 20 माल घोर माइसर मिनरत्म के निये पांच माल का नो ज़ ग्बसा गया है । भ्रगन प्य नरह्द मे 20 मान प्रांर णाच याग्न की बात कों कार्यान्चिन करन दिया गया लो हम में मजूदगों का क्पया बते में पढ़ जायेगा श्रां उम को कापी परेगानी होने की मस्माब्ना है।
[बी कारी राम गुप्त]
श्राज जो कहा जाता है कि हमारी बंज्रानिक प्रग्गति होगी, उस के लिये जो योजनायें बनाई जाती हैं उन की मूलमूत जातों में यदि हम नहीं जायेंगे श्रोर उन को ठीक नहीं करेंगे तो जो हासत प्राज हमारो योजनामों की हां रही है उस मे बदतर होने वाली है।

प्रश्न के उस्पादत के मौर उस के वितरण के बारे में मुक्षे केषल एक बात कहनी है भोर वह वह है कि जब तक भाप केवल भांकड़ों के भाधार पर या कागजों के भ्राघर पर चलेंगे तब तक भाप का काम ठीक ते नहीं चल सकता है । भगर घाने काम को ठीक करना है तो भाप को गांबों के भाषार पर चलना होगा, एक जिले की जो हासत है उस के भाधार पर चलना होगा । भभी कुछ दिन हुए डा० के० एल० राव ने एक मुमाव दिया था कि गें पैदा करने वाले जो जिले हैं उन के लिये प्रलग-पलग योजना बनाने के बजाय भाष भलग-पलग प्रदेशों के लिये योषनायें बनती हैं। इसी तरह से में कहना चाहता हं कि बहां पर जो कीज वेदा होती हैं उसके प्रनुसार योजना बनाई बाये तो वहु ज्यादा ठीक होगा।

भब प्रणन भ्षाता है बादी कमिभन का । कादी कमिशन जिस योजना को बना कर कल रहा हैं वह योजना न तो गांछी की की कल्पना की योजना है न विनोबा जी की पोर न कांगेंस की। यह योजना इस तरह से बनाई गई हैं कि ₹स से घोड़े से लोगों का भला होता है, जो ऊपर बेंे हुए हैं उन का ही भसा होता हैं। इस से न तो कसाई बालों का फायदा होता है पोर न बुनले बालों का । इसमें मामूल वूल परिवर्तन की भावसयकता है, लेकिन यह काम होने वाला नहीं है क्योंक्रि उन को यह $\mathbf{3 र}$ लगता है कि भगर ऐसा कर वेंगे तो जो मिल बाले हैं उन की जो धामननो भाज होती है वह कसे

होगी इएलिए या तो इसको हमेशा के लिए समाप्त करें या इसको ठीक से चलावें तभी कुछ फायदा हो सकता है प्रन्यथा श्राज जो दशा चल रही है वह तो एक खंरातबाना है। धोड़े से लोगों का उससे पेट भर जाता है ।

भ्रब रही शराबंदो की बात। शराबबन्दी के बारे में प्रोर रिक्षा के बारे में जब तक इस देश की एक नोति नहीं होगी तब तक देश का कल्याण नहीं हो सकता है । भ्राज भ्रावाज उठ रही बुद काप्रूस वालों के भ्रन्दर कि शराबबन्दो उठा दी जाए . . . . (घ्यदालाल) . .

काँ मालनोय सषस्य : नहीं नहीं ।
जी फातो राज पृथ्त : मंसूर की सरकार, मष्य प्रदेश की सरकार, महाराष्ट्र की सरकार समी सरकारें पह् मांग कर रहीं हैं कि इसको हटाभों।

भ्रब मैं एक बास बात की तरफ उपाष्मक्ष महोदय का ध्यान बींचना जहता हूं मोर वह यह है कि यह् जो हिन्दी का प्रश्न है पोर सर्प्रीजी का घर्न हैं इसके मीतर जो राजनीवि प्रा गई है वह देश के लिए सबसे बड़ा बतरा है। या तो सरकार को स्पष्ट कहना चाएिए भागर उनकी हिम्मत नहीं है हिन्दी को कलामे की तो कह दें कि छोड़ो इसको,मप्रेंजी चलापो घार भ्रगर चलानी है तो सबको साष लेकर उसकों बलायें । म्रभी में मव्रास गया । वहा हर प्रादमी मोचता है कि हिन्दी बाले हमारे दुपमन हैं। यह परिस्थिति जहां बन काए वहां देग का कल्पाण नहीं हो सकता है। इसलिए हिन्दी के सम्बन्ष में सारे देश को एक साथ लेकर के एक रानंड कान्मेंसे टेबल सरकार को करनी चाहिए प्रोर इसको तय करना चाहिए प्रन्यया यहु प्रश्न देश के टूकड़े करेगा, निभाजन करेणा पोर हम भोर गतं मे चले आयेंगे ।

Shri Karni Singhji (Bikaner): Sir, I want to move any amendment No. 50.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: It will be taken as moved.

Shri Karni Singhjl: I beg to move:
That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-
"but regret that in the Address no men'ion has been made-
(a) about the proposed positive steps to be taken to prcvide drinking water to the brackish water belt areas in Rajasihan, as for example the Lunkaransar area in Bikaner Distijcts; and
(b) about the steps to be taken to arrest the rising price level of essential commodities." (50)

Shri Khadilkar: We are grateful to the President for delivering thls annual address to both Houses or Parliament because in my view it p.ovides an opportunity to this House to review the national and internationas situation, our achievements and our failures in the past and see what prospects are before us for the future. As the hon. Members have referred. the greatest achievement to the credit of the government during the last year in my opinien in that when Pakistan committed aggression on masuive scale, we on our side mobilised all the resources and drove the aggressor back. This military victory on the battle front to my mind has resulted in a great moral victory for this cauntry because what lias hispened at Tashkent is not simply just the :igning of a document. It has brought Pakistan and India together, of course after nearly 18 years of strife, Pakistan has been persuaded to accept a course of action which all these years she has spurned. Pakistan has accepted at Tashkent that she is prepared to renounce force for the settlement of disputies. I think it is a moral
victory ibat was achieved at Tashkent and it will go a long way in $b$ inging about further closer understanding between these two nelghbours. During the last eighteen years because of this partition one country was artificially divided into two nations; all the time we were at logger heads. We had a common history, common civllisation, commion popular life. In this artincial division of this country some western powerg thought it wise to use Pakistan as a lever against India and all the time hatred, mutual suispleion, border disputes and border firing were going on. This House will remember that only after Tashkent during this session we luave not heard elther of an adjournment motion or a call attention notice or a question regarding some firing on the border. This is due to Tashkent. As my hon. friend from the Opposition just now said, it is an act of faith. 1 think during the 18 months of the regime of our late Prime Mindeter, Shri. Lal Bahadur Shastri, the events were so crowded; challenges were thrown. There was war; though not declared, it was war none-the-less. Facing the situation. facing every challenge at home ar: : abroad, our late Prime Minister has laid down his life in the hour of glory and triump by sigaing the Tashkent agreement; that will change the course of history in the coming yearr.

Why do I gay this? The hon. Member. Shri Dandeker, welcomes the agreement but unfortunately he has not given up his rigid attitude towards those who are Instrumental in bringing about India and Pakistan together. Kosygin, by bringlag these two countries at war together, and getting this agrecment by persunsion. by diplomacy, has acheved one thing. I think in the Sovirt diploma-ti- history this will be recorded as the greatest achievement of Siviet diplomacy. Because, by this act, what has he achieved? Ftrstly. the leader of the socialist wor!d came forward is settle a dispute between two countries belonging to the Commonweal! $h$ and not part of the socialist world.

## [Shri Khadilkar]

and more with the west. The western powers, in our eyes during this strife, were suspect. They could not do anything, and the Chinese were taking advantage of this position and trying to win over Pakistan. In such a situation, Soviet diplomacy has triumphed at Tashkent so far as India and Pakistan are concerned. (Interruption).

## जी बहु fिजबे : प्रोर एक काम किया है । स्बतंब प्रोर कम्पूनिम्ट पार्टी को एक साथ किया है ।

## Shri Khadilkar: वह् भी क्रा जायगा ।

It has brought these countries together, and so far as our borders with China are concerned, though China is still assuming a war posture, the cold war tension or the border iension has been considerably reduced. Not only that. Soviet diplomacy has gone further; excluding South Vietnam, she has entered into an agreement with Japan. The Soviet Union could not see eye to eye as she is not seeing with China, and she has diplomatically, more or less, isolated China, and the only spot of conflict that remains now is Viet Nam. Therefore if we look at Tashkent, Tashkent will be a divide in modern history, a turning-point in world history, if we look at it from the proper angle and try to understand the deep significance of this act of diplomacy that was achieved and an act of crowning glory of our late Prime Minister who achieved it. From this angle I think a great, :uccessful career unfortunately has
been brought to an end in Tashkent. So, Tashkent will always be remembered in history for these two events.

## 17 hrs .

My hon. friend Shri Dandeker in the same breath, was unifortunately looking at the world events from the same old angle; though he was saying that there is nothing new in the address, if he were to remove his past blinkers from his eyes, he will have a clearer vision. In Vietnam today, the last conflict, strife and war on the Asjatic mainland is being fought; on the Asiatic mainland, Asians are fighting against Asians on the issue, and all over the world democratic opinion is stirred. In America itself, all the intellectuals, all the academicians, all the liberals in sizeable sections of the ruling party are deadly set against this war in South Vietnam. We may be a little weak and poor, but we are a big nation. That big nation image of our country has been developed all over the world by the late Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. We should not forget it. We should not forget it and act in a cringing manner keeping our mouth shut where we feel, as a matter of principle, we must have our say. Whether our saying has weight or not militarily, certainly we can change this chain of events and restore peace in Vietnam.

Mr. Depaty-8peaker: He may continue tomorrow.

### 17.01 hm .

The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Tuesiay, Feb-. ruary 22, 1988/Phalorina 8, 1887 (Saka).


[^0]:    Mr. Chairman: Shri Yamuna Prazad Mandal-absent.

[^1]:    "but regret that no mention has been made in the Address of any

