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**Tuesday, March 21, 1967**  
**Phalguna 30, 1888 (Saka)**

# LOK SABHA DEBATES

(First Session)



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**LOK SABHA SECRETARIAT  
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\*The sign + marked above the name of a Member indicates that the question was actually asked on the floor of the House by that Member.



LOK SABHA

Tuesday, March 21, 1967/Phalgun 30,  
1888 (Saka)

The Lok Sabha met at Eleven of the  
Clock

[MR. SPEAKER in the Chair]

MEMBERS SWORN

Shri M. Muhammad Ismail (Man-  
jeri)

Shri Amiya Nath Bose (Aram-  
bagh)

ORAL ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS

Mr. Speaker: Questions. Shri D. C  
Sharma. Shri Yash Pal Singh.

श्री यशपाल सिंह: अध्यक्ष महोदय,  
बार बार खड़े होने की आपकी कोई आवश्यकता  
नहीं है। आप बैठे बैठे ही नाम पुकारा करें।  
हमारे संविधान में भी यही है और यही  
परम्परा भी चली आ रही है।

प्रश्न ५६५५।

Indo-Pak Air Services

\*19. Shri Yashpal Singh:  
Shri D. C. Sharma:

Will the Minister of Tourism and  
Civil Aviation be pleased to state:

(a) whether Pakistan's proposal for  
an official level meeting to consider  
restoration of the air services between  
the two countries has been considered;

(b) if so, the results thereof; and

(c) the steps taken in this regard?

The Minister of Tourism and Civil  
Aviation (Dr. Karan Singh): (a) to  
(c). The question of restoration of  
air services between India and Pakis-

tan is still in the stage of discussion  
through diplomatic channels along  
with some other matters relating to  
normalisation of relations between  
the two countries.

श्री यशपाल सिंह: क्या इस बात की  
कोई श्रुतियाँ ली जाएगी कि हमारी टैरिटरि  
के ऊपर उड़ करके पश्चिमी पाकिस्तान से  
कोई डिफेंस परपज के लिए सामान पूर्वी  
पाकिस्तान में न जा सके?

डा० कर्ण सिंह: जी हाँ।

श्री यशपाल सिंह: प्रेक्टिकल कदम क्या  
उठायेगे। क्या गारंटी होगी कि इस में मिलिटरी  
परपज के लिए सामान जा रहा है या नहीं जा  
रहा है?

Dr. Karan Singh: This matter is  
under close consideration.

श्री हुसैन बख्श कश्मीर: यह जो सेवा  
प्रारम्भ की जाएगी क्या इस में कुछ शर्तें भी  
रखी जाएंगी ताकि पाकिस्तान की ओर से  
कोई कठिनाई यात्रियों के लिए पैदा न हो?

डा० कर्ण सिंह: जब यह एग्रीमेंट हो  
जाएगा तो जाहिर है कि उस में इस किस्म की  
शर्तें दोनों तरफ से रख जायेंगी।

श्री श्रींकार लाला बेरबा: इस सेवा को  
चालू करने के लिए प्रस्ताव क्या भारत सरकार  
ने रखा था या पाकिस्तान सरकार ने या दोनों  
ने रखा था? इसका जो खर्चा बर्बर है वह  
कौन बर्दाश्त करेगा?

डा० कर्ण सिंह: तात्कालिक एग्रीमेंट के  
तहत यह सवाल उठा था और दोनों देशों के  
बीच बातचीत हो रही है। जहां तक खर्च  
का सवाल है दोनों देशों के ऊपर पड़ेगा।

बी जॉकार नाम बेरवा : पहले प्रस्ताव किस ने रखा था ? यह तो ठीक है कि ताशकंद समझौते के तहत यह हो रहा है । लेकिन पहले इसका प्रस्ताव आपने किया था या पाकिस्तान ने किया था ?

डा० कर्ण सिंह : ताशकंद समझौते के तहत बहुत सी बातचीत हुई है । उसके दौरान मैं यह बात भी उठी थी ।

**ग्राम्यता महोदय :** नैकस्ट क्वेश्चन ।

बी हुकूम खान कल्लाय : ग्राम्यता महोदय इसका खुलासा नहीं हुआ है । प्रस्ताव पहले किस ने रखा था, मुझसे पहले किस ने दिया था, भारत ने दिया था या पाकिस्तान ने दिया था ?

#### National Food Budget

+

- \*20. Shri H. N. Mukerjee:  
Shri Indrajit Gupta:  
Shri C. C. Desai:  
Dr. Karni Singh:  
Shri C. Janardhanan:  
Shri P. C. Adichan:

Will the Minister of Food and Agriculture be pleased to state:

(a) whether the centre has prepared a national food policy and a national food budget;

(b) if so, the main features thereof; and

(c) the concrete steps being taken to implement them?

The Minister of State in the Ministry of Food, Agriculture, Community Development and Cooperation (Shri Annasaheb Shinde): (a) to (c). In the context of present food shortage the food policy has been one of maximising procurement and distribution of foodgrains obtained through procurement and from imports through rationing and other forms of government distribution; keeping the unsocial activities of foodgrains traders under check through a system of licensing; restricting the movement of foodgrains

within the country within zonal boundaries in an effort to help government procurement of foodgrains and keeping a check on open market prices by isolating the points of heavy draws; ensuring reasonable prices to the producers of foodgrains, etc. The policy will be reviewed again by Government in the light of the conclusions emerging from Chief Ministers' Conference to be held early next month.

A National Food Budget is under preparation and will be finalized after the Chief Ministers' Conference.

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: Pending the implementation of the somewhat pompous statement placed by the Minister, may I know if any interim measures have been adopted by Government or are in the process of being adopted to solve such a situation as that which has arisen in Bihar where impossible conditions appear to prevail at the present time?

Shri Annasaheb Shinde: As far as the hon. Member's question in regard to Bihar is concerned, we are trying to see that the largest possible quantities are supplied to Bihar; and during the current month we are supplying about 1,78,000 tonnes of foodgrains to Bihar. Last month also, quite a substantial quantity was supplied to Bihar.

An hon. Member: What about Kerala?

Shri Annasaheb Shinde: If Members ask State-wise, it will be very difficult for me.

Mr. Speaker: He need not answer that. He need only answer the question put.

Shri Annasaheb Shinde: The hon. Member Shri H. N. Mukerjee is a very senior Member of this House. I should say in all humility that the main question relates to a national food budget while the hon. Member is going into details in regard to a particular State.

**Shri P. K. Dec:** He cannot give a ruling.

**Mr. Speaker:** Just a minute. I see a number of Members rising to put questions. I must first call those Members who have tabled the questions. The others may be thinking that they will also be called. They will not be called now because the Members who have tabled the question will have to be called first. Kindly excuse me. Yesterday also, I saw this. First I must give preference to the Members who have tabled the questions. After that, I may allow the others, considering the nature of the question and its importance, but not now, before I complete the list of the Members who have tabled the question.

**Shri Krishna Kumar Chatterjee:** We may put supplementary questions.

**Mr. Speaker:** Yes; but the main question must be answered first.

**Shri H. N. Mukerjee:** The Minister chose to go out of his way to suggest that we have gone beyond the ambit of the question, but really the question refers to the implementation of the national food policy which I hope is at present a potential matter; we are having the food policy finalised by whatever discussion you are having with the Chief Ministers, but you do have a food policy at the present moment, and my question which I had asked earlier related to that. Now, my second question would be, what is the Government's intention regarding solving the crisis created in a State like Kerala where the Central subsidy has been stopped with very disastrous results or in West Bengal where the last Government left the procurement position in such a disastrous predicament that the new Government is finding it very difficult to carry on. May I know if the Central Government has any plans in this regard in pursuance of their oft-repeated objective of co-operating with the Opposition which has come into the picture?

**The Minister of Food and Agriculture (Shri Jagjivan Ram):** At present, certain allocations are being

made to the various State Governments which are deficit or where the food crops have been affected by drought conditions, taking into consideration the requirements of the respective States and the availability of foodgrains with the Centre, either imported or procured internally. We are supplying Kerala also every month. We try to make supplies to Bengal also, and the Bengal Chief Minister and the Food Minister are coming here tomorrow to discuss details as to how we can meet the situation there. We have received communications from the Chief Minister of Kerala also; he is also coming here and we will go into details and see how far we can ease the situation there.

**Dr. Karni Singh:** In the early 1950s Pandit Nehru told Parliament that food self-sufficiency would be achieved in this country within the next year. Now the President has told us that by 1971 food self-sufficiency would be achieved. I would like to know whether the Government have any proposals to take into account the ten crore increase in population that is projected in the next ten year period while fixing target for production of adequate food to meet their needs and also whether the Government have any longrange plan to take into account the population of 100 crores which will be reached by the turn of the century so that enough food is produced to meet their demands also?

**Shri Jagjivan Ram:** The difficulty is that the population growth has been very rapid and we should attack the problem on two fronts: increased production of foodgrains and disincentives to population growth. Our problem will be a perpetual problem and therefore the scheme of family planning will have to be taken on a big scale. In all these schemes we should have a new strategy for agricultural production,

for research, improved seeds and manure and irrigation. There should be an awareness in the country that we will have to increase our food production to become self-sufficient as early as possible.

श्री क० ना० तिवारी : अध्यक्ष महोदय, इस प्रश्न में मेरा नाम भी है और मुझे इस बारे में इन्फॉर्मेशन दी गई है ।

Mr. Speaker: It is not in my list; it is not here.

श्री शिव नारायण : मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि अन्न-संकट का प्रमुख कारण जो जोनल सिस्टम है, मंत्री महोदय उस को हटाने में कक्षा तक सहमत हैं ?

Shri Annasahib Shinde: This matter was referred.

श्री कंवर लाल गुप्ता : मंत्री महोदय हम प्र.न का उत्तर हिन्दी में दें ।

श्री हुकम चन्द कक्कावय : अध्यक्ष महोदय, हम सदन की यह परम्परा है और पिछले स्पीकर रूलिंग भी दे चुके हैं कि हिन्दी के प्रश्न का उत्तर हिन्दी में और अंग्रेजी के प्रश्न का उत्तर अंग्रेजी में दिया जाये ।

Mr. Speaker: It is not so; all the Ministers do not know Hindi. There are arrangements for translation.

Shri Annasahib Shinde: This matter was referred to the food-grains policy committee under Mr. Venkatapayya and it recommended that the present system of State-zone should continue. This was again discussed in the Chief Ministers' Conference and they also came to the conclusion that the State-zonal system should be continued. All these matters are always under consideration and review. We have a conference of Chief Ministers early next month and this matter will be reviewed again in consultation with the Chief Ministers and further policy decisions would then be taken.

श्री क० ना० तिवारी : अध्यक्ष महोदय, आप देख लीजिए कि कारिजेंडम 3 में मेरा और श्री विभूति मिश्र का नाम है ।

Mr. Speaker: I do not see it; unfortunately, it is not with me. I do not know how it is with you and not with me.

We are on question No. 20. Your name is there?

Shri K. N. Tiwari: Yes, Sir.

श्री विभूति मिश्र : अभी मंत्री जी ने जवाब में कहा है कि सरकार प्रोक्युरमेंट करेगी । मैं पिछले पंद्रह बरस से सदन में यह बात सुनता आ रहा हूँ । सरकार की प्रोक्युरमेंट की पालिसी यह रही है कि अगर ओपन मार्केट में किसी चीज का दाम बीस रुपये है, तो सरकार दस रुपये देती है । इस की तुलना में किसान की जरूरत की जो दूसरी चीजें हैं, उन की कीमतें लगातार बढ़ती जा रही हैं, लेकिन सरकार उन के बारे में कोई कार्यवाही नहीं करती है । जगजीवन बाबू कैबिनेट मिनिस्टर हैं । मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि क्या वह कोई ऐसा नेशनल बजट बनायेंगे, जिस के अन्तर्गत किसान को उस की जरूरत की चीजें उसी प्रकार सस्ते दाम पर मिलें, जिस प्रकार सरकार उम से गल्ला खरीदती है ।

बिहार में सरकार ने लैबी गार्डर लागू किया हुआ था, जिस के अन्तर्गत किसानों से सस्ते दाम पर गल्ला लिया जाता था । इस कारण किसानों में बहुत असंतोष व्याप्त था और चुनावों में हमारे कई साथी उस के शिकार हुए । मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि क्या सरकार इस बारे में पुनर्विचार करेगी ।

श्री जगजीवन राय : माननीय सदस्य ने बहुत ही माफूल प्रश्न किया है । कृषि में उत्पादित पदार्थों का भी मुनासिब दाम मिलना चाहिए और मैं ऐसा मानता हूँ कि उत्पादन में जो खर्चा होता है, उस का हिसाब कर के कृषि-उत्पादन के दाम निर्धारित किये जाने चाहिए । वह दाम ऐसा होना चाहिए कि किसान महसूस करे कि उस को अपनी लागत पर कुछ फायदा हो रहा है । मेरी नीति ऐसी होगी । किसान को जिन चीजों की आवश्यकता पड़ती है, वे उस को मुहैया हो सकें और उस की

क्षमता के भीतर के दामों पर मुहैया हो सकें, वह करना भी आवश्यक है। जहाँ तक बिहार में सब्जी का प्रश्न है, यह प्रदेश की सरकारों पर निर्भर करता है कि अपने प्रदेश में सब्जी प्राप्त करने के लिए वे कौन सा प्रबन्ध करें। यह उन की क्षमता के भीतर है।

Mr. Speaker: I am told Mr. K. N. Tiwary's name is also there. Somehow it has been missed here. He may put his question.

श्री क. न. तिवारी : माननीय मंत्री जी ने कहा कि वर्नमेंट की यह पालिसी होगी कि किसानों की फसल की उपज पर कितना खर्च होता है, इस का तबसीना कर के यह तय किया जायेगा कि उन को क्या कीमत दी जाये। यह बात पिछले फूड मिनिस्ट्रज के समय से चली आ रही है। मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि यह मामला किस स्थिति में है और कब तक इस बात का हिसाब हो जायेगा कि किन-किन फसलों पर क्या खर्चा पड़ता है और किसानों को उन का क्या दाम मिलना चाहिए। जब तक यह नहीं होता है, क्या कब तक किसानों को ओपन मार्केट में कंपीटीशन के आधार पर बेचने को मजबूर किया जायेगा या नहीं ?

Shri Annasahib Shinde: I quite agree with the sentiment of the hon. member that the prices of agricultural commodities should be based as far as possible on the cost of production. But as he is aware, working out the cost of production figures is a long process. Recently we have set up an expert committee under the chairmanship of the Chairman of the Agricultural Price Commission to work out the cost of cultivation of various commodities. (श्री विनूति बिज : कमीशन में किसान विरोधी लोग हैं)

Shri Annasahib Shinde: It is a time-consuming process and it will take some time. But the Government of India's policy has been to pay remunerative prices to the farmers as

far as possible. The prices which are announced from time to time by the Government of India are fixed in consultation with the Agricultural Prices Commission which goes broadly into this aspect. I quite concede that so far a satisfactory arrangement has not been worked out. It shall be our endeavour to work a satisfactory system, so that parity in prices of industrial and agricultural goods is established in the long run.

Shri Umanath: From one of the Food Department's documents, I find that some experts committee is going into the question of formulating the national food budget and the whole attempt is to chalk out a programme for imports and not to formulate a food budget. For preparing the food budget, the whole food resources must be in the hands of the Government. After the failure of the Food Corporation of India, may I know what are the main factors as based upon which the national food budget is being prepared? Secondly, may I know whether State-trading in wholesale food-grains is one of the items which has to be the basis for preparing the national food budget?

Shri Annasahib Shinde: The food budget is prepared on the basis of availability of food in the country as well as the possibility of imports from outside. But the preparation of a Food Budget is faced with a number of limitations. I may refer, for the information of hon. Members, to some of the limitations that are there in the preparation of a Food Budget. They are:

- (i) Reliable estimates of the actual level of consumption on State-wise basis are not available.
- (ii) Data on movement by road on private account from different States are not available.
- (iii) Reliable information regarding the extent to which the variations in per capita con-

sumption in different States from year to year or due to difference in levels of per capita income and changes therein is not available.

- (iv) Inter-State variations in per capita consumption of cereals depends on the extent to which subsidiary foods like potatoes, sweet potatoes and tapioca supplement cereals intake in the different areas.

- (v) For preparation of Food Budget reliable and timely advance estimates of production are an essential principal requisite.

Shri P. K. Vasudevan Nair: Sir, am I to understand that you have exhausted all the names on the list? There are other names also.

Mr. Speaker: Let him answer.

Shri Annasahib Shinde: Sir, an expert committee with which the Food Secretary, the Agriculture Secretary, the Secretary of the Planning Commission and some other eminent persons have been associated has prepared a tentative budget. That would be discussed at the Chief Ministers' Conference. The Chief Ministers will be taken into confidence in regard to this. After all, it can be settled only with the cooperation of the State Governments. Everybody, even the Chief Minister of Kerala, would be in a position to have his say. We shall benefit from the advice that the Chief Ministers will be giving to us and on that basis it may be possible, perhaps, to arrive at a satisfactory arrangement.

Shri R. Umanath: Sir, I rise to a point of order. The second part of my question has not been answered, whether State trading in wholesale foodgrains will be one of the factors which will be the basis for a national Food Budget

Shri Annasahib Shinde: I think the position of the Government of India is very clear in regard to this. The Food Corporation of India is a public sector body.

Shri R. Umanath: It has failed.

Shri Annasahib Shinde: I am not prepared to concede that it has failed. If the State Governments co-operate and the necessary co-operation is forthcoming from them I am quite sure much progress can be made. Already the Food Corporation of India has made substantial progress. I concede there are difficulties in the way. But as far as the policy approach is concerned we want to see that the Food Corporation of India is really in a position to play an important role in the food trade.

Shri Nath Pai: Mr. Speaker, I wish that the Ministers do a little more home work and in that case the hon. Minister would have found that Questions Nos. 20, 32 and 34 are more or less identical and could have been taken together. I am sorry that they wait for us to request you to take up the questions together. I hope in future this will not be necessary and identical questions will be taken together.

Shri Jagjivan Ram: Why should the Ministry combine the questions?

श्री नाथ पाई : प्राप कः हो मिनिस्टरी का ह, प्राप जग पट्टि ।

Mr. Speaker, the main question put by Shri Hiren Mukerjee relates to the preparation of a national food budget which presupposes a just, fair and equitable distribution of available foodgrains and selling them at prices which do not vary very much from State to State. I do not know how far we are from this. The hon. Min-

ister of State gave a vague promise, like a Rip Van Winkle, that we are in the process of thinking. Will they do it or will they want it to be precipitated as Shri Gopalan in a statement in Madras has said—I will read it out—

"If the Government of India does not help the State of Kerala . . . (Interruption).

He said, if the Government of India does not then the Kerala Government—that means if the national food budget is not prepared, if the food prices are not stabilised through out the country—will have to nationalise rubber plantations etc. Is the Government of India going to wait for it to be precipitated into action or is it going to take action timely?

Shri Jagjivan Ram: I do not know how nationalisation of rubber plantations is related to this question.

Mr. Speaker: You need not answer that, you need answer only the other part of the question.

Shri E. K. Nayanar: We earn foreign exchange.

Shri Jyotirmoy Basu: They will sell rubber and get foodgrains for that.

Shri Nath Pal: It is very relevant. If the prices of foodgrains are not the same in the country...

Mr. Speaker: Rubber plantation has nothing to do with this question. Shri Gopalan might have said that.

Shri Nath Pal: I agree with Shri Madhu Limaye that it is perhaps the difficulty of language.

मैं ने यह कहने की कोशिश की थीर उन की कीमत एक नहीं रहेगी. . . . (अव्यवस्था).  
 अगर आप सुनें तो साफ हो जायेगा।  
 कीमत एक नहीं हो जायेगी तो एक रखने के लिए उस का नेशनलाइजेशन किया जायेगा।  
 उस का नतीजा जरा मिलता जुलता है।  
 जरा सुनिए।

की व्योतिर्भव वस्तु: वह लोग उसे बेचकर उसी पैसे से खाना लायेंगे बाहर से।

Shri Jagjivan Ram: Sir, I am not going into the implications of this fantastic proposal of foreign exchange for every State. Without examining the implications of that preamble I want to make it clear that it is not very easy to formulate a national food budget. The idea is there. But when I go into the details of that, I find that it is not so easy or simple to formulate a national food budget, in the present context of our food production. We have invited the Chief Ministers of all the States in order to review the existing food policy and also to formulate a new one in which we can maximise the production of available foodgrains in the country itself so that there can be, as far as possible, equitable distribution throughout the country of the available quantity, and if these foodgrains are made available, they may produce some impact on the prices also. But I do not think it will be possible for us to have hundred per cent uniform prices throughout the country, although it shall be our endeavour by various devices, by subsidy and other methods, to see that the price variations are not very high in different States.

Shri S. Kandappan: Keeping in view the low level of production of foodgrains this year, I would like to know whether the Government have made any additional efforts, or contemplate taking some additional steps, to increase the availability of foodgrains so as to meet at least the minimum requirements of States like Kerala, Madras and Bihar.

Shri Annasahib Shinde: As the hon. Member has rightly mentioned, the food situation this year is really difficult because of the severe drought conditions in Eastern UP, Bihar, parts of Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh. So, we will have to redouble our efforts to secure as much quantity as possible internally from our own production. That is the very purpose of

convening a conference of the Chief Ministers. We are thinking of enlisting the co-operation of the Chief Ministers in ensuring that the largest quantity is made available by each of them to overcome the difficulty.

**Shri Damani:** May I know whether the question of cash crops like cotton, sugarcane, groundnuts and other things, will also be discussed in the Chief Ministers meeting because they also are in short supply?

**Shri R. Umanath:** Cotton is not food.

**Shri Damani:** They are cash crops.

**Mr. Speaker:** This question is about the National Food Budget. Shri Janardhanan.

**Shri C. Janardhanan:** The hon. Minister has now stated here that they are going to discuss the food problem with the Chief Ministers. That is good. But the reports we are getting from Kerala are very alarming. There the whole rationing system is on the verge of collapse because of lack of stocks. Therefore, will the Government take steps to rush food to Kerala and to reconsider the question of subsidy also?

**Shri Annasahib Shinde:** We are trying to help the Kerala Government as much as possible. According to the availability we are trying to see that the Kerala Government is helped to the maximum extent possible within the limitations of the Government of India.

**Shri C. Janardhanan:** He has not answered the question of subsidy.

**Shri Jagjivan Ram:** We are supplying at present at the rate of 70,000 tonnes of rice to the Kerala Government. Sometimes when there has been delay in shipping at the other end, there has been some delay in the supply of the full quantity in a particular month. In that case sometimes

we have approached the Government of Madras to make advances of rice to them. The question of subsidy will be discussed with the Chief Minister when he comes here.

**Shrimati Sharda Mukerjee:** From the answer of the hon. Minister all that I am able to gather is that there has been no decision regarding the levy and the continuance of the zonal system. If the Government wants to procure more food and stop the flow of food to places where the purchasing power of the people is greater thus leaving poor people in the poorer districts starving, that is necessary. Has the Government got any policy regarding the levy and the continuance of the zonal system?

**Shri Jagjivan Ram:** The suggestion of the hon. Member will be kept in view.

**Shrimati Sharda Mukerjee:** It is not a suggestion. I want information from the Government regarding the continuance of the levy system and the zonal system.

**Shri Jagjivan Ram:** So far as procurement is concerned, levy is one of the methods of procurement. In the matter of procurement it will have to be left to the State Governments to have one or the other method of procurement.

**Shri P. C. Adichan:** May I know whether there was a breakdown in the supply of rice to Kerala in December 1966 causing great suffering to the people of Kerala; if so, who was responsible for that?

**Shri Annasahib Shinde:** We have already submitted that we are trying to supply on the basis of availability with the Central Government.

**Mr. Speaker:** Next question. Shri Samanta.

**Shri Teneti Vishwanatham:** Sir, you look either to that side or to this side, not to the centre.

**Mr. Speaker:** I will look to this side also.



# Development Blocks in States

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\*21. Shri S. C. Samanta:  
Shri S. K. Sambandhan:

Will the Minister of Food and Agriculture be pleased to state:

(a) the steps taken by Government to improve the working of Development Blocks in the various States after the merger of the former Ministry of Community Development with the Ministry of Food and Agriculture and the results thereof;

(b) whether the Block machinery has been found satisfactorily useful in implementing Grow More Food programme throughout the country, or otherwise, and if any change is contemplated; and

(c) what economy has been achieved in the Ministry since the merger?

The Minister of State in the Ministry of Food, Agriculture, Community Development and Cooperation (Shri Annasahib Shinde: (a) to (c). A statement is laid on the Table of the House.

## STATEMENT

(a) The working of the Community Development blocks was closely reviewed, following the merger of the two Ministries. Measures for needed improvements were formulated and, after discussions with various expert and other groups, placed for consideration before the Annual Conference of State Development Commissioners and subsequently before the Conference of State Ministers in charge of Community Development and Panchayati Raj held in October, 1966. The main elements of the approach endorsed by these Conferences include a measure of flexibility in the operational size of the blocks, the staff pattern, and programmes of local relevance; programmes of nationwide importance, like those relating to agriculture and family planning, would, however,

continue to receive priority attention. Similarly, certain special programmes, which lend themselves to effective handling by the Block agency, would be given due emphasis. Fuller involvement of the Panchayati Raj institutions, suitably strengthened specially at the district level, in implementation of programme is also to be secured. The State Governments are seized of these recommendations. It is as yet early to assess results.

(b) The Block machinery has, by and large, discharged its role fairly well, within the resources available, in implementing agricultural production programmes. Some of the lines of further improvement are as indicated in answer to part (a); other measures envisaged aim at raising the levels of skills and knowledge of the extension services and augmenting their strength where called for.

(c) As a result of reorganisation following the merger of the Ministries, reduction in the staff complement and other administrative expenditure of the Departments of Community Development and Cooperation (which constituted the erstwhile Ministry of Community Development and Cooperation) was effected, resulting in savings of about Rs. 6 lakhs during 1966-67.

Shri S. C. Samanta: Is it not a fact that the Programme Evaluation Organisation also recommended the amalgamation of the Community Development and Co-operation Department with the Food and Agriculture Ministry; if so, may I know whether the other recommendations that were made by the Organisation have been taken up by Government and are being followed?

Shri Annasahib Shinde: The Ministry of Food, Agriculture, Community Development and Cooperation is one now and the Minister of Food and Agriculture deals with all these subjects. This question concerns the Community Development Blocks. I do not know to which evaluation committee the hon. Member refers. But we are trying to see that the

maximum coordination is carried out in practice between the various departments including the irrigation department. The Minister of Food and Agriculture is in overall charge of all the departments including irrigation.

**Shri S. C. Samanta:** We were informed that 450 tribal development blocks were to be opened during the Third Five Year Plan. May I know whether that target has been fulfilled and whether there is any difficulty in the sense that the department of social security also will be responsible for those blocks and what coordination there will be between the two departments?

**Shri Annasahib Shinde:** As far as the tribal development blocks are concerned, the target which was fixed in the beginning of the Third Plan has been practically reached. The Social Security Ministry also looks into this. But as far as the implementation part is concerned, that is carried out with the help of the State Governments.

**Shri S. K. Sambandhan:** Will the Minister be pleased to state in concrete terms whether the Government are satisfied with the research work done during the previous years and whether they are satisfied that the present arrangement will bring in results and, if so, whether it would be commensurate with the amount spent on these projects?

**Shri Annasahib Shinde:** The position was reviewed recently. The field officers took part in the deliberations and the policy-approach in regard to community development was also referred to some social scientists and sociologists at a conference in Hyderabad. It was also discussed in the Development Commissioners' Conference and subsequently in the Community Development Ministers' Conference. We are aware of the shortcomings of the functioning of the development blocks and the entire effort now is concentrated on removing the drawbacks as such. But, at the same time, if we

look into the performance, it is not so discouraging.

May I say for the information of the hon. Members that as a result of the functioning of these blocks, a number of things connected with agricultural development have improved. For instance, in the beginning of 1962-63, the improved seed distributed per block was 407 quintals and now the figure is 1,024 quintals; the intake of fertilisers increased from 1,315 to 5,273 quintals and the amount of pesticides, on an average, per block rose to 78 quintals as compared to a very negligible figure. There has been considerable improvement. We are constantly trying to review the position. If there are any specific suggestions of the hon. Member on improving the working of these blocks, he can send them to us and we shall take into consideration all those suggestions.

**श्री प्रकाशवीर शारजी :** मध्य प्रदेश सरकार ने पीछे विकास खण्डों के सम्बन्ध में जो कुछ क्रान्तिकारी परिवर्तन किये थे, उदाहरण के लिये बी० डी० ओ० की पोस्टे समाप्त करना, उनके क्या परिणाम मध्य प्रदेश में रहे और क्या उसके परिणामों को ध्यान में रखते हुए इस प्रकार के कुछ और क्रान्तिकारी परिवर्तन विकास खण्डों के सम्बन्ध में दूसरे राज्यों में किये जाने पर भी सरकार विचार कर रही है ?

**Shri Annasahib Shinde:** It is too early to say what would be the results of the steps taken by the Madhya Pradesh Government. This matter was discussed in the Community Development Ministers' Conference and the Ministers from the States came to the conclusion that a coordinator at the block level was necessary, whatever be the name, whether he is called the Block Development Officer or a Development Officer. After all, we must try to understand what is the function of the blocks. There is the extension officer (irrigation), the extension officer

(cooperation), the extension officer (animal husbandry), the extension officer (agriculture) and so on. There should be somebody to coordinate all these activities. That is the purpose of having a block. If in a particular area, the functioning of the block has not been satisfactory, that is due to some other reasons and, according to me, the main reason is that the elected bodies are not put in there to supervise the activities of the blocks. The Conference also came to the conclusion that the real remedy for this was to have elected representatives in charge of all these activities at the block level. Then, there will be some improvement.

**श्री बिहारीनाथ पाण्डेय :** श्रीमन्, जो वक्तव्य आप ने इस प्रश्न के सम्बन्ध में सभा-पटल पर रखा है उस के पार्ट 'बी' में लिखा है :

"The Block machinery has, by and large, discharged its role fairly well within the resources available in implementing agricultural production programme"

लेकिन जहां तक मुझे देखने का अवसर मिला है तो वह ऐसा नहीं है बल्कि ऐसा होता है कि जो प्रशासनिक ढांचा है उस की वजह से अन्न उपजाओ आन्दोलन है उस में बाधा पड़ती है तो क्या सरकार विकास खंडों की व्यवस्था में आज देश में अधिक अन्न उपजाओ कार्यक्रम को चलाने में जो सतोषप्रद उन्नति नहीं हुई है उस का खास कारण है प्रशासनिक ढांचा तो क्या उस प्रशासनिक ढांचे को तबदील करने के लिए सरकार कोई ठोस कदम उठाने का विचार कर रही है ?

**Shri Annasahib Shinde :** This matter is already under the consideration of the Administrative Reforms Commission and I think that we may get some recommendations from the Administrative Reforms Commission to improve the working of these Blocks.

**श्री राजसेवक दास :** मैं जानना चाहूंगा कि क्या मंत्री महोदय को इस बात की जानकारी

है कि विकास खंड में जो फंड जाता है उस का अधिकांश भाग इमारत निर्माण, कर्मचारियों और अधिकारियों के वेतन भत्तों और साथ ही साथ जीपी के रख रखाव आदि पर खर्च हो जाता है बहुत थोड़ा विकास कार्यों के लिए पड़ता है और जो पड़ता है वह भी भ्रष्टाचार और व्यर्थ की कागजी रिपोर्टों पर ही खर्च जाता है ? जब यह स्थिति हो तो क्या मंत्री महोदय इस चीज की पूरी जानकारी लेने के लिए देश की जनता या जो और लोग हैं, जो चुने हुए लोग हैं उन की राय जान कर यह जो अरबों रुपया खर्च हो रहा है इन विकास खंडों में उस को कम करके इस रुपये को कुछ अच्छे और सुचारु ढंग से इस्तेमाल करने के बारे में विचार कर रही है ?

**Shri Annasahib Shinde :** I cannot go into the individual cases where there might be lapses. I cannot say that there may not have been any lapses anywhere, but may I submit for the information of the hon. Member—there is likely to be a repetition, but I would say that—that wherever elected bodies are there

**Mr. Speaker :** The hon. Minister must know that if the answer is a lengthy one, it cuts into the time for supplementaries. The answer must be to the point.

**Shri Annasahib Shinde :** May I submit that where there are no elected bodies to supervise the functioning of the blocks, there it appears that the functioning is not satisfactory. But may I say that about 33 to 35 per cent of the expenditure is on administration; whether it is on the high side, it is for the hon. Member to consider, but we are all seized of the subject matter and we are trying to see how this administrative expenditure can be brought down. Most of the amounts, by and large, are spent on developmental activities and in many of the States, especially in southern States, may I submit that 80 to 90 per cent of the amount is spent on developmental activities?

**Shri E. K. Nayanar:** It is not correct.

**Mr. Speaker:** The Minister has answered the question

**Shri E. K. Nayanar:** It is not clear... (Interruption)

**Mr. Speaker:** The hon Member put the question and it has been answered

**श्री रामसेवक बाबू:** मंत्री महोदय ने कहा कि प्रणामनिक कार्यों पर 35 प्रतिशत खर्च होता है मंत्री महोदय की जानकारी के अनुसार तो वह स्टेटिकम कोट करे लेकिन उसी के साथ कहते हैं कि 80-90 प्रतिशत विकास कार्यों पर खर्च होता है तो अब उनकी कौन सी बात मान ली जाये 35 प्रतिशत या 80 प्रतिशत यह समझ में नहीं आता तो वे क्या इस की मफाई देगे ?

**Shri Annasahib Shinde:** I am prepared to lay a statement showing the State-wise expenditure

**श्री सरजू पाण्डेय:** मैं चाहता हूँ कि मंत्री महोदय माफ इस बात का जवाब दें। कई माननीय सदस्यों ने यह सवाल उठाया है कि ब्लाको पर जो खर्च किया जाता है उस पैसों का अधिक में अधिक भाग बेकार खर्च होता है, जनोपयोगी कामों पर बहुत कम पैसा खर्च होता है तो मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि क्या सरकार ब्लाको के पुनर्गठन पर कोई विचार कर रही है जिससे अधिक से अधिक उस का लाभ ग्राम लोगों को हो सके और वह पैसा ज्यादा में ज्यादा सिचाई और दूसरे जनता के उपयोगी कार्यों में खर्च हो सके ?

**Shri Annasahib Shinde:** The item of expenditure which came very much in criticism was mainly the one relating to amenities. This specific issue was examined and the Community Development Minister came to the conclusion that henceforward we should not emphasize the amenity aspect and that it should be left to the local people. As far as the resources from the Central or State Government are concerned, they should be mainly diverted for developmental activities.

**श्री रामसेवक बाबू:** 'श्रीमान्, यह विकास खंड नहीं रह गये हैं बल्कि यह विनाश खंड बन गये हैं।

**Shri Hem Barua:** Our late-lamented Prime Minister Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri suggested that the jeeps would be withdrawn from the community development areas. But instead of being withdrawn, fleets of jeeps were thrown into the election campaign recently. Whatever that might be, may I know whether Government propose to withdraw these jeeps from the community development areas since they are misused on many an occasion?

**Shri Annasahib Shinde:** We have communicated to the State Governments that the jeeps which are attached to the blocks should be withdrawn during the election period. I shall have to find out what the actual position was during the election period. But most of the State Governments have agreed to our suggestion and I think they have implemented the suggestion.

**Shri A. B. Vajpayee:** He can answer in respect of the Union Territories.

**Shri Jyotirmoy Basu:** I have been rising several times but I have not been called.

**Shri Nath Pai:** On a point of order. My point of order is a specific one. The Rules of Procedure state that when a question is straight and fair and clear, the answer should be equally affirmative and clear. Shri Hem Barua's question was whether the assurance given to this House by the late Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri that the jeeps would be withdrawn in less than two months, an assurance which was given amidst thunderous applause from all sections of the House, had been implemented. This is no answer if it is said 'I shall find out, for it is more than fourteen months since Shastriji passed away. The assurance was given in his lifetime. We want to know whether those jeeps have been withdrawn

We do not want this assurance 'I shall find out'. What has been done all this time?

**Mr. Speaker:** There is no point of order.

**Shri Nath Pai:** If the reply is not specific, is it not a point of order?

**Mr. Speaker:** It is true that Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri had said that. After that, he was alive not for just one or two months but for a long period. This question was put in the last Lok Sabha too and answers were given . . .

**Shri Nath Pai:** You were a Minister then.

**Mr. Speaker:** There is no point of order. If the hon. Minister has no information, he will collect it.

**Shri Nath Pai:** The reply was evasive. That is my charge.

**Mr. Speaker:** I have requested the hon. Minister to give a specific answer.

**Shri Hem Barua:** Since I had put the question, may I say that my question was very specific?

**Mr. Speaker:** I know that it was.

**Shri Hem Barua:** But the reply was evasive. The hon. Minister only said that it had been suggested to the State Governments, and it would have to be found out from the State Governments whether they had acted on the suggestion of the Central Government or not. Our submission is that this suggestion or this pronouncement was made by the late-lamented Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri on the floor of the House months before or long past. Why is it that Government have not been able to inform the House about the action taken so far?

**Mr. Speaker:** I have already said that the hon. Minister may collect the information.

**Shri P. Venkatasubbiah:** The hon. Minister has stated that the adminis-

trative expenditure on the community development blocks varies from State to State. In that context, may I know whether the VLV who is the king-pin of the whole administrative set-up has been overburdened with paper work rather than real work with the result that he has become more of a liability than of an asset and that is hindering the progress of food production and the implementation of other minor irrigation projects, and if so, whether Government propose to reorient the whole administrative set-up so that it may be more useful to the people in implementing the agricultural production programmes?

**Shri Surendranath Dwivedy:** On a point of order. I find that the hon. Minister without Portfolio is coming in with a folio. Is that in order?

**Shri Annasahib Shinde:** As far as the suggestion made by the hon. Member is concerned, it is a welcome one.

**Shri Jyotirmoy Basu:** Please give me a chance to ask one supplementary question.

**Mr. Speaker:** When a number of Members get up, it is difficult for me to call all of them. I can only pick and choose somebody from this side and somebody from that side. Because a number of Members were interested, I had allowed so many supplementary questions, and we have devoted nearly half an hour to this question.

**Shri Jyotirmoy Basu:** In my constituency, the people are starving and they do not get even three meals a week. And I cannot put even one supplementary question here? . . .

**Shri Umanath:** I have also been observing that he has been standing every now and then on the last question and also on this question . . .

**Mr. Speaker:** I cannot help it. I have not called anybody more than once. I have called a Member only once.

**Shri Umaasath:** Ever since the question Hour began he has been trying to get a chance to put a supplementary question. He had stood up on the last question and also on this question but he has not been given a chance.

**Mr. Speaker:** I can say for his information that Shri K. K. Chatterjee and other Members have been standing on the other side. I have not yet given them a chance. So this must be left to my discretion. If one Member is not accommodated when one question is put, he will have his chance on some other question. If a hundred Members want to put supplementaries on one and the same question, it is not simply possible.

**Shri Jyotirmoy Basu:** Then it is pointless to come and waste time in Delhi.

श्री हुकल बन्ध कछबाय : एक घंटे का क्वेश्चन घावर है। इस एक घंटे में सवाल पूरे नहीं होते हैं। दो घंटे इसके लिये रखे जायें।

अजयन महोदय : क्या करे ? एक घंटा बाहिये एक सवाल के लिये।

**Shri Annasahib Shinde:** The suggestion implied in the hon. Member's question is a welcome. We are examining it. The policy decision that has been taken is that the VLWs should be deployed for agricultural activities and agricultural production.

**Shri Tenneti Viswanatham:** The Ministers should be more audible. We have not been able to hear the answers.

#### Drought Conditions

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- \*22. **Shri Shri Chand Goel:**  
**Shri Raghbir Singh Shastri:**  
**Shri S. C. Samanta:**  
**Shri Madhu Limaye:**  
**Shri P. K. Deo:**  
**Shri G. C. Nalk:**  
**Shri K. P. Singh Deo:**  
**Shri A. Dipa:**

Will the Minister of Food and Agriculture be pleased to state:

(a) the areas where drought conditions are apprehended to occur, owing

to the failure of rains or the insufficiency of rains in the current year;

(b) the steps taken by the Central Government to check the recurrence of drought conditions;

(c) the details of the irrigation, tubewell, pumping sets schemes introduced by Government or likely to be introduced during the current year in order to meet the shortage of water; and

(d) the other major schemes undertaken by Government or likely to be undertaken during the current year to revolutionise the method and speed of agricultural production?

The Minister of State in the Ministry of Food, Agriculture, Community Development and Cooperation (**Shri Annasahib Shinde**): (a) to (d). A statement is laid on the Table of the House

#### STATEMENT

(a) Due to the failure of South-West Monsoon and Post-Monsoon the worst affected areas are Gangetic, West Bengal, Bihar State, Uttar Pradesh East, Rajasthan East, Madhya Pradesh and Gujarat

(b) In order to avoid recurrence of the drought conditions, the Government of India has requested the State Governments to take the following steps:

(i) Demarcation of the chronically drought affected areas on the following basis:

- (a) incidence of rainfall,  
 (b) Annamari and land revenue suspension data; and  
 (c) declaration of scarcity in the past;

(ii) Stepping up of the conventional programme for moisture conservation and attaining full coverage.

- (iii) Feasibility of major and medium irrigation works in the areas;
- (iv) Pilot studies for the more efficient utilisation of land combining forestry and fodder production;
- (v) Intensive groundwater exploration in favourable areas adopting new technology;
- (vi) Survey of other resources like minerals adopting modern technology.
- (vii) Providing other types of employment based on Industry, etc.

(c) A crash programme of quick yielding minor irrigation schemes like pumpsets, tubewells, bored-cum-dug wells was being taken up in the drought affected areas. 1,40,000 masonry wells are expected to be dug, about 1,00,000 masonry wells bored, 2,10,000 pumpsets would be installed and 20,000 tubewells would be constructed during the current year. It is expected that about 1,50,000 electric pumpsets would be energised during the current year against 1,00,000 in 1965-66.

(d) Following are some of the major schemes that have been undertaken by the Government to revolutionise the method and speed of agricultural production:—

- (i) High Yielding Varieties Programme.
- (ii) Multiple Cropping Programme.
- (iii) New Concept of Irrigation.
- (iv) Ayacut Development Programme.
- (v) Organized provision of inputs for agriculture.
- (vi) Farmer's Training.
- (vii) Supplementary Food Production.
- (viii) Special Areas Development.

**Shri Shri Chand Goel:** The problem of drought arises because of paucity of water. Are Government collecting any data with regard to irrigation waters, flood waters and water management so that they are in a position to formulate certain schemes to prevent recurrence of such conditions?

**Shri Annasahib Shinde:** A considerable amount of data is available both with the Planning Commission and with the Ministry. Recently a special wing has been set up in the Department of Agriculture to process these data further.

**Shri Shri Chand Goel:** Are Government aware that experts of the Ford Foundation have suggested certain measures to increase food production considerably? Are they trying to get those recommendations examined and made use of so that food production is increased and this problem is solved to the satisfaction of the country?

**Shri Annasahib Shinde:** Not only the Ford Foundation team but other teams have gone into this problem. Wherever suggestions have been made by the various agencies, we are trying to implement them in our day-to-day work.

Several hon. Members rose—

**Mr. Speaker:** There are about half a dozen names on this question. I am calling only those whose names have been put in the list. Therefore, if any other Member is not called, it is not my mistake. We are following some method. I am calling only those Members whose names appear here.

**Shri Jyotirmoy Basu:** This is a most important question concerning millions of people in this country. If you think that this is a mockery, we are not going to agree with it.

**श्री रघुवीर सिंह शर्मा:** क्या सरकार को यह जानकारी है कि किसानों को कुछ बनाने के लिए जो तकादी सरकार की तरफ से से मिलती है वह पूरी रकम किसान तक

पहुंच भी पाती है या नहीं? और उसका एक काफ़ी बड़ा हिस्सा रिजर्व में भी तो नहीं चला जाता है?

दूसरी बात यह है कि किसान को जो सिमेंट मिलता है, वह उसको ज्यादा तर ब्लैक मार्केट से ही मिलता है। बिना ब्लैक मार्केट के उसको सिमेंट नहीं मिलता है।

**अध्यक्ष महोदय :** आप जो सवाल पूछना चाहते हैं वह पूछिये।

**श्री रघुबीर सिंह शास्त्री :** मैं सवाल ही पूछ रहा हूँ।

**Shri Jotirmoy Basu:** Time is being wasted on things which are unimportant.

**Mr. Speaker:** Shouting is not going to help. He is as much an hon. Member as any other. His name is in the list and he is entitled to put his question.

**Shri Jyotirmoy Basu:** The importance of the matter to millions of people has to be considered.

**श्री रघुबीर सिंह शास्त्री :** क्या सरकार को यह भी पता है कि जो बिजली के कुएं हैं उनको बनाने में कितनी लागत आती है और किसान को कितना ख़या रिजर्व में देना पड़ता है?

**अध्यक्ष महोदय :** आप सवाल पूछें।

**श्री रघुबीर सिंह :** बरी पूछ रहा हूँ।

किसानों की उन शिकायतों को दूर करने के लिए सरकार ने क्या कदम उठाये हैं और कौन से ठोस कदम आगे उठाने जा रही हैं?

**Shri Annasahib Shinde:** We are having a very large-scale minor irrigation programme which includes digging of wells and providing loans etc. to the farmers. During this year, in the beginning Rs. 84 crores were provided in the plan for minor irrigation and subsequently, taking into consi-

deration the needs of some drought-affected areas, Rs. 24 crores more have been added to the original figure.

**श्री इशाक सम्भाली :** यह बड़ा ग्रहण मवाल है इनका। मवाल भी सीधा सादा है। ब्लॉक्स में कुराशन है, इरिगेशन के लिए पैस जो जाना है वह किसानों तक कम पहुंचता है। साथ ही उनको सिमेंट नहीं मिलता है जिस से बजड़ से माइनर इरिगेशन नहीं हो पा रहा है। क्या सरकार इस सब की जांच करेगी?

**साथ और कुछ मंत्री (श्री जगजीवन राम) :** अगर आप सब करेंगे तो आपको माकूल जवाब मिल जाएगा।

यहां ये सब शिकायतें सुनने को मिलती हैं। लेकिन मदस्य महादय को यह भी नहीं भूलना चाहिये कि बावजूद इन कठिनाइयों के बहुत बड़ी तादाद में सूखे के दौरान में कच्चे कुएं खोदे गए हैं और पक्के कुएं भी बनाए गए हैं। . . . .

**श्री कंदर लाल गुप्ता :** उनमें पानी भी है?

**श्री जगजीवन राम :** कुछ सूख गए हैं डिमिंग करने के बाद और यह तो भी मकता है। यह बिल्कुल माधारण बुद्धि की बात है।

**एक माननीय सदस्य :** पैसा तो खर्च कर दिया गया लेकिन क्या किसी में पानी निकला है?

**श्री जगजीवन राम :** यह तो मकता है कि जिस क्षेत्र से माननीय सदस्य आए हैं उनके यहां कुछ भी काम नहीं हुआ है। यह सम्भव है। लेकिन उनकी जानकारी भी तो सीमित है?

मैंने यह कहा है कि सूखा ग्रस्त क्षेत्रों में किसानों ने बहुत बहादुरी से काम किया है बहुत उत्साह दिखाया है। बावजूद इन कठिनाइयों के जिनकी तरफ इन्होंने इशारा किया है, काफी कुएं खोदे गए हैं, पानी निकला है, पटायें गये हैं। इस वक़्त जब सर्दियों में पानी नहीं पड़ा है और जैसे जैसे गर्मी पक रही है



कम से कम सूख भी गए हैं। यह भी हमारे सामने एक कठिन समस्या है।

**श्री दत्तात्रय सम्भाली :** सवाल का जवाब नहीं आया है। सवाल यह है कि कुरूपान की शिकायतें हैं, सिमेंट नहीं उनको मिल रहा है। क्या इस सब के बारे में सरकार जाच करवायेगी?

**Shri S. C. Samanta:** From the statement I find that in order to avoid recurrence of the drought conditions, the Government of India has requested the State Government to take some steps. I would like to know whether all the State Governments were called to Delhi and discussions were held with them, because every State has some different situation in it?

**Shri Annasahib Shinde:** These matters are discussed every year during the course of the annual plan discussions, and, moreover, as far as the southern States are concerned, there was the Chief Ministers' Conference which went into the problems of the chronically drought-affected areas.

**Shri P. K. Deo:** While viewing with concern the fact that this drought, man-made famine and starvation deaths have become annual features in this country even after 20 years of independence, may I know if the Government have considered the proposal to have a Famine Commission, a demand which has been persistently made in this House, on the analogy of the Famine Commission after the great Indian famine of the last century, to inquire into the various charges of corruption in the execution of relief works which were not properly executed, and which were entrusted to Congress Party men who contributed to the election fund of the party in power?

**Shri Jagjivan Ram:** I do not think we have entrusted any of these relief works in this drought season to the Congress Party people; it has been done through governmental agencies. Given the resources, foodgrains or finances, the relief works have been sa-

tisfactory and there is no case for enquiry.

**Shri P. K. Deo:** He should reply yes or no to my demand for a famine commission.

**Shri Jagjivan Ram:** There is no case for it. I do not know what has happened in his part of the country, but so far as relief work is concerned it had not been entrusted to any Congress or other non-official agency; it has been done all through governmental agency.

**Shri K. P. Singh Deo:** May I know Sir why Orissa which was one of the worst drought affected areas has not been mentioned and whether the Government of India has received any communication from the State Government with respect to some districts which are drought-affected this year too and what are the steps taken to tackle scarcity conditions and avoid starvation deaths?

**Shri Annasahib Shinde:** I will require notice to say whether a particular communication has been received or not from any State.

## WRITTEN ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS

### गन्ने का मूल्य

\* 23. श्री बदल बिहारी बाजपेयी :  
श्री प्रकाशचौर शास्त्री :

क्या खाद्य और कृषि मंत्री यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि :

(क) क्या यह सच है कि सरकार गन्ने का मूल्य बढ़ाने के प्रस्ताव पर विचार कर रही है ; और

(ख) यदि हां, तो इस बारे में कब तक अन्तिम निर्णय किये जाने की सम्भावना है ?

खाद्य, कृषि, सामुदायिक विकास तथा सहकारिता मंत्रालय में राज्य-मंत्री (श्री अन्नसाहब शिंदे) : (क) जी नहीं।

(ख) प्रश्न ही नहीं उठता।

#### Prices of Foodgrains

\*24. Shri S. M. Banerjee:

Shri Hem Raj:

Shri Yashpal Singh:

Shri N. C. Chatterjee:

Shri S. C. Samanta:

Shri Prakash Vir Shastri:

Shri Bishwanath Roy:

Shrimati Sushila Rohatgi:

Shri Ram Kishan Gupta:

Will the Minister of Food and Agriculture be pleased to state:

(a) what positive steps are being taken to bring down the prices of all kinds of foodgrains;

(b) whether prices in the open market have gone up in U.P., Bihar and all other States during the period from December, 1966 to January, 1967; and

(c) if so, to what extent?

The Minister of State in the Ministry of Food, Agriculture, Community Development and Cooperation (Shri Annasahib Shinde): (a) Prices of foodgrains can be brought down in the long run only by a substantial increase in indigenous production for which Government have taken various measures. In order to meet the situation arising out of shortage of foodgrains, which has resulted in the rise in prices, Government have gradually extended the system of public distribution. The system now covers over 13 crores of population and Central Government supplies large quantities for distribution at subsidised prices. The other important steps taken to bring down the prices of foodgrains include intensification of procurement, large imports, regulatory measures on trade, control on bank advances, etc.

(b) and (c). Press in U.P. and Bihar and most of the other States showed a rise during this period. A statement showing the market prices of important foodgrains at some important centres in U.P., Bihar and other States during this period is laid on the Table of the House. [Placed in Library. See No. LT-36/67].

पश्चिमी बंगाल में "लाल गोला" विधान सभा निर्वाचन क्षेत्र में पाकिस्तानी नागरिकों द्वारा मतदान किया जाना

\*25. श्री हुसैन खान कछवाय : क्या बिचि मंत्री यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि :

(क) क्या सरकार का ध्यान दिल्ली से प्रकाशित हिन्दी साप्ताहिक पत्र "गणहित" के दिनांक 4 मार्च, 1967 के अंक में प्रकाशित इस समाचार की ओर दिलाया गया है कि हाल के आम चुनावों में लगभग 500 पाकिस्तानी नागरिकों ने मुंशिदाबाद जिले के "लाल गोला" विधान सभा निर्वाचन क्षेत्र में एक इलाके में विभिन्न मतदान केन्द्रों में मतदान किया ;

(ख) क्या यह भी सच है कि ये पाकिस्तानी नागरिक मतदान के दिन पूर्वी पाकिस्तान से पद्मा नदी को नाव द्वारा पार कर भारत में आये और मतदान कर के वापस चले गये ;

(ग) क्या यह भी सच है कि मतदान केन्द्रों पर नियुक्त पुलिस तथा प्रमुख मतदान केन्द्र अधिकारियों (रिटनिंग अफसर) को इसकी जानकारी होती हुए भी उन्होंने कोई कार्यवाही नहीं की ; और

(घ) यदि हा, तो इसके क्या कारण हैं ?

बिचि मंत्री (श्री गोविन्द मेनन): (क) जी हाँ।

(ख) और (ग). मुख्य निर्वाचन अधिकार, पश्चिमी बंगाल से जो रिपोर्ट भेजाई गई है उसकी प्रतीक्षा की जा रही है।

(ब) प्रश्न ही नहीं उठता।

बिहार में रबी की फसल

\* 26. श्री विभूति मिश्र :

श्री क. ना तिवारी :

श्री राम किशन गुप्ता :

श्री मधु लिये :

क्या खाद्य और कृषि मंत्री यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि :

(क) बिहार में पिछले वर्ष की तुलना में इस वर्ष रबी की फसल में कितना उत्पादन होने की आशा है;

(ख) बिहार में आगामी सितम्बर तक खाद्यान्न की कितनी कमी रहने की संभावना है;

(ग) क्या बिहार की नई सरकार ने और अधिक खाद्यान्न के निर्यात केन्द्रीय सरकार से प्रार्थना की है, और

(घ) यदि हा, तो इस सम्बन्ध में केन्द्रीय सरकार का रुख क्या है ?

खाद्य, कृषि, सामुदायिक विकास तथा सहकारिता मंत्रालय में राज्य-मंत्री (श्री धनराज सिंह) : (क) और (ख). इस वर्ष रबी की पैदावार अपर्याप्त वर्षा होने के कारण कम होने की आशा है। तथापि, इस समय पैदावार का कोई विश्वसनीय अनुमान लगाना कठिन है। परिणामतः, यह बताना सम्भव नहीं है कि आगामी सितम्बर तक राज्य में खाद्य की कितनी प्रत्याशित कम होगी।

(ग) जी, हा।

(घ) रुख सहानुभूति पूर्ण है और जहाँ तक सम्भव होगा भारत सरकार के पास उपलब्ध खाद्यान्नों के अनुसार मांग पूरी की जाएगी।

Supreme Court Judgment on Fundamental Rights

\* 27. श्री सन्धीयन :

श्री यशपाल सिंह :

Shri Nath Pai:

Shri S. Supakar:

Will the Minister of Law be pleased to state:

(a) whether the attention of Government has been drawn to the Supreme Court Judgment on the Constitution (17th Amendment) Act, 1964 dealing with Fundamental Rights;

(b) whether Government have made an assessment of the implications arising out of this judgment; and

(c) if so, the reaction of Government thereto?

The Minister of Law (Shri Govinda Menon): (a) Yes.

(b) and (c). The effect and the implications of the Supreme Court Judgment are under active consideration of Government.

Uniform Code of Marriage Laws

\* 28. श्री कर्नल सिंह :

श्री D. C. Sharma:

Will the Minister of Law be pleased to state:

(a) whether Government are considering the desirability of enacting uniform code of marriage laws applicable to all citizens of India;

(b) if so, when such a Bill will be introduced in Parliament; and

(c) if not, the reasons therefor?

The Minister of Law (Shri Govinda Menon): (a) No, Sir.

(b) Does not arise.

(c) The main reason is that there is no uniformity of views among the different sections of the citizens of India as to the enactment of a uniform code of marriage laws applicable to all citizens of India. In the second place, so far as the marriage laws of the minority communities are concerned, it is considered that any move for a change therein should

come from the concerned communities themselves. In the next place, so far as the Muslim citizens are concerned, most of them consider any interference with their marriage law, which is a part of the Shariat, as an interference with Islam. And lastly, the Special Marriage Act, 1954 may be regarded as a common civil code relating to marriage. Although this is only an enabling statute, not only the citizens of India irrespective of their faith and religion but even other persons can solemnise their marriages in accordance with and under the provisions of that Act.

#### Delhi Milk Scheme

\*29. Shri C. C. Desai: Will the Minister of Food and Agriculture be pleased to state

(a) whether there has been any improvement in the milk supply position of the Delhi Milk Scheme,

(b) if so, the details thereof, and

(c) how far it has succeeded in meeting the requirements of the people?

The Minister of State in the Ministry of Food, Agriculture, Community Development and Cooperation (Shri Annasaheb Shinde): (a) Yes, Sir,

(b) A statement showing month-wise figures of procurement ever since the Delhi Milk Scheme started is placed on the Table of the House. Placed in Library. See No LT-37/67]

(c) 4.25 lakh bottles of milk are daily sold

जम्मु तथा काश्मीर में नामांकन पत्रों का रह किया जाता

\*30 श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री :

श्री हुसैन खान कछवाड़ा :

क्या बिधि मंत्री यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि :

(क) क्या काश्मीर में हाल के आम नामांकन पत्रों के दौरान भी

से रह किये जाने तथा जाली मतपत्रों यदि के बारे में सरकार को शिकायतें मिली हैं ;

(ख) क्या यह भी सच है कि उपर्युक्त राज्य में चुनावों में किसी दल विशेष का कार्य करने के लिए सरकारी कर्मचारियों का उपयोग किया गया था ;

(ग) यदि हा, तो क्या इस सम्बन्ध में निष्पक्षता सुनिश्चित करने के लिए इस राज्य में नये चुनाव कराने अथवा राष्ट्रपति का शासन लागू करने के बारे में सरकार को कोई सुझाव मिले हैं ; और

(घ) इस सम्बन्ध में सरकार की क्या प्रतिक्रिया है ?

बिधि मंत्री (श्री गोविन्द मेनन) :

(क) निर्वाचन आयोग का अनेक शिकायतें प्राप्त हुई हैं जिनमें नामांकिता पत्रों के अर्बोध प्रतिक्रिया, प्रतिरूप मत-पत्रों के मद्रण और वितरण, पदार्थियों द्वारा कनिषय अभ्यासियों के पक्ष में अमर्यक इन्तरेण आदि सम्बन्धी अभिकथन है

(ख) सरकार का कोई जानकारी नहीं है ;

(ग) निर्वाचन आयोग को इस सम्बन्ध में कुछ सुझाव प्राप्त हुए हैं , और

(घ) सरकार उन निर्वाचन प्रक्रियों पर विनिश्चयो की प्रतीक्षा कर रही है जा कि फाइल कर दी गई है या एतत्पश्चात फाइल की जाए ।

#### Inter-State Transport Commission

\*31 Shri N. C. Chatterjee:

Shri S. C. Samanta:

Shri P. K. Ghosh:

Will the Minister of Transport and Shipping be pleased to state.

(a) the difficulties experienced by the Inter-State Transport Commission in its functioning;

(b) the suggestions made by the Road Transport Taxation Enquiry

Committee for the effective functioning of the Commission;

(c) whether Government propose to take over the Inter-State Transport;

(d) whether the views of the State Governments have been ascertained in this respect; and

(e) if so, the particulars thereof?

The Minister of Transport and Shipping (Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao): (a) There are certain special difficulties which are under examination. Nevertheless, and within its limitations, the Commission has been doing useful work.

(b) A statement is laid on the table of the Sabha. [Placed in Library. See No. LT-38/67]

(c) to (e) The recommendations of the Committee are under examination, in consultation with the Planning Commission and the State Governments.

#### Food Situation

- \*32. Shri Nath Pal:  
Shri Shri Chand Goel  
Shri D. C. Sharma:  
Shri Ramachandra Ulaka:  
Shri Dhuleshwar Meena:  
Shri S. Supakar:  
Shri M. Sudarsanam:

Will the Minister of Food and Agriculture be pleased to lay a statement on the Table showing production of foodgrains in the country this year, giving a crop-wise and State-wise break-up and state the estimated deficit and measures Government propose to adopt to meet it?

The Minister of State in the Ministry of Food, Agriculture, Community Development and Cooperation (Shri Annesahib Shinde): Final estimates of production of foodgrains Crop-wise and State-wise for 1986-87 are not yet available.

It is difficult to give a precise idea about the extent of deficit in foodgrains since this would depend on a number of factors including the level

of production, carry-over stocks, growth of population, rise in income levels, shift in consumption pattern, rate of urbanisation etc. However, Government is making arrangements for imports to the extent feasible in order to meet the deficit.

#### Fourth General Elections

- \*33 Shri S. C. Samanta:  
Shri Nath Pal:  
Shri George Fernandes:  
Shri Hukam Chand  
Kachhavaia:  
Shri Onkar Lal Berwa:

Will the Minister of Law be pleased to state:

(a) the nature of complaints made by the various political parties and candidates during the conduct of General Elections in February last and action taken by the Election Commission thereon;

(b) whether any preliminary or interim report is proposed to be submitted; and

(c) the total and State-wise expenditure on the General Elections and the contributions made by the States towards the expenditure?

The Minister of Law (Shri Govinda Menon): (a) Complaints mostly of a general nature like disturbances at election meetings, closure of industrial establishment on the date of poll, rejection of nomination papers, wrong allotment of symbols, etc., were received by the Election Commission during the conduct of the general elections in February last. The Commission took prompt action to make enquiries wherever the allegations were *prima facie* verifiable.

(b) No, Sir.

(c) The total and State-wise expenditure on the last general elections has not yet been worked out by the Election Commission as the information in relation thereto is not yet available. By and large, expenditure incurred by the Government in connection with elections to

the House of the People and the State Legislative Assemblies held simultaneously are shared on a 50-50 basis between the Central Government and the State Governments.

#### Food Situation

- \*34. Shri D. C. Sharma:  
 Shri Shri Shand Goel:  
 Shri Kanwar Lal Gupta:  
 Shri Nath Pal:  
 Shri Prakash Vir Shastri:  
 Shri C. C. Desai:  
 Shri S. Supakar:  
 Shri M. Sudarsanam:  
 Shri Ram Kishen Gupta:

Will the Minister of Food and Agriculture be pleased to state—

(a) Government's assessment of the food situation in the country at present; and

(b) the details of the measures taken or planned to meet the food situation, and maintain supplies of minimum foodgrains to all the people throughout the country?

The Minister of State in the Ministry of Food, Agriculture, Community Development and Cooperation (Shri Anasahib Shinde): (a) The food situation in the country continuous to be difficult. A detailed statement on the subject is being laid on the Table of the House separately.

(b) The new Government will have a fresh look on the problem and any further measures that may be found necessary will be planned after discussion at the Chief Ministers' Conference to be held early next month.

मतदाताओं की सही पहचान

\* 35. श्री विभूति मिश्र :

श्री क. ना. तिवारी :

क्या बिधि मंत्र यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि :

(क) क्या सरकार का विचार कोई ऐसी प्रक्रिया निर्धारित करने का है जिससे

मतदाता के समय मतदाता की सही पहचान हो सके और यह सुनिश्चित किया जा सके कि मत देने वाला व्यक्ति वही है जिसका नाम मतदाता सूची में है ; और

(ख) यदि हा, तो इसके लिए कौन सा निर्दोष तरीका निकालने का विचार है ।

बिधि मंत्री (श्री बोधिन्द्र मेनन) :

(क) निर्वाचको के प्रतिरूपण का निवारण करने के बारे में जो उपबन्ध हमारी निर्वाचन विधि में पहले ही अन्तर्विष्ट है, उनके अधीन उपलब्ध प्रक्रिया के अतिरिक्त, साधारण निर्वाचनों में मतदाताओं की अनन्यता सुनिश्चित करने के लिए कोई प्रक्रिया बनाने की कोई प्रस्थापना सरकार के ममक्ष नहीं है ।

(ख) प्रश्न ही नहीं उठता ।

#### Cost of Imported Foodgrains

\*36. Dr. Karni Singh: Will the Minister of Food and Agriculture be pleased to state

(a) whether the cost of imported foodgrains has gone up as a result of devaluation,

(b) the difference between pre-devaluation and post-devaluation prices per ton of imported wheat, and

(c) how it is reflected in the common man's food budget?

The Minister of State in the Ministry of Food, Agriculture, Community Development and Cooperation (Shri Anasahib Shinde): (a) Yes, Sir

(b) and (c) The difference between pre-devaluation and post-devaluation cost of imported wheat is about Rs. 209 per metric ton. The issue price of imported wheat was not increased immediately after devaluation. The price was, however, raised slightly from Rs. 50 '00 Rs. 55 per quintal with effect from the 15th November, 1966.

**क.ख क्षेत्र**

- \* 37 श्री प्रकाशचोर शर्मा :  
 श्री बलराम सिंह :  
 श्री स. चं. सामन्त :  
 श्री अ. न. बिहारी बाजपेयी  
 श्री विभूति मिश्र :  
 श्री क. न. तिवारी :

क्या खाद्य और कृषि मंत्री यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि :

(क) क्या खाद्य क्षेत्र बनाये जाने के परिणामस्वरूप अनाजों के मूल्य बढ़ गये हैं और उन्हें चोरी छिपे लाना तेज जाना बढ़ गया है ;

(ख) क्या सरकार खाद्य क्षेत्रों को समर्थन करने के बारे में अपनी नीति पर पुनर्विचार करने का विचार कर रही है , और

(ग) यदि हा, तो इस सम्बन्ध में कब तक अन्तिम निर्णय कर लिया जायेगा ?

खाद्य, कृषि, सामुदायिक विकास तथा सहकारिता मंत्रालय में राज्य-मंत्री (श्री अनासाहेब शिंदे) : (क) खाद्यान्नों के मूल्यों में वृद्धि मुख्यतः लगातार दो वर्षों में उत्पादन में भारी कमी होने के कारण हुई है । जब व्यापारियों के अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय व्यापार पर प्रतिबन्ध लगाये जाते हैं तब समाज विरोधी तत्वों द्वारा तत्कर व्यापार को नहीं रोका जा सकता है ।

(ख) और (ग) . नवम्बर, 1966 में राज्यों के मुख्य मंत्रियों के सम्मेलन में यह निर्णय हुआ था कि वर्तमान क्षेत्रीय प्रतिबन्ध जिनके अन्तर्गत व्यापारियों पर अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय व्यापार करने की मनाही है लगे रहने चाहिये तथापि, इन प्रतिबन्धों को जारी रखने प्रयत्न न करने के बारे में समय-समय पर समीक्षा की जावेगी ।

**Price of Rationed Wheat and Rice in Delhi**

\*38. Shri D. C. Sharma: Will the Minister of Food and Agriculture be pleased to state:

(a) whether Government have increased the prices of rationed wheat, wheat products and rice in Delhi;

(b) if so, the reasons therefor; and

(c) the steps Government propose to take to bring down the prices of these articles in Delhi.

The Minister of State in the Ministry of Food, Agriculture, Community Development and Cooperation (Shri Annasaheb Shinde): (a) Yes, Sir

(b) The issue prices of wheat (imported) and rice supplied from Central Government stocks were revised upwards in November and December 1966 respectively. The revision which was applicable to all the States and Union Territories was made in order to narrow down the gap between the Government issue prices of these grains and the open market prices and also to reduce the amount of subsidy being borne by the Central Government in the distribution of foodgrains. The increase in the issue prices of wheat products was made in consequence of the increase in the issue price of wheat (imported).

(c) Does not arise.

**Replacement of I.A.C. Aircraft**

\*39. Shri Bibhuti Mishra:  
 Shri K. N. Tiwary:  
 Shri P. K. Deo:  
 Shri G. C. Naik:  
 Shri K. P. Singh Deo:  
 Shri A. Dipa:

Will the Minister of Tourism and Civil Aviation be pleased to state:

(a) whether it is a fact that Government are examining the proposal

to replace a number of types of aircraft belonging to the Indian Airlines Corporation, and

(b) if so, the types of aircraft to be replaced and the estimated expenditure thereon?

The Minister of Tourism and Civil Aviation (Dr. Karan Singh): (a) and (b). The question of selection of a suitable aircraft to replace the Viscounts in the fleet of the Indian Airlines Corporation is under examination by a Committee set up for the purpose

#### Import of Fertilizers in 1967-68

16. Shri D. C. Sharma: Will the Minister of Food and Agriculture be pleased to state

(a) the total quantity of fertilizers proposed to be imported during 1967-68, and

(b) the names of the countries from which these will be imported?

The Minister of State in the Ministry of Food, Agriculture, Community Development and Cooperation (Shri Annasaheb Shinde): (a) The estimate of imports for 1967-68 of fertilizers against foreign exchange allotted so far is as under —

	Tonnes	In terms of
Nitrogenous Fertilizers	336,200	Nitrogen
Phosphatic Fertilizers	124,600	P <sub>2</sub> O <sub>5</sub>
Potassic Fertilizers	217,000	K <sub>2</sub> O

The level of imports of Nitrogen is expected to rise to 85 lakh tonnes which target has been approved

(b) As far as information is available, these imports are expected to be made from USA, Canada, West European countries, G.D.R., U.S.S.R., Poland and Japan.

#### Haldia Port

17. Shri D. C. Sharma:  
Shri Ramachandra Ulaka:  
Shri Dhuleshwar Meena:

Will the Minister of Transport and Shipping be pleased to state:

(a) whether the construction and other ancillary work of the Haldia Port are being carried on according to the time schedule initially fixed,

(b) if not, the reasons therefor, and

(c) when the project is likely to be completed?

The Minister of Transport and Shipping (Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao): (a) Yes

(b) Does not arise

(c) The project is expected to be completed by January, 1971

#### Ennore Port, Madras

18. Shri Seshiyan: Will the Minister of Transport and Shipping be pleased to state

(a) whether any final decision has been taken to develop a minor port at Ennore in Madras State,

(b) whether any financial provision has been made in the Fourth Five Year Plan for this scheme, and

(c) if so, the salient features of the scheme contemplated?

The Minister of Transport and Shipping (Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao): (a) No

(b) No

(c) Does not arise

#### Import of Tractors

19. Shri Seshiyan: Will the Minister of Food and Agriculture be pleased to refer to the reply given to Starred Question No. 554 on the 29th November, 1966 regarding the import of tractors from Yugoslavia and state:



(a) whether the information has since been collected; and

(b) if so, the details thereof?

The Minister of State in the Ministry of Food, Agriculture, Community Development and Cooperation (Shri Annasaheb Shinde): (a) Yes, Sir.

(b) No foreign exchange has been released by the Government of India for the import of the Yugoslav crawler tractors in question through any importing firm for the use of the Government of Orissa. It is understood from the Government of Orissa that they have a proposal for buying similar tractors out of the stocks available with an Indian firm. The transaction has, however, not yet been finalised.

#### Disturbance in Polling Stations during 4th General Elections

29. Shri S. Snpakar:  
Shri Bibhuti Mishra:  
Shri K. N. Tiwari:

Will the Minister of Law be pleased to state:

(a) whether any disturbance in any polling station necessitating the adjournment of polling was reported from any part of the country during the period of last General Elections; and

(b) the total number of cases where polling was adjourned under Section 37 of the Representation of the People Act, 1951?

The Minister of Law (Shri Govinda Menon): (a) and (b). The number of polling stations, Statewise, where polling was either temporarily suspended and resumed or suspended for

the day and adjourned to a subsequent day was as follows:—

Andhra Pradesh	2
Bihar	15
Haryana	1
Madhya Pradesh	1
West Bengal	2
Manipur	5
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>26</b>

#### Bye-elections

21. Shri S. Snpakar: Will the Minister of Law be pleased to state:

(a) the number of cases, where on account of the death of some contesting candidates between the date of filing the nomination papers and that of election, it has become necessary to hold bye-elections; and

(b) when are such bye-elections to be completed?

The Minister of Law (Shri Govinda Menon): (a) The number of cases where on account of death of contesting candidates between the date of filing nomination papers and the date of election, the returning officer had to countermand the poll in accordance with section 32 of the Representation of the People Act, 1951 and order new election is given below:—

State	Number
Gujarat	1
Madras	1
Maharashtra	1
Orissa	1
Uttar Pradesh	2

(b) The election in Gujarat has already been completed whereas the completion dates of election in respect of the other constituencies are as follows:—

Name of State	Constituency	Date of completion
1. Madras	Thirumangalam Assembly constituency	3rd May, 1967
2. Maharashtra	Ambebagon assembly constituency	13th April, 1967
3. Orissa	Purukhundi assembly constituency	6th April, 1967.
4. Uttar Pradesh	(1) Jaunpur and (2) Hurrliya (SC) assembly constituency.	20th April, 1967.

[N.B.—It may be mentioned that an election necessitated by the countermanding of the poll under section 32, is the continuance of the same election and is not a bye-election.]

### Supply of Foodgrains to U.P. and Bihar

22. **Shri S. Supakar:** Will the Minister of Food and Agriculture be pleased to state:

(a) the total quantity of foodgrains supplied monthly to Uttar Pradesh and Bihar since November, 1966 up-to-date; and

(b) whether there has been any rise in the prices of foodgrains in these States during the last four months?

**The Minister of State in the Ministry of Food, Agriculture Community Development and Cooperation (Shri Annasaheb Shinde):** (a) Month-wise supplies of foodgrains to Uttar Pradesh and Bihar since November, 1966, have been as under:—

(In thousand tonnes)

Month	Uttar Pradesh	Bihar
November, 1966	63	126
December, 1966	90	162
January 1967	90	170
February, 1967	95	165
March, 1967 (Quantity allotted)	125	178

In addition to above, 14.3 thousand tonnes of coarse grains were allotted to Bihar during the said period.

(b) Between December, 1966 and February, 1967 prices of foodgrains in Bihar registered a substantial rise due to the heavy decline in the production of foodgrains. In the last two weeks or so prices of foodgrains in the State have shown a tendency to decline.

In U.P. also the prices of foodgrains started rising from November/December, 1966 till about the 4th March, 1967. Thereafter, the prices of wheat, jowar and gram have recorded a decline while those of rice have shown a small fall in some places. In others it remained steady.

12 hrs.

### RE: COVERAGE OF QUESTIONS

**Shri Mohamed Imam (Chitradurga):** Sir, we were disposing of in previous Parliaments some 20 or 25 questions during the Question Hour. We are not able to dispose of many questions now.

**Mr. Speaker:** I myself wanted to say something about this matter. We are not able to complete even our questions a day. I have requested the Leaders of all parties to sit together this evening and find out some method so that we may finish at least 15 to 20 questions a day. If one hundred people get up and I am to give them each a chance to put supplementaries we will not be able to finish even two questions a day. Therefore, I request all the Leaders to help me and say how we could proceed. I think I should allow two or three supplementaries normally and on some important questions five or six, but I am requesting the leaders also to give their views. The leaders, I hope, will also explain to their party members the procedure that we will have to follow. I will request them to meet me this evening and we will see what co-operative guidelines should be there. We should follow some method.

**Shri N. Sreekantan Nair (Quilon):** We have tabled an adjournment motion and all the eighteen Members from Kerala have signed it. Are you taking it up now or not?

**Shri Chintamani Panigrahi (Bhubaneswar):** With regard to the discussion on questions, I want to say this.

**Mr. Speaker:** You please tell your party representative so that he can put forward your suggestion when we meet together.

**Shri Chintamani Panigrahi:** I will take only one minute. There were some restrictions on the number of questions to be admitted on a day because of the Emergency. Now that the Emergency has been revoked, no restriction should be put on

the number of questions to be admitted.

**Shri Vasudevan Nair** (Peeramade): We do not know what you said about the point raised by Sreekantan Nair on the Kerala food situation.

**Mr. Speaker:** Some of these motions have come and some had been allowed. Others have been disallowed. Those that had been allowed had been sent to the Ministry and when they give their reactions, that will be included here as and when they are known. Therefore, I cannot say anything about them now.

**Shri N. Sreekantan Nair:** You will intimate to me whether it has been accepted or not.

**Mr. Speaker:** Naturally, it will be intimated to you. Hon. Members who have tabled the motions would be informed.

**Shri A. K. Gopalan** (Kasergod): That means that you are withholding your decision on the adjournment motion.

**Mr. Speaker:** Yes, that is correct. Shri Vajpayee.

12.03 hrs.

# CALLING ATTENTION TO MATTER OF URGENT PUBLIC IMPORTANCE

DEPARTURE OF MRS. SVETLANA  
 ALLELUEVA FROM INDIA TO THE WEST

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी (बलरामपुर) :

अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं अविलम्बनीय लोक महत्व के निम्नलिखित विषय की ओर वैदेशिक-कार्य मंत्री का ध्यान दिलाता हूँ और प्रार्थना करता हूँ कि वह इस बारे में एक वक्तव्य दें :—

“श्रीमती स्वेतलाना एलिलुएवा का भारत से पश्चिमी देश को प्रस्थान” ।

**The Minister of External Affairs** (Shri M. C. Chagla): Mrs. Svetlana Allilueva, a national of the USSR,

arrived at Palam airport from Moscow on the 20th December, 1966 by Aeroflot with a Soviet passport issued at Moscow on 5th November 1966. The passport was valid for 2 years, i.e. up to 5th November 1968 and had a visa dated 16-11-1966 valid for one month issued by the Indian Embassy in Moscow. The visa had been issued in the normal course by our Embassy in Moscow at the request of Mrs. Allilueva. Her visa for stay in India was later extended up to 15th March, 1967 at her request received through the Soviet Embassy. No further request for extension of visa was received.

The facts as ascertained by us appear to be as follows:

Mrs. Allilueva stayed in the Soviet Embassy from the 20th to 25th December 1966 when she left for Kalakankar. She was carrying the ashes of the late Kanwar Brajesh Singh of Kalakankar who had died in Moscow on 31st October 1966 for immersion in the Ganga at Kalakankar. She was offered, and accepted, hospitality at Kalakankar by Shrimati and Shri Dinesh Singh, who is the nephew of the late Kanwar Brajesh Singh, and by Shrimati and Kanwar Suresh Singh, brother of the late Kanwar Brajesh Singh. She returned to Delhi on the 5th March, 1967 and stayed as the personal guest, of Shrimati Dinesh Singh on the 5th night. On the morning of 6th March, an officer of the Soviet Embassy called for her and escorted her to the Soviet Embassy where she stayed in the Embassy hostel.

It is understood that she was to have departed for Moscow by Aeroflot on 8th March 1967, in the morning, but it was subsequently learnt that she had actually left by commercial flight, Qantas No. 751, on the night of 6th/7th March at 0240 hours for Rome. Till the morning of 8th March neither the Government of India nor any Indian officials had any previous information about her

[Shri M. C. Chagla]

intended or actual departure on the 7th morning.

She had valid travel documents. She departed from Palam airport with a valid Soviet passport and a visa for USA under her own name, no 'P' form is required by foreigners leaving India, nor is anything like an exit permit required by a foreigner leaving India before 3 months

According to our information, her decision to leave India for Rome was entirely her own. She had not previously contacted any Indian officials in regard to her departure on the 7th March morning, nor had she discussed her plan with her Indian host or the Indian authorities. It appears that she telephoned for a taxi from the Soviet Embassy hostel on the evening of 6th March and went in that taxi, unaccompanied by anyone else, to the US Embassy. A US visa was given and a ticket for Rome was bought for her by the US Embassy. The Embassy sent an officer who accompanied her to Palam airport and from there to Rome.

Mrs. Allilueva was not a guest of the Government of India. The Government of India had no occasion to consider the question of giving her asylum as no such request was received at any time from her.

Initially when the fact of Mrs. Allilueva having left India in the company of a Second Secretary of the US Embassy became known, the Soviet Embassy made representations to us. (An hon. Member: He is a CIA agent.) We immediately took up the matter with the US Ambassador.

In the light of the information we have subsequently received, Mrs. Allilueva has chosen to stay in Switzerland for some time for what appear to be purely personal reasons. Her departure from India was purely her personal matter and, so far as we are concerned, there is no failure

of any kind on the part of any of the Government of India agencies in the matter.

श्री अटन बिहारी बाजपेयी अध्यक्ष महोदय, अभी विदेश मंत्री जी ने कहा है कि श्रीमती स्वेतलाना मायत में ठहरना चाहती थी, इसके बारे में उन्हें कोई सूचना नहीं मिली और न उस पर उन्हें विचार करने का मौका मिला। क्या मैं इस सम्बन्ध में विदेश मंत्री का ध्यान स्विट्जरलैण्ड के न्याय पुलिस मंत्री श्री लुडविग वान मायस द्वारा 13 मार्च को दिये गये वक्तव्य की ओर दिला सकता हूँ जिसमें श्री लुडविग ने कहा था

"She decided to come to Switzerland because her wish to remain in India was not fulfilled"

क्या कारण है कि स्विट्जरलैण्ड के पुलिस मंत्री दूरी परिणाम पर पटन कि श्रीमती स्वेतलाना स्वयं भारत में रुकना चाहती थी और जब भारत में रुकने की उनकी इच्छा पूरी नहीं हुई तो उन्हें स्विट्जरलैण्ड आने के लिए मजबूर होना पड़ा। समाचार पत्रों से ज्ञात होता है कि श्रीमती स्वेतलाना प्रधान मंत्री से मिली थी, श्री विदेश मंत्री से भी उनकी मुलाकात हुई थी। हो सकता है कि उन्होंने स्पष्ट शब्दों में यहाँ राजनीतिक शरण न मागी हो लेकिन क्या भारत सरकार की ओर से उनसे यह कहा गया कि भारत सरकार उन्हें भारत में रहने का आमन्त्रण देती है? यदि नहीं कहा गया तो क्या नहीं कहा गया? उन्हें भारत का श्रेय यहाँ खींचकर लाया था और क्या न कहने का कारण यह है कि भारत सरकार को डर है कि अगर श्रीमती स्वेतलाना को भारत में रुकने के लिए कहा गया तो सोवियत रूस नाराज हो जायगा? क्या सोवियत रूस के भय के कारण भारत सरकार इस मामले में अपने कर्तव्य से चूक गई?

Shri M. C. Chagla: I am sorry to say that the allegations made by my

hon. friend are not correct and necessarily the inferences drawn from those allegations are equally unfounded.

**Shri A. B. Vajpayee:** I have not made any allegations.

**Shri M. C. Chagla:** The allegation is, she wanted to stay in India, but was not allowed.

**Shri A. B. Vajpayee:** I have quoted the statement made by the Police Minister in Switzerland. That is not an allegation.

**Shri M. C. Chagla:** I have got the statement here with me.

"The Swiss Minister of Justice said on March 14 that both India and the United States have refused Mrs. Allilueva's request for asylum".

This is incorrect. The position is, she came, as I said, with a Soviet passport with a visa for a certain period. When she asked for the extension of the visa, we granted it. After that, at no time did she indicate any desire on her part to stay further in India nor was any request received by us from the Soviet Embassy or from her that she wanted to continue to stay in India. Therefore, no question of giving her asylum in India arises. She came with a passport and if she wanted to stay further, we would have considered the question of extending the visa. The question did not arise because she never suggested that she wanted to stay beyond the time the visa would expire, which was 15th March.

**Shri A. B. Vajpayee:** What about the latter part of my question? Why did not the Prime Minister on her own accord invite Mrs. Svetlana to stay in India?

**Shri M. C. Chagla:** She was a private citizen on a private visit. I submit with great respect that it is not for the Prime Minister in her official capacity to invite a private citizen to stay in India when her home is in USSR.

श्री श्रीकार सिंह (बदायूँ) : क्या सरकार स्वेतलाना स्टालिन के भ्रम भारत आने पर उन्हें भारत में रहने की इजाजत देने को तैयार है ?

**Shri M. C. Chagla:** At present she is in Switzerland. If she wants to come back to India, we will certainly consider her application in the usual course. That means, she should apply for a visa. She has not expressed any such intention at present. We have been informed and our information is correct that her present intention is to continue to stay in Switzerland. She has not expressed any desire to come to India from Switzerland. If she changes her mind, if she wants to come to our country, the hon. Member knows the usual procedure, which is to go to our Embassy and ask for it. The question is hypothetical and it does not arise.

**Shri A. B. Vajpayee:** Sir, the facts are being suppressed and the hon. Minister of Foreign Affairs is trying to mislead the House. Is it not a fact that a Special Officer of the Ministry of External Affairs was sent to contact Mrs. Svetlana in Switzerland and, if so, may I know what report he has brought?

श्री कं० ना० तिवारी (बेतिया) : मेरा प्वाइंट ऑफ़ ऑर्डर है। ध्यान आकर्षण पर अभी तक यही परम्परा रही है कि एक ही क्वेश्चन एलाउ किया जाता है। दोबारा क्वेश्चन एलाउ नहीं किया जाता।

**Mr. Speaker:** There is no point of order. The answer was not clear and, therefore, he asked for a little clarification. Normally we allow only one question to be put.

**Shri S. M. Banerjee (Kanpur):** Sir, I rise to a point of order. When a specific question is put a specific answer, a clear answer should come. All these Calling Attention Notices—even we have tabled several questions on this—about Mrs. Svetlana are

[Shri S. M. Banerjee]

based on certain press reports where it was said that there was collusion..

Mr. Speaker: What is the point of order?

Shri S. M. Banerjee: The circumstances leading to the departure of Mrs. Svetlana show that it was with the connivance of CIA and a senior officer here. That has not come in his statement. There should be a straight answer to this question.

Mr. Speaker: There is no point of order.

Shri Hem Barua (Mangaldai): Sir, it has been widely reported in the World Press that Mrs. Svetlana was whisked out of this country via Rome to Switzerland by a CIA agent who happened to be the Second Secretary of the US Embassy in this country. It was also reported how the visa was extended with the active help and co-operation of a Minister of the Government of India and an official of the Ministry of External Affairs. In that context, may I know whether the Government have enquired into the antecedents of this Minister who is responsible for extending her visa and offering hospitality to her and, secondly, whether it is a fact that a suggestion was made to the Government of India not to offer asylum to Mrs. Svetlana in this country because she was married to an Indian and she might claim a share of the property belonging to that family?

Shri M. C. Chagla: Sir, I will answer each of these questions. With regard to the CIA agent I saw a report in the New York Times and we put it squarely to the American Embassy. The American Ambassador categorically and emphatically denied that he was a CIA officer.

Shri Umanath (Pudukkottai): They never agree. The US Government have never agreed that they are CIA

agents. Are we merely to depend upon American admission on questions relating to CIA agents (Interruptions)?

Shri M. C. Chagla: If my hon. friend says that notwithstanding this denial of the Ambassador of the United States of America, which *prima facie* must be accepted—he is an Ambassador—we must take action, if anything comes to light or comes to our information or knowledge which detracts from what the Ambassador has said, we will certainly take necessary action. But today the position is, apart from what appeared in the New York Times the only fact that is before us is a categorical denial by the US Ambassador that he is not a CIA agent.

Shri S. M. Banerjee: What is your information (Interruptions)?

Shri M. C. Chagla: It is absolutely false to say that she was, to use his word, whisked away. The facts, as I have stated, are that she went to the US Embassy with a valid passport and she was given a visa (Interruptions).

Shri S. M. Banerjee: A Cabinet Minister and Shri T. N. Kaul are involved.

Shri Jyotirmoy Basu (Diamond Harbour): His answer does not give any satisfaction to us (Interruption).

Mr. Speaker: There are other methods of seeking that satisfaction.

Shri Jyotirmoy Basu: We are here to get satisfactory answers.

Shri M. C. Chagla: I will answer any number of questions. I am not keeping anything back from the House. But give me an opportunity to answer the questions without interruption.

Shri Randhir Singh (Rohtak): They are not interested in the reply.

**Shri M. C. Chagla:** Shri Hem Barua said that she was wishked away. That is not correct. She had a valid passport. She went to the American Embassy for a visa and the visa was granted. She went to Palam airport. She was in the Palam airport for an hour. She got a ticket in the ordinary course and she travelled by an ordinary commercial plane.

**Shri S. M. Banerjee:** Who gave her money? Was it in Indian rupee?

**Shri M. C. Chagla:** I will first answer the questions of Shri Barua. I wish to deny emphatically, categorically and unequivocally that any Minister or any officer of the Government of India had anything whatever to do with her departure from India to Rome and to Switzerland. It is an absolutely false and malicious charge. It is equally false to say that she ever claimed asylum in this country. The question of asylum did not even arise. What Mrs. Svetlana wanted was extension of visa. If she had asked for extension, very likely we would have granted it.

**Mr. Speaker:** Shri P. K. Deo.

**Shri Hem Barua:** Sir, I rise on a point of order. My question has not been answered satisfactorily.

**डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया (कन्नौज) :** प्रश्नोत्तर के सम्बन्ध में यह स्थापित नियम है कि मंत्री महोदय को पूरी सूचना देनी चाहिये, कोई चीज अपने अन्दर नहीं रखनी चाहिये, सब बतानी चाहियें, झूठी बात बताना भी सदन की मर्यादा का भंग होता है। इसलिये मंत्री महोदय ने अभी तक जो कहा है कि स्वेतलाना जी ने यहां पर शरण नहीं मांगी, वह झूठी बात कही है, क्योंकि स्वेतलाना जी ने मंत्रियों में से किन-किन से कई बार कहा कि वह भारत में अपना रहना बढ़ाना चाहती हैं और उस वक्त कुछ मंत्रियों ने और भारत सरकार के कुछ आदमियों ने उन्हें एक तो स्वास्थ्य के बारे में . . . . .

**Shri Randhir Singh:** Under what rule is he raising it?

**Mr. Speaker:** What is the point of order?

**डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया :** क्योंकि वह सब बातें बता नहीं रहे हैं। स्वेतलाना जी ने यहां पर रहने की इच्छा प्रकट की थी। मैं आपसे प्रार्थना कर देना चाहता हूँ कि उस तरफ के लोगों को छोड़ कर . . . . .

**Shri Randhir Singh:** Is he replying to the question?

**Shri Hem Barua:** Sir, my question has not been answered. I will explain it in a minute.

**Mr. Speaker:** Shri Lohia is on his legs.

**डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया :** इस बारे में वह बता नहीं रहे हैं।

**Shri Jyotirmoy Basu:** Sir, I rise on a point of order.

**Mr. Speaker:** Already another hon. Member is on his legs, raising a point of order.

**Shri Jyotirmoy Basu:** So am I.

**Mr. Speaker:** Let one be over I find the hon. Member is going into details. What is his point of order? Let him state that. I would like to hear that.

**डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया :** पाइंट ऑफ़ ऑर्डर यह है कि मंत्रियों के पास और इतिला है और वह उस इतिला को रोक रहे हैं सदन को बता नहीं रहे हैं। यह एक व्यवस्था का प्रश्न है, इनके पास इतिला है जो बता नहीं रहे हैं, मुझे बताने दीजिये कि कौनसी इतिला है जिसे वे लोग रोक रहे हैं और सदन को नहीं बता रहे हैं।

**Mr. Speaker:** The point which he is raising is a different one. He says that the information which is in his possession should be given. That is a different matter.

डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया : वह रोक  
हैं।

Shri Hem Barua: I have put a question. The reply was not satisfactory.

Mr. Speaker: That is a different matter. I now call Shri P. K. Deo.

Shri Hem Barua: What about the extension of the visa?

Mr. Speaker: He has answered it.

Shri Hem Barua: He has not answered it.

Mr. Speaker: He has answered it. It may not be satisfactory, but he has answered it.

श्री कंवर लाल गुप्त (दिल्ली-सदर) :  
अध्यक्ष महोदय, वाजपेयी जी ने सवाल किया  
था कि स्विटजरलैंड जो आफिसर भेजा गया  
था उसकी रिपोर्ट क्या है उसके बारे में जवाब  
नहीं दिया गया।

Mr. Speaker: If the answer is not satisfactory . . . (Interruption).

Shri Kanwar Lal Gupta: He must answer. He has not replied at all.

Mr. Speaker: I have called Shri P. K. Deo. Other Members can seek further clarification.

डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया : आप नियम  
41 देखिये।

श्री कंवर लाल गुप्त : स्विटजरलैंड जो  
आफिसर भेजा गया था, उसकी रिपोर्ट क्या  
है ?

Mr. Speaker: What all you wanted to say, you have said.

डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया : क्या आप  
मुझे व्यवस्था का प्रश्न उठाने देते हैं ? मंत्रियों  
ने स्वेतलाना जी को एक तो यहाँ की गर्मी  
के कारण, दूसरे स्वास्थ्य के कारण, तीसरे इस  
कारण कि जब कोई अपने देश को छोड़

कर और किसी देश में रहता है, चौथे भारत  
और इस के सम्बन्धों के कारण कहा कि आप  
बली जाइये और वे बड़ी दुखी थीं . . .

Mr. Speaker: You are again making a speech. There is no point of order.

डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया : आप उनसे  
पूछिये।

Mr. Speaker: Other Members are there. They will ask that point.

Shri P. K. Deo (Kalahandi): While it is interesting to note the defection of Soviet dignitaries from the Iron Curtain to the free world, is it not the rule in this country that you change the nationality after marriage? After her marriage to an Indian national has she not changed her citizenship and is she not entitled to stay in this country?

Shri M. C. Chagla: This marriage was not registered in Russia. The Indian gentleman had a wife here who was judicially separated but not divorced from him. That is the position with regard to the marriage.

Shri P. K. Deo: Then, was she a mistress?

Mr. Speaker: It is left to you.

Shri Hem Barua: We are interested in knowing more about this marriage. Was she really married or not?

Shri K. P. Singh Deo (Dhenkanal): When the External Affairs Minister has stated categorically on the floor of the House that Svetlana was a private citizen and was on a private tour, then what was the need for a Minister of the Central Government to ring up the Russian Ambassador, personally, for the extension of her visa?

Shri M. C. Chagla: Even a Minister of Government can have private visitors and a private life. She was a guest; she was bringing the ashes of his uncle. It had nothing to do



with Government. He was not acting as a Minister of Government; he was acting in his private capacity. He gave her hospitality. He and his wife looked after her. Is it a sin if a Minister has a friend or a guest?

श्री विश्वनाथ पाण्डेय (सलेमपुर) : श्रीमान्, जैसा कि समाचार पत्रों में प्रकाशित हुआ है कि वैदेशिक मंत्रालय के कुछ आफिसर स्विटजरलैंड गये और स्वेतलाना स्टालिन से परामर्श किया और वे परामर्श करके भारत-वर्ष लौट आये, मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि इन आफिसरों ने उनसे जो परामर्श किया, क्या उससे वैदेशिक मंत्रालय के मंत्रियों को भ्रमगत करा दिया गया है, यदि करा दिया गया है तो सरकार की उस बारे में क्या प्रतिक्रिया है ?

Shri M. C. Chagla: In order to leave no doubt in my mind I had sent on my own responsibility an officer of my Ministry to Switzerland to contact this young lady so that I should know first-hand what her reactions were. I want to assure the House that I am satisfied beyond any doubt that what I have stated in this report is absolutely correct.

Shri Nath Pal (Rajapur): Before I proceed to ask the question proper I would like your guidance on one thing and that is the mysterious process by which an adjournment motion undergoes *kayakalpa* and becomes a calling-attention notice. I wanted to censure the Government for its culpable lapse about a variety of matters in this regard. Instead, it has come to me as a calling-attention notice. I register my protest against it. I do not know how an adjournment motion, by a mysterious process, becomes a call attention notice.

Mr. Speaker: There was the No-Confidence Motion only yesterday. There are so many opportunities to censure the Government. This is also one of them. After all, it is an

important matter and I wanted to give you a chance here.

Shri Nath Pal: I am grateful to you for giving me a chance but I have a right which is better than a chance.

This Ministry somehow is getting no orious about its lack of ability to handle affairs where women are concerned, whether it is Reita Faria or Svetlana Stalin. I should like to ask, though he has said that categorically, decisively, resolutely and emphatically also, in spite of all these adverbs which he has used, whether it is not a fact that this unfortunate lady did pathetically plead, not for extension of visa—let not the ex-Chief Justice of Bombay take shelter behind the word 'asylum' which Mr. Vajpayee used—and ask for permission, not once but repeatedly, and did write letters to the External Affairs Ministry requesting for permission to stay in India and, if so, whether the request was also made personally to the Prime Minister of India and why was this request denied by the Government of India. Let me read this:

"It has now been established that Madam Svetlana was to be in contact with Mr. Royal at the residence of a Union Minister. At least one senior civil servant knew Madam Svetlana intimately and was involved in making arrangement for her exit from India."

May I know whether she was scheduled to dine with a senior official of the External Affairs Ministry on the day she made her departure?

Sir, I would not like to take shelter behind raising a point of order to claim the time of the House. I have asked very clear questions and I would expect him to be equally clear in his replies.

Shri M. C. Chagla: She did not meet or dine with any Indian official

[Shri M. C. Chagla]

after she shifted to the Soviet Embassy on 6th March morning. It is absolutely incorrect to say that this lady made any request to the External Affairs Ministry, to any Minister or to the Prime Minister, to stay on in this country. Leave aside a pathetic request but even an ordinary request was not made. I have said it before and I repeat that we extended the visa and there was no question or suggestion that she wanted to stay on in India.

Shri Hem Barua: What is the difference?

Shri M. C. Chagla: She gave her friends to understand which include Mr. Dinesh Singh and an official of the External Affairs Ministry that she wanted to go back to the U.S.S.R.

डा० राज मनोहर लोहिया : यह बिल्कुल गलत बात है ।

Shri M. C. Chagla: Mr. Dinesh Singh was under that impression when she left his house and went to the Soviet Embassy. It came to him as much of a surprise as to others, including the Soviet Embassy, when she suddenly disappeared to Rome instead of going back to Soviet Union. Therefore, this charge of any intention on the part of the External Affairs Ministry, its officers or Ministers, is absolutely false.

Shri Nath Pai: There are five letters from this lady to the Ministry of External Affairs.

Shri M. C. Chagla: I am not taking any refuge under any legal concept of 'asylum' or 'visa'. I want to state the fact that she expressed no desire whatever to continue to stay in this country.

Shri Nath Pai: What about these letters?

Shri M. C. Chagla: It is absolutely false suggestion made by Mr. Nath

Pai that at Mr. Dinesh Singh's house she was brought in contact with any American official.

Shri Nath Pai: It is from the Patriot. I asked about the letters.

Shri M. C. Chagla: I hope Mr. Nath Pai has sufficient detachment and impartiality and will not accept, as gospel truth, anything that appears in the papers.

Shri Nath Pai: Particularly, the Patriot.

श्री प्रेम चंद वर्मा (हमीरपुर) : यह जो कहा गया, है कि पत्रों में जो कुछ छपा है, गलत है। तो पत्रों पर यह आरोप नहीं लगाया जा सकता है।

Shri M. C. Chagla: Any paper, whether it is the *Hindustan Times*, the *Statesman*, the *Patriot* or the *Times of India*—of course, the *Times of India* is not being published now. I look at all the four papers and I have learnt during the years, and I hope Mr. Nath Pai also will learn during the years, not to accept everything that appears in the papers.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy (Kendrapara): About letters, he has not said anything.

Shri Bal Raj Madhok (South Delhi): A specific question was put about five letters that were sent.

Shri Nath Pai: I beg your indulgence.

Mr. Speaker: On the letters?

Shri M. C. Chagla: No letters were sent by her to the External Affairs Ministry.

Shri Nath Pai: Did she not request the Prime Minister? Did she plead with the Prime Minister for permission to stay or not?

**Shri M. C. Chagla:** No.

**Shri Baburao Patel (Shajapur):** It was said by the External Affairs Minister that Svetlana was not the wife of an Indian citizen. This matter has now taken a very romantic and colourful complexion. She was the sweetheart of an Indian and therefore the matter becomes very emotional in that case. If this lady, whose husband died in Soviet Russia, came to India, she naturally became our guest and she was treated as a guest. She probably wanted an asylum in the country and she approached the first persons whom she knew, namely, Mr. Dinesh Singh and the Prime Minister. It was our duty to give her some sort of an asylum because we know what are the conditions in Soviet Russia. If some one comes to us, out of sheer humanity we often give the person an asylum and protection. It is quite obvious from the discussion that took place in this House that this protection was denied. It is also quite obvious that our Government became panicky; our Government is very much concerned about what Soviet Russia thinks of us. But I want to know one thing. What is the reaction of the Government to this attempted kidnapping done by the Americans in India? Do we allow people who come to our country as guests, or even as tourists, to be kidnapped by Americans? If the Americans are here in this country for this purpose, then this is a shameful business. This is a case of kidnapping and not of mere elopement.

**Mr. Speaker:** The hon. Member may conclude now.

**Shri Baburao Patel:** This is a case of kidnapping, somebody who has been taken away from our country right in the presence of our officers. So, I want this question to be answered.

**Shri M. C. Chagla:** It is not correct that she was the guest of the Government or an official guest. She came on a private visit, on a private affair which concerned herself and

had nothing to do with Government. She applied for a visa in the ordinary course in our Embassy in Moscow. The visa was granted and she came here as any Russian or a foreigner would do. Therefore, Government had no responsibility whatever towards her.

Secondly, it is entirely incorrect to say that she was kidnapped by U.S. Embassy or by American authorities. As I said, she held a valid passport, she went to the Embassy and she got the visa as any other person having a valid passport could have gone and obtained a visa. If you kidnap a person, you do not take a person to the Airport and let her be there for one hour.

**Shri H. N. Mukerjee (Calcutta North East):** Money was supplied.

**Shri M. C. Chagla:** It is perfectly true that the United States Embassy or officer paid for her ticket. That is correct.

**Mr. Speaker:** Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia has given . . .

**Shri H. N. Mukerjee:** On a point of propriety:

A question has been asked which you, in your wisdom, have permitted, namely, something which amounted virtually to kidnapping has taken place on the part of a foreign embassy operating in this country. The hon. Minister says that a foreign embassy had offered money to a foreign national who happened to be our guest, at least the guest of a Minister of Government, for a considerable length of time. Is it open to any guest or any Indian national for that matter to be taken away in that manner by foreign embassies operating under our damn nose?

12.39 hrs.

RE. MOTION FOR ADJOURNMENT

**Mr. Speaker:** Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia has moved a privilege motion and that is about some statement made

[Mr. Speaker]

by the Prime Minister, about dates and all that. That is about the present of a necklace, dates and all that. It will be difficult for the Prime Minister to give that here and now because the incident happened ten years ago; therefore, she would take a little time to give details about that, i.e., when it was presented and all that; she will do it in due course.

Now papers to be laid on the Table.  
12.40 hrs.

श्री मधु सिन्धे (मुनेर) : उनको पेश तो करने दीजिए।

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy (Kendrapara): If it is a privilege motion....

Mr. Speaker: That is why I have said that it is not a privilege motion. The dates will be given. It is not a privilege motion. I do not accept it as a privilege motion.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: I want to understand it. As you have stated.....

Mr. Speaker: It is not a privilege motion at all.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: You had stated that Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia had given notice of a motion of privilege . . .

Mr. Speaker: It is not . . .

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: Then, what is it?

Mr. Speaker: I do not accept it as a privilege notice. But I have given the information to the House.

श्री हुकम चन्द कछवाय (उज्जैन) :  
मालूम तो पड़े कि क्या चीज है।

Shri A. B. Vajpayee (Balrampur): Either it is a privilege motion or it is not.

Mr. Speaker: It is not. I have only been saying that if some inaccuracies or any such things are there, the details will be given after verification because this incident occurred about ten years ago.

Now, Papers to be Laid on the Table.

डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया (कनौज) :  
तारीखों की गलती की बात नहीं है। यह  
धीर कोई बात है।

श्री मधु सिन्धे : पेश तो करने दीजिए।

12.41 hrs.

# PAPERS LAID ON THE TABLE

## AUDIT REPORT, APPROPRIATION ACCOUNTS, ETC.

The Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Finance (Shri Morarji Desai): I beg to lay on the Table a copy each of the following papers:—

- (1) Audit Report, Railways, 1967, under article 151(1) of the Constitution. [Placed in Library, see No. LT-14/67].
- (2) Appropriation Accounts, Railways, for 1965-66, Part I—Review. [Placed in Library, see No. LT-15/67].
- (3) Appropriation Accounts, Railways, for 1965-66, Part II—Detailed Appropriation Accounts. [Placed in Library, see No. LT-16/67].
- (4) Block Accounts (including Capital Statements comprising the Loan Accounts), Balance Sheets and Profits and Loss Accounts, Railways, for 1965-66. [Placed in Library, see No. LT-17/67].

## MINIMUM WAGES (CENTRAL) AMENDMENT RULES, ETC.

The Minister of State in the Ministry of Labour, Employment and Rehabilitation (Shri L. N. Mishra): On behalf of Shri Jai Sukh Lal Hathi, I beg to lay on the Table—

- (1) A copy of the Minimum Wages (Central) Amendment Rules, 1967, published in Notification No. G.S.R. 255 in Gazette of India dated the 25th February, 1967, under

section 30A of the Minimum Wages Act, 1948. [Placed in Library, see No. LT-18/67].

- (2) A copy of Notification No. S.O. 726 published in Gazette of India dated the 4th March, 1967, under sub-section (3) of section 40 of the Industrial Disputes Act, 1947, adding 'Iron Ore Mining' to the First Schedule to the said Act. [Placed in Library, see No. LT-19/67].

**NOTIFICATIONS UNDER INDIAN TELE-  
GRAPHS ACT.**

The Minister of State in the Ministry of Parliamentary Affairs and Communications (Shri I. K. Gujral): On behalf of Dr. Ram Subhag Singh, I beg to lay on the Table—

- (1) A copy each of the following Notifications under sub-sec-

- (i) Statement No. I and Supplementary Statement No. I.  
(ii) Supplementary Statement Nos. II, III and IV.  
(iii) Supplementary Statement Nos. VII and VIII.  
[Placed in Library, see No. LT-21/67].  
(iv) Supplementary Statement Nos. IX and X.  
(v) Supplementary Statement No. XI.  
(vi) Supplementary Statement No. XVI.  
(vii) Supplementary Statement No. XVII.  
[Placed in Library, see No. LT-22/67].  
(viii) Supplementary Statement No. XVII.  
(ix) Supplementary Statement No. XXIV.  
[Placed in Library, see No. LT-23/67].

tion (5) of section 7 of the Indian Telegraph Act, 1885:—

- (i) The Indian Telegraph (Sixth Amendment) Rules, 1966, published in Notification No. G.S.R. 1827 in Gazette of India dated the 3rd December, 1966.  
(ii) The Indian Telegraph (First Amendment) Rules 1967, published in Notification G.S.R. 164 in Gazette of India dated the 11th February, 1967. [Placed in Library, see No. LT-20/67].  
(2) The following statements showing the action taken by the Government on various assurances, promises and undertakings given by the Ministers during the various Sessions of Third Lok Sabha:—

Shri S. M. Banerjee (Kanpur): I have some submissions to make in regard to item 6 (2) on the Order Paper which relates to fourteen statements showing the action taken by Government on various assurances, promises and undertakings given by the Ministers during the various Ses-

sions of Third Lok Sabha. I want to take this opportunity to raise two points.

A solemn assurance was given by the late-lamented Prime Minister of this country, Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri that jeeps would be withdrawn from

[Shri S. M. Banerjee] the community development blocks within two months. Fourteen months have passed and that assurance has not been fulfilled. My information is that all these jeeps of the community development blocks which were to be withdrawn were only kept for the general elections for the use of the ruling party. I would like to know what has happened to that assurance.

The second assurance was this. When my hon. friend Shri Madhu Limaye and others raised certain very pertinent questions about the black deeds of Amin Chand Pyarelal's in which two Cabinet Ministers were said to have been involved, and suggested that a commission should be appointed, an assurance was given in this House that there would be a proper inquiry into the conduct of this particular firm including the Ministers.

I would like to know from the Prime Minister or the Deputy Prime Minister or the Minister what has happened to those two assurances.

Mr. Speaker: I do not think that he has the information now. This item is only Papers to be Laid on the Table.

Shri I. K. Gujral: I would only clarify two points which would perhaps satisfy the hon. Member. 94 per cent of the assurances given on the floor of this House has been implemented. It is the practice in this House that.....

Shri S. M. Banerjee: I am asking about those which have not been implemented.

Shri I. K. Gujral: Let me complete what I was going to say. It is the practice in this House that after the Papers are laid on the Table, they go to the Assurances Committee and the hon. Member will have a right to question all this there.

The third point that I would like to submit is that this Department has suffered a setback. On the 7th of November last, the Talkatora Barracks were set on fire at the time of the demonstration, and the records relat-

ing to the Assurances Implementation Section of my Department were destroyed there. We are now reconstructing them.

Shri S. M. Banerjee: It is a very serious matter.

Mr. Speaker: Now, there should be nothing more. Let us go to the next item.

#### NOTIFICATION UNDER REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLE ACT

The Minister of Law (Shri Govinda Menon): I beg to lay on the Table—

- (1) A copy each of the following Notifications under sub-section (3) of Section 28 of the Representation of the People Act, 1950:—
    - (i) The Registration of Electors (Amendment) Rules, 1966, published in Notification No. G.S.R. 3874 in Gazette of India dated the 15th December, 1966.
    - (ii) The Registration of Electors (Second Amendment) Rules, 1966, published in Notification No. G.S.R. 3963 in Gazette of India dated the 24th December, 1966.
- [Placed in Library, see No. LT-24/67].
- (2) A copy of the Conduct of Elections (Second Amendment) Rules, 1966, published in Notification No. G.S.R. 3875 in Gazette of India dated the 15th December, 1966, under sub-section (8) of section 169 of the Representation of the People Act, 1951. [Placed in Library, see No. LT-24/67].

#### REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON BROADCASTING AND INFORMATION MEDIA

The Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting (Shrimati Nandini Satpathy): On behalf of Shri K. K. Shah, Minister of Information and Broadcasting, I beg to lay on the Table—

- (1) A copy of the statement showing decisions taken on

further recommendations (including those which have been either partly accepted, accepted in a modified form or rejected of the Committee on Broadcasting and Information Media relating to Radio and Television. [Placed in Library, see No. LT-25/67]

- (2) A copy of the Report of the Committee on Broadcasting and Information Media on Press Information and Publicity. [Placed in Library, see No. LT-26/67].

**ANNUAL REPORT OF CENTRAL WAREHOUSING CORPORATION, ETC.**

**The Minister of State in the Ministry of Food, Agriculture, Community Development and Cooperation (Shri Annasahib Shinde):** I beg to lay on the Table—

- (1) A copy of Annual Report of the Central Warehousing Corporation for the year 1965-66, along with Annual Accounts and the Audit Report thereon under sub-section (11) of section 31 of the Warehousing Corporations Act, 1962. [Placed in Library, see No. LT-27/67].
- (2) A copy of the Rice-Milling Industry (Regulation and Licensing) Amendment Rules, 1967, published in Notification No. G.S.R. 187 in Gazette of India dated the 11th February, 1967, under sub-section (4) of section 22 of the Rice-Milling Industry (Regulation) Act, 1958. [Placed in Library, see No. LT-28/67].
- (3) A copy of the Central Warehousing Corporation (Amendment) Rules, 1967, published in Notification No. G.S.R. 56 in Gazette of India dated the 14th January, 1967, under sub-section (3) of section 41 of the Warehousing Corporations Act, 1962. [Placed in Library, see No. LT-29/67].

- (4) A copy of Notification No. G.S.R. 1831 published in Gazette of India dated the 3rd December, 1966, making certain amendments to the Food Corporations (Eighth Amendment) Rules, 1966, under sub-section (3) of section 44 of the Food Corporations Act, 1964. [Placed in Library, see No. LT-30/67].

- (5) A copy each of the following Notifications under sub-section (6) of section 3 of the Essential Commodities Act, 1955:—

(i) The Fertiliser (Control) First Amendment Order, 1967, published in Notification No. G.S.R. 125 in Gazette of India dated the 28th January, 1967.

(ii) The Vegetable Oil Products Control (Amendment) Order, 1967, published in Notification No. G.S.R. 155 in Gazette of India dated the 4th February, 1967.

[Placed in Library, see No. LT-31/67].

- (6) A copy of Notification No. S.O. 3882 published in Gazette of India dated the 17th December, 1966, issued under section 4 of the Agricultural Produce Cess Act, 1940. [Placed in Library, see No. LT-32/67].

**REGISTRATION OF FOREIGNERS (EXEMPTION) AMENDMENT ORDER, ETC.**

**The Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Home Affairs (Shri K. S. Ramaswamy):** On behalf of Shri Vidya Charan Shukla, the Minister of State in the Ministry of Home Affairs, I beg to lay on the Table—

- (1) A copy of the Registration of Foreigners (Exemption) Amendment Order, 1967, published in Notification No. G.S.R. 334 in Gazette of India dated the 11th March, 1967,

[Shri K. S. Ramaswamy]

under section 6 of the Registration of Foreigners Act, 1939.

[Placed in Library. See No. LT-33/67].

- (2) A copy of the Ministers' (Allowances, Medical Treatment and other privileges) Fourth Amendment Rules, 1966, published in Notification No. G.S.R. 1912 in Gazette of India dated the 17th December, 1966, under sub-section (2) of section 11 of the Salaries and Allowances of Ministers Act, 1952.

[Placed in Library. See No. LT-34/67].

- (3) A copy each of the following Notifications under sub-section (2) of section 3 of the All India Services Act, 1951:—

- (i) The All India Services (Leave) Second Amendment Rules, 1966, published in Notification No. G.S.R. 1914 in Gazette of India dated the 17th December, 1966.

- (ii) The Indian Police Service (Probation) First Amendment Rules, 1967, published in Notification No. G.S.R. 67 in Gazette of India dated the 21st January, 1967.

- (iii) The Indian Administrative Service (Probation) First Amendment Rules, 1967, published in Notification No. G.S.R. 101 in Gazette of India dated the 28th January, 1967.

- (iv) The Indian Police Service (Probation) Second Amendment Rules, 1967, published in Notification No. G.S.R. 102 in Gazette of India dated the 28th January, 1967.

[Placed in Library. See No. LT-LT-35/67].

12.45 hrs.

# MOTION OF THANKS ON THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS

Mr. Speaker: Shri Hanumanthaiya to move his motion.

Shri N. Sreekantan Nair (Quilon): What about the amendments? When will they be allowed to be moved? What is the procedure?

Mr. Speaker: After the motion is moved and seconded, the amendments tabled will be taken up.

Shri Hanumanthaiya (Bangalore): Sir, I move:

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

"That the Members of Lok Sabha assembled in this Session are deeply grateful to the President for the Address which he has been pleased to deliver to both Houses of Parliament assembled together on the 18th March 1967."

In the ordinary course, this Motion should have come up first for discussion. For some reason or other, a no-confidence motion came up for discussion on the question of Rajasthan earlier. Many a time when the temperature is too high in Delhi, loo comes from the desert side—Rajasthan side. After the loo subsidies, the climate in Delhi becomes tolerable; the temperature comes down. I hope after the loo like motion of no-confidence has been so thoroughly discussed and voted upon, there is cooler climate for discussing our national problems.

The President's Address is ceremonial. In fact, it has got more importance, more sanctity than any ordinary motion or ordinary discussion. The framers of the Constitution have deliberately done so. Many of us here have participated in the framing of the Constitution. It is with serious-



ness and sanctity, devoid of all prejudices, political and personal, that we have to discuss the Address given to us by the President. It is on this occasion that we have to rise above all party politics and all personal predilections to discuss dispassionately and with true patriotic spirit the problems of the country.

The general election was held and as the President said, and the Prime Minister has also said in her press statement and broadcast, this is the biggest election that has ever been held since we are the biggest democracy in the world. Before the election, for about a year conditions were so violent everywhere in India—there were demonstrations, there were strikes, there were firings, there were deaths—that many people in editorials or in statements from Opposition leaders as well as Congress leaders, apprehended whether elections could be held at all in that violent atmosphere. I must be grateful for this that the leaders of the Opposition as well as of the Congress rose to the occasion, and the general elections—minor unhappy incidents apart—were held and field successfully and impartially.

We have the result of the elections. It is no use going on importing our own interpretations into the result of the elections. The hard facts are there. The Congress is in power at the Centre and in many States. I am very happy that there are other States in which non-congress Ministries are in office. Here is an opportunity afforded to us, whether to the Opposition or to the government parties, to behave with responsibility and decorum and to see that anything that we say here may not have adverse repercussions on our own parties elsewhere. This sobering influence is the best guarantee for running our democracy smoothly.

After the general elections, I was very happy to read in the papers that the Prime Minister, very graciously and with all the goodwill in the world, congratulated the Chief Ministers who

did not belong to the Congress. Only she did not take much notice of the Congress Chief Ministers.

**Shri N. C. Chatterjee** (Burdwan): Rightly so.

**Shri Hanumanthaiya:** That shows the Prime Minister's anxiety, over-anxiety I should say, to see that she extended her co-operation with the best of will, with the best spirit of co-operation, so that this democracy can work smoothly and this nation can progress speedily.

I must acknowledge that the DMK leader in Madras made a very graceful gesture, a very co-operative gesture, when he said that the Deputy Speakership should go to the opposition party, or the Congress Party, as the case may be. The Prime Minister and the Government of India were not lagging behind in deeds, not merely in words, in responding to the wishes of the Opposition, when they took the extraordinary step of cancelling the lame duck session of the last Parliament which had been summoned.

**Shri S. Kandappan** (Mettur): What happened in Madras to our graceful gesture?

**Shri Hanumanthaiya:** That is for you and the Madras Congress Party to decide.

**Shri S. Kandappan:** Your party has not responded gracefully.

**Shri Hanumanthaiya:** That was the extraordinary step taken by the Prime Minister, and I very much wish that the same spirit had pervaded the choice of the Speaker. May be the Opposition parties were too demanding, may be we could have had more discussions on the subject with the leaders of the Opposition parties. But it is only one instance against several which show that the Prime Minister and the leaders of the Opposition parties have the psychology, have the anxiety, to co-operate with one another. That is a good augury for the five years of lease of life that

[Shri Hanumanthaiya]

the people have given to each one of us.

The problem which deserves our utmost consideration is that of economic stagnation. We may call it by the name of inflation, we may call it by the name of high prices, we may call it by the name of falling of production in the field of agriculture and industry. But the comprehensive term is economic stagnation. The President's Address and the speech so realistically and truthfully delivered by the Deputy Prime Minister yesterday do not hide facts. We have taken everyone in the country into confidence to show what is the real state of our affairs so far as our economy is concerned.

I painfully went through all the amendments that have been sent by Members of the Opposition parties. They have sent more than 200 amendments, but I find not one amongst these amendments which suggests a remedy, courageously suggests a remedy. Every amendment seeks to confer some rise of wages, some subsidy or some other benefit on the people, hardly realising that all this has to be paid out of the national income, national production, and that can only be done by hard work.

We talk of minimum wages, and in season and out of season we are pampering the salaried classes, whether it is in the private sector or the public sector, that their emoluments are not sufficient, that their allowances are not sufficient. True, I grant, but at the same time should we not think for a moment that before we pay, there must be the pay packet. Nobody is thinking in terms of minimum work to be put in by the worker in the office and the factory and the field.

Shri N. Sreekantan Nair: Are you, as the Congress Party, against minimum wages as such?

Shri Hanumanthaiya: If you follow me, you will see that there is hardly any difference between you and me.

Shri N. Sreekantan Nair: I know that.

Shri Hanumanthaiya: Even as we subscribe to the principal of minimum wages, every one of us, if we are to be truly patriotic in the sense of serving the country effectively, have to insist on minimum work whether it is in the field or the factory.

The inflationary spiral has gone very high. I will tell you today, not because I am a Congressman but because I am an Indian and a Member of Parliament, responsibility for it is not only that of the Government, but also that of the Opposition. Every time there was a strike, many of the Opposition Members and parties went on egging them, supporting them, irrespective of the money available in the coffers of the Government or industry. The national income was no consideration. The saying was: beg, borrow or steal, and pay us more. The result is that today the prices have gone so high that our very economy has come to a standstill, or has begun to make a reverse progress. Who has thought about it?

The currency that was in circulation in 1939, just before the world war, was hardly Rs. 200 crores. When we attained independence and the Congress Governments took over, the money in circulation came to about Rs. 1,200 crores, and from there the responsibility of the Congress organisation begins. Now we have more than Rs. 4,200 crores of money in circulation, notes and coins all put together. You may call it deficit financing or you may call it inflation, or by any other name. But this was necessitated partly by continuous strikes in the public and private sectors. Nobody thought whether these increased payments without corresponding production would land us in trouble, nobody thought about it.

Shri M. R. Masani (Rajkot): We did.

Shri Hanumanthaiya: Everybody thought of pleasing the voter, so that

at the general election they might get votes.

**Shri Nambiar (Tiruchirappalli):** Mr. Hanumanthaiya is criticising the Government vehemently, more than the Opposition itself. It is welcome.

**Shri Hanumanthaiya:** No, Sir. Mr. Nambiar is so strong in arguments and in mental ability that he does not require my advocacy. I am revealing facts. We had to do these things because we had to maintain law and order, we had to maintain peace. We had to pay the price because of the pressure the Opposition parties and some Members exerted in the labour field.

In the month of September I was in London. There was a similar crisis there. Mr. Wilson, who is the leader of the Labour Party, took the stand of wage and price freeze. It must be said to the credit of the Labour Party, which is a labour organisation, that its executive and Conference ratified the policy of price freeze and wage freeze.

**Shri N. Sreekantan Nair:** There was price freeze also, not wage freeze alone. Why don't you remember that? Why don't your party try to freeze prices here?

13 hrs.

**Shri Hanumanthaiya:** I am glad that Mr. Sreekantan Nair has come out with the suggestion. Whether it is wage, which is your field, or whether it is price, which is the field of our Treasury Benches, let us co-operate together and see that these two factors behave and behave properly, for the national good. It is not a stunt; it is not a matter of pleasing one sector or the other; it is not a question of popularity. It is a question of survival. Prices have risen and poor officials and other salarised people have been affected. Only recently at the time of the general

elections several State Governments had to pay a little more dearness allowance than they were paying. The State Governments had to pay at increased rates of dearness allowance, which increased their budget expenditure all over India in the Centre by 100 crores. Do you realise that 100 crores means Rs. 2 per capita payment by every Indian for this purpose? Have you ever thought of any per capita increase in the field of production?

**Shri S. M. Banerjee (Kanpur):** Have you thought about prices?

**Shri Hanumanthaiya:** Mr. Banerjee is an economist and he knows. He is a good worker. He knows that the prices and wages go together. You cannot allow prices to run away and hold down the wages; nor is it possible to do the reverse. It is, therefore, that I appeal to him in the true spirit of co-operation with which he has launched his parliamentary career, to co-operate in solving this problem of wages and prices.

**Shri S. M. Banerjee:** You hold the prices down; do not go on saying about the dearness allowance. It is a vicious circle I agree. But unless the prices come down, the employees will demand more DA.

**Mr. Speaker:** If Mr. Hanumanthaiya were to address the Chair, the controversy across will be a little less.

**Shri Hanumanthaiya:** I obey the Chair. Wise and experienced as you are, Sir, you will see that there is a consensus of opinion between the opposition and the Government on this question, namely, make the economy march towards progress and prosperity. We all say wages and prices have to be held together.

The President has made a reference to the Administrative Reforms Commission. The late Prime Minister, Lal Bahadur Shastri replying to a debate on the no-confidence motion on 26th August, 1965 made a statement that

[Shri Hanumanthaiya]

people often said that we had been lacking in the proper implementation of our programmes and policies. He continued that there were various study groups but he felt that they were patch works and that all those small efforts were not going to meet the situation. He was of the opinion that there should be a highpower commission to go into this matter. He put his fingers on the right spot when he found the deficiencies in the matter of implementation, that is, in our administrative practices. Therefore, he appointed a high level commission. Our present Prime Minister was so conscious of the problem that in her very first address to the nation on the radio she said that in economic development as in other fields of national activity there was a certain gap between intentions and action and to bridge this gap we should boldly adopt whatever far reaching changes in the administration might be found necessary; we must introduce new organisational patterns and modern tools and techniques of management and administration. She said that we should instil into the governmental machinery greater efficiency and a sense of urgency and make it more responsible to the needs of the people. In another speech in Parliament, there is an inspiring passage wherein she says that what she wanted were not ordinary changes but revolution in the administrative system without which no enduring change could be brought about in any field. Mrs. Gandhi said that the patterns of administration were designed when the Government's main business was to keep law and order; they were not adequate for the challenges the country faces today. The system of Government was devised in order to keep peace in the country; it was merely a question of protecting the lives and property. Now it is a question of making progress from development to development. It is the question of economic development. In the old days the work of Government was primarily that of the police and the magistrate. Today, it

is the work of a welfare State. It is the work of the engineer, the technocrat and the representatives of the people who give the necessary ideas as to what are the requirements of the country and the needs of the people.

Now, this commission has been able to command good support not only from the Congress party but from every party in this House and outside. The Presidential Address says that the interim report relating to the appointment of Lok Ayukt was in principle accepted. When that subject was discussed in this House, whether it was a Congressman or a member of any other party, be it the Communist Party or the Swatantra or the DMK or my friend Mr. N. C. Chatterjee who is a distinguished independent Member of this House, every one got up to support it enthusiastically. I have been in Parliament for a long time, in fact from its very inception. Never before in the history of Parliament have I seen a measure receiving so much enthusiastic support as this proposal did. It is with that spirit that the Commission is working. The reforms that are going to be submitted to the Government, must be such as to command universal support in this House and in the country. It is only then that we would be able to effect those revolutionary changes that the Prime Minister has in view.

The other day I was appointed Chairman of the Commission. A very senior gentleman who had long experience of administration thought there would be a vacancy because I had been appointed chairman. He came to my house and he was discussing things with me. He was telling me that he wanted to help the Commission. I was very earnestly discussing with him. I was telling him that we have got any amount of evidence regarding the drawbacks and deficiencies in the governmental machinery. I want people to give ideas; I want people who can suggest ways in which the Government can be reformed. He then said that these were

not the times for fundamental changes; and that we should not upset the apple cart and that we have to see how adjustments could be made. I then took the speech of the Prime Minister and I said: this is what the Prime Minister says for me: He was advising me not to introduce revolutionary changes. Then I took the speech and showed that "The Prime Minister wants a revolution in the administrative system." Then he quietly got up and went away.

**Shri Nambiar:** We shall be happy if it is brought about under his chairmanship. We support it.

**Shri Hanumanthaiya:** Thank you very much. With the goodwill and support and guidance of the Prime Minister, that objective could be attained by this House and by this administration.

I was surprised to read in the papers about the Planning Commission changes likely to happen next month. An enterprising correspondent has learnt through some source that "unless the authorities reject the recommendations of the Administrative Reforms Commission, the reorganised Planning Commission will be purely an expert body to advise the Governmental planning of economic policies," etc., etc. I may take the House into confidence and say I do not know where this gentleman got the information from. The Commission has not yet made any report. Leave alone that. Even the Study Team appointed to go into the question is submitting its report only on the 28th of this month. This press write-up looks pre-eminently a prompted one. This Planning Commission, from the very beginning, has suffered from such promptings. Somebody wanted a job; somebody wanted a particular type of Commission; somebody wanted a particular function; so he went on doing propaganda for it in order to fit the whole Commission into that pattern. I am sorry to say that two

names have been mentioned: that the Prime Minister is already considering them to be on the Commission. These are tendentious reports. This is how the House is misled, the Prime Minister is misled and the country is misled. This is going on for sometime and probably for a long time. This is one of the basic reasons why the Planning Commission has not been able to earn the respect and the consideration of the people, because its set-up, its guidance, its personnel, were subject to these pressures and promptings. I might say that I have not yet considered the line of reform of the Planning Commission. If the Study Team submits its report on the 28th I am sure within a week or two the Commission will be able to finalise its recommendations and submit them to the Prime Minister. The question of appointing members arises thereafter

One of the greatest gifts of God, so far as persons in power are concerned, is to know who fits into what place. When I read the biographies of great men, I found that they did not know everything that they were asked to do or asked to rule over. Their strength was that they knew whom to select and for what place, and that brought them success and glory.

**Mr. Speaker:** The hon. Member should finish within five minutes.

**Shri Hanumanthaiya:** Yes, Sir. In this big, soul-elevating enterprise of making 50 crores of people march towards progress and prosperity and happiness, this God-given gift must be exercised discreetly.

**Shri Manoharan (Madras North):** He is talking only about the administrative reforms.

**Shri Hanumanthaiya:** It is mentioned in the President's Address. If we are going to bestow favours because somebody retires and therefore we have to take pity on him, or because somebody is defeated and therefore we have to bestow some favour on

[Shri Hanumanthaiya]

him, it is not the way of helping the nation to march. In fact, the best brains in the country have to be requisitioned for the Commission. Call it by any name; it is brain-power that ultimately will come to our rescue. Even the mighty atom bomb was invented by brain-power. Therefore, let us select the best brains in the country for the Planning Commission.

**Shri Rajaram (Salem):** Are you accepting the theory of Rajaji?

**Shri Hanumanthaiya:** Sir, you have given me five minutes and I will touch upon only one topic and close my speech.

**An hon. Member:** Language.

**Shri Hanumanthaiya:** Language is of no importance to me.

**An hon. Member:** He is betraying the south.

**Shri E. K. Nayanar (Palghat):** What about Malayalam and Tamil?

**Shri Hanumanthaiya:** South or North, even if all of us speak in Hindi, that will not fill our stomach or clothe us. Even if all of us speak in English that will not make us go starving and naked in the streets. What is wanted today is food and clothing and other amenities of life. Therefore, I am particularly emphasising that it is production that matters. One of the great schemes that has been accepted in the President's Address is national service for students. It so happens that in the very year I entered as a member, the Mysore Legislative Assembly 30 years ago, I moved a resolution in that Assembly that all students must be made to undergo one year's national service before degrees were conferred upon them. I moved that resolution; that idea occurred to me 30 years ago. When I became Chief Minister in 1952, I got an Educational Reforms Committee appointed. It gave a report. In

that report you will find that this very idea is imbedded: that every student must be made to work free and for one year in the field of national service before a degree is given. I went even a step further. No application should be entertained by the Public Service Commission or by any employer unless a certificate is attached to that application to the effect that he has done such service. I sent that report to the Government of India in those days. But I did not receive even a reply by way of acknowledgment to that report. They thought in those days that nothing done by the State Government was good enough for the Central Government to consider. That was the imbalance of power that prevailed in those days. Fortunately, I am happy that the recent elections have perforce brought about a certain amount of balance in political power between State and State and between the Centre and the States. This scheme will prove beneficial as envisaged by the Education Reforms Commission that was appointed by the Government of India. In my view, that is more important for our future, for our national growth, than many other schemes and projects. The number of people that are going to be involved is more than 7½ crores; that is the student population at all stages, as the Education Reforms Commission says 7½ crores is more than the population of England, France or some other countries. Therefore, if 7½ crores of our population, that too, bright, educated young men, take to the work of nation-building, and much more than that if they get into the mood, the psychology of service, then our progress is guaranteed.

It is with this hope that we, the Members of this House, whether from the opposition or from the Treasury Benches, have to congratulate the Government for bringing up this scheme of theirs for our approval. We have to give not only our enthusiastic approval to the scheme but in the areas from which we have been elected, we have to see that in all those

areas it is implemented effectively and sincerely. And this is the greatest reform introduced in the educational field.

Family planning is being discussed. Indeed it is a welcome idea, but in this matter it is not only learning that we have to depend upon, but much more than that wisdom. If the family planning as envisaged is going to be implemented mechanically, you will come to a stage, say after 10 or 15 years, when there will be many more old people than is desirable. You cannot kill the old people, there is no such law. A stage will come when we will have a great percentage of old people in our population. They would not be able to produce, but we have to spend on them. The people in charge of family planning have to look at this problem not only from the point of view of learning but wisdom to see that this imbalance in the composition of the population does not take place.

The Minister incharge of the family planning has proposed that he would like to postpone the age of marriage to 20 or so. This is another instance where wisdom and not learning matters. I know that many people who married late because of fanciful ideas borrowed from the west have regretted it. One such instance was the case of an hon member of this House, a former Minister, Mr. H. C. Dasappa. He married late and when he was 55, his children were still in school. Pathetically he told me, "If I had not had this fanciful idea and if I had married earlier, by the time I reached the age of 55 my sons would have completed their education and they would have helped me instead of my continuing to help them." So, the age of marriage cannot be blindly borrowed from the west. The standards of climate and civilisation differ from country to country. Even in America, I think early marriages are the fashion now. Between 16 and 20 years, people can marry. Earlier the better. But I am not advocating child marriage. It should be between 16 and 20. If you extend the age of marriage by legis-

lation, I warn that the imbalance in the population between the working and non-working section is bound to happen. I hope the Minister in charge of family planning, having learnt everything that happens all over the world, will now quietly think in terms of wisdom and the conditions prevailing in the country.

श्री विश्वनाथ पाण्डेय (सलेमपुर) :  
अध्यक्ष महोदय, श्री के० हनुमन्तैया न राष्ट्रपति महोदय के अभिभाषण पर जो धन्यवाद प्रस्ताव सदन के सम्मुख प्रस्तुत किया है जिसमें कि कहा गया है कि हम उनके अत्यन्त आभारी हैं उस धन्यवाद प्रस्ताव का समर्थन और अनुमोदन करते हुए मैं अपने को गौरवान्वित समझता हूँ कि मुझे यह अवसर प्राप्त हुआ है कि मैं उनके प्रति कृतज्ञता ज्ञापन करूँ।

राष्ट्रपति महोदय इस देश के इस सत्कार के बड़े मनीषी हैं, विद्वान हैं और दार्शनिक हैं। वह राष्ट्रीय और अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय जगत के प्रकाश पूज हैं। उनमें यदि आप देखें तो पूर्वीय और पश्चिमी देश की सभ्यता का समन्वय है। महामना मालवीय जी के उत्तराधिकारी उपकुलपति के रूप में काशी विश्वविद्यालय के भी उपकुलपति रहे हैं और यहाँ पर श्री वे त्यागमूर्ति स्वर्गीय डा० राजेन्द्र प्रसाद के उत्तराधिकारी राष्ट्रपति के रूप में हुए। वे इस गणराज्य की 50 करोड़ जनता के महापुरुष, राजपुरुष सबसे उच्च अधिकारी हैं। वे लोकतन्त्र के पोषक हैं, ईमानदार हैं और दृढ़ता के साथ लोकतन्त्र को निभाने की नीयत रखते हैं।

एक साथ समवेत संसद् की दोनों सभाओं श्री उन्होंने सम्बोधन किया है, लोकसभा जो कि चतुर्थ आम चुनावों के पश्चात् अस्तित्व में आई है। इसमें करीब 25 करोड़ मतदाता थे और मैं समझता हूँ कि 30-40 प्रतिशत लोगों ने मतदान किया है परन्तु उन्होंने जी परम्परा सर्वदा से चली आई है संसद् के समक्ष सम्बोधन करने की उसके आधार पर ही



[श्री विश्वनाथ पाण्डेय]

विपक्षी दलों ने उनसे प्रार्थना की कि बुनावों के फलस्वरूप जो लोग नये निर्वाचित होकर आये हैं उस नई संसद् को लोकसभा को वे बुलायें, उसे ही आमंत्रित करें और उस नई संसद् को राष्ट्रपति जी सम्बोधित करें। राष्ट्रपति महोदय ने समादर किया, आदर किया लोकतंत्र का, विपक्षी दलों का और राष्ट्रपति नूतन संसद् को बुलाकर उसे 18 मार्च को सम्बोधित किया है। एक साथ समवेत दोनों सभाओं के सामने उस दिन राष्ट्रपति जी ने जो अपने विचारों को रक्खा है वह विचार सारगर्भित हैं। उन्हें संसद् सदस्यों ने और देश के लोगों ने सुना और पढ़ा। लेकिन एक अशोभनीय घटना उस वक्त हुई जिसके कि बारे में मैं सदन का ध्यान आकर्षित करना चाहता हूँ। वह लोकतंत्र की पद्धति के विरुद्ध है कि कुछ विरोधी पक्षों के लोगों ने राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण का बहिष्कार किया। कुछ विरोधी पक्षों द्वारा अपनाया गया वह रवैया जनतंत्र के विरुद्ध है। जब हमारे राष्ट्रपति महोदय सारे देश के और राष्ट्र के सर्वोच्च अधिकारी हैं तब उनका अभिभाषण सुनना प्रत्येक सदस्य का कर्तव्य होता है और हर एक को उसके लिए वहाँ पर बैठना चाहिए था।

स्वतंत्रता प्राप्ति के पश्चात् राष्ट्र ने स्वर्गीय पंडित जवाहरलाल जी के नेतृत्व में प्रजातंत्र की पद्धति को अपनाया है, समाजवाद को अपनाया है। पंचवर्षीय योजनाओं के आधार पर देश के विकास के कार्य को आरम्भ किया है। हमारा यह ध्येय है कि देश के सभी नागरिकों को सुखी अवस्था प्राप्त करावें, राष्ट्र के जितने भी लोग हैं सब सुखी रहें समुन्नत रहें और लोककल्याण के हेतु गणराज्य की स्थापना हो। हमारे सब कामों का यही उद्देश्य है। जो मौलिक प्रश्न हैं प्रत्येक व्यक्ति का, मकान, वस्त्र, भोजन, दवावस्त्र और शिक्षण, इन सबका समुचित प्रबन्ध हो यह विचार लेकर स्वतंत्रता प्राप्ति के पश्चात् स्वर्गीय जवाहरलाल जी के नेतृत्व में कार्य आरम्भ

हुआ। जो हमारा ध्येय और उद्देश्य है वह उस संस्कृत श्लोक के अनुसार है जो कि मैं अभी आप के सामने रखूंगा। उस संस्कृत श्लोक के आधार पर ही जन भावना जागृत हुई और हमारे स्वर्गीय पंडित जवाहरलाल जी ने एक स्वप्न को साकार करने की कोशिश की। [वह संस्कृत श्लोक यों है :

"सर्वे सुखिनाः भवन्तु, सर्वे सन्तु निरामया,  
सर्वे भद्राणि पश्यन्तु मा काश्चद् दुःख  
भाग भवेत्।"

ऐसा हमारा लोक कल्याण राज्य हुआ जिससे सारे लोग सुखी हों, साग मानव समाज सुखी हो। उसमें राष्ट्र भी आ जाता है।

19 या 20 वर्ष देश को स्वतंत्र हुए हो गये। स्वर्गीय जवाहरलाल जी ने जो आदर्श जो सिद्धान्त जो कार्य पद्धति संसार के सामने प्रस्तुत की उसके अनुसार भारतवर्ष में काम होता आया। उनके पश्चात् स्वर्गीय लाल बहादुर शास्त्री ने भी उसी को अपनाया और वर्तमान प्रधान मंत्री भी उसी कार्य पद्धति का अनुसरण कर रहे हैं। उन्होंने राष्ट्र के सामने और अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय जगत के सामने पंच-शील, गुट्ट निरपेक्षता, धर्म निरपेक्षता और सह अस्तित्व का अनुसरण करके लोकतंत्रीय और समाजवादी सिद्धान्त को रक्खा और उसके साथ ही साथ देश की उन्नति के लिए योजनाएं कार्यान्वित कीं। पंचवर्षीय योजनाएं और मिश्रित अर्थ व्यवस्था उन्होंने राष्ट्र को दी। उनके बारे में राष्ट्र के सामने संकल्प किया और राष्ट्र का सहयोग मांगा। राष्ट्र को स्वावलम्बन की नीति अपनाने का आह्वान किया और उसमें उन्होंने पूरा योगदान दिया। [उन्हीं के आदर्शों एवं बतलाये हुए मार्गों द्वारा भारत का उत्थान हुआ है। लेकिन इस तृतीय लोकसभा की अवधि में कुछ विशेष घटनाएं हुई हैं जिनका भी वर्णन मैं आपके सामने करूँगा। उसके अन्तर्गत हमारे स्वर्गीय पंडित जवाहरलाल जी का निधन हुआ



उसके पश्चात् स्वर्गीय लाल बहादुर शास्त्री जी का भी निधन हुआ। दो आक्रमण भारतवर्ष पर हुए, चीन के और पाकिस्तान के लेकिन हिमालय से लेकर कन्याकुमारी तक और कच्छ से लेकर मणिपुर तक जन जागृति हुई और लोगो ने उस आक्रमण का मुकाबला किया। अनेकता होते हुए भी देश को एकता के सूत्र में बांधा और आक्रमणकारी को बता दिया कि हिन्दुस्तान एक है, राष्ट्रीयता उसकी नस नस में भरी हुई है, और भारत माता का सिर ऊंचा करने का उसने दृढ़ संकल्प कर रखा है। यह घटना एक विशेष घटना है जिसकी तरफ मैं आपका ध्यान आकर्षित करना चाहता हूँ।

इसके बाद और एक चीज हुई। हमें भारतीय मुद्रा का भवमूल्यन करना पड़ा। वह हम ने इस भाषा में किया कि हमारी आर्थिक स्थिति सुधरेगी, हमारा देश उन्नति की ओर अग्रसर होगा, हमारा निर्यात बढ़ेगा। नागालैंड और मिजोरम के प्रश्न भी गम्भीर प्रश्न थे और अब भी गम्भीर प्रश्न है। यह जो समस्या है इसका समाधान करने की भी कोशिश हमारी सरकार ने की है। मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि सरकार कोशिश कर रही है, गम्भीरता से कोशिश कर रही है कि ये जो सब उलझने हैं इनका शान्तिपूर्वक समाधान हो, न्यायसंगत समाधान हो, लोकतांत्रिक पद्धति से, प्रजातांत्रिक पद्धति से समाधान हो।

उन्नीस वर्षों में राष्ट्र ने पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू के नेतृत्व में, स्वर्गीय लाल बहादुर जी शास्त्री के नेतृत्व में और श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी के नेतृत्व में क्या काम किये हैं, देश कितना आगे बढ़ा है, विभिन्न क्षेत्रों में, इसके कुछ आंकड़े मैं आपको देना चाहता हूँ। महामानव स्वर्गीय पंडित जवाहरलाल जी का यह संकल्प था कि हम उन्नति करें, हम आगे बढ़ें। कितना हम आगे बढ़े हैं यह जो आंकड़े मैं देने जा रहा हूँ, उससे विदित हो जायेगा। 1950-51 में

भारतवर्ष की राष्ट्रीय आमदनी 9530 करोड़ रुपये थी जोकि 1965-66 में बढ़ कर 15930 करोड़ रुपये हो गई। प्रत्येक व्यक्ति की आय कितनी बढ़ी इसको आप देखें। 1950-51 में प्रति व्यक्ति आय 266.5 रुपये वार्षिक थी जोकि 1965-66 में बढ़ कर 325 रुपये हो गई।

सिंचाई का अब मैं आपको आंकड़ा देना चाहता हूँ। 1950-51 में 20853 हजार हेक्टर में सिंचाई हो रही थी। 1962-63 में बढ़ कर 25663 हजार हेक्टर में होने लग गई। जब अंग्रेज हिन्दुस्तान में था उसके फौरन बाद 1951 में 6.1 फीसदी भूमि में ही सिंचाई के साधन उपलब्ध थे। 1961 में 16 फीसदी में हो गये और 1966 में बीस फीसदी में हो गये। सिंचाई की सुविधायें उपलब्ध करने के लिए बड़ी बड़ी योजनाएँ हाथ में ली गईं जैसे गडक योजना, ककरा पारा परियोजना, तावा परियोजना, भद्रा परियोजना, अपर कृष्णा परियोजना, तुंगभद्रा परियोजना, हीरा-कुंड परियोजना आदि। अगर मैं सब के नाम गिनाना शुरू कर दूँ तो एक बहुत बड़ा पोथा हो जायेगा।

शिक्षा के सम्बन्ध में अब मैं कुछ कहना चाहता हूँ। 1951 में देश में सोलह प्रतिशत साक्षरता थी जोकि 1961 में बढ़ कर 24 प्रतिशत हो गई और 1966 में 28.6 प्रतिशत हो गई। शिक्षा संस्थाओं को आप लें। 1950-51 में हमारे देश में 2 लाख 86 हजार 860 शिक्षा संस्थाएँ थी जो कि 1965-66 में बढ़ कर 6 लाख के ऊपर हो गई। विद्यार्थियों की संख्या 1950-51 में जहाँ 255.43 लाख थी वहाँ वह 1965-66 में बढ़ कर 688.4 लाख हो गई। अध्यापकों की संख्या 1950-51 में 8.4 लाख थी वह बढ़ कर 1963-64 में 19.29 लाख हो गई। विश्वविद्यालय हमारे देश में 1950-51 में 27 थे और इनकी संख्या 1966 में बढ़ कर 65 हो गई।

## [श्री विश्वनाथ पांडेय]

कपड़े के उत्पादन में, कोयले के उत्पादन में, लोहे के उत्पादन में भी इन वर्षों में उल्लेखनीय वृद्धि हुई है। स्वास्थ्य और यातायात में भी सुधार हुआ है। कोई भी ऐसा क्षेत्र नहीं है, कोई भी ऐसी दिशा नहीं है जिस में हम ने इन पिछले वर्षों में उन्नति न की हो। बहुत विकास कार्य हुए हैं। लेकिन इतना कुछ होने पर भी अगर कोई यह कहता है कि कुछ नहीं हुआ है तो मैं उससे कहना चाहता हूँ कि चश्मा दो तरह का होता है। एक तो वह होता है जिस में शीशे लगे होते हैं जिन में से साफ दिखाई पड़ता है और दूसरा पत्थर का होता है। अगर किसी ने पत्थर का चश्मा लगा लिया हो तो उसको कैसे दिखाई पड़ सकता है। हिंदुस्तान के किसी भी भाग में रहने वाला कोई व्यक्ति, किसी भी दल से सम्बन्ध रखने वाला कोई व्यक्ति अगर यह कहता है कि कुछ नहीं हुआ है तो उसने चश्मे में पत्थर के शीशे लगा रखे हैं। ये जो आँकड़े मैंने दिये हैं वे सब किताबों से दिये हैं। थोड़ी बहुत इन में कमोबेशी हो सकती है। लेकिन बहुत हद तक ये ठीक आँकड़े हैं।

अब मैं राष्ट्रपति जी न जो अभिभाषण किया है, उसके सम्बन्ध में दो चार बातें कहना चाहता हूँ। मैंने पहले कहा है कि राष्ट्रपति जी बहुत बड़े विद्वान और मनीषी हैं, और उन्होंने बहुत ही सारगर्भित भाषण दिया है, बशक यह सक्षिप्त भाषण है। हिन्दी में एक कहावत है "गागर में सागर"। अपने इस अभिभाषण में उन्होंने गागर में सागर भर कर रख दिया है। ऐसे एक मनीषी आज भी हमारे बीच में हैं। राष्ट्रीय और अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय प्रश्नों का उन्होंने गम्भीरता से विवेचन किया है और किस तरह से इनका समाधान खोजा जा रहा है, इसकी ओर भी आपका ध्यान आकषिप्त किया है। उन्होंने अपने अभिभाषण में बहुत से विषयों की ओर हमारा ध्यान आकषिप्त किया है और उन में से 6-7 प्रमुख

हैं और उनकी तरफ मैं आपका ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूँ। उन्होंने सरकार के सकल्पों की घोषणा की है और कहा है कि इन लक्ष्यों को प्राप्त करने के लिए सरकार कृतसंकल्प है। सरकार इन कामों को करने के लिए, इन में सफलता प्राप्त करने के लिए कोई कोर कसर नहीं उठा रहेगी। जब कोई कार्य चलता है तो उसके रास्ते में बाधाएँ आती हैं, कठिनाइयाँ आती हैं और उनका मुकाबला करना होता है, उन पर काबू पाना होता है। एक दिन में कोई देश नहीं बन सकता है, थोड़े से समय में वह ऊँचा नहीं उठ सकता है। लेकिन हम देखते हैं कि 19-20 वर्षों में हमारा देश काफी बना है, काफी तरक्की इसने की है। कोई भी अन्य देश इतने समय में इतनी तरक्की नहीं कर पाया है, इतनी उन्नति नहीं कर पाया है, इतना विकास नहीं कर पाया है जितना हमारे देश में किया है। उन्होंने घोषणा की है कि 1971 तक हम खाद्यान्नों के मामले में आत्मनिर्भर हो जायेंगे और इस सकल्प की उन्होंने अपने अभिभाषण में घोषणा भी की है। मृत्यु की वृद्धि को रोकने की घोषणा भी उन्होंने इस अभिभाषण में की है। आर्थिक विकास की गति को पर्याप्त तीव्र करने की तथा 1976 के पश्चात् विदेशी सहायता पर निर्भर न रहने की घोषणा भी उन्होंने इस में की है। एक बहुत ही महत्वपूर्ण बात उन्होंने यह कही है कि केन्द्रीय सरकार में एक पार्टी की हकूमत है और भारत के कुछ अन्य राज्यों में दूसरी पार्टियों की हकूमत है, गैर-कांग्रेसी सरकारों के हाथ में उन प्रान्तों की बागडोर है और इन दोनों में सहयोग, समझाव और सामंजस्यपूर्ण सम्बन्ध स्थापित होने चाहियें। ऐसे सम्बन्धों की स्थापना भारतीय संविधान के अनुसार सब का पुनीत कर्तव्य है। उन्होंने घोषणा की है कि केन्द्रीय सरकार सर्वदा ही कोशिश करेगी कि प्रजातन्त्र की रक्षा हो, लोकतन्त्र की रक्षा हो और दोनों में समन्वय हो।

सब से विशेष बात उन्होंने यह कही है कि चतुर्थ महानिर्वाचन के पहले से ही गोबध का प्रश्न चला आ रहा है। उन्होंने संकेत किया है कि कोई भी भावमी सदन का या सदन से बाहर का नहीं चाहता है कि गोबध हो। सभी यह चाहते हैं कि गोबध का निषेध हो। उन्होंने कहा है कि एक समिति का गठन किया गया है जोकि धार्मिक तथा धार्मिक दोनों दृष्टियों से इस पर विचार करेगी।

अंत में उन्होंने कहा है कि देश की आबादी बढ़ती जा रही है। इस समय वह पचास करोड़ है। मैं आंकड़ा इस आबादी के बारे में आप के सामने रखना चाहता हूँ। 1951 में हमारी 36 करोड़ आबादी थी जोकि बढ़ कर 1961 में 43 करोड़ हो गई। इसका अर्थ यह हुआ कि इस दस वर्ष की अवधि में हमारी जनसंख्या करीब 21.64 प्रतिशत बढ़ी। अगर इस तरीके से हमारी जनसंख्या बढ़ती रही तो 1981 में वह 64 करोड़ हो जायेगी। 33 करोड़ एकड़ जमीन पर खेती होती है। पांच करोड़ जमीन और तोड़ी जा सकती है और उसमें खेती की जा सकती है। इस प्रकार से वह 38 करोड़ एकड़ हो जायेगी। 38 करोड़ होने पर भी एक एकड़ प्रति व्यक्ति यह नहीं आती है। जमीन दो बढ़ने वाला नहीं है। इस वास्ते बिना उत्पादन बढ़ाये हम इस समस्या को हल नहीं कर सकते हैं। इस वास्ते इस और हमें विशेष ध्यान देना होगा। मैं समझता हूँ कि हमारे विशेषज्ञ, हमारे जगजीवन राम जी जो अब इस मंत्रालय में आ गये हैं वह इस समस्या को हल करने में उसी तरह से सफल होंगे, जिस तरह से जिस मंत्रालय से वह आये हैं, वहां सफल हुए थे, वहां उन्होंने सफलता प्राप्त की थी। वह हिन्दुस्तान को खाद्यान्नों के मामले में अवश्य सफल बनायेंगे, कृषकों की आवश्यकताओं को पूरा करने में अवश्य सफल होंगे, ऐसा मेरा विश्वास है।

जो भारत की अखंडता है, जो उसकी सुरक्षा है उसको कायम रखने में हमारी प्रधान मंत्री महोदया सफल होंगी, श्री मोराजी देसाई सफल होंगे, हमारे चम्पूण साहब सफल होंगे इसका मुझे पूरा विश्वास है। उनके नेतृत्व में, उनके हाथों में देश सुरक्षित है, उसकी अखंडता, उसकी सुरक्षा अक्षुण्ण है, यह मैं विश्वासपूर्वक कह सकता हूँ। हमारी प्रतिष्ठा अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय जगत में भी बढ़ेगी, इसका भी मुझे पूर्ण विश्वास है।

इन शब्दों के साथ जो प्रस्ताव हमारे हनुमंतैया जी ने कृतज्ञता प्रकट करने का रखा है राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण के सम्बन्ध में, उसका मैं हार्दिक समर्थन करता हूँ।

Mr. Speaker: 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 18th March, 1967."

The motion has been moved and duly seconded. A number of hon. friends have tabled substitute motions and amendments. I will call their names one by one and they may indicate whether they are moving their amendments.

Shri Namblar: If all the amendments are shown as moved in the name of the leader of the group concerned, the names of the individual members will not be recorded anywhere in the proceedings.

Mr. Speaker: Only the first member and, in some cases, the second member of each party will get a chance to speak. It is not as if half a dozen members, merely because they move amendments, will get a chance to speak if they belong to the same group.

**Shri Manoharan:** Then those names will never be recorded in the proceedings.

**Mr. Speaker:** That is the procedure which we have been following all along. Only one name is shown against each amendment. I would like the groups and parties to give me one name each. Time permitting, I will give opportunity to a second member also of each party provided they take less time for the first speaker. I will follow the procedure of calling one member from the opposition and one from the Congress side so that there will be equal distribution of time.

**Shri Surendranath Dwivedy (Kendrapara):** How much time has been allotted for this?

**Mr. Speaker:** That we will have to fix now. I will do that when I meet the leaders of the opposition in the evening. Normally I thought 20 hours would be enough. Anyway, we will discuss it today and the day after. Then, we will adjourn it till the 29th because we have to discuss the Demands and other things. We will discuss this matter when we meet at 4 O'Clock today. Roughly, the time allotted will be 20 hours. I will not go by the list of names given in the amendment list. I would request the leaders of groups to give me the names. I will call them only. The amendment may be in the name of three or four members. But I can call only one member, or two if the first member takes less time.

**Shri Nambiar:** I am not on the question of speeches to be made; I am on the question of recording amendments as moved by individual members. Speeches are different. They are made by those members, whose names are given by the party. I am not on that point.

**Mr. Speaker:** Let us not spend more time on this. Let us continue the present procedure.

**Shri N. Sreekantan Nair:** Sir, I beg to move:

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

"but regret that no positive assurance has been given to Kerala and other deficit States that strict levy will be imposed in surplus States to meet the entire requirements of food in deficit areas." (1)

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

"but regret that no assurance has been given to end the discrimination against Kerala in regard to the establishment of public sector undertakings and other developmental schemes." (2)

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

"but regret that no positive steps are proposed to rectify the basic mistakes in planning committed by the Congress Government during the past sixteen years." (3)

**Shri Yashpal Singh (Dehra Dun):** Sir, I beg to move:

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

'but regret that—

- (a) no mention has been made about the removal of the Governor of Rajasthan who had adopted a partisan attitude in inviting the Congress Party to form the Government;
- (b) the President's Rule in Rajasthan has not so far been revoked despite the demonstration by the opposition about its clear majority in the Rajasthan Assembly;
- (c) Government have failed to evolve a programme for the eviction of Chinese and Pakistani troops from the Indian soil;

(d) Government have failed to give adequate food, cloth and housing to the people reasonable prices; and

(e) Government have failed in checking the rise in prices of essential commodities." (4)

**Shri Nambiar:** Sir, I beg to move:

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

"but regret the failure to—

(a) immediately revoke the proclamation of President's Rule in Rajasthan;

(b) guarantee a fair and free election in many States including Madras, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Tripura and Jammu and Kashmir;

(c) supply sufficient quantity of rice and cereals at reasonable price to the people particularly in the States of Madras, Kerala, West Bengal and Bihar;

(d) grant adequate Dearness Allowance to Central Government employees in proportion to rise in cost of living;

(e) implement the much advertised land reforms despite repeated promises at all levels;

(f) restore civil liberties by withdrawing the State of Emergency and the Defence of India Rules." (35)

**Shri Bal Raj Madhok** (South Delhi): Sir, I beg to move:

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

"but regret the failure—

(a) to ensure fair and free elections in the State of Jammu and Kashmir;

(b) to respect the letter and spirit of the Constitution in Rajasthan where Presi-

dent's rules has been imposed without giving the Samyukta Dal which enjoys a clear majority in Rajasthan a chance to form Ministry;

(c) to outline any clear policy to ameliorate the economic lot of the people particularly those belonging to fixed income groups who are being ground between rising prices and shrinking incomes in terms of real wages;

(d) to spell out clearly the steps to be taken to stop cow slaughter, prevent multiplication of useless cattle and improve the breed of uneconomic cows and bulls to make them economic units; and

(e) to give any specific direction in regard to the problem created by Naga and Mizo rebels in the Eastern region and to provide security of life and property to the law-abiding citizens there." (45)

**Shri Nambiar:** Sir, I beg to move:

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

"but regret the failure of the Government to revoke the Emergency and restore rights and privileges of normal life to the citizens of the country." (47)

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

"but regret the failure of the Government to formulate a correct language policy acceptable to all the people of India and the continued delay in bringing forward legislation embodying the assurances given by the late Prime Minister Nehru." (48)

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

"but regret the failure to outline concrete measures to re-

[Shri Nambiar]

solve the crisis that has set in and is continuing in all the sectors of the country's economy." (49)

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

"but regret the failure to outline concrete measures to retrieve the fast deteriorating food situation in the country." (50)

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

"but regret the failure to hold the price-line which is fast crippling the living of millions of middle and working classes in urban and rural areas of the country." (51)

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

"but regret the failure to scrap the schemes of automation in L.I.C. and oil companies notwithstanding the continued resistance by the employees and disapproval by the public." (52)

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention the continued closures of a number of textile mills in the country and the failure of the Government to steps to re-open them and restore employment of all workers." (53)

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention the compulsory closure of all the textile mills for a week, one day every week and failure to revoke the order compelling this closure." (54)

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention the rigged elections in Tripura." (55)

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention the withdrawal of subsidy on rice supplied to Kerala and the Government's failure to respond to Kerala State Government's request for the restoration of rice subsidy." (56)

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention the continued backward state of affairs in the markedly backward areas in various States and failure of the Government to take special measures for its accelerated development." (57)

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention the conditions of the people of Indian origin in Ceylon and the failure of the Government to see to the equitable implementation of the Indo-Ceylon Agreement" (58)

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

"but regret that the Address does not unequivocally condemn the aggressive acts of U.S. Imperialists in Vietnam and fails to support the four point peace proposals of President Ho Chi Minh." (59)

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

"but regret the failure to declare that the Government would take immediate steps to scrap the proposals to establish Indo-U.S. Foundation from the P.L. 480 funds." (60)

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

"but regret that the Address does not condemn the U.S. pres-

sure on the Government against trade relations with Cuba and North Vietnam." (61)

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

"but regret that the Address does not make mention struggle of the students for better educational system and fails to condemn the brutal police firings and lathi charges all over the country nor does it make an unequivocal declaration that the police will no longer be asked to enter the educational institutions and violate their sanctity." (62)

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

"but regret that the Address does not condemn the tactics of the World Bank before granting loans to the Government" (63)

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

"but regret that the Address does not make mention of the plight of teachers in the country and fails to mention the measures to improve the lot of teachers" (64)

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

"but regret that the Address fails to point out the failure of the Government to get the Five Year Plan approved by the Parliament so far." (65)

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

"but regret that the Address fails to criticise the Government's policy of wage freeze resulting in lowering of the standard of living of large sections of the population." (66)

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

"but regret the failure to note the growing activities of

CIA and its agents on the Indian soil." (67)

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

"but regret the failure to take note of deep rooted corruption at the ministerial level at the Centre." (68)

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

"but regret the failure to implement the land reforms during the First Three Plans and to distribute land to the tiller despite assurances given earlier on several occasions." (69)

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: Sir, I beg to move:

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

"but regret that the Address has failed to mention the steps for checking corruption at political level." (70)

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

"but regret that the Address has failed to mention measures for checking the rising prices in the country" (71)

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

"but regret that the Address has failed to mention measures for checking famine and scarcity conditions in the country and for avoiding starvation deaths." (72)

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

"but regret that the Address has failed to mention measures to promote export after introduction of devaluation of the Indian currency in face of opposition by the Indian people." (73)

[Shri Surendranath Dwivedy]

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

"but regret that the Address makes no mention of adequate and effective measures to stop crisis in Indian economy both in the agriculture and industrial sectors." (74)

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

"but regret that the Address makes no mention of firm steps both economic and social to remove disparity in income and to bring about an egalitarian society". (75)

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

"but regret that the Address has failed to mention the need for complete revocation of Emergency clamped on the Indian people and repeal of Defence of India Rules." (76)

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

"but regret that the Address makes no mention of measures to solve the problem of unemployment that is getting aggravated due to bad planning." (77)

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

"but regret that the Address makes no mention of effective measures to stop dependence on foreign aid, particularly aid of foodgrains." (78)

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

"but regret that the Address does not make mention of any steps for immediate vacation of aggression on Indian territory by expansionist China and Pakistan." (79)

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

"but regret that the Address does not make mention of measures to give a fair deal to the working-class of India for their social and economic upliftment." (80)

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

"but regret that the Address does not make mention of the interference by the Congress Party in the conduct of the last General Election." (81)

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

"but regret that the Address has failed to mention the immediate revocation of the Presidential Proclamation in Rajasthan in order to bring about a non-Congress Government in the State in accordance with the desires and verdict of the people of the State." (82)

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

"but regret that the Address makes no mention of effective steps for bringing about a happier relationship between Union and State Governments in the changed circumstances after the Fourth General Election, due to emergence of non-Congress governments in a number of State." (83)

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

"but regret that the Address makes no mention of immediate steps to nationalise credit institutions like banks and insurance companies and also foreign trade." (84)



**Shri S. C. Jha (Madhubani):** Sir, I beg to move:

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

"but regret that the Address has failed to reflect the dynamics of the present Indian situation both inside and outside India." (88)

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

"but regret that the Address has failed to refer to the total consequences of the Five Year Plans in India." (89)

**Shri S. Kandappan:** Sir, I beg to move:

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address about the setting up of a steel plant at Salem." (94)

**Shri V. Krishnamoorthi (Cuddalore):** Sir, I beg to move:

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

"but regret the failure to take immediate steps directing the sugar factories, particularly E.I.D. Parry Ltd., Nellkuppen in Madras State, to pay the cane growers the additional cane prices for the cane supplied by them during the years 1958-59, 1959-60, 1960-61 and 1961-62." (95)

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

"but regret the failure to bring forward legislation directing the sugar factories to pay the revised cane price for the current session with effect from 1st November, 1966 onwards." (96)

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

"but regret the failure to share the expenditure equally with

State Governments for executing road development works for transporting sugar cane to the factories." (97)

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

"but regret the failure for not having placed the entire funds with Madras Government so far for executing the special rural water supply scheme which has been given technical clearance by the Government of India." (98)

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

"but regret the failure to adequately improve the fertilizer allotment to Madras State which has resulted in fall in food production" (99)

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

"but regret the failure to improve the cashew plantations by not building roads and improving the conditions of the workers employed in the industry." (100)

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

"but regret the failure to bring about amicable settlement with employees of the Neyveli Lignite Corporation regarding wages, dearness allowance and bonus." (101)

**Shri N. C. Chatterjee (Burdwan):** Sir, I beg to move:—

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

"but regret that the Address has failed to mention the steps for checking corruption at political level." (102)

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

"but regret that the Address has failed to mention measures for

[Shri N. C. Chatterjee]

checking the rising prices in the country." (103)

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

"but regret that the Address has failed to mention measures for checking famine and scarcity conditions in the country and for avoiding starvation deaths." (104)

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

"but regret that the Address has failed to mention measures to promote export after introduction of devaluation of the Indian currency in face of opposition by the Indian people."

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

"but regret that the Address makes no mention of adequate and effective measures to stop crisis in Indian economy both in the agriculture and industrial sectors" (106)

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

"but regret that the Address makes no mention of firm steps both economic and social to remove disparity in income and to bring about an egalitarian society." (107).

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

"but regret that the Address has failed to mention the need for complete revocation of Emergency clamped on the Indian people and repeal of Defence of India Rules." (108)

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

"but regret that the Address makes no mention of measures to solve the problem of unem-

ployment that is getting aggravated due to bad planning" (109)

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

"but regret that the Address makes no mention of effective measures to stop dependence on foreign aid, particularly aid of foodgrains." (110)

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

"but regret that the Address does not make mention of any steps for immediate vacation of aggression on Indian territory by expansionist China and Pakistan." (111)

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

"but regret that the Address does not make mention of measures to give a fair deal to the working class of India for their social and economic upliftment." (112)

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

"but regret that the Address does not make mention of the interference by the Congress Party in the conduct of the last General Election." (113)

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

"but regret that the Address has failed to mention the immediate revocation of the Presidential Proclamation in Rajasthan in order to bring about a non-Congress Government in the State in accordance with the desires and verdict of the people of the State." (114)

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

"but regret that the Address makes no mention of effective

steps for bringing about a happier relationship between Union and State Governments in the changed circumstances after the Fourth General Election, due to emergence of non-Congress governments in a number States." (115)

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

"but regret that the Address makes no mention of immediate steps to nationalise credit institutions like banks and insurance companies and also foreign trade." (118)

**Shri George Fernandes** (Bombay South): Sir, I beg to move:—

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

"but regret that the Address does not outline specific policies and programmes." (125)

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the reduction of prices of consumer goods." (126)

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the need to provide irrigation water to all land where irrigation is possible." (127)

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the need to establish parity in the prices of agricultural and industrial produce." (128)

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the need to set up a land army of all unemployed

persons in rural areas to bring under the plough all cultivable land." (129).

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the need to eradicate illiteracy in the country through a massive governmental and voluntary programme of education." (130)

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the need to make primary education uniform in the country by abolishing all schools for the privileged classes." (131)

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the need to introduce mother tongue as the medium of education." (132)

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the need to ameliorate the conditions of teachers in Government and private schools." (133)

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the need to eradicate unemployment in the country through governmental initiative and through labour intensive planning." (134)

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the need to fix a ceiling of Rs. 1500 on personal expenditure." (135)

[Shri George Fernandes]

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the need to set up a Commission to probe into the wealth acquired by the Ministers, bureaucrats, government contractors and politicians and their relations during the last twenty years by the use of State power or through illegal and unfair methods and to confiscate all such ill gotten wealth." (136).

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the need to probe into the activities of agencies of foreign powers in India." (137)

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the need to probe into the use of PL-480 funds in the Fourth General Elections in the country." (138).

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the need to provide adequate medicine and health services to the mass of the Indian people." (139).

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the need to re-organise industry in the private and public sectors so as to increase its productive capacity and to make its produce competitive in the world markets." (140).

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the recognition of trade unions on the basis of secret ballot." (141).

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the development of science by freeing it from the clutches of bureaucracy and nepotism." (142)

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the need to undertake a massive housing programme and to bring down rents to Re. 1 per square yard of living accommodation." (143).

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the need to provide special opportunities to the backward classes harijans, adivasis women and minority communities by reserving for them 60 per cent of high positions in various sectors of life." (144).

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the need of radical changes in the structure of the armed forces by introducing compulsory conscription" (145)

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the need to reclaim Indian territory now under Chinese or Pakistani occupation" (146)

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the creation of international public opinion aimed at world disarmament and eradicating poverty." (147)

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the need to take effective steps in regard to the issue of radical inequality in South Africa and Rhodesia and in such other countries." (148)

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the reunion or a confederation of India and Pakistan." (149)

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the need to provide a new dimension of idealism in the lives of our students". (150)

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the establishment of a permanent machinery to settle inter-state disputes in regard to territory, sharing of river waters, electric, power and location of major industries, etc." (151)

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the abolition of President's rule in Rajasthan and introduction of popular government in that State" (152)

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the need to establish an authority to study problems arising out of urbanisation in the country notably in the metropolitan cities of

Bombay, Calcutta, Madras, Delhi etc." (153)

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the need to give urdu language its rightful place in every sphere." (154)

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention about carrying out of the provisions of the Constitution in regard to banning cow slaughter." (155)

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the nationalisation of banks." (156)

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the need to provide clean drinking water from wells and taps to people living in rural and urban areas in the country." (157)

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the abolition of air conditioned, first and second class travel on the Indian Railways and introduction of uniform third class travel and provision for better amenities to railway passengers" (158)

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention about doing away with all pomp and show by persons occupying high public positions." (159)

**Shri Bajaram:** Sir, I beg to move:

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

"but regret that the Address has failed to mention the steps taken for establishment of a Steel Plant at Salem." (160)

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention the concrete steps to be taken to eliminate corruption and to control rise in prices." (161)

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

"but regret that the Address makes no mention of the effective steps for bringing about good relationship between Union and State Governments in the changed circumstances after the Fourth General Elections, due to emergence of non-Congress governments in a number of States" (162)

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

"but regret that the Address makes no mention of the steps to nationalise credit institutions like banks and insurance companies" (163)

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

"but regret that the Address has failed to mention the measures to promote export of handloom goods to foreign countries." (164)

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

"but regret the failure to scrap the scheme of automation in L.I.C. and oil companies notwithstanding the continued resistance by the employees and disapproval by the public." (165)

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention the conditions of the people of Indian origin in Ceylon and the failure of the Government to see to the equitable implementation of the Indo-Ceylon Agreement." (166)

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

"but regret the failure of the Government to get the Five Year Plan approved by Parliament so far" (167)

**Shri Anbazhagan (Tiruchengode):** Sir, I beg to move:

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

"but regret that the Address no mention has been made of the failure of the Government is not taking steps to amend the Constitution of India to implement Pandit Nehru's assurance to the non-Hindi speaking people and not according equal status to all the national languages of the country" (168)

**Shri V. Krishnamoorthi:** Sir, I beg to move:

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

"but regret the failure of the Government to maintain the price level at the minimum level of living of the poor people in the backward areas" (169)

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

"but regret the failure of the Government to bring in an amendment of the Constitution to implement the solemn assurance made by the former Prime Minister, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru on the Official Language of the Union." (170)

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

"but regret to note that there is no mention in the Address about the conditions of people of Indian origin in Ceylon and about the implementation of Indo-Ceylon agreement." (171)

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

"but regret to note that there was no mention about the scrapping of the policy of automation in L.I.C. and Oil Companies" (172)

**Shri H. N. Mukerjee** (Calcutta North East · Sir, I beg to move:—

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address of effective measures for bringing down ever rising prices of all essential commodities in the country." (173)

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address of measures taken or proposed to be taken for tackling famine and scarcity conditions in Bihar, U.P. and other States and for avoiding starvation deaths." (174)

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address of steps taken for checking and uprooting corruption at political level." (175)

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention the effective and adequate measures to check the growing crisis in Indian economy both in the agriculture and industrial sectors." (176)

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention the glaring irregularities committed by the ruling party in the General Elections." (177)

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention the need for revocation of Emergency and repeal of Defence of India rules totally." (178)

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address of effective measures to check and solve the problem of growing unemployment in the country." (179)

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address of the fall in real wages of the working class, both in Public and Private Sectors." (180)

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address of effective measures to stop reliance and dependence on foreign aid particularly in the matter of food-grains." (181)

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address of the immediate revocation of Presidential proclamation in respect to State of Rajasthan." (182)

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address about

[Shri H. N. Mukerjee]

the future relations between the Centre and States, especially where non-Congress Government have been formed." (183)

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention the futility of introduction of automation in LIC, Oil industry etc. which diminishes employment potential and results in unemployment." (184)

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention the question of having parity in the matter of D. A. between the Central and State Government employees" (185)

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention the Government's intention to nationalise banks, general insurance, foreign companies and import export trade to mop up adequate resources for the Fourth Plan." (186)

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention the promotions of various regional languages with particular reference to Urdu." (187)

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention the steps taken by the Government towards immediate stoppage of bombing in N. Vietnam by U.S.A." (188)

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention anything about

effective steps to end monopoly in the country." (189)

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention the Government's intention to institute an enquiry into the misuse of PL-480 funds during the recent General Elections" (190)

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention the measures taken for distribution of land to landless masses of India." (191)

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention as to how the administrative corruption could be brought to an end." (192)

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention the manner how the ruling party has formed Government in U.P." (193)

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention the effective steps including state trading in foodgrains to check the rise in prices and to have equitable distribution" (194)

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention the necessity of supplying adequate rice and wheat to Kerala, West Bengal and Bihar." (195)

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention the total ban on



retrenchment in any industry whether in public or private sector without giving equivalent alternative jobs." (196)

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention the activities of the C.I.A and their agents in the country." (197)

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention the closure of textile mills for one day every week despite availability of cotton." (198)

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention the effective steps to be taken for better educational system and removal of frustration among the students and also fails to condemn the brutal police firing and lathi charge all over the country on students, teachers and other peaceful citizens" (199)

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention the sad plight of all teachers in the country and fails to mention the measures to improve their status" (200)

Shri R. Shastri (Patna) I beg to move:

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention the supply of a specific quantity of foodgrains to meet the requirements of the people of Bihar, U.P. and other drought affected States." (201)

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address of any Central scheme to solve the serious drinking water crisis in Patna city and other districts of Bihar." (202)

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

"but regret the failure to support the welfare works undertaken by non-Congress Governments constituted in Bihar, West Bengal, Kerala and other States." (203)

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

"but regret the failure in safeguarding the civic rights at national level resulting in weakening of our democracy rather than strengthening it." (204)

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

"but regret that in spite of declarations of the Congress during its 20 years' rule to bring about a socialistic society, poverty is massively on the increase in the country and rich are becoming richer and so the gulf between the rich and the poor is widening rather than narrowing down." (205)

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention the total absence of public cooperation in the execution of the Government plans" (206)

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention the need to distribute free of cost the land lying idle with Government and big landlords amongst agricultural labourers and poor farmers with a view to increase food production." (207)

[Shri R. Shastri]

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention the misuse of money spent in the name of irrigation schemes." (208)

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

"but regret the failure to put into practice the slogan of self-sufficiency in the matter of production." (209)

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention the anti-social activities of black marketers in foodgrains, hoarders and profiteers in raising prices" (210)

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

"but regret the failure of taking any action against blackmarketers, hoarders and profiteers" (211)

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

"but regret the failure of the measures to stabilise the prices of essential foodstuffs" (212)

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

"but regret the failure to nationalise banks in order to bring down prices and to put a stop to profiteering and black-marketing in foodgrains." (213)

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

"but regret the failure to constitute an anti-corruption commission vested with wide powers in order to check corruption rampant at all levels in the country." (214)

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address to make available special financial assistance to various State Governments in order to enable them to grant to their non-gazetted employees dearness allowance equal to that being given to Central Government employees." (215)

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

"but regret the failure to put an end to rendering LIC employees jobless consequent on the introduction of automation system" (216)

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

"but regret the failure to make an announcement regarding inclusion of Patna and other cities in category 'B' in order to provide special facilities to Central Government employees there" (217)

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

"but regret that the Government of India have neither criticised the naked American aggression in Vietnam unequivocally so far nor have they supported the 4-point demands of the Socialist Government of North Vietnam." (218)

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

"but regret the failure of Government of India to implement effectively its policy of anti-war, pro-peace, unflinching support of freedom struggle made by the countries, under foreign rule, non-alignment and co-existence." (219).

Shri M. R. Masani (Rajkot): I beg to move:

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

"but regret that the Address fails to concede the utter failure of Gov-

ernment's economic policies, indicates every intention to persist with the already discredited Fourth Five-Year Plan and fails to make any proposals for the revival of savings and investment, and of industrial and agricultural production and exports, by reduction in taxation and borrowing, eschewing deficit financing and other inflationary policies, effecting drastic economies in public expenditure and progressively dismantling the pernicious apparatus of controls, licences, permits and quotas." (220).

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

"but regret that the Address fails to recognise, in particular, the urgent need for the highest priority for agriculture and radical changes in agricultural policies involving:—

(a) the abolition as early as possible of zonal and local restrictions on the sale and movement of foodgrains and other edible products so as to establish a common market in India for all such products;

(b) an end to compulsory procurement of, and levies on, foodgrains and other edible products;

(c) a price support scheme, 1½ ahead of the next cultivation season, under which the Government would, along with the traders, be an open buyer of foodgrains from producers at remunerative prices to be determined by an Agricultural Prices Commission functioning as an independent statutory body;

(d) the provision of subsidised foodgrains and essential edible products for lower income groups." (221).

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

"but regret that the Address fails to recognise that it is impossible to achieve friendship and peace with

Communist China so long as it continues to remain in unlawful and aggressive occupation of a large portion of the territories of India." (222).

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

"but regret that the Address fails to recognise that the elections in Jammu & Kashmir were not free or fair and that there is urgent need to rectify the situation by—

(a) immediately establishing the President's Rule in that State;

(b) dissolving the legislature; and

(c) ordering fresh elections." (223).

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

"but regret that the Address seeks to justify the unwarranted establishment of President's rule in Rajasthan and fails to recognise the urgent need for the restoration of constitutional and democratic government in that State by immediately

(a) rescinding the President's proclamation; and

(b) directing the Governor to invite the Samyuk'ta Dal, being the Party having an absolute majority in the State Legislature, to form a Government." (224).

**Shri M. R. Masani:** Mr. Speaker, Sir, I rise, on behalf of my Party, to speak in support of the amendments tabled by us, amendment Nos. 220 to 224. I would like to assure my esteemed friend, Shri Hanumanthaiya, that I shall join him in trying to maintain the equable climate that he hopes will be observed during the discussion on this Address.

Before I examine the President's Address, may I invite the House to cast a glance at the state of the nation? It is one of economic collapse. It is a gloomy picture and the speech

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of the Finance Minister yesterday while introducing the budget proposals has nothing to enlighten the gloom. There is first the basic fact of food shortage. From 89 million tons of foodgrains production in 1964-65, we have now sunk to 76 million tons in 1966-67.

Only yesterday I read a very touching comment by a well-known actor, Marlon Brando, who, having reached Bangkok after having visited Patna on a UNICEF Mission, said to the press in Thailand that his visit to Bihar was truly horrifying. He went on to say:

"I saw people dying. I saw others who could not resist any disease because of their debilitated condition."

This is the picture of drought and famine in Bihar. But I understand that things are not very much better in the neighbouring State of Orissa, which also is suffering from very severe drought conditions; nor indeed in parts of Rajasthan, parts of Gujarat, and maybe other parts of the country.

The second basic fact is of rising prices. Assurances have been given on the floor of this House by Finance Minister after Finance Minister that there will be no more deficit financing, and yet each of them has been shamelessly broken. Here is the record of inflation during the past few months. Using 1955-56 as the base for the wholesale price index. Which was 165, it rose to 188 in September last year, 190 in October, 191 in November, 193 in December and in January this year the last available figure it touched the all-time peak of 198.

On the other hand the fruits of devaluation have been denied to us. Exports have remained stagnant because the export duties that were imposed have destroyed the one chance to improve our exports following devaluation. We have used foreign aid

as a convenient crutch for our own inefficiency. In spite of devaluation and foreign aid, the rupee is going down and down. Even after devaluation the rupee has sunk further. On the 15th of February, in the free markets of Zurich and Geneva the dollar was quoted at Rs. 10.45, as opposed to the official price of Rs. 7.50 and the pound sterling was quoted at Rs. 29.26 as opposed to the official price of Rs. 21. It is, therefore, only a question of time when this Government will have to come to us again to devalue the rupee a second time, if they persist in their policies. This is the picture of national bankruptcy to which we have been brought.

On the moral side, perhaps the biggest casualty has been public morality. Graft and chicanery have become a part of our way of life. Jockeying for position is something that faces us every day everywhere.

On the international plane, we are isolated and without any friends. We are humiliated because our self-righteous postures are accompanied by economic mendicancy. Only this month Representative Poage, a member of the American Congress, referred to India as a nation being like an applicant for public charity.

Who is responsible for this economic, international and moral state of affairs? The Finance Minister yesterday no less than three times in his Budget speech, tried to pass the buck, having no one else to pass it on to, to God Almighty. Three times he blamed everything that was wrong in this country on the monsoon. This is an alibi which cannot and will not stand the test.

President Rajlakshmi, in his other address, his much more worth while and candid address to the nation, on the 26th January pointed a clear finger at those who are responsible.

**Shri Hanumanthaiya:** On a point of order, Sir. Whatever address the President may deliver, you will concede.....

**Shri Manoharan:** It appeared in all the papers.

**Shri Hanumanthaiya:** ....the President should remain above all controversies. It has been granted under the constitutional position. Even if the President delivers a controversial address, we should not further carry on the controversy. This House, I beg, should observe the constitutional propriety of keeping the Presidential speeches away from our discussion.

**An hon. Member:** We are discussing the President's Address.

**Shri Hanumanthaiya:** It may be favourable to you today; it may be favourable to us tomorrow. Therefore, I think, the Presidential speech should not be referred to here.

**Shri M. R. Masani:** I was not casting any aspersion on the President; I was, on the contrary, quoting him with approval and respect and was going to say that what he said was:—

"we cannot forgive widespread incompetence and gross mismanagement of our national resources."

I entirely and respectfully agree with every word that has fallen from the President in that other address. The verdict of the electorate has now clinched the matter. What the President has said has happened. The people of India have not forgiven either mismanagement or misuse of our resources. The General Elections have proved that.

What do the General Election results mean? That they were fair and free throughout the country is something about which we are all proud. But there is one blot; there is one exception. There was one State in the country where the elections were

neither fair nor free. That is the State of Jammu and Kashmir. It is common agreement between all of us here that those elections were rigged and that the people of Jammu and Kashmir have been denied the benefit of the fair and free elections which we in the rest of India have enjoyed. All the same, taking the country as a whole, the elections have been something we can be proud about.

What is the result of the elections? The Congress Party has lost the elections. I was interested to hear the Prime Minister say yesterday that her party had not been defeated. When three out of five Indians reject the Congress Party in the parliamentary elections, is that not a defeat? When the Congress Party loses its majority in eight States of the Union—Punjab, Delhi, Rajasthan, Bihar, Bengal, Orissa, Madras and Kerala—is that not a defeat? When there are two States in the twilight zone where nobody knows who is in the majority—UP and Haryana—is that not a defeat? Where one Member trickles in like a straggler in the retreat from Moscow from the State of Kerala and three trickle in from the State of Madras, is that not a defeat? I am quite sure, that if Prime Minister does not think it is not a defeat when the people of India will soon give her and her party the kind of defeat that she will recognise and not be in any doubt about.

13.55 hrs.

[DR. D. S. RAJU in the Chair]

We, on these benches, believe in States' Rights. We stand for the Federal system and we are very glad that now for the first time, thanks to governments of different political colours existing in various States in the country, it will be possible for the federal system really to be put to work and to function. We have no doubt at all that given the spirit that has activated both the Union Government and the State Governments so

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far, this will be a great success and of benefit to the country.

Now, let us come to the parliamentary elections. The Congress Party got a vote of around 38 per cent of the votes polled. It dropped from 45 per cent in the 1962 elections. 90 seats were lost. Was that not a defeat? People say the Congress has been cut down to size. I wish, it was true. The Congress Party has not been cut down to size, because if there had been proportional representation, as exists in most countries of the world, the Congress Party would have been cut down to size and would have had just under 200 seats with an Opposition of 320 seats and a new Government of India would have come into existence today. Therefore, even this small majority is a fictitious one which is due to the crude electoral system that we inherited from the British. It is like first past the post, as if it is a horse race, where the first horse past the post is declared the winner.

Along with that there is a factor which the Chief Election Commissioner mentioned after the elections. There were too many independent candidates who distorted the picture and created this unfortunate result. Anyway, it is a sharp lesson given by the electorate just short of dismissal. It was a silent but unfinished revolution and as an organ of public opinion well put it:—

"The General Election has been more effective than General Lin Piao."

The Congress has undoubtedly lost, but who has won? There is a lot of discussion going on whether the Right or the Left has won. These terms are meaningless terms; they have no relation to the realities of our political life today. These are umbrella words, hanging on from the past, calculated to mislead. The people are tired of ideologies and jargon. As somebody has said, "all jargon has now become wasms." My

answer to the question, "Who has won?" is that no party has won. I include my party in this candid admission. No party has won but the Congress has lost.

Then, who has won? I say, the people of India have won. They are the only victors in these elections, because they have shown a capacity successfully to exercise their freedom of choice.

We, on these benches, have a right to be pleased even if we have not won the elections. We are pleased because the electorate has defeated and rejected the very basic policies of the Congress Party to which we have objected all these years. There can be no question that the verdict of the electorate means a rejection of Statism, centralised and topheavy planning, inflation and Permit-Licence-Quota Raj. To that extent we are gratified. In case any Congress Member doubts that this is so, let me speak on behalf of one who should have been in our midst today but who, under tragic circumstances, immediately after the elections, passed away. Shri S. G. Barve, after the election, said:—

"The vote against the Congress in the general elections in many places was a vote against bad administration, corruption, and wrong economic policies resulting in high prices."

I wish he had been here today to endorse what I am saying.

People in India are jubilant. There is no question about it. The Common people in India feel proud about what they have done but there are people who are unhappy. There is wailing and gnashing of teeth in certain circles abroad. The two old ladies, one in London and another in New York, who have been bewailing the loss and the defeat of the Congress Party—I mean, the New York Times and her elder sister, the London Times. These ill-informed organs of world opinion.

who should have known better, had evidently in their mind been equating the Congress Party with Indian democracy, and now that the Congress Party is defeated, they come to dire prophesies that democracy has come to an end in India and that this was the last free election! I have no doubt that in the years and months to come the people of India will prove these prophets of gloom to be utterly unrealistic and false. They will show that our democracy is far from dying. It is only beginning to show vigorous trends which will take this country forward in the years to come.

Therefore, we of the Swatantra Party congratulate the electorate on what they have done, on their perception, on their selectivity and on the maturity that they have shown in spite of illiteracy. The cobwebs have been swept off and a chance has been given to the fresh wind of change to blow which was very badly needed in this country. This has been a peaceful and a silent revolution. The country will never be the same again because the monopoly of power of the Congress Party has been broken. As the nursery rhyme goes:

"All the Queen's horses and all the Queen's men

Will not be able to put Humpty Dumpty together again"

14 hrs.

Coming to the sharing of power, that is a coalition government, we in India have inherited from the English a superficial view of coalitions based on the experience of France. But France is not the only country that has enjoyed coalition governments. A Coalition does not mean instability. Given a certain maturity, a coalition can be as stable as a one-party government. We have the example of West Germany, which has been having coalition Governments ever since World War II. One of them lasted as long as the Congress Government lasted in this country. We have had coalitions in Italy where one major party has stayed in Government with minor partners who change. We have

the example of Scandinavia and we have the coalitions in Austria. In Switzerland, we have seen a permanent coalition. We welcome the era of coalitions which this country has now entered and we have no doubt, that before very long, there will be a coalition government in this very House.

Sir, it is against this background that we have to consider the President's Address. It is extremely disappointing. It would appear from the Address that the lessons of the elections have not been learnt. One thought that this election was a shock treatment. Sir, as you know, when a patient is really getting bad in the way to lunacy, then the last thing the Psychiatrist has to give, is electric shock treatment. When that fails, everything fails. It would appear, I am sorry to say, as if the shock treatment of the electorate has also been lost on the Congress Party judging by the President's Address.

It indulges in the vaguest of generalities. There are lots of targets as usual, as of 'oughts' and 'mus's' but there is no indication as to how this country is to get to its accepted objectives, four objectives of economic policy, entirely acceptable to all of us. There is nothing in this to show that there is going to be that radical change in economic policy which will make any of them achievable in the coming months and years. We, on these benches, believe that unless there is a definite, radical change in the fundamental economic policies of the Government, there is no hope for this country. There is no sign of such rethinking in the President's Address.

According to us, there are some concrete things that the President's Address could have announced which would have gladdened the hearts of people in the country. It could have mentioned concrete proposals for the revival of saving, investment and agricultural and industrial production—there is nothing of that kind in



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the Address—through a drastic reduction in taxation. On the contrary, if I understood my hon. friend, the Finance Minister aright yesterday he threatened the country with more taxation in a few weeks' time. If that comes, we will resist it unflinchingly. He should have pledged to eschew further deficit financing and other inflationary policies. All that he did was to point a finger at the State Governments and try to pass the buck, on the one side, to God and on the other side, to the non-Congress State Governments.

In this context, I would like to pay my tribute to the statesmanship shown by Mr. Annadurai, the new Chief Minister of Madras. While pledging his Government's cooperation to the Centre in its efforts to promote prudent financial management Mr. Annadurai said:

"Deficit financing can be avoided only on the basis of a radical recasting of Plan programmes and priorities and in this process Central schemes as well as the Centre's non Plan expenditure should also come under scrutiny."

It is a fair and balanced statement.

Another thing the President's Address could have pledged the country to should have been immediate and the drastic economies in expenditure. On the contrary, the Budget that was introduced yesterday provides for an increase of non-productive civil expenditure to the tune of as much as Rs 10 crores in the coming year. There should have been the promise of a drastic dismantling of the pernicious apparatus of controls, licences, permits and quotas. And, finally, there should have been a promise of scrapping the Fourth Five Year Plan in its present form.

On the side of agriculture which is our basic problem, there is no promise that there will be a shift in

priorities, that there will be an early abolition of zonal and other restrictions and that there will be a common market in India at least in regard to foodgrains and edible products. There is no promise to end compulsory procurement and levies which have been imposed on the peasantry in the last few months. There is no promise of having a price support scheme by which Government will buy in the market at remunerative prices fixed by a quasi-judicial Agricultural Prices Commission. There is no promise of subsidised foodgrains for those with low incomes. All these things according to us should have formed part of the President's Address on this occasion.

From this it would appear to us that the lessons of the elections have not been learnt. There are two other things that have happened which confirm that unfortunate feeling. One has been discussed in the last two days, at great length in this House, the Rajasthan Proclamation and very little new remains to be said on the subject.

The other was the election of the new Prime Minister. Throughout that controversy, which we watched with great interest though with complete indifference as to the result, it was noticed that no policy issue was raised by either candidate for the leadership of the ruling party. Not once did any of them say "I shall do this or I shall move in this or that direction." It was unfortunately, a purely personal rivalry and both claimed to be orthodox in carrying out the accepted policies of their party which has brought this country to this mess. That is why as I said, we watched it with complete indifference. It reminded one of a feud that waged some centuries back between two well known musicians. On that, a poet wrote a poem called "Epigram on the



**Fouds between Tandel and Bonon-chin!** The poet wrote:

"Some say that Signor Bonon-chin

Compared to Handel's mere  
ninny,

Others aver, to him that Handel  
Is scarcely fit to hold a candle,  
Strange! that such high dispute  
should be

"Twixt Tweedledum and Twee-  
dledoe."

I am very glad that both Tweedledum and Tweedledee are in the Cabinet. I am very glad that this foud has been patched up from two points of view. If this unity in the ruling party is to bring about some better Government, there should be good administration and improvement in the months to come. If, as I fear, this Government is not going to improve and is going to bring about more economic distress, higher prices, more food shortages and complete bankruptcy, then there will be no alibi whatsoever. They will not be able to claim that if so and so had been in the Cabinet, things would have been different. So let us give him a chance next. All the factions in the party are represented in the Government. Once for all if this Government fails, as I fear it is going to fail, then it will be quite clear that no Congress Government can serve this country any more and a definite change of Government will become necessary. So, let it be clearly understood that from now on no other Congress leader could do better than Tweedledum and Tweedledee are going to do for us in the months to come.

Finally, a word about the role of the Opposition. In this context, as I see it, we are in a period of flux and turmoil. There is nothing wrong in flux and turmoil. I welcome it. We have been revolutionaries in the past under Mahatma Gandhi. We are prepared to have drastic changes of the right kind in this country. But be-

tween flux and chaos, there is a very clear line. We will not allow this country to be dragged into chaos. There is very great danger of this because if you have economic distress on the one side and an unrepresentative Government like this, which is a minority Government on the other, there is a very real danger that people might forget the constitutional path and discontent might take dangerous and unconstitutional channels.

In this context my Party will act as a vigilant but constructive Opposition. We are not here to score only debating points and if the Government will do something which we believe to be good for the country, we shall give it support. But when it does something which we believe to be bad, we shall be unflinching in opposing it. Ours is a Party which is a loyal opposition loyal not to the Government of the day but loyal to the Constitution and the country which are far above the Government of the day and the opposition of the day.

I want to say this: our entire political system is on trial. If members on this side of the House feel that only the Government is on trial, let me be candid with them and say "No"; we are almost as much on trial as those who sit opposite. The whole political system is on trial—the system of Parliamentary democracy in which we believe. All politicians are on trial today, and if we fail either on this side or on that side, then there is the danger of the whole lot of us being swept into the dustbin of history as our counterparts in Pakistan, Indonesia and Ghana, to mention only three countries, have been consigned to the dustbin of history. Therefore, I appeal to the whole House to beware.

I suggest that we have a moratorium on party strife for a while. Let us try to understand what the other man is saying, whether he is sitting amongst us here or on the other side. Let us try to have a democratic dialogue. Let us not doubt the honesty of the other parties, but try to convince

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them and convert them to our way of thinking. A very great Indian made this observation fifty years ago—Lokmanya Tilak—in 1916 in very different circumstances, but one who knew when the unity of the country was necessary. He said:

"The duty that lies before our politicians is not to seek to eradicate all differences of opinion, but to secure the co-operation of men holding divergent views for the accomplishment of common ends."

We have common ends—the gentlemen on this side and on that side. We accept those objectives which have been spelt out by the Finance Minister but our trouble is that we do not believe that the methods that Government are using are going to lead to those objectives. But that does not mean that we need party strife or that we should have disorder in this House or outside.

There is a vacuum being caused in this country by the recession of the Congress Party, by the crumbling of the Congress Party. This vacuum has to be filled in a constructive way. It can be filled up by a new synthesis, by a new grouping of men and women who want to serve the country in a different way. A new synthesis is what one young democracy needs, if it is not to be endangered altogether. Let us, therefore, not be like Narcissus admiring our own images, the images of our own respective parties. Let us look at the other man with a little less jaundiced eye.

In such a situation, to create disorder or chaos either in this Parliament or outside is no service at all to this country and some of us have watched with distress the scenes that have already taken place here during the last few days. There is no need for disorder, because the country has shown that you can have a drastic change without disorder. The common people of India have peacefully and quietly,

not with bullet but by ballot, worked out a half-finished revolution in this country. Can we not follow that? Can we not learn from their example at least?

The country is on a sick-bed; it needs doctors, nurses and maybe, unpalatable medicine. It needs a spell of good administration. It needs less promises and more performance. If I may say so to the Prime Minister, it needs less laws. Let us put a stop to this spate of legislation which we have had in the last five years. The last Parliament to which I had the honour to belong, passed no less than 269 bills. How many of them worked? How many of them were properly examined and how many have been operated? Most of them are dead letters. Let us put a stop to this passion for legislating; let us stop this legislative diarrhoea in this Parliament.

In this situation, we on this side have a dual role to play. We have to act as a brake on hasty legislation, misrule and economic adventurism. I was very glad the other day when the Supreme Court struck down the Seventeenth Amendment to the Constitution. It was passed in this House after the House had once rejected it and a former Prime Minister even got the whole House convened at the cost of lakhs of rupees so that that wretched law could get on to the Statute Book. At last we on this side, who always considered it a breach of the Constitution, have been vindicated by the highest judicial authority in this country.

Secondly, during this period of transition to a new Government, we on this side have to build up a broad-based alternative Government. We have to adjust ourselves—all of us here—to help in creating an alternative Government of India to take over from the present caretaker administration. It is a caretaker administration; the examples of Haryana and

Pondicherry in the last few days have shown it.

An hon Member: Wishful thinking

Shri M R Masani: Here I echo my esteemed leader, Shri Rajagopalachari. He said a few days back that he welcomed the fact that the Congress Party has not lost its majority altogether because that way the country and the Opposition have got very badly needed time—a year or two perhaps—to create an alternative Government (that the country can accept peacefully) (Interruptions)

Shrimati Tarkeshwari Sinha (Barh)  
It can take care of the hon Member alright

Shri M R Masani: We stand, our Party stands for two values, the value of democracy and individual liberty and the values of nationalism. We are prepared to go hand in hand with all other Parties in safeguarding the integrity and freedom of our nation and in safeguarding the values of democracy and individual liberty that are embodied in our Constitution. But we shall do so on a basis of equality. We are not prepared to be taken for granted by anyone.

We want a change of Government. The country needs a change of power and an end to the monopoly of power and what we think is needed is what might best be called a Government of Democratic Unity to save the country from its present plight. The People of Ceylon did this in March 1965 when they created the present Government and put an end to Marxist misrule. But we must be very careful at the same time that along with the bath water of the Congress Party, we do not throw out the baby of Democracy.

Shri Manabendra Shah (Tehri Garhwal): I think the Government in the President's Address has highlighted our basic maladies but what disappointed me was when I heard some of the Opposition members say that they are all very stale. Even some of the Press people said that whatever was said was done in a very unimportant

manner, a manner which they thought was very superfluous. It is surprising. When our Government wants to highlight what are facts, whether they be stale or not, they are facts and being facts they have to be given that position which in the President's Address the Government have given. The first major resolve that our Government has put in the President's Address is to end the dependence on import of food-grains by 1971. So far, we have been keeping pressure on our agricultural development, but at the same time we have been keeping pressure on other fields of development also. But unfortunately due to many circumstances which we all know and also because of the attitude of both the USA and the UK we have had to do rethinking and we have had to give more prominence to food at the expense of other activities. It is indeed surprising—I am really baffled—that the USA calls itself a great nation and the people of the USA call themselves great people but to highlight our famine conditions they have taken steps to exhibit obscene plays. Such plays are being staged in USA at the expense of our people and leaders. I am sure this is not a sign of greatness. I am sure it is not a sign of greatness to put pressure on us for the sake of food. I think it is pettiness. It seems that the Johnson regime has lost its balance. So the result is that we have to look into our food problem more seriously, it is true that it is an uphill task and requires a lot of effort. To quote Lord Boyd Orr, who is supposed to be famous as an expert on food problems, the food problem in India will have to be treated as a war effort and taken up as a war measure.

Therefore I think that we have to take steps on many fronts. For example we shall have to effect a radical increase in production. We must secure the economic and proper utilisation of the existing or available stocks and thirdly we must have a realistic fixation of the agricultural prices so as to achieve a need-based and scientific utilisation of agricul-

[Shri Manabendra Shah]

tural land as between food and cash crops. And above all, there should be the instillation of the military type of discipline in the entire administrative set-up in the Food Ministry and in the procurement of foodgrains and in the method of growth of food crops. These things will not happen if we have Ministries sitting here at the Centre and doing only table-work. These will not happen if we merely set-up more machinery and more committees. But we shall have to get directly in touch with the villages and into contact with the fields. And further, we shall have to fix priorities and fix also the time-limits for the achievements of those priority targets.

To quote an example of a case where we have neglected priorities, I may give the instance of the Agricultural Prices Commission which was set up last year. It was charged with an important work. But, surprisingly, the first chairman did not want to join it; then he joined and then he resigned, and his relief took some time; some other officers could also not be put in position to join this Commission in time. We must see that we do not attach this type of importance to these important things. If a commission is found necessary then we shall have to see that the commission starts working at once.

Similarly, I would point out that there was once a move that a national food budget should be prepared. In regard to this also, God knows what has happened to the proposal. But if a decision is taken, in future at least we hope that things will move more quickly and faster.

The problem of food is so serious, and the whole House should realise that it is not a question of whether the Congress Party is failing the country in tackling the food problem or whether any other party which is administering any other State is failing in tackling it. If today we can-

not join hands together to solve the food problem, then it is not the interests of any party which will be at stake but it will be the whole House or our whole democracy. Therefore, I feel that instead of wasting our time, as we usually do during the 'zero' hour, we should concentrate on our fundamental problems, and if we do so, I feel that we could go a long way. It is not a question of the Congress Party which is failing in tackling the food problem here, because we find that in a communist country like China also, they are facing the same type of food problem. Therefore, this has become a national problem, and I, for one, would feel that the whole House will have to sit together to decide how to solve this food problem.

We cannot have the same agricultural policy for the whole country. We shall have to pay due importance to geographical specialisation and we have got to stop the extension of foodgrains or cash crop production to all types of land in the country irrespective of whether the land is suitable for them or not. The time has come now when we have got to associate more effectively the weather expert, the agronomist, the statistician and the enlightened farmer along with the general administrator so that all of them could come to our help. We shall also have to see the situation that has arisen as a result of the policy as it stands today. We shall have to see that the Central Food Ministry has continuous coordination and consultation with the State Governments, at least once before the rabi or the kharif crop and once after the rabi and kharif crops so that after each crop we shall be able to see what the situation is and then frame the policy properly. Coupled with this, there should also be a national food budget. Just as we are having the financial budget, if we also go in for a food budget and have a proper assessment after every kharif and rabi crop, then that would go a long way

in deciding how our movement for increased food production is progressing. Expert commissions and bodies must be enabled to get out of their lethargy and submit reports promptly and not in a post-mortem way. These, in short, are the most necessary things that we shall have to do if we have to see that the food problem is solved.

Another aspect, which has also an effect on the rise in prices, relates to the imbalance between the prices of food crops and those of cash crops. We shall also have to evolve a proper price balance between the food crops and the other essential commodities which the farmers require. This question of price stabilisation has been talked about a lot and it has been considered a lot, but unfortunately it has not been implemented. I would therefore, suggest that the question of setting up some sort of committee or price stabilisation board to go into the proper balance between the prices of food crops, cash crops and essential commodities will have to be taken up seriously.

I am glad that Government have been able to highlight one or two other important matters in the President's Address. One of them relates to family planning. We have many theoretical things in regard to family planning. We have heard all sorts of lectures being given; all sorts of medicines, etc. are being supplied. But I feel that that is not enough. We have to bear in mind the other aspects of family planning too. It is widely rumoured that certain minority communities are openly propagating against family planning so that they could increase their numbers for political reasons. If that be so, I feel that Government will have to take cognizance of it and take remedial action.

Since I am running short of time, I shall only confine myself to certain suggestions regarding family planning.

One of the most effective ways of encouraging family planning would be to introduce some deterrent taxes and to grant concessions to a smaller family in various fields. We have seen deterrent taxes in various financial measures, whether by way of direct taxes or by way of indirect taxes. Similarly, if family planning has to succeed to some extent, I would submit that we shall have to consider the imposition of some deterrent taxes and extend some concessions to smaller families.

My second suggestion is that we have to introduce some sort of education in this regard. In fact, we have been taking the help of certain educational, social and religious leaders towards this end, and probably that could be accelerated further. Thirdly, urgent steps should be taken to investigate and to take sound action against the reported propaganda by certain sections of population and communities against population control for political reasons.

Now I would like briefly to touch on the Planning Commission which has been briefly touched upon also in the President's Address. The President has indicated in his Address that a reorganisation of the Planning Commission is going to be done. I have been saying vehemently and I have done so many times on the floor of this House also that so far as the Planning Commission's theory part is concerned, it has been unrealistic at least as far as the hill areas are concerned.

Therefore, if the Government are now considering reorganisation of the Planning Commission, at least one proper step that they should take is to see that in the reorganisation the hilly areas which have so far been neglected get their due position and place. But I would like at the same time to warn Government that a thing which has been set up for 18 years should not be scrapped at once in a

[Shri Manabendra Shah]

hurry. We should not do the same thing here as certain non-Congress Governments in certain of the States are doing today. For instance, I understand that in West Bengal the Government of the day say that they will not use the police where strikes take place in factories with the result that so much standstill has been caused that there has been a rethinking on the part of the present Government. Similarly the DMK Government in Madras say that they will not export their foodgrain from their State, with the result that the Kerala Government are now worried, and now the Madras Government have to think all over again on these matters.

Therefore, in the Planning Commission reorganisation I would request Government not to do anything in a hurry. I agree that something has to be done. I concede that there has to be proper co-ordination between its theory part and the practical part. I agree that at present the Planners say, 'we have put up a certain proposal or a certain scheme and if it has failed, it is the one in charge of implementation who have failed it'. On the other hand, the people charged with implementation say that the 'Planning Commission was unrealistic in a particular approach'.

Therefore, I entirely agree that there has to be proper co-ordination between the two. Time being short, I will not go into many of the suggestions which I would have liked to give. For this I will take some other time. Probably if Government issue a questionnaire to all the Members of the House as well as to all State Governments, we could give our views in the matter. But if immediately something has to be done, I would suggest that no non-official should be a Member of the Planning Commission. To co-ordinate the theory part and the practical part, immediately Government may be good

enough to make all the Ministers members of the Planning Commission and not import anybody from outside. This will immediately help in co-ordination between the planners of the Planning Commission and the executors who are the Ministers so that one cannot blame the other if anything goes wrong. As you have rung the bell, I would not dilate on this further and shall conclude with this.

An hon Member: He wants to debar all the economists?

श्री बलराज म. रं. क. सभापति महोदय, चोखे ग्राम चुनाव के बाद हम यहाँ पहली बार बैठे हैं। औपचारिक ढंग से गणपति जी ने इसका उद्घाटन किया है और उम में अपना भाषण भी दिया है। वह भाषण वास्तव में सरकार की नीतियों का दिग्दर्शन करता है। यदि हम उम अभिभाषण की आलोचना करते हैं, उसमें सुगोघन पेज करने हैं, तो यह आलोचना गणपति जी की नहीं है। हम गणपति जी के प्रति आभार प्रदर्शन करते हैं कि उन्होंने अभिभाषण दिया और हम उनकी दीर्घायु की कामना करते हैं। परन्तु दुःख के साथ मुझे कहना पड़ता है कि सरकार ने उनके मुँह में जो कुछ डाला उसमें हम सहमत नहीं हो सकते।

हमें चुनाव की बात करनी पड़ी है। हमारे देश में चुनाव सम्पन्न हुए। देश की जनता ने इन चुनावों में जिन्हें राजनीतिक परिपक्वता का, जिस सूझबूझ का परिचय दिया उसके लिए वह बधाई की पात्र है। जनता ने भारत के लोकतन्त्र की माख दुनिया में जमाई है, भारत में लोकतन्त्र की जड़ें कितनी गहरी हैं, यह उसने सिद्ध कर दिया है। परन्तु उसके लिए बधाई की पात्र जनता है सरकार नहीं। सरकार ने जहाँ कहीं सम्भव हुआ घाँघलियाँ कर ने की कोशिश की है और सब से बड़ कर घाँघली जम्मू काश्मीर में हुई है। उसके सम्बन्ध में मैं कुछ कहना चाहता हूँ।

जम्मू-काश्मीर राज्य के साथ मेरा विशेष धनराग है। वह मेरा दूसरा घर है। हमारी प्रधान मंत्री जी भी अपने आप को काश्मीरी मानती हैं। परन्तु उनके पुरखे वहाँ से घाए थे। परन्तु मेरा धाज भी उस राज्य के साथ मीघा और घनिष्ट सम्बन्ध है। जब चुनाव का समय आया उसी समय मैंने चुनाव आयुक्त को कहा था कि वहाँ चुनाव फरवरी में नहीं होने चाहिये क्योंकि वहाँ पर बहुत बड़े भाग में उस समय बर्फ पड़ी रहती है। इसलिए, उस समय वहाँ चुनाव करने का मतलब यह होगा कि जनता के एक बहुत बड़े भाग को मनाधिकार से मानो वंचित करना। उन्होंने इस बात को माना। लेकिन बाद में काश्मीर सरकार के दबाव में आकर वही तिथियाँ फिर से तय कर दी और उनकी घोषणा कर दी। इसका परिणाम यह हुआ कि बहुत से पोलिंग दूर पर पाच परसेंट बोटर भी बोट डालने न सके।

उसके बाद नामांकन पत्र दाखिल करने का समय आया। वहाँ के लोगो ने आशका के तार भेजे कि नामिनेशन पेपर रद्द कर दिये जायेंगे। इस आशय के तार न केवल हमें मिले लेकिन राज्यपाल को और सरकार को भी भेजे गए। इस बात की पहले ही सूचना मिला गई थी कि हम जनसभा को तीन सीटें देंगे, पाच सीटें देंगे, इससे अधिक किसी को नहीं देंगे। जिस प्रकार से 116 नामांकन पत्र रद्द किए गए। वह मैं समझता हूँ कि हिन्दुस्तान के ही नहीं दुनिया भर के लोकनर के इतिहास में एक निराली बात थी। किस आधार पर उनको रद्द किया गया? यह कहा गया कि इनको भरने वालो ने भारत के संविधान के प्रति आस्था की शपथ नहीं ली जिन लोगो के नामांकन पत्र इस आधार पर रद्द किए गए उनमें श्री शाम लाल सराफ भी शामिल थे जो कि कांग्रेस पार्लियामेन्टरी पार्टी की एग्जिक्यूटिव के मंत्री थे। अगर वह भी भारत के संविधान के प्रति शपथ लेने के लिए तैयार नहीं थे तो फिर और कौन तैयार

हो सकता है। मैं समझता हूँ कि जो चीज पाकिस्तान अपने दोस साल के प्रचार में इतना मेमिड नहीं कर सका उस चीज को काश्मीर सरकार ने भारत सरकार के मंत्रालय में, उसकी महत्ता से एक ही दिन में सिद्ध कर दिखाया और वह यह है कि जम्मू और काश्मीर के लोग भारत के साथ नहीं हैं, भारत के संविधान को वे नहीं मानते हैं। मैं समझता हूँ कि इस मामले में जो कुछ भी काश्मीर सरकार ने किया उसके लिए एक ही शब्द है और उसी का प्रयोग किया जा सकता है और वह है गद्दारी। मारे देश के साथ उगने ट्रीजन किया है, ट्रेचरी की है। इस प्रकार से नामांकन पत्रो को रद्द करना गलत था, इसको किसी भी प्रकार से ठीक नहीं कहा जा सकता है।

इससे भी उसको सब नहीं आया। उसके बाद चुनाव हुए। उस चुनाव के अन्दर भी उनको यह लगा कि शायद वे जीत न पायें और इसलिए चुनाव के बाद गिनती के समय घाघली की गई। रात के बक्त डिब्बे खोले गए और डिब्बो में दक्खियो की दक्खिया बैलट पेपर की डाली गई। ये कुछ बैलट पेपर असम्बली ही के नहीं लोक सभा के भी हैं और एक ही मीरियल नम्बर के हैं जो हमारे कार्यकर्ताओ ने उन कार्यकर्ताओ से छीने थे जो कि रात के बक्त डिब्बे खोल कर इनको उनमें डाल रहे थे। मैं इनको सभा पटल पर रखने को तैयार हूँ।

Shri Kandhir Singh (Rohtak): This is a matter for an election petition. This is not the proper forum to discuss this matter.

श्री कन्हिर सिंह बजरोई (खारगोन): माननीय सदस्य जो बार्ज लगा रहे हैं इसके सम्बन्ध में मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि काश्मीर का मामला एक नाजुक समस्या है, मार्शल लॉ भी यही कहते हैं। माननीय सदस्य को इस प्रकार को बार्ज नहीं लगाना चाहिये। यह प्रश्न इलेक्शन पेटिशन से ताल्लुक रखता



### [श्री शशिभवन बाजपेयी]

हैं, वहां आप इसको पेश कर सकते हैं। वही अच्छा तरीका है। मैं कह सकता हूं कि यहां आप जो पर्व दिखा रहे हैं, वह सही नहीं है।

श्री बलराज मधोक : हमारा देश लोकतंत्र को मानता है और लोकतंत्र का हम प्रचार भी करते हैं। अगर देश के एक भाग में लोकतंत्र की हत्या होती है तो सारे देश के अन्दर लोकतंत्र की हत्या होती है। अतः केवल नीतियों का सवाल नहीं है, लोकतंत्र की रक्षा का सवाल है। मैं ये बैलट पेपर पेश करता हूं। आप देखें। एक ही सीरियल नम्बर के हैं। रात के वक्त डिब्बे तोड़ कर डाले जा रहे थे। इस प्रकार से काश्मीर में चुनावों में धांधली भी गई है।

**Shri Randhir Singh:** This is all manufactured, concocted.

श्री बलराज मधोक : वहां पर चुनावों का मजाक उड़ाया गया है। काश्मीर के चुनाव को चुनाव कहना एक मजाक है। हिन्दुस्तान के लोकतंत्र की एक तस्वीर जो दुनिया के सामने आई थी, जिसने भारत का नाम ऊंचा किया था उसके ऊपर जम्मू-काश्मीर की सरकार ने एक बदनुमा धब्बा लगा दिया है। हमने मांग की है कि कम से कम जो चीज होनी चाहिए वह यह है कि वहां पर नए चुनाव हो और नए चुनावों के लिए यह आवश्यक है कि जो वहां की वर्तमान सरकार है उसको भंग किया जाये और कुछ देर के लिए वहां राष्ट्रपति राज लागू किया जाए। साथ ही जिन कर्मचारियों ने गड़बड़ी की है, उनको सजा दी जाए।

चुनाव धायुक्त को राष्ट्रपति ने भाषण में भी बधाई दी गई है। मुझे दुख के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि मैं उनको बधाई नहीं दे सकता हूं। अगर काश्मीर में भी उन्होंने ठीक ढंग के चुनाव कराये होते तो मैं भी उनको बधाई देता। मुझे दुख है कि चुनाव धायुक्त ने काश्मीर के बारे में अपने कर्तव्य का ठीक

पात्रन नहीं किया। मैं आशा करता हूं कि इस मामले में सरकार अवश्य विचार करेगी। जम्मू काश्मीर का मामला कोई एक पार्टी या एक दल का मामला नहीं है। जम्मू काश्मीर भारत का अभिन्न अंग है और अभिन्न अंग रहेगा। इस मामले में हम सबसे आगे हैं। लेकिन दुख के साथ मुझे कहना पड़ता है कि अभी तक कांग्रेस सरकार ने काश्मीर के मामले को अपना घरेलू मामला समझा है। मैं अपील करूंगा कि इस मामले में सरकार ऊपर उठे। मुझे वह दिन याद है जब 1953 में स्वर्गीय डा० श्यामा प्रसाद मुखर्जी ने पंडित नेहरू को लिखा था कि हम मिल बैठ कर बात कर लें, कोई रास्ता निकालें। तब श्री नेहरू ने लिखा था कि इससे कोई लाभ नहीं होगा क्योंकि आपका और मेरा दृष्टिकोण भिन्न है। उसने जब ब मे डा० मुखर्जी ने लिखा था कि हमारा दृष्टिकोण भिन्न हो सकता है लेकिन राजनीतिक मतभेदों के बावजूद हमारे बीच में एक बात सांझी है, समान है और वह यह है कि आप भी और मैं भी, दोनों ही भारत मां के पुत्र हैं और भारत मां के पुत्र होने के नाते हम मिल सकते हैं और साझी समस्या का कोई निदान निकाल सकते हैं, समाधान खोज सकते हैं। यही अपील मैं अब भी प्रधान मंत्री जी से करना चाहता हूं। हमारे मतभेद हो सकते हैं। काश्मीर का सवाल पेचीदा सवाल है इसको मैं मानता हूं। इसको आप घरेलू मामला न समझो। हम मिल बैठ कर इस मामले के बारे में बात करें। हम चाहते हैं कि काश्मीर भारत का अभिन्न अंग रहे और वह अवश्य रहेगा। जो काश्मीर के प्रश्न को लेकर संसार में हमारे बारे में जो गलत धारणाएं फैलाई जा रही हैं वे दूर होनी चाहियें। लेकिन उसका इलाज यह नहीं है जो आप करना चाहते हैं। इस समय काश्मीर में बड़े बड़े हालात पैदा हुए हैं काश्मीर पार्टी में पहली बार एक लोकसंघीय अपोजीशन दल बना था। अगर निम्न



बुनाव होते तो दोनों दल आपस में होड़ लगाते कि कौन भारत के अधिक निकट है, वहाँ पर एक ऐसी परिस्थिति पैदा होती जिसमें भारत के हितों की रक्षा होती, संसार में भारत का नाम ऊँचा होता और काश्मीर में हालात नार्मल होते। मुझे दुःख के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि उस अवसर को खो दिया गया है। अभी भी देर नहीं हुई है। हम उस गलती का सुधार कर सकते हैं और यदि प्रधान मंत्री और कांग्रेस सरकार इस मामले में कदम उठायेगी तो उनको मेरे दल का पूरा पूर्ण सहयोग और समर्थन मिलेगा।

इस अभिभाषण में अर्थ-संकट की चर्चा भी की गई है। कहा गया है कि देश में अर्थ-संकट है मगर यह भी कहा गया कि हम 1971 में अनाज के बारे में आत्म-निर्भर हो जायेंगे और 1976 में हम बाहरी सहायता नहीं लेंगे। लेकिन क्या सरकार समझती है कि देश की जनता उसको 1971 तक या 1976 तक राज्य करने देगी? उस को 1976 तक—या 1971 तक भी—राज्य नहीं करने दिया जायेगा। और अगर वह 1971 तक राज्य करे भी तो भी अर्थ-संकट दूर नहीं होगा, देश अन्न के मामले में अन्न निर्भर नहीं होगा, जब तक उसकी आर्थिक नीतियाँ बड़ी रहेंगी जिन पर वह चल रही है।

पंडित नेहरू ने कहा था कि पहली योजना के बाद हिन्दुस्तान बाहर से अनाज नहीं मंगायेगा बल्कि अनाज का निर्यात करेगा अनाज को दूसरे देशों को भेजेगा। लेकिन चूंकि नीतियाँ गलत हैं इस लिए परिणाम यह है कि जब कि पहली योजना के समय हम दो मिलियन टन बाहर से मंगाते थे, आज हम बारह मिलियन टन अनाज बाहर से मंगाते हैं। इसलिए केवल दावों या नारों से यह समस्या हल नहीं होने वाली है—उस समस्या को हल करने के लिए नीतियाँ बदलनी होंगी और नीतियाँ बदलने के लिए पहले सब क्या है इलाज क्या है उसकी सतर्कता करनी होगी, आयन्वोस्टिस करना होगा।

हमारी आर्थिक समस्याएँ मूलतः तीन हैं : हमारी बेती का पिछड़ापन—बेती हमारे देश की बुनियादी इंडस्ट्री है जिस पर हमारे सत्तर परसेंट लोग निर्भर हैं। बेकारी और कीमतों का बढ़ना। हमने बेती की ओर दुर्लक्ष्य किया। हमारे देश में बेकारी इसलिए बढ़ रही है कि हम अमरीका और रूस की अन्वी नकल कर रहे हैं। बहु<sup>१</sup> पर पूंजी और भूमि अधिक है और आदमी कम है इस लिए उनकी अर्थ-व्यवस्था पूंजी-प्रधान है। हमारे पास पूंजी कम है, भूमि कम है और आदमी अधिक है परन्तु नकल हम उनकी करते हैं जिनके पास आदमी कम है और पूंजी तथा भूमि अधिक है। हमारे पास पूंजी नहीं है—हम विदेशों से पूंजी की भीख मांगते फिरते हैं। जहाँ तक बेकारी का सम्बन्ध है हम बाहर से इलेक्ट्रानिक कम्प्यूटर लाते हैं उनको अपने दफ्तरों में लगाते हैं और अपने आदमियों की छंटनी करते हैं। यह न नीति है और न नैतिकता है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि इस पर विचार किया जाये।

आज कीमतें बढ़ रही हैं और बढ़ती रहेगी जब तक नीतियों में बदल नहीं लाया जायेगा। कीमतें इसलिए बढ़ रही हैं कि अनाज की कीमतें स्थिर नहीं हैं। हमारे देश में अनाज की कीमतें कीमतों का बैरोमीटर हैं। जब तक अनाज की कीमतें स्थिर नहीं होतीं, जब तक अनाज की उपज नहीं बढ़ती, तब तक कीमतें स्थिर नहीं होंगी।

कीमतों के बढ़ने का दूसरा कारण यह है कि मार्केट में रुपये और चीजों का सन्तुलन नहीं रहा। उत्पादन बढ़ा नहीं और बढ़ा है तो बहुत कम बढ़ा है और दूसरी ओर मार्केट में लगातार रुपया लाया जा रहा है। अभी श्री हनुमन्तैया ने कहा कि 4 200 करोड़ रुपये के नोट मार्केट में हैं और वे बढ़ रहे हैं। इन्फ्लेशन बढ़ रही है मगर यह किस कारण से हो रही है कौन कर रहा है? सरकार की गलत नीतियाँ कर रही हैं। इस इन्फ्लेशन

## [श्री बलराज मधोक]

को रोकना होगा कि जूलखानियों को रोकना होगा और उत्पादन को बढ़ाना होगा। जब तक मार्केट में माली एंजेल और एंजेल एंजेल के बीच में सन्तुलन बनें, कायम नहीं होगा जब तक कीमते स्थिर नहीं होंगी। जब तक हम ये काम नहीं करेंगे तब तक चहे हम सौ नारे लगाने रहे कीमते बढ़ती रहेंगी।

कीमते बढ़ने से आम जनता, और खासकर वह जनता पिस रही है, जिस की आन्दनी बधी हुई है। इस दिल्ली में अधिकतर बधी हुई आमदनी के लोग रहते हैं। मैं जानना हूँ कि उन की हालत क्या है। आज वे मुश्किल से गुडारा करते हैं—खुद खाये या बच्चों का पेट भरे। सरकारी कर्मचारियों की हालत क्या है? मकान उन के पास नहीं है। दिल्ली देश की राजधानी है। यहाँ पुराने मुगलों ने कुछ महल बनाए थे और अब नये मुगल बड़े बड़े प्रासाद बना रहे हैं और अपने आप को लेटर मुगल साबित करने की कोशिश कर रहे हैं। लेकिन दिल्ली में महलों की जरूरत नहीं है। दिल्ली के आम आदमियों के लिये मकानों की जरूरत है। उस के लिए सरकार ने क्या किया? उस ने लोगों को पच्चीस पच्चीस गज जमीन के टुकड़े दिये। क्या दुनिया के किसी भी देश में मकान बनाने के लिए पच्चीस गज के टुकड़े दिये जाते हैं? इस सरकार ने लोगों को पच्चीस पच्चीस गज के टुकड़े दे कर ममझ लिया है कि उन ने हाथिम ताई की कबर का लान मार दी है। इस तरह यह सरकार यहाँ पर नए स्लैब निर्माण कर रही है। हमने पहले भी कई बार सुझा दिया है कि जब यह सरकार एक एक भवन और महल के लिए पाब पाब करोड़ रुपये निकाल सकती है, ना क्या वह दिल्ली में दम, पंद्रह करोड़ रुपये की एक हाउसिंग कॉर्पोरेशन नहीं बना सकती, जो छोटे लोगों के लिए पाब सात हजार रुपये की लागत के मकान बनाए, जो कि

हो ७-परचेज के आधार पर उन को दिये जायें। क्या यह कोई मुश्किल काम है?

सरकार की तरफ से मर्ज की ओर ध्यान नहीं दिया जाता है इस लिए कि यद्यपि वह समाजवाद का नारा लगाती है, लेकिन वह सामन्तवादी। उस की दृष्टि में जनता देश के आम आदमियों की जनता नहीं है, बल्कि चन्द आदमियों की जनता है। देश का आर्थिक संकट दिनो-दिन भयानक होता जा रहा है। यदि इस संकट का मुकाबला करना है, तो वह नारो और वादो से नहीं होगा। हमें न समाजवाद से गर्ज है, न पूँजीवाद से गर्ज है और न साम्यवाद से गर्ज है। हमें गर्ज है इस देश की जनता से और इस देश की समस्याओं से। इस लिए आवश्यकता इस बात की है कि हम वादो के चंगुन में अना हो कर, नारो की कैद से अलग हो कर इस बात पर विचार करें कि हमारी नीतियाँ यथार्थवादी और राष्ट्रवादी हों। जब तक हम यथार्थवादी नहीं बनते, तब तक हम राष्ट्रवादी नहीं बन सकते। जब तक हम अपनी परिस्थितियों के अनुगम, अपनी समस्याओं के अनुसार अपनी नीतियाँ निर्धारित नहीं करते, तब तक देश की आर्थिक समस्या हल नहीं होगी।

कहा गया है कि योजना कमिशन का पुनर्गठन किया जायेगा। मैं इस का स्वागत करता हूँ, लेकिन उस पुनर्गठन का रूप क्या होगा? अभी एक माननीय सदस्य ने कहा कि कैबिनेट को ही योजना कमिशन बना दिया जाये। तो कैबिनेट तो मौजूद ही है। वास्तव में योजना कमिशन का पुनर्गठन इस ढंग से होना चाहिए कि उस में दो बार एक्स्पर्ट हों, जो प्राथमिकताएँ तय करें, यह देखें कि किसी प्राजेक्ट पर कितना खर्च आयेगा और वह कितने समय में तैयार हो सकती है। उन प्राजेक्ट्स को कार्यान्वित करने की जिम्मेवारी स्टेट्स पर, या

गवर्नमेंट के अलग अलग डिपार्टमेंट्स पर हो। आज प्लानिंग कमीशन "गवर्नमेंट विदिन ए गवर्नमेंट" और "स्टेट विदिन ए स्टेट" बन गया है और वहाँ के लोगो में उस को बनाए रखने में वैस्टिड इन्ट्रेस्ट, निहित स्वार्थ पैदा हो गया है। उन लोगो को वहाँ से हटाना होगा और इस प्लान कमीशन को भी करना होगा। एक नई छोटी कमेटी बनानी होगी, जो देश की आर्थिक योजनाओं पर नारो के आधार पर नहीं, विदेशी बादो के आधार पर नहीं, बल्कि यथाथंवाद के आधार पर विचार कर सके।

दिल्ली इस सम्बन्ध में एक कसीटी है। दिल्ली देश की राजधानी है और दिल्ली की हालत को देख कर कोई भी आदमी कह सकता है कि दिल्ली भारत की राजधानी नहीं है, यहाँ कुछ बड़े सामन्त बसते हैं या पिछी हुई जनता बसती है। इस लिए नीति में बदल लानी होगी। दिल्ली की जनता ने हमें मौका दिया है कि हम दिल्ली के लिए कुछ काम कर पायें। लेकिन हम काम नहीं कर सके, जब हमें केन्द्रीय सरकार से सहयोग मिले। अगर हमें उस का सहयोग मिले, तो हमें विश्वास है कि हम चार पाब सालों में दिल्ली का नक्शा बदल देंगे। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि अगर हमें सहयोग नहीं मिला, अगर दिल्ली में हमें काम नहीं करने दिया गया, तो यह सरकार कभी भी काम नहीं कर पायेगी। इस लिए यह सरकार के हित में है कि गैर कमेटी सरकारों को सहयोग दे और उनका सहयोग ले।

अभिनीत रत्नचंदी सिन्हा : पहले से ही यह समझ लेना ठीक नहीं है कि इन को काम नहीं करने दिया जायेगा। ये पहले ही से ही यह क्यों समझ लेते हैं ?

श्री रानीर सिंह : अब ये दिल्ली के मालिक बन गए हैं। इन को मौका दिया गया है। अब ये काम कर के दिखायें।

श्री बलराज मधोक : अगर हम को मौका दिया गया है, तो अच्छी बात है। दिल्ली कसीटी है इस मामले में।

श्री रणधीर सिंह : ये जानने हैं कि वे कुछ भी नहीं कर पायेंगे।

एक माननीय सदस्य : इन को लखनऊ में भी तो मौका दिया गया था।

श्री बलराज मधोक : अगर हमें सरकार की तरफ से सहयोग दिया गया, तो हम दिल्ली को सारे देश के लिए एक मॉडल बना कर दिखायेंगे।

श्री रानीर सिंह : खुदरा फ़ज़ाहत दीगरा नसीज़त। खुद तो कुछ कर नहीं रहे हैं, दूसरों को कह रहे हैं।

श्री बलराज मधोक : हम अभिभावक में कहा गया है कि हमारी विदेश नीति समय की कसीटी पर खरी उतरी है। मैं इस को मानने के लिए तैयार नहीं हूँ। यह हमारी विदेश नीति का ही परिणाम है कि पिछले बीस सालों में हमारे देश पर चार हमले हुए हैं। मुझे कोई और देश बताया जाये, जिस पर इन तरह चार हमले हुए हैं।

श्री रानीर सिंह : ये लोग पावर में आ गए, तो रोज हमले होंगे।

श्री बलराज मधोक : इस विदेश नीति का ही यह परिणाम है कि हालांकि मुरासा परिवर्द्ध का सदस्य बनने की हमारी बागी थी, लेकिन हमें केवल 85 वोट मिले। इन राज्यों आदि जिन देशों को हम अपना भव्य मानने थे, अगर वह हमारी मदद न करते, तो अपनी बागी होने के बावजूद हम वहाँ जीत न पाते। इस लिए यह कहना गलत है कि हमारी विदेश नीति कामयाब हुई है।

वास्तव में हमारी कोई विदेश नीति है ही नहीं। हमारे पास केवल चार हैं और

## [श्री बलराज मधोकर]

मारों के आधार पर न जनता का पेट भर सकता है और न देश की विदेश नीति चल सकती है। आज रट लगाई जाती हैं नान-एलाइनमेंट और गुट-निरपेक्षता की। गुट तो खत्म हो गए हैं, मैल्ट हो रहे हैं। आज परिस्थितियाँ बदल गई हैं, इस लिए यह सरकार भी बदले और अपनी नीतियों को भी बदले। पुराने गुट खत्म हो चुके हैं और नये हालात पैदा हो रहे हैं। जब रूस और अमरीका लड़ रहे थे, तो हम बाहर खड़े थे और कहते थे, "हम न तेरे साथ, न तेरे साथ" परन्तु आज वे तो एक दूसरे के निकट आ रहे हैं।

आज हम लड़ रहे हैं चीन के साथ। क्या हमारे और चीन के झगड़े में हम निरपेक्ष हो सकते हैं? चीन के अपने साथी हैं और पाकिस्तान के अपने साथी हैं। हमें भी अपने साथी बनाने होंगे। इस लिए आवश्यकता इस बात की है कि सरकार अपनी नीति को बदले। हमारी नीति वास्तव में एक स्वतंत्र विदेश नीति होनी चाहिए, जिस का आधार राष्ट्र के हित हो। हम दूसरे देशों के साथ समझौते करें, चाहे वे किसी भी गुट के हो, अपने हितों के आधार पर, "जैसे को तैसा" के आधार पर, रूसी-प्रसिद्धि और म्यूकूलिटी आफ इन्ट्रस्ट्स के आधार पर। अगर यू० ए० आर० के नासिर साहब कहते हैं कि हम हिन्दुस्तान और चीन के झगड़े में तटस्थ हैं, तो हमें उन को कहना होगा कि हम यू० ए० आर० और इसराइल के झगड़े में तटस्थ हैं। जो हमारा साथी है, हम उस के साथी हैं, जो हमारा शत्रु है, हम उस के शत्रु हैं, जो हमारे झगड़ों में तटस्थ है, हम उस के झगड़ों में तटस्थ हैं वह हमारी नीति का आधार होना चाहिए। हमें अपनी वर्तमान विदेश नीति को बदलना होगा। जिस विदेश नीति पर हम चल रहे हैं, उस ने न हमारा सिर ऊँचा किया है और न हमारे लिए साथी जुटाए हैं।

फिर हमारी सुरक्षा का सवाल पैदा होता है। कहा जा रहा है कि हम नान-प्रालिफरेशन ट्रीटी पर हस्ताक्षर करें। यह गलत बात होगी। आज कुछ मुल्कों ने सातक की मानोपसी बना ली है। उन्होंने एटमिक बम बना लिए हैं और वे चाहते हैं कि दूसरे न बनायें। यह बात मानना हमारे लिए गलत होगा। जो हथियार हमारे शत्रु के पास हैं, उन्हीं हथियारों से हमें अपनी सेना को सुसज्जित करना होगा। इस लिए मैं सरकार से कहना चाहता हूँ कि हम किसी प्रकार की नान-प्रालिफरेशन ट्रीटी पर हस्ताक्षर न करें।

हमें अपने हाथ नहीं बाँधने होंगे। हमें जो अपने देश के हित में है उसके मुताबिक नीति अपनानी होगी। सुरक्षा के बारे में भी और बाकी मामलों में भी।

सुरक्षा की दृष्टि से जो कुछ हमारी पूर्वी सीमा पर हो रहा है उसका बहुत बड़ा महत्व है। वहाँ पर नागा विद्रोही हैं, वहाँ पर मिज़ो विद्रोही हैं। हम उनके प्रति तुष्टीकरण की नीति अपना रहे हैं। तुष्टीकरण की नीति से समस्याओं का हल नहीं होगा। वहाँ हमें मजबूत नीति अपनानी होगी। पूर्वी इलाके के पुनर्गठन की बात चल रही है। मैं पुनर्गठन का विरोधी नहीं। अगर पुनर्गठन रोज-रोज होता रहे, यह ठीक नहीं। अगर पुनर्गठन करना ही है तो एक कमीशन मूक़रर करे जिसके अन्दर केवल सरकारी अधिकारी ही न हों, जिस के अन्दर मुख्य रूप से सैनिक स्पेशलिस्ट्स हो और उस कमीशन के अधिकार क्षेत्र के अन्दर न केवल आसाम आये, बल्कि उसके अन्दर नेफा, नागालैंड, त्रिपुरा और मणिपुर भी आये। वह सारे पूर्वी क्षेत्र का पुनर्गठन करे और पुनर्गठन करने में वह जहाँ इस बात का ख्याल करे कि विभिन्न इलाकों का विकास कैसे किया जाय, वहाँ के लोगों की भावनाओं का आदर कैसे किया जाय, वहाँ देश की सुरक्षा की जो आवश्यकताएँ हैं उनका भी ध्यान रखा जाय। सीमावर्ती क्षेत्रों के जो मामले हैं उन

का हल निकालते बहुत सुरक्षा की बात को पहला स्थान मिलना चाहिए, बाकी बातों को दूसरा स्थान मिलना चाहिए। यह भी कोई पार्टी का सवाल नहीं है और इस मामले में भी प्रधान मंत्री को चाहिए कि सभी दलों के लोगों के साथ मिल कर कोई नीति तय करे।

अन्त में मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि आज आपके हाथ में सत्ता है। कब तक रहेगी कह नहीं सकते। थोड़ा सा आपका देश में अल्पमत है। 30 परसेंट वोट लेकर आप राज कर रहे हैं। 60 परसेंट वोट अग्रोजीशन के साथ है। आज आपने समझ लिया है कि आपने 52 मंत्री बना लिये हैं, हर एक के साथ चार-चार, पांच-पांच मेम्बर होंगे और इस तरह हम आसानी से मिनिस्ट्री चला लेंगे, लेकिन यह मिनिस्ट्री चलेगी नहीं। ताश के भी 52 पत्ते होते हैं और उन पत्तों का भी मकान बनाया जाता है। लेकिन जैसे ताश के 52 पत्तों का मकान गिर जाता है ऐसे ही आपके 52 मंत्रियों का मकान भी चलने वाला नहीं है। इसलिए मेरी प्रार्थना है कि आप यह समझें कि आप केवल एक दल नहीं हैं, दल आपका भी है, दल मेरा भी है। मगर देश कांग्रेस से ऊँचा है, देश जनसंघ से ऊँचा है। हम देश का विचार करके, राष्ट्र का विचार करके नीतियां तय करें। अगर राष्ट्रहित के आधार पर नीतियां तय करेंगे तो सही नीति तय कर पायेंगे और जनता की समस्याओं का समाधान कर सकेंगे। मेरा हित साधन होता है या नहीं, आपका हित साधन होता है या नहीं, इसका महत्व नहीं है, जनता का हित साधन किस में होता है, इस का महत्व है। आज 20 साल की स्वतन्त्रता के बाद भी देश में गरीबी है, भुखमरी है, लोग नंगे घूमते हैं, यह हमारे लिए शर्म की बात है, अगर आप उसे दूर नहीं कर सकते तो भ्रम हो जाएगा, औरों को मौका दीजिए या सब से मिल कर काम कीजिए। इसलिये देश में जो परिस्थितियां आज पैदा हुई हैं, वह परिस्थितियां मंजूर करती हैं जैसा कि मसानी साहब ने भी कहा है कि देश में डेमोक्रेटिक ढंग की देश के

टेलेट्स की गवर्नमेंट कायम की जाये कि देश की समस्याओं को सामूहिक रूप से, राष्ट्रहित के आधार पर हल करे। इन सबों के साथ मैं सदन से प्रार्थना करूँगा कि मैंने जो संशोधन दिये हैं, उन को स्वीकार करे।

**Shri R. K. Sinha (Faizabad):** Sir, I heard very attentively the speech of the great leader of the Bharatiya Jan Sangh. Like Dr. Lohia he also suffers from an obsession of anti-muslim feeling and an obsession about the Kashmir Government.

**Shri Balraj Madhok:** I have never referred to the Muslims anywhere.

**Shri R. K. Sinha:** The Bharatiya Jan Sangh and its leaders suffer from an obsession in so far as Kashmir is concerned. When Bakshi Gulam Mohammad was in power in that State, then also they wanted the President's rule. Today, again, when there is a popularly elected Government there, they are demanding President's rule. They are not interested in democracy. They are only interested in repeating those words which the Pakistan radio picks up and broadcasts to the world community as the opinion of the people of India. If Bakshi Gulam Mohammed can be elected by a 50,000 majority, how can we say that there have been no democratic elections in Kashmir. We must look to the content of the speeches of these gentlemen who had been speaking and abusing our Government. We have heard them talking about the unity of the country. I want to tell them that we may be Hindus or Muslims but we are as much in love with this country. Have they tried to understand the genius of Bharata Mata? For 2,000 years in this country of ours, we were trying to discover our genius. Because of castism, because of divisions in our motherland, we have been slaves for 200 years. Once again now history has cast on us the duty to defend the integrity and the unity of our motherland. They talk of parlia-

14.55 hrs.

[**SHRI MANOHARAN in the Chair**]

[Shri R K Sinha]

men and loyalists and organised violent rebellion on the streets. We know that the use of cow slaughter has been in force in 14 States and may soon be extended to others. Yet in UP and Bihar their party launched a tit-for-tat agitation before the elections and tried to subvert Indian democracy. But the people of India have replied to them and expressed their preference for the Congress Party. I want to tell the Leaders of the Opposition that today's Congress Party is a transformed Congress Party with more young men and we can reply kick by kick and bout by bout. We do not want to waste the time of the people in factual discussions. Our friend Mr Masani spoke of the values of democracy. They have to be bipartisan. They have suffered from frustrations in the past and some of their demonstrations could have been justified before, but today they are sharing power, they have the Governments in Madras, in Bihar. (Interruptions) They must understand the convention. I want to tell the friends of the Opposition who want to lay down correct convention, that they must first understand to uphold certain values, they must understand that Indian democracy has to survive if you look at Asia and Africa military dictatorships have been installed in country after country, the light of freedom has gone and colonialism and new colonialism have come by the back door. Only in India under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru and under the flag of the Indian National Congress has Parliamentary democracy survived. Why should the Opposition want to be in conspiracy with the forces of frustration, demoralisation and disruption. Mr Madonk said that there would be no Congress Government in 1971. They are living in a paradise of their own. That paradise will not be realised because they know that in the States where the Opposition votes had increased, for election to the State Assemblies the electorate was mature enough to choose representatives of

the Congress Party for the Parliament. We symbolise the unity of the Indian nation and its past history. The Opposition has been delivering eloquent speeches and giving people false promises. Instead of congratulating our valiant Prime Minister for being courageous enough to come out with a brilliant team of ministers, they have come out with points of order. It is easy for dialecticians or technicians to raise a point of order and waste the time of the Parliament. When our country is at a critical stage and when our future is at stake, we must look to the values and we must have reciprocity and the Government should be supported when it does right things. We must serve notice to the forces of disruption. If they talk sense we will accept it; if they talk of disruption, we will not accept it. This country is safe and sound and the people of this country are very much behind Shrimati Indira Gandhi and the Congress Party.

15 hrs

Shri V. Krishnamoorthi: Mr Chairman Sir, I would like to speak on the President's Address. When I went through the entire speech of the President I was really disappointed to know that there is no specific step mentioned for bringing down the prices and there is no specific proposal for safeguarding the interests of the non-Hindi speaking people by way of amendment of the Constitution. There is no mention in the Address about the new development which has been created by the forming of non-Congress governments and Cabinets in various States. There is no proposal for amendment of the Constitution to make the States more powerful than at present. So with these observations I would like to commence my speech.

As our Deputy Leader of the DMK group has already stated in the debate on the no-confidence motion, I would like to point out before the House that this House must take due

note as to what was the reason for the debacle of the Congress party in the Madras State and in some other States as well. People like Kamraj, the great leader of India, according to the Congress people, and Mr. Bhaktavatsalam, the former Chief Minister of Madras, who was the reason for murders during the Hindi agitation, and the famous Minister of Industries, Shri R. Venkaraman, and also some State Ministers and Central Ministers from the Madras State, barring one, have all been defeated. The ruling party must take into account and ask the reasons for it. They have been defeated not because the DMK has spent so much, not because the DMK's propaganda was unlawful, but because the Congress party has committed blunders. They have betrayed the South. They have betrayed the interests of the non-Hindi speaking people, and they have failed to take the problem to the Central Government, and that is the reason for their defeat.

An hon. Member: That is wrong.

Shri V. Krishnamoorthi: I know he will not agree with me; how can I expect the Congress party to agree with me? (interruption). They have betrayed the interests of the South, to safeguard the interests of the South especially on the language issue. They have failed to bring down the price level and they have failed to get the due share for Madras and the rest of the southern region. That is the reason for their defeat in the Madras State.

Mr Chairman, the people in the DMK party have got great regard for our Prime Minister. We humbly submit that at least she should safeguard the solemn promises made by her beloved father, our former Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. He said on the floor of this House that he would see that Hindi was not imposed on the unwilling people unless they accept Hindi as the official language. But all the solemn assurances have been thrown to the winds, and under the Constitution Hindi has been imposed as the sole official language in

the country right from 26th January, 1965.

I would then like to point out that there is a mention in the President's Address about legislation to give statutory recognition to the assurances given in regard to the official language. The President's Address says:

"Legislation to give statutory recognition to the assurances given in regard to the official language of the Union will be shortly introduced in Parliament."

I do not now what is the legislation or what sort of legislation that the Government is going to introduce. If it is a legislation to amend the word "may" into "shall", we will be disappointed and will be opposing it tooth and nail. We people from the DMK party as well as from the South expected that the Constitution would be amended; not just an official language Bill. We want that the *status quo* should be maintained. We do not want any mercy; we are not slaves; we are citizens of India; we are as much citizens as the citizens in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar are, and we have the same right as the citizens in the North have. Why should we have Hindi alone as the official language? We are not begging for alms. We want a constitutional guarantee, a guarantee that English will be the official language; till so long as all the 14 languages mentioned in the Constitution remain and till they become strong and rich, till then, English should be continued as the official language. I would like to remind the hon. Prime Minister here that at least the former Prime Ministers were giving assurances after assurances, but those assurances have been thrown to the winds. We did not expect such a sort of thing.

Shri Randhir Singh: You do not like Hindi.

Shri V. Krishnamoorthi: As long as you like Tamil, we like Hindi.

Shri Randhir Singh: We like Tamil.

**Shri V. Krishnamoorthi:** Then let us have all the 14 languages mentioned in the Constitution, as official languages. Let us have all the 14 languages, our national languages, as our official language. The Congress Working Committee had resolved to have all the 14 languages as the official language. If you people join with me...

**Shri Randhir Singh:** We like Tamil as much as well like Hindi.

**Shri N. Sreekantan Nair:** You do not know a word of Tamil. (Inter-  
ruption).

**Shri V. Krishnamoorthi:** So, I really sympathise with my hon. friend. He has not studied Tamil; and I cannot help it. If a chance is given, I would like to quote from Tamil poets. If he really learns Tamil, he will appreciate the depth and the cultural effects of Tamil. Well, Sir, regarding this language question, our policy is that we must have equal status, an equal status as Hindi is having today. All the 14 languages should be made official languages. Till such a stage is reached, English alone shall be the official language. We do not want any superiority complex; we do not want any special status for Hindi alone.

Let me now come to the next topic, namely, the recent development in some States, and the relationship between the Centre and the States. The other day, the hon. Home Minister was telling the House that they have given the people sovereign freedom and they are seeing non-Congress governments being formed in some States. They cannot help it. After the elections are over, that is the only possible way that the Home Minister can tell us. But he has utilised his discretion in Rajasthan; he cannot utilise that discretion in Madras because, there, we are 138 in the Legislative Assembly,—and we are 25 here—much more than what we require to form a Cabinet. So, Government should take effective steps to restudy the constitutional aspects. If you want

to safeguard the unity of India, if the Government wants really to safeguard the unity of India, it must immediately amend the Constitution, giving more power to the States. Now, the Constitution is federal only in principle; but in actual practice, it is unitary. The entire Constitution must, therefore, be rechecked and more power must be given to the States, and there must be suitable amendments made to the Constitution.

I shall now refer to the prices. The Congress party is saying that they are trying to bring down the prices. How long are they going to say so to the people, that they are going to bring down the prices? Till they achieve their object, are we to tighten our belts? When we attained Independence, we were getting three measures of rice per rupee in the Madras State. After 20 years of rule by the Congress, the price of rice in Madras State along during the Congress regime was Rs. 2.80 per measure. How are we to tolerate this? Do the Congress Government here expect that the poor will be in a position to purchase their foodstuffs at such huge cost? What was the reason? Now after forming our Cabinet, I can assure hon. Members that we have brought down the price of rice by 20 per cent. We have unearthed—only yesterday we have unearthed—thousands of bags of rice from a Marwadi who had nothing to do with the paddy business.

We, the non-Congress people, are really interested in bringing down the prices. The moment Congress forms the Cabinet, the prices go up. The moment the opposition comes to power, the prices come down. Why? The Congress is encouraging black-marketeers and hoarders. You are running anti-Governments in the States. That is why prices rise.

Can the Prime Minister say categorically that there are no fake notes in India? In almost all parts, fake notes are in circulation. That is why prices rise. A big businessman in



Calcutta prints fake thousand rupee notes. Another big mill owner in Coimbatore prints hundred rupee notes, because that is his requirement. Another Congressman in Madras prints five and ten rupee notes. The poor people are interested in printing fake one rupee notes and coins to suit their requirement. So, printing of notes is not confined to the Security Press at Nasik, but is widely dispersed all over the country. The Congress Government encourages the printing of fake notes. That is the reason for all these things. The Congress Government has failed to arrest the rising prices and there is no mention about it in the President's Address.

I have given an amendment. These people say that they are really interested in the growth of agricultural and industrial production. I am a sugarcane grower and I represent thousands of people in my area. We supplied sugarcane during 1958-59, 1959-60, 1960-61 and 1961-62. But we have not been paid the price for 7 years. This Government here is appointing various high level and other committees. If the prices are not yet settled for the cane supplied by us in 1958, how are we to produce more? How can the Government expect the farmers to have interest in their business? The Congress Government has failed in their approach to increase production.

Recently the Government notified the cane prices in the Gazette on 17-12-56. The Price was raised from Rs. 53 to Rs. 56 and odd. A notification from the sugar directorate directed the factories to give the increased price from 1-11-56, i.e., the beginning of the sugarcane season. Afterwards, the factories have been addressed by a letter from the sugar directorate stating that they need not pay the price from 1st November, and they can pay it from 27th December. What is the reason? Are there any officials in the sugar directorate who have been corrupted by the factories? Crores of rupees are due to the sugarcane growers for their supplies to the factories. Is it not the duty of

the Government to safeguard the interests of the growers? In all these things, the Government have utterly failed and it is not proper for them to be the ruling party. They must immediately vacate. As Rajaji said, the mandate of the people is that the Congress need not be in power and only a national Government should be in power.

I reserve my criticisms on the national language when the amending Bill is introduced either in the form of a constitutional amendment or in any other form. But I warn the Prime Minister: Don't bring in legislation amending the Official Language Act. If you are really interested in safeguarding the interests of the people and in safeguarding the solemn assurance given by your father on the floor of the House, please bring a constitutional amendment. That alone and nothing else will satisfy us.

Shri Tulsidas (Mysore): Mr. Chairman, I am a new entrant to this House and I had a desire to follow the proceedings and the way things take place here for some time before attempting to speak. However, the no confidence motion which was brought in here in a premature fashion almost tempted me to venture upon this sort of adventure so early. I have just heard my friend from the DMK and I think I better start from there—the official language. Mr. Krishnamoorthy started by saying that we have been unfair with regard to the language question. At the same time he also said that our late Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, had given an assurance and that he expects the present Prime Minister to uphold that assurance. May I say, it is not Shri Jawaharlal Nehru alone who gave that assurance? He had spoken on behalf of the Congress Party. We from these benches have committed ourselves to a fair deal for everybody. There is not going to be any forcible imposition of the language upon anybody. For that matter, I come from the south and I appreciate the difficulties expressed by my friend, Mr. Krishnamoorthy. So, it is not the

[Shri Tulsidas]

question of language alone that might have prompted my friend to say that the Congress Party is rather unfair in many of its dealings.

Mr. Masani said that there is need for a shock treatment and the country has been able to give it to the Congress Party. We, a disciplined Party, have got our own machinery of shock treatment and we do not require it from outsiders. We have got a democratic machinery by which we would be able to correct ourselves and we are not hesitant in being self-critical. May I just quote from the President's Address para 3.

"Our fourth General Elections have once again demonstrated the vigour and vitality of our democracy."

What does it mean? We are prepared to be corrected and we are proud that the Indian nation is a mature nation which can always correct people in authority in its own unique fashion. It has not sent out the Congress from the Centre. It has enabled the Congress Party to be in power at the centre to look after the nation in every way. At the same time, it has given a trial to the opposition parties to run the Government in a few States. The people of India are very mature and intelligent people. They would like to see how the opposition parties run the administration. So, they have allowed them to run the Governments in a few States and we are very happy about it.

Sir, there is another statement made by my revered senior, Shri Masani, that the policy and programme of the Congress Party is not acceptable to the people of this country, and that they are not satisfied with it and, therefore they want a change and that is the reason why they have not been able to support the Congress.

May I tell him, Sir, through you, that the DMK Party which has appeared on the scene in the South is not a party which tries to uphold the policies and programmes of the Swatantra Party to which Shri Masani belongs. People want progress, people want socialism; people want the welfare of the country; they want the disparities to go and that is why they have given their support to the Congress Party in the elections. DMK is, if I may be permitted to say so, a party which openly commits itself to progressive ideas. They say they are socialists. They have already taken a few measures in that direction. It means the people of this country are going towards socialism, towards progress and they do not want to encourage parties which are committed to capitalistic ideas.

I would like to dwell upon, in brief, one or two points which have been very clearly stated in the President's Address to Members of both the Houses of the Parliament. First of all, I would like to take up the statement where the President has been pleased to say that there is a "sense of frustration, particularly among the young". He said:

"The new generation which has grown up since Independence has new aspirations and new ideas. We must respond to them".

The Congress Party and our Government here at the Centre have taken very many measures in this direction. There are going to be some more measures to be taken up such as the scheme of National Service at the University level which, I hope, is going to be considered very favourably. The student community today, in this country, are a growing, intelligent, mass of people. They are not a small number. They have to be harnessed properly. It has been the attempt of this Government to try and harness them to the best of their ability. They are going to be many

programmes which will enable the young people to become participants in the great national development.

I would also like to touch upon this question Rajasthan. The imposition of President's Rule in Rajasthan This has been stated to be a very unconstitutional measure. The opposition parties have said so. They feel as if it is a matter of pleasure for the Congress Party or the Central Government to have taken up such a step. It has been very clearly stated in the President's Address that it was "a matter of distress". It was not a happy thing for us to do. It was the failure of constitutional democracy in that State that compelled the President or the Governor of that State to take such a step. After all, we are not anxious to have President's Rule there for long. As soon as the required constitutional atmosphere is ushered in, there is going to be a responsible government in that State. Our Home Minister was pleased to tell the House yesterday that they are only waiting for such a condition to prevail. As soon as such an atmosphere is created in that State we are going to see that responsible government is established in Rajasthan. It is not a question of our avoiding such a condition being created. After all, when our Party has been able, in a graceful manner, to accept non-Congress governments in some States there is no effort to avoid a non-Congress government in Rajasthan alone, if that could be.

Lastly, I would like to make an appeal to my hon. friends opposite. The nation is passing through very hard days. It is not the business of any single party to do the work. We have to come together, discuss together and try to find out ways and means by which we would be able to carry through these hard days. We must be able to set up an example for the whole world. We must show that we are a very mature nation. We must show that we are a very successful democratic nation. We must show that the opposition parties are no less interested in trying to contribute to the success of democracy than

anybody else who is in power. It is with that sense of feeling that I would appeal to hon. Members of the Opposition. They should try to think in constructive terms. They should realise that we have to make an impression on the rest of the countries in the world that India, though it seems to be entering into a new era, is going to steer itself through the ordeal in a very successful way, and in a very honourable way. We must see that we do not create disturbances or nuisance in this august House.

Before I conclude, I would like to appeal to all hon. Members of the Opposition to see that the deliberations here go on for the next five years in the most honourable and praiseworthy manner. They should lend their most constructive cooperation to the Government here and see that the world has a word of praise for India. The rest of the world should say that India is really a safe place for democracy where people have got their freedom to speak, but are responsible and they are going to make a success of democracy.

**Shri H. N. Mukerjee:** Mr. Chairman, Sir, my good friend, Shri Hanumanthaiya, who proposed the motion of thanks to the President for his Address, appeared to me to suggest that the Address was sacrosanct and should be treated as such by the House. I would like to tell him that while we have the highest respect for the person of the President and particularly for his office which is a symbol of the independence and integrity of our country, the Address happens to be only a string of words put into his mouth by his advisers and if the House wishes to do so it can tear it to pieces. I am not suggesting that we do tear it to pieces, but I certainly would like to say that there is nothing in it, nothing in it to suggest that the President's advisers have any idea of the significance of the winds of change that have overtaken this country in the course of the recently concluded elections.

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I notice also that with characteristic insensitivity to things, some members of the Congress party ostrich-like might put their heads in the sand when the winds blow over but they seem to have no idea as to what exactly has taken place. I thought of it when I noticed an hon. Member on that side—I do not happen to see him at the moment—talked about “artificial agitations” in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. I notice he also talked about a particular paradise; I am afraid he belongs to that particular paradise very much.

The President has been good enough to express his “distress” over what has been done in his name in regard to Rajasthan. I do not wish to make any comments on that matter, because we had a two day discussion on it but there is no getting away from it that if we have any idea of the decencies and proprieties of politics, particularly democratic politics by which so much is sworn, then what has happened in Rajasthan has stunk and still stinks to high heavens, something of which any Government ought to be ashamed, and it is a great pity that the President could not tell the assembly of legislators that he was revoking the proclamation which in a moment of inauspicious character he was persuaded to sign by his advisers.

The country knows that the Congress, which has been the ruling party for so long, is now what Shri Rajagopalachari once called it a long time ago a leaky boat. We hear things from Hariyana and Pondicherry which show that, quite apart from those who are put out of Congress or who had to leave, now, even a certain kind of people they have sensed that the ship is sinking and they are beginning to run away. Why not, therefore, see the handwriting on the wall? That is the question which the country asks of the Government. But as far as the President's Address as an indicator of Government's ideas is concerned, it gives no satisfaction either to the House or to the country.

The elections have shown what a grand people we have got, and I am glad Shri Masani, whose links with the people unfortunately appear to be rather tenuous, did pay a compliment to our people, who, he said, have won in the elections. No party won in the elections but our people won in the elections.

**Shri Hanumanthaiya:** Truism.

**Shri H. N. Mukerjee:** I do not know how to express our sense of sorrow and shame when we discover how our grand people continue to be treated by those who are charged with the administration and their destinies. Our people at least could have been told that the emergency was entirely, totally and unequivocally revoked. On the contrary, we found a statement made in a very gingerly fashion; the Home Minister came and made a statement. He could not take courage in both hands; it did not require too much courage to collect and yet he could not say categorically, entirely and without equivocation that the emergency is being revoked. Surely our people deserved much more than that for the conduct they showed in the course of the general elections.

Our people have been condemned to suffering of a sort which perhaps we should say good-bye to if we wish to remain in this planet in the 20th century, in the last quarter of the 20th century. In Bihar, UP and elsewhere in our country there is suffering on a scale which beggars description, some details of which can be mentioned. But what interests me is, how is it that the Government of our country does not come forward in the Parliament, at its first convocation, and announce measures on a war footing, so to speak, in order to tackle the question of distress in Bihar, in UP and elsewhere and also to tackle questions relative to the condition of living of our people in all parts of our country. They do not do so. Only this morning we read about the mass exodus of the hungry from Gaya villages. We read about 3.2 million

out of 3.6 million people in Gaya having to be fed with grain supply about which there is no assurance whatsoever. We read about the drinking water scarcity and about the fact of the public health engineering department so far installing about 150 handpumps, when the minimum requirements was 800 handpumps, in a particular area near Jahanabad. This kind of thing could be multiplied. In the rest of the country also the same situation is obtaining and people are suffering and things are not done in time. There is no excuse whatever for the kind of situation which is obtaining in the country. Footling little paper schemes are put forward at a time when the thin line between hunger and anger has broken in Bihar and UP, where the Congress had imagined so far that they had a permanent settlement as the possessors of power.

This is the position to which we are reduced, and the President's Address gives no indication that the Government intends to turn a new leaf, no indication of any kind of humility on the part of the Government in the face of the problems which face our country, no indication of the desire to secure a consensus in this country for the sake of service to our people and the result is prices go sky-rocketing and we hear *ad nauseum* about it. Even today we had some kind of a document placed on the Table of the House in relation to the question of prices. I cannot refer in detail to all that. But this Address does not make one single announcement of something which would go to the heart of the matter and tackle the problems of our country. No steps are announced in order to end monopoly, though the Monopoly Commission has talked about 75 houses in this country having a disproportionately large share in the prosperity of India. We remember the case of 200 families of France in pre-world war II period. It was because those 200 families could operate with impunity that France surrendered to the Fascist invader and all that kind of thing took place. Yet,

in this country 75 business houses run the show and the Government is more or less truckling down to whatever they say. There is then no announcement of a move to nationalise banks and general insurance, import-export trade and that sort of thing.

In a country faced with massive unemployment—at the hustings, during the elections, we were confronted with this problem of unemployment—there is no effort on the part of the Government to say what it is trying to do. There is no ban, which should be put without delay, on retrenchment in the private and public sector. There is no ban even on such a thing as automation, which is an enormity, in LIC, in the oil industry, in Hindustan Lever, in ACC and similar concerns. Automation is a terrible problem even in the most technically advanced countries, and in our country it is a dreadful and dangerous damper to the employment potential of our people, and still nothing is said about it. This Government would have put things differently and the President's speech would have been different if the Congress party had not been alienated from them.

The Prime Minister, after assuming office, made an apparently graceful gesture by offering co-operation to the different State Governments, including those where the opposition parties have come into power. This is a welcome gesture, as far as it goes, but does it go far enough? Is Government ready to work out new formulae, new policies in regard to relations between the Centre and the States? What exactly is to happen in regard to Kerala? We see difficulties in regard to food supply—I shall not go into the details of it—difficulties in regard to a share in the Central revenues which Kerala, as a foreign exchange earner can claim. These difficulties are cropping up.

In regard to West Bengal, the problem of food is cropping up, as it has been cropping up for so long. It has

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to be tackled. West Bengal has apprised the Prime Minister also about the problems of the Calcutta Metropolitan areas and she has been good enough to suggest that she would do something about it. However, I thought, there would be some mention in this document, the President's Address, in regard to the requirements of the Calcutta Metropolitan area which has been neglected for so long with a kind of perversity which is understandable. The Congress, depending upon the rural vote in West Bengal, ignored Calcutta, and Delhi had a peculiar allergy to that part of the country. The result is that the Calcutta metropolitan area is today an eyeshore about which foreign tourists make observations, in regard to which all of us ought to be ashamed and not merely the people who belong to Calcutta.

I do not wish to talk about Calcutta too much, but I wish only to say that Calcutta is a city which is much more than a city. It represents a certain attitude, frequently cynical, sometimes even perverse, but almost as often creative in very unpredictable ways. In view of the importance of Calcutta from different points of view, it should be taken in hand without delay.

Then, there is the question of Madras where the DMK is functioning as the government. They have been very patient and very polite with the Government in Delhi, but I tell the Government in Delhi—I am not their spokesman—as a mere observer of the scene, do not try the patience of the DMK overmuch. They have come to power on the crest of a popular wave of support and they have the closest links with the people. They have touched the core of the Tamil heart by their stress on language and certain other things. Tackle the problem of language to which a passionate reference is made whenever a DMK spokesman has appeared in this House. Do something about it. If you wish to

tackle the problem of language, do not forget that there is a language called Urdu about which there is a demand by a large section of our people that it should have the status of an official language at least in one or two of our States. Nothing at all is being done about it. Let this Government come forward with a proposition regarding the promotion of all the fourteen national languages and let there be no hanky-panky about it. Let there be real consensus in regard to that matter and then perhaps we can go ahead.

I have noticed that the President has given us a target in regard to food sufficiency. He told us that 1972 will be the year by which time everything would be lovely in the garden. I wish to God that this time the prognostication proves to be correct. Ever since the days of Jawaharlal Nehru we have been given dates after dates which have always changed. 1950 was the target date then 1952, then 1956 when Shri S. K. Patil came forward with his idea of PL-480 transaction and then 1962. Of course, the difficulties started then with China and all the rest of it. 1972 is now the date given. I sometimes think that perhaps our people could have a claim that they have a right as human beings, to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, but under this Government's dispensation, we do not have that right; we have the right to unlimited expectation and the Government sets one date after another and then forgets all about it when that year arrives.

When is self-reliance going to take place? In the mean time what has taken place because we are not self-reliant? PL-480 bounty has made us forget our own self-interest and our own self-respect. What has been the result? Today there was a question, starred question No. 36—I made a note of it—about the difference between pre-devaluation and post-devaluation cost of imported wheat which is about Rs. 209 per metric tonne, which means for a million tonnes Rs. 20.9 crores would be the difference between pre-devaluation and the post-devaluation prices. This is the kind of strait to

which we have been reduced. No wonder when yesterday the Finance Minister was making his speech he was saying not in so many words but in effect that we are paying the wages of devaluation. The wages of economic sin is death, death of our economy. Unless the effects of devaluation are properly checked, the death of our economy will not be far in coming and it is coming because this country's Government is bowing down to the dictates of neo-imperialism. I am very glad the word neo-imperialism was mentioned by a Congress Member here today. Neo-imperialist influences are operating all over the country. We are truckling down to neo-imperialism everywhere.

Yesterday there were questions in regard to our country's attitude about Vietnam. Generally what happens? Mum is the word. This Government keeps quiet—chup, silent does not express itself. I say, we need not be too voluble in international affairs but let us not forget that there was a time when we did not have much success at home but we had one solace that after all India had a luminous reputation in the world outside, while today our name in Africa, in Asian countries and in Latin America, wherever neo-imperialism works, is mud, and that is because of our attitude over such issues as Vietnam.

In Vietnam the utterest, atrocity takes place. A laboratory of death is being operated by the imperialists there. They are spending more than the gross national product of this country in fighting against North Vietnam. The Americans are spending 21 billion dollars every year for their fighting in Vietnam, which is larger in amount than the total gross national product of our country. They are fighting with napalm bombs, fragmentation bombs, poison gases and God knows what other enormity. Complaints in regard to that are reaching India as the Chairman of the International Commission for Vietnam and that part of the world, but of course we do nothing about it.

2763 (A) LSD—7.

Yesterday, answering a question, Shri Chagla said, "We do not want to trade with North Vietnam because whatever we send might go over to China." Aha! But you have trade with South Vietnam all right. I have got a question here. You have got developing trade with South Vietnam and are sending electrical machinery, machinery of all sorts, transport trucks of every description which, you know, are going into the hands of the Americans operating in that part of the world. We have nothing of a conscience as far as sending things to South Vietnam is concerned, while that country is completely under the thumb of the American imperialists. But when we wish to send medicines to North Vietnam, you say that it will go to China. We have a Consulate General for North Vietnam as well as for South Vietnam. I do not say, break off trade relations with South Vietnam; I say, do have commercial relations if you will, not only with South Vietnam but also with North Vietnam. That, of course, they do not do and cannot do.

Answering questions yesterday Shri Chagla said, "We will find out about the CIA". Like a vice it has got a grip of our life. Do they not know what they were trying to do in the last elections? Do we not know that the CIA in all parts of the world make and unmake governments in different continents, that they have a hand in whatever coup d'état and putsch takes place, in Indonesia or Ghana or whatever other country it might be? We know all that. But, of course, Shri Chagla, impeccably polite as he is—he needs to be an impeccably polite person as our Foreign Minister; I am happy about it—swallows cock-and-bull stories. When he asked the American Embassy about a report in the *New York Times* about a certain person having been a CIA agent, the American Ambassador, sent out, according to the old proverb, in order to lie for his country, naturally says that nobody in his staff is a CIA agent. He swallows the stuff and



[Shri H. N. Mukerjee.]

repeats it here. That kind of thing goes on.

What happened this morning? We were told about the Svetlana episode, a foreign national, a guest of a very important member of the Cabinet, very near to the Prime Minister according to the press reports which circulate largely. This lady, a guest of a very close friend and colleague of the Prime Minister, who was staying with this person a high-up in Government, was whisked away. Shri Barua used that word and Shri Chagla resented it. She goes one day to the American Embassy, the same day the thing is "visa"ed she gets whatever visas and other travel documents you require from that quarter and she gets the money. She had no money at all. She gets the money and heaven knows what has happened. From the U.S. Embassy she is taken away to Palam; she stays there for an hour, according to Shri Chagla; she goes away, reaches Rome and then we are told that something has happened. This kind of thing takes place. Do I take it that any of us going to the embassy of a particular country is very likely to be taken away in that kind of manner, possibly supplied with money and the good things of life—wined and dined and given money too, and taken away somewhere? This kind of thing goes on and we do not say a word about it.

I asked a question yesterday about the handbook mentioning 76 or so attaches of the U.S. Embassy. There are Attaches in regard to geography, Attaches for minerals, Attaches for public affairs, Attaches for everything, Attaches from A to Z. What is the point of all this? Are we going to have an investigation? Are we going to find out in regard to PL-480 transactions, money circulated in this country or in the possession of foreigners, by the American Embassy? Let us find out all the facts. Let the Government come forward and tell us the details. These are matters

which are very important and there is no hint or an idea as to what the Government is trying to do in regard to these things so far as the President's Address is concerned.

I shall refer only to one other matter and that is in relation to the President's reference to our relationship with Pakistan and with China. It is a good thing that the President has asked for better relations between ourselves and our neighbours. But I do not quite like it when Mr. Chagla comes forward and says, as he did yesterday, that the Tashkent Declaration is something which we want to implement and all that kind of thing but there is lack of response from Pakistan. Of course, there is lack of response from Pakistan. If there is lack of response from Pakistan Government, being what it is, what else can we expect from Pakistan, but let there not be lack of effort on our part to enlist response from Pakistan. Here is an instance. You know, Sir, the power of language over the people's emotions. In East Pakistan and West Bengal, we speak the same language. The other day, in Calcutta, my friend Shri Ashok Sen must have been aware of it, there was a conference, where litterateurs from either part of Bengal were to come together, where the Pakistanis could not come because they had their own difficulties and they were not permitted by their own Government to come. I know it for a fact because we get letters from eminent writers and artists in Pakistan who associate themselves with all these efforts for mutual friendliness and brotherliness. On usual lines we can do a lot. But the Government, generally, keeps quiet and never takes the initiative. It has got a bureaucratic and wooden mentality and they will never think of anything except the kind of change which the electorates have brought about in so far as the recent events are concerned. Therefore, I suggest that in regard to Pakistan, we should try to take some initiative about having better relations.



It is perhaps more significant that the President has given expression to our desire to live in peace with our neighbour, the neighbour whose name sometimes causes peculiar reactions in many of our minds, the People's Republic of China. What is necessary now is to seriously consider what concrete initiative India can take to break the present stalemate. After all, the problems between our two countries will have to be solved one day. Let nobody expect me to give any concrete suggestions on the basis of which everything could be settled to everybody's satisfaction. That is not my job. My job is to impress upon the Government and the people of my country that we have a responsibility in this matter because our having to be in a posture of military preparedness against Pakistan and China has caused a kind of peculiar complication in our economic life. If we can possibly bring about, as we should on any human considerations, friendship between ourselves and our neighbour country, even though as hostile as China and to a certain extent Pakistan, then something worthwhile is to be done in the interests of the people and in the interests of the world at large. Since the problems between ourselves and the neighbour countries will have to be solved one day, let us try to move as quickly as possible in that direction. I am very conscious that the policies of the Government of China have been very perverse; I just cannot understand or appreciate so many things that they are doing at home as well as in relation to their foreign policy. I know it very well that the policies of the Government of China are such that they are enabling even the American imperialists to continue that kind of position of power as far as our part of the world is concerned. Therefore, I have no hesitation in saying that we are entirely against so many of the things which are being done by the Government of the People's Republic of China.

I remember, in regard to Colombo proposals, at one time, we did not

take a negative attitude. We took a positive attitude. Perhaps, it is no good merely to say that we want to revive the Colombo proposals. I am not suggesting that. But it is for the Government to find out some ways and means by which a settlement could be arrived at and for that purpose we could mobilise the assistance of certain foreign countries, like Rumania or Tanzania, which have very friendly relations with China. We can sound those countries and we can try to do something. We can offer, even though China might repel the offer and might possibly use some expressions of abuse in regard to us—we need not mind it—a no-war pact to China. We have to appeal to the people of different countries in the world, especially in the countries of Afro-Asia and Latin America, that we have not jumped on to the American band-wagon. That is the charge against our foreign policy in all the countries of the developing world. We have to show that we are making all possible efforts every reasonable effort, in conformity with our national self-respect, to get a solution of the problems in regard to the borders of our countries.

It is a good thing that with Burma, we have had very satisfactory settlement of our borders. There is no reason why, given the goodwill and given also the time, we cannot do something here. I cannot expect very quick results. But let us not appear to be just as stalling as China is in the way of our settlement. May be, we are more polite; we do not talk the kind of language which China does even in diplomatic communiques. But being polite does not help if we just stall settlement and we also keep our faces away from any kind of conversation. Let us try to begin the conversation with Pakistan and China and, on that basis, let us try to secure some initiative. It is the Government's duty and responsibility to do something in this regard.

I know, perhaps, I am asking for something which is not in the power of the Government to give. Because

[Shri H. N. Mukarjee]

this Government is so lacking in courage, so lacking in grit, so lacking in character and so lacking in the sense of communion with our own people with whose votes however, they have been able to come back to power. I have no expectations. But even so, since we are discussing the President's Address, I may point out lacunae in it, I can make some positive suggestions for whatever they are worth, if not for the Government, at least for the House and for the country.

**श्रीमती तारकेश्वरी सिन्हा :** अध्यक्ष महोदय राष्ट्रपति के संभाषण के बारे में स्पष्ट है . . . . (व्यवधान)

**Shri Nambiar:** Perhaps, she it not effective in English.

**श्रीमती तारकेश्वरी सिन्हा :** नहीं, मैं तो बिल्कुल ही अफेक्टिव नहीं हूँ। माननीय सदस्य के ही जिम्मे पड़ा है अफेक्टिव होना।

**श्री बभु लिनये (मुंगेर) :** भ्रष्टा कर रही हो हिन्दी में ही बोली।

**श्रीमती तारकेश्वरी सिन्हा :** सुन लीजिये उन की बात। अपने ही सदस्यों की बात सुन लें। मुझको न टोकें।

अध्यक्ष महोदय, राष्ट्रपति के संभाषण के बारे में जो भाषण हुए हैं सुबह से मैं उन को सुन रही हूँ। आज इस चुनाव के बाद हम इस लोक-सभा में जिस तरह से आये हैं, चाहे वह कांग्रेस पार्टी के सदस्य हों या विरोधी दल के सदस्य हों, हमारे अन्दर यह जागरूकता होनी चाहिए थी कि किस परिवर्तन के आधार पर हम अपने को चलायेंगे। बहुत कुछ कहा गया। आंकड़ों के जरिये से श्री मसानी के द्वारा। और लोगों ने भी उसकी पुष्टि की कि हम चुनाव जीते नहीं हम चुनाव हार गये हैं। आंकड़ों के बारे में जब श्री मसानी ऐसा कहते हैं तो मुझे सिर्फ

तरस ही उन पर नहीं आता बल्कि हँसी आती है। हँसी इसलिए आती है कि वह आंकड़ों को समझते हैं एक ऐसा निचोड़, एक ऐसी चीज, एक ऐसा रबड़ का पुतला कि जिस तरह चाहे उस को तोड़ मोड़ दें। मैं ने श्री मसानी को देखा है, बराबर इस लोक-सभा में भाषण देते हुए। जब उन्हें जबरन होती है, उन आंकड़ों की, जब वह समझते हैं कि उन के भाषण करने में उन आंकड़ों से फायदा होगा तो वह उन आंकड़ों की पुष्टि करते हैं। जब वह महसूस करते हैं कि उन को उन आंकड़ों से नुकसान होता है तो वह उस की पुष्टि नहीं करते। चुनाव के बारे में संविधान ने एक तरीका बनाया, एक नियम बनाया। उस नियम की मान्यता अगर कांग्रेस पार्टी के सदस्यों के लिए है तो विरोधी दल के सदस्यों के लिए भी उतनी ही है। श्री मसानी ने यह नहीं बतलाया कि चुनाव का दूसरा इस्तेमाल भ्रष्टाचार और क्या हो सकता था? सिर्फ इतना ही कहा कि जो कांग्रेस पार्टी के सदस्य जीतकर आये हैं वह कम वोट से जीत कर आये हैं क्योंकि अगर वह सारे विरोधी दल के वोटों को जोड़ लें तो उन का बहुमत हो जाता है। मैं यह कैसे मान लूँ सभापति महोदय। 15 वर्षों से हम लोगों ने भी चुनाव लड़ा है कभी अधिक वोट मिले और कभी सामूहिक तरीके से कम वोट मिले परन्तु इस से यह निष्कर्ष नहीं निकलता कि सामूहिक रूप से जो वोट विरोधी दल को मिले हैं वे इस लिये मिले हैं कि वे विरोधी दल को मिले हैं। बल्कि उन में से बहुत से वोट व्यक्तिगत आधार पर गये हैं। अगर 10 उम्मीदवार बचे हो जाते हैं तो हो सकता है कि वे 10 उम्मीदवार उन वोटों को बांट लें और उन में से अधिक वाक्ता बन कर आ जाता है। लेकिन अगर 10 में से चार रह जाते हैं तो हो सकता है कि उन वोटों को कांग्रेस उम्मीदवार को आसानी से प्राप्त करने में सुविधा होती। इसलिये हमेशा ये आंकड़े नहीं दिखाये जा सकते कि

जो बोट गैर-कांग्रेसी को मरे हैं वे हमेशा के लिये गैर-कांग्रेसी रहे हैं। इस लिये मैं समझती हूँ कि मसानी जैसे व्यक्ति के लिये इस तरह से भाँकड़े की उधेड़तन में पड़ना अच्छा नहीं लगता। उन्होंने हमें चुनाव का कोई दूसरा तरीका नहीं बताया और न उनकी हैसियत है कि दूसरा तरीका बतायें। जो तरीका संविधान में दिया गया है, जिसको इलेक्शन कमीशन ने अपनाया हुआ है, वही सब से अच्छा तरीका है और उसी के आधार पर अगर कांग्रेस के लोगों को कम मत मिले हैं तो बहुत से विरोधी दल के लोग उनकी पार्टियों को भी अधिकांश वोट नहीं मिले। इस लिये यह कहना कि कांग्रेस पार्टी को कम वोट मिले, चूँकि भाँकड़े सम्मिलित तरीके से बताते हैं—कम हैं, लेकिन जितने विरोधी दल के लोग हैं, उन को भी कम वोट मिले हैं, इस लिये उन का इस तरह से बताना कुछ अच्छा नहीं मालूम पड़ता।

16 hrs.

दूसरी बात श्री मसानी श्री हीरेन मुखर्जी और डी० एम० के० के जो सदस्य बोल रहे थे, उन्होंने कही। दुर्भाग्य यह है कि मैं जिस भाषा में बोल रही हूँ वह वे नहीं समझेंगे फिर मैं उन के दोस्तों से कहती हूँ जो तामिल भी जानते हैं और मेरी भाषा भी शायद समझते हैं। सभापति महोदय पांच साल यहां रहने के बाद तो शायद कुछ कुछ मेरी जवान को आप भी समझ जायेंगे। हम लोगों की स्थिति यह है कि अपनेपन की बातें करते हैं अपनी भाषा में करें तो वह भी अच्छरता है। कास आप बोड़ी सी उर्दू समझते बहुत अच्छी जुबान है चाहे आप की, जुबान हो चाहे वह किसी की जुबान हो हर जुबान अच्छी होती है, जुबानें कोई मऊरत और लड़ाई करने के लिये नहीं बनाई गईं, बावनी इंसारों से भी मऊरत कर सकते थे, जुबानों की जऊरत इस लिये पड़ी कि हम महज्जत और प्यार से रह सकें हम एक दूसरे से स्नह का आदान-प्रदान कर सकें, मऊरत का आदान प्रदान न करें।

सभापति महोदय उर्दू के एक शेर को आपके सामने रखना चाहती हूँ, शायद आप पर भी वह लागू हो—

यारब न तो समझें हैं, न समझें मेरी बात  
दे और दिल उनको जो न दे मुझको जुबां और।

सभापति महोदय, आपकी मुस्कराहट ने बतला दिया कि कम से कम आप ने मेरे शेर को समझा है। मैं यही अपने डी० एम० के० के सदस्य को कहना चाहती हूँ कि आपको इस तरह का कोई शक नहीं होना चाहिये कि जुबान के आधार पर हम आपके ऊपर कोई साम्राज्य करना चाहते हैं। हिन्दी जुबान हमारी इस लिये रही कि हम हिन्दी बोलते हैं, परन्तु यह आप ने कैसे समझ लिया कि हिन्दी साम्राज्यवाद लादना चाहती है—यह आप ने कैसे समझा।

श्री इरहाक सन्न ली (भमरोहा) :  
शेर उर्दू का था।

श्रीमती तारकेश्वरी सिन्हा : उर्दू हमारी जुबान है।

श्री इरहाक सन्न ली : तो ठीक है, उस पर भमलदरामद कीजिये।

श्रीमती तारकेश्वरी सिन्हा : उर्दू जुबान हमारी है, इस के लिये माननीय सदस्य से मुझे सर्टिफिकेट लेने की जरूरत नहीं है।

श्री रमधीर सिंह : आप से ज्यादा जानती हैं।

श्रीमती तारकेश्वरी सिन्हा : सभापति महोदय, मैं यह कहना चाहती थी कि अगर किसी बात का शक हो जाता है, तो शक ऐसी चीज है कि खरा सी बात से बतंगड़ बन जाता है। यह बात, आपने गलत समझी है कि हम हिन्दी का साम्राज्यवाद चलाना चाहते हैं। हिन्दी इस लिये लाना चाहते हैं कि उनकी भाषा और

[श्री मती तारकेश्वरी सिन्हा]

18.04 hrs.

[SRI P. K. DEO in the Chair]

हिन्दी साथ साथ प्रस्फुटित हों। जब हिन्दी और उनकी भाषा आयेगी, तभी अंग्रेजी जायेगी। अंग्रेजी को न वह अपनी भाषा मानते हैं, न हम मानते हैं, अंग्रेजी को हिन्दुस्तान का कोई नागरिक अपनी भाषा नहीं मानता। आज उन के यहां के 95 प्रतिशत आदमी, हमारे यहां के 95 प्रतिशत आदमी और दूसरे राज्यों के 95 प्रतिशत आदमी अंग्रेजी को नहीं समझते, इस लिये 95 प्रतिशत आदमियों का क्या कोई हक नहीं है, अपनी जुबान बोलने का।

सभापति महोदय, आपके द्वारा मैं उन से पूछना चाहती हूं कि क्या 95 प्रतिशत लोग गुंगे हैं और पांच प्रतिशत अंग्रेजी घड़ले से बोलें। यह हमारे देश की भाषा नहीं है, हमारे देश की जुबान नहीं है, हमारे देश की शिक्षा और संस्कृति नहीं है, हम अंग्रेजी के लिये कैसे बकालत कर सकते हैं, हम अपनी भाषा के लिये ही बकालत करेंगे।

उन्होंने कहा कि हम तामिल नहीं सीखते हैं, हम को मौका मिलेगा, हम अवश्य सीखेंगे। मैं कहना चाहती हूं कि इसी लिये कांग्रेस वकिंग कमेटी ने जब तीन भाषाओं के फार्मूले को माना तो हम ने समझा कि एक अच्छा रास्ता निकला है . . .

**Shri V. Krishnamoorthi:** The Congress has been administering the country for the past 18 years without Hindi as the official language. Is it not possible for the Government to continue the administration with English as the sole official language? Let the hon. Member, reply to this.

**श्रीमती तारकेश्वरी सिन्हा :** सभापति महोदय, मैं यह समझती हूं कि जो चीज हम 15 वर्षों से मजबूरी से करते आये हैं, क्या उसको ही करते चले जायें। जीवन का नाम मजबूरी नहीं होना चाहिये, सभापति महोदय।

जीवन मजबूरी नहीं है, जीवन जागृति है, प्रगति है और प्रगति के रास्ते पर अंग्रेजी बाधक है, उनके रास्ते में नहीं आ सकती है—इस लिये कि वे अंग्रेजी जानते हैं। परन्तु उन लोगों की बात करें जो अंग्रेजी नहीं जानते हैं, क्या वह यह समझते हैं कि उन्होंने जिन से वोट मांगे हैं, वे सब अंग्रेजी के हिमायती हैं, वे सब अंग्रेजी जानते हैं ?

सभापति महोदय, हमारी लड़ाई को समझने की कोशिश करें। हमारी लड़ाई उनकी भाषा से नहीं है, उनकी भाषा हमारी सिर-आंच है। श्री रवीन्द्र नाथ टैगोर ने कहा था कि भाषा हमारी संस्कृति की निशानी है, हिन्दुस्तान की सारी संस्कृति एक गुलदस्ता है, फूलों का गुच्छा है और भाषायें उनकी निशानी हैं, उनकी यादगार हैं, उनकी जागृति का एक केन्द्र हैं, एक बिन्दु हैं और इसी लिये उनकी भाषा को अपनी भाषा से किसी तरह से भी हम निम्न नहीं समझते। हिन्दी राज्य-भाषा इस लिये मानी गई कि थोड़ी सी सुविधा होती थी। मैं हमेशा हिन्दी बोलती हूं, परन्तु मैं हमेशा हिन्दी वालों से कहती हूं कि हिन्दी को पेड़ की तरह हिन्दी वालों को अपनाना होगा, जिस तरह पेड़ में बहुत से फल लग जाते हैं तो उस पेड़ को झुक जाना पड़ता है . . .

**Shri Jyotirmoy Basu (Daimond Harbour):** May I ask one question, Mr. Chairman.

**Mr. Chairman:** I do not think that the hon. Member should interrupt now.

**श्रीमती तारकेश्वरी सिन्हा :** हमारे जैसे हिन्दी जानने वालों को, सभापति महोदय, उन में विश्वास पैदा करने की कोशिश करनी होगी झुक कर के, उन से समवेदना पा कर, उन के हृदय में हम को यह भावना पैदा करनी है, विश्वास पैदा करना है—क्या कंक विल है, जुबान उनकी नहीं है, नहीं सो उनकी जुबान में बोल कर उनको इस बात को समझाती तो ज्यादा अच्छा होता।

सभापति महोदय, अगर पांच साल हम वहां रहें तो मैं इस बात का दावा कर सकती हूँ कि उनकी भाषा में से किसी एक भाषा को हम जरूर सीखेंगे, भाषा सीखने में दिक्कत नहीं होती है, उस को केवल अपनाने की बात है। हम उन की भाषा को जिस तरह से अपनाने के लिये तैयार हैं, काश, वह भी हमारी भाषा को उसी तरह से अपनाते। अपनेपन की बात जहां पैदा होगी, वहां भाषा टकावट नहीं हो सकती। मैं उन के धन्दर इस बात के शक को खत्म करना चाहती हूँ, उनको यह विश्वास दिलाना चाहती हूँ कि हिन्दी बोलने वाले हिन्दी का साम्राज्यवाद नहीं लाना चाहते। इन्हीं शब्दों के साथ मैं समझती हूँ कि उन से हमें सहयोग मिलेगा और जो कुछ भी संविधान में, जो कुछ भी विधेयक में दिया गया है, जो कुछ भी जवाहरलाल जी की अभिव्यक्ति है, उनकी मान्यता हम भी उन की देंगे और उसी तरह से वे भी हम को देंगे।

तीसरी बात, सभापति महोदय, आर्थिक संतुलन की है। बहुत से सदस्यों ने भाषण दिये, परन्तु मुझे ऐसा मालूम नहीं होता है कि जो आर्थिक संघर्ष आज हमारे बीच में हैं, उसके प्रति जागरूकता इन में है। श्री मसानी ने इस बात पर तवज्जह जरूर दिलाई कि आर्थिक परिस्थितियां बड़ी विषम हो गई हैं, परन्तु उसकी सारी जिम्मेदारी उन्होंने सरकार पर, कांग्रेस पार्टी पर डाल दी है। कोई ऐसा मुल्क नहीं—बता दीजिये—जिसकी आबादी 50 करोड़ से ज्यादा हो और वह बिना कशमकश के अपनी सारी मंजिलें तय कर लेता है। मन्जिलें, इतनी आसान नहीं हैं जो इतनी जल्दी तय हो सकें। जो ऐसा समझते हैं कि जाबू की छड़ी की तरह सब मन्जिलें तय हो जायेंगी, वे मैं समझती हूँ कि दुनिया में नहीं, बल्कि ज्वाबों की दुनिया में रहते हैं.....

श्री बलराज मधोक : 20 साल हो गये हैं।

जीवन्ती तारकेश्वरी सिन्हा : 20 साल भी क्या हैं किसी आर्थिक जीवन में, जिसकी आबादी 50 करोड़ है। श्री बलराज मधोक बहुत पड़े लिखे हैं, इस लिये मैं उन से कहना चाहती हूँ कि 15 वर्ष का अगर इन का लड़का होगा तो वह भी पूरा बालिव नहीं बना होगा। एक लड़के की परवरिश करने की वह गारन्टी नहीं दे सकते और 20 साल का लड़का अगर हो जाय, तो यह जिम्मेदारी नहीं ले सकते कि वह लड़का लायक बन गया है। तो इस 50 करोड़ के देश के लिये, 50 करोड़ बच्चों की सरकार के लिये गुस्सा नहीं तरस भ्राना चाहिये, इस लिये तरस भ्राना चाहिये कि जिसको जिम्मेदारी सम्भालनी होती है वही इस बात का ग्रहसास कर सकता है कि कैसे जिम्मेदारी सम्भाली जाय और जिस सरकार को ऐसी आर्थिक स्थिति का सामना करना पड़ता है

सभापति महोदय, अगर इजाजत हो तो मैं थोड़ा सा और निवेदन करना चाहती थी। आर्थिक स्थिति आज देश में विषम है। मैं भी एक अर्थ शास्त्र की विद्यार्थी हूँ। मैं नहीं जानती कि विरोधी दलों के सदस्यों के पास क्या नुस्खा है जिसे आजमा कर वह आर्थिक संतुलन को कायम रखना चाहते हैं? एक तरफ हमारी गरीबी है दूसरी तरफ हमारी बढ़ती हुई मांगें हैं। उन मांगों के बीच में और गरीबी के बीच में बराबर कशमकश रहती है। एक तरफ वह मांगें हैं दूसरी तरफ यह सरकार है जिसके पास पूंजी की कमी है। दोनों में हमेशा कशमकश होती है, लेकिन यह कशमकश उन को नहीं बल्कि जो हम लोग इधर बैठे हैं उन को करनी पड़ती है। इस बात का सबूत खाली हम लोगों से ही आप को नहीं मिलेगा अपितु जहां जहां आप विरोधी लोगों की सरकारें बनी हैं वहां के मुख्य मंत्रियों से इसका सबूत मिल जायेगा। केरल के मुख्य मंत्री ने कहा कि केरल की आर्थिक स्थिति बड़ी विषम है। उन के पास भी सहज उपाय नहीं हैं। बिहार के मुख्य मंत्री ने भी कहा है कि आर्थिक स्थिति बड़ी विषम है। वहां पर बहुत सुझाव

### [श्रीमती तारकेश्वरी सिन्हा]

हैं और उस की वजह से भ्रष्ट की बड़ी कमी हो गई है. ....

एक माननीय सदस्य : लेकिन गैर-कांग्रेसी हुकूमत के निर्माण के पश्चात् भ्रष्ट के दाम बहा पर गिरे हैं।

श्रीमती तारकेश्वरी सिन्हा : मैं भी अक्सर पढ़ती हूँ और माननीय सदस्य को मालूम हो जाना चाहिए कि इस सम्बन्ध में जो उन का ज्ञान है वह पन्द्रह दिन पुराना है। जिस दिन कांग्रेस की सरकार गई यह ठीक है कि जब बिरोधी दलों की सरकार आई थी, मैं उस दिन पटना में थी, इस में कोई शक नहीं और चूँकि मैं उस दिन पटना में थी और एक दिन के बारे में मैं कह सकती हूँ कि जब कि गैर कांग्रेसी सरकार बनी तो उस दिन पाँच रुपये गल्ले के दाम कम हो गये लेकिन 48 घंटे के बाद फिर गल्ले के दाम बढ़ गये। . . . (ध्वजवाज) मेरे पास प्रमाणित आकड़ सुलभ है इस वास्ते इस बारे में माननीय सदस्य बहस में न पड़े ..

श्री स० बी० बनर्जी (कानपुर) जिस दिन यहाँ दिल्ली में केन्द्र में गैर कांग्रेसी सरकार बन जायगी सब ठीक हो जायगा।

एक माननीय सदस्य . वह भ्रष्ट जन्म में बनेगी।

श्रीमती तारकेश्वरी सिन्हा .

"जब हम न होंगे क्या रहे महफिल किसे देख कर आप शरमाइयेगा ?"

यह सब नाच नखरे इसलिए चलते हैं कि हम यहाँ बैठे हैं और शासन कर रहे हैं। यह सब नाच नखरे सभापति महोदय खत्म हो जायेंगे, मुंह पर पपड़ी पड़ जायेगी अगर सरकार इन के हाथ में चली जायगी . . . (ध्वजवाज)

सभापति महोदय, आप की आज्ञा के मैं बहुत संक्षेप में कह कर समाप्त करूंगी। मुझे इस बात की बड़ी खुशी हुई कि चार बातों की तरफ राष्ट्रपति ने संकेत किया है

जिसमें से एक बात है खाद समस्या का समाधान करना। मैं अभी बिहार में खुनाब के दौरान थी। वहाँ पर मैं ने देखा कि पानी की बहुत सख्त कमी है। हम को खाद नहीं चाहिए हम को बीज नहीं चाहिए परन्तु चप्पा चप्पा जमीन के लिए पानी चाहिए। सरकार एक ऐसा कमिशन बनाये. . . .

श्री रामसेवक बाबब (बाराबंकी) : इस सरकार का पानी मर गया।

श्रीमती तारकेश्वरी सिन्हा : जो पानी की कुर्र नहीं करते हैं उन को क्या पता कि पानी ज़िदा है या नहीं? उन को साब ही मैं यह भी समझा दूँ कि उन्होंने अभी हिन्दी भाषा का चलत इस्तेमाल किया है। पानी मरता नहीं गिरता है।

यह आवश्यक चीज़ है कि चप्पे-चप्पे जमीन में पानी का इंतजाम करना चाहिए। भ्रष्टों पाँच वर्षों में सरकार इस बात की घोषणा करे कि चप्पा-चप्पा जमीन की बाहे नहर से, कुओ से या ट्यूबवैल्स से सिंचाई का इंतजाम करके रहेगी। यह घोषणा यह प्रतिज्ञा सरकार को करनी चाहिए।

जहाँ तक बीज और खाद का सवाल है तो देहातो में अभी जब हम लोग जाते हैं तो देखते होंगे कि अगर सही तरीके से खाद का इस्तेमाल किया जाय तो बहुत सी खाद बेकार पड़ी हुई होती है जिसका कि हम इस्तेमाल कर सकते हैं। गावों में जब हम लोग जाते हैं और सबको पर चलते हैं तो घुटनों सड़ी हुई कीचड़ में से होकर चलते हैं। अगर उस को हम काम में ले लें और उसे बेत में डालने की कोशिश करें ऐसा इंतजाम करें तो बड़ी अच्छी खाद तैयार हो सकती है। उसके बेत से जाने से बहुत लाभ पड़ूँगे। लेकिन जितना हमारे वहाँ के किसान खाद और बीज के लिए परेशान नहीं थे, उतना पानी की कमी से परेशान थे, सुखाड़ की समस्या को लेकर गाँवों में किसान बेचैन थे, परेशान थे, और वह चाहते थे कि हमें पानी दे दिया जाय। अगर उन को अभी

मिल जाता तो वह कहते थे कि हम नगीना और सखबून बैराइटी का धान पैदा कर लेंगे। सरकार ने उनको जहां पानी मुहैया करने के लिए सबज्जह दी है वहां किसानों ने नगीना और सखबून बैराइटी का धान पैदा भी किया है लेकिन अक़रत इस बात की है कि चार पांच सालों के अन्दर चप्पा चप्पा ज़मीन में वह पानी सुलभ करने का इंतज़ाम करे और साथ ही साथ योजना कमिशन की रूपरेखा में भी परिवर्तन करे जिसका कि राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण में जिक्र किया गया है।

सभापति महोदय मैं आप के ही मन की बात कह कर ख़त्म कर रही हूँ। आप के राज्य में विरोधी दल की सरकार कायम हुई है। अब मीज़ूदा बदले हुए हालात में योजना कमिशन की रूपरेखा फ़ाइनेंस कमिशन की होनी चाहिए। फ़ाइनेंस कमिशन और योजना कमिशन को मिला कर अगर एक व्यवस्था हम कायम कर सकें तो बहुत अच्छा होगा। मैं यह बात इसलिए कह रही हूँ ताकि योजना कमिशन के निर्णय पर विरोधी दलों की सरकारों को विश्वास हो और योजना कमिशन जो निर्णय दे वही निर्णय माना जाय। योजना कमिशन की कैसे व्यवस्था की जायगी इस के लिए हम को विरोधी दलों की जो सरकारें बनी हैं उन की राय से हम को काम करना चाहिए और उन को यहां बुला कर हम इस के बारे में विचार करें कि योजना कमिशन की रूपरेखा क्या होगी।

दूसरी बात आर्थिक स्थिति के बारे में है। जहां पर विरोधी दलों की सरकारें कायम हो गई हैं जैसे केरल के मुख्य मंत्री ने सबसिडी की बात कही। इसी तरह बिहार की सरकार ने बुझाड़ के लिए सबसिडी की मांग की और केन्द्र से 6 करोड़ रुपये की मांग की। बंगाल की सरकार ने भी मांग की है। अब केन्द्रीय वित्त मंत्री ने कल जो बजट पेश किया है उस में 350 करोड़ रुपये का डीफ़िसिट दिखाया गया है और जिनको इस बारे में थोड़ा सा भी ख़ुश हुआ वे ज़ल्दी जाति जानते होंगे कि

जहां जहां डीफ़िसिट है वहां के उत्तरदायी व्यक्तियों को रात रात भर नींद तक नहीं आती होगी। मैं बख़ूबी जानती हूँ कि हमारे वित्त मंत्री महोदय को इस भारी बाटे के कारण नींद न आती होगी। मेरे यह माननीय सदस्य शायद इस बात का धंधावा नहीं लगा पा रहे हैं कि देश का आर्थिक संगठन कितनी विषमता में फंस गया है? इसलिए मैं सभापति महोदय आप के द्वारा कहना चाहूंगी कि जहां पर विरोधी दलों की सरकारें हैं उन के प्रतिनिधियों को यहां बुला कर वित्त मंत्री महोदय उन से आर्थिक अनुशासन के सम्बन्ध में बात चीत करें जिसे कि अंग्रेज़ी में फ़ाइनेंस डिस्प्लिन कहा जाता है क्योंकि उस के बिना इस समस्या का समाधान नहीं मिल सकेगा।

**Shri Muhammed S. Padanatha** (Laccadive, Minicoy and Aminidivi Islands): At the outset, I desire to thank the Government for having introduced the system of electing a Member from the Laccadives to the Lok Sabha instead of nomination as before. I thank Government for this because now there is a real representative from the Laccadives in this House to ventilate the problems of the people.

In this connection, I should like to point out something about the elections. The peaceful manner in which even the womenfolk went to the polling booths in large numbers is indicative of the fact that the people of the Laccadives have attained sufficient maturity in exercising adult franchise and are aware of their other rights which their most fortunately placed brethren in the mainland have been enjoying.

I would also like to point out that no political party in India had put up any candidate in the Laccadive Islands. Perhaps they thought that the people of the Laccadives were not sufficiently matured in political consciousness and, therefore, they did not want to introduce politics there.

I should say that the result of the elections has shown remarkable pro-

[Shri Muhammed S. Padanatha]

gress which no other constituency in India can boast of. It is my constituency in the whole of India which can claim of the least number of invalid votes, namely 90.

At present the people of Laccadive are not enjoying same amount of freedom, civilisation, culture and scientific advancement as their brethren in the rest of India. During the Third Five Year Plan, the Government of India were kind enough to allocate to us rupees one crore for the advancement of this under-developed area. Now we can see that there are four high schools. Sometime back sailing vessels were plying. Now we can see two steamers running from the mainland to the Islands. The health conditions are being improved.

I should say one thing here. Most of the members of this august body may not be knowing that though I am elected under the provisions of our Constitution, the people who I represent in this august body are governed by a regulation known as the Laccadive, Minicoy Regulation of 1912 which was framed by the Britishers. I should emphatically say that it is disgraceful to our democracy that a part of our country should still be governed by a piece of regulation framed by the Britishers. The provisions of this Regulation are absolutely inconsistent with, and violative of, our Constitution.

To take an illustration, let us look at section 18. It says that any person who wants to engage a lawyer must get the permission of the Collector. This is totally violative of article 22 of our Constitution. I could mention some other sections which are similarly repugnant to our accepted concepts. But it is ridiculous to state them here.

My area is the only part of the country where panchayati raj has not been brought into being. Though I am elected from that area to this supreme law-making body of the country, it is still without panchayati raj. I would appeal to the Govern-

ment to bring about these basic reforms and create a sense of political consciousness and participation among my people. There should be an advisory council consisting of members from each island chosen by the elective method to advise the administrator. The introduction of the panchayat system in my area would bring about this sense of participation of the people in their own affairs.

In conclusion, I thank the Government of India for having spent a handsome amount to uplift this backward area.

श्री मणिभइ जे० पटेल (दमोह) :

सभापति महोदय, क्या हम लोगों को मालूम हो सकता है कि जिन हम लोगों ने अपने नाम दिये हैं उनके नाम लिस्ट में हैं या नहीं ?

Mr. Chairman: You speak to your whip.

Shri Manibhai J. Patel: Twice I have done it.

श्री राम सेवक बाबू : सभापति महोदय, अभी हाल में इस देश में ग्राम निर्वाचन हुआ है, और उसके परिणामस्वरूप कौरव दल कमजोर हुआ है लेकिन खरम नहीं। वह मर जाता लेकिन जो बचा हुआ है वह कितने पाप करने के बाद बचा है, इसको मैं रखना चाहूंगा क्योंकि राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण में चुनाव में जितनी अनिमिततायें बरती गई हैं, जितने पाप हुए हैं, उनका कहीं भी जिक्र नहीं है।

सबसे पहला पाप तो मैं यह बतलाना चाहता हूँ, और चुनाव आयोग की नजर इस तरफ जानी चाहिये, कि इस देश में जितने साधारण और गरीब मतदाता हैं, उनके नाम मतदाता सूची में नहीं रहते हैं। अब इसके लिये कहा जा सकता है कि वह लोग स्वयम कोशिश करके मतदाता सूची में अपने नाम दर्ज करायें, लेकिन इस देश में जिस तरह की शिक्षा है, कपूर से जिस तरह की साम्राज्यवादी राजनीति चल रही है, उससे उन लोगों में राजनीति में किसी प्रकार की दिलचस्पी नहीं



रह गई है। वे उसको उपेक्षा की दृष्टि से देखते हैं, इसलिये जिम्मेदारी होनी चाहिये थी अधिकारियों की, चुनाव आयोग की कि देखते कि एक एक भादमी का नाम, जो कि मत देने सामक है, मतदाता सूची में हो। लेकिन धाब ऐसा कहाँ हो रहा है। साथ ही यह भी होता है कि एक बार तो नाम होता है मतदाता सूची में लेकिन जब दुबारा चुनाव आता है तो नाम गायब हो जाता है। अगर सिर्फ यह हो कि मतदाता सूची में सबका नाम रहें तो मैं समझता हूँ कि वही पर्याप्त हो सकता है इस कौरव दल को समाप्त करने के लिये। लेकिन यह नहीं हो रहा है।

दूसरे भाज यहां पर जो सत्तारूढ़ दल बैठा हुआ है उसके लिये इस चुनाव में जीतने के लिये एक और बड़ी सुविधा है। वह क्या है? धन। मैं चाहूँगा कि एक आयोग कायम किया जाये जो इस बात की छान बीन करे कि विधान सभा में और लोक सभा में किस दल ने, किस व्यक्ति ने, चुनाव पर कितना पैसा खर्च किया है। तब मैं समझता हूँ, पता चलेगा कि श्रीमती इन्दिरा नेहरू गांधी जो यहां पर प्रधान मंत्री बनी बैठी हैं, कितने वोटों से जीत कर आती हैं। यह बात भाज स्पष्ट है कि हिन्दुस्तान के जनतन्त्र को सेठों के नोटों का धुन लग गया है और उसको उनका ग्रहण खाये जा रहा है। अगर चुनाव कानून के अनुरूप चुनाव में जितना पैसा खर्च करना चाहिये उतना ही पैसा खर्च किया जाये तो सामने जो तस्वीर नजर आ रही है एक भी नजर न आती। और फिर इतना ही नहीं हुआ। कहा जाता है कि...

**एक माननीय सचिव :** आपने एक लाख रुपये से ज्यादा खर्च किया है उसके लिये क्या कहते हैं ?

**श्रीराम सेवक दादर :** मैं चुनौती देता हूँ कि यदि आप साबित कर देंगे कि मैंने 10 या 15 हजार रुपया भी खर्च किया है तो मैं इस्तीफा देने के लिये तैयार हूँ। मैं चाहूँगा कि श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी इस चुनौती को स्वीकार

करें ताकि जिसने ज्यादा रुपया खर्च किया हो वह इस्तीफा दे दे।

यह भी हुआ। और क्या क्या हुआ वह भी बतलाता हूँ। जालसाजी का भी सहारा लिया गया, और मैं उस जालसाजी का नमूना आपके सामने रखना चाहता हूँ। और यह पहला नहीं है। गत आम निर्वाचन में भी इस सदन के भूतपूर्व सदस्य श्री भूपेन्द्र नाथ मंडल के खिलाफ चुनाव याचिका में इस हथकण्डे का इस्तेमाल हुआ था वही इस बार माननीय डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया के चुनाव क्षेत्र में हुआ। मेर पास उसकी फोटो-स्टेट कापी है। कन्नौज के लोक सभा क्षेत्र के मतदाताओं से प्रपील की गई है। किस प्रेस में छपा, किसने छपा, किसी का नाम नहीं। मैं पढ़ कर सुना-ऊंगा तो पता चलेगा कि इसको छपाने वाला कौन हो सकता है और उसका क्या उद्देश्य हो सकता है। जाति और धर्म के नाम पर यह चुनाव लड़ा गया है, सम्प्रदाय के आधार पर यह चुनाव लड़ा गया है, जिसको खुद सत्तारूढ़ दल ने उछाला है। मैं आपको पढ़ कर सुनाता हूँ।

‘प्यारे भाइयो, प्रगतिशील विचारधारा का दम भरने वाली कांग्रेस पार्टी ने इस क्षेत्र में ब्राह्मणवाद का सहारा लेकर श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी के लाड़ले और पं० द्वारिका प्रसाद मिश्रा, मुख्य मंत्री, मध्य प्रदेश, के रिश्तेदार पं० शम्भूनारायण मिश्र को अपना उम्मीदवार बनाया है, ताकि जिले और देश के शासन में ब्राह्मणों का बोल-बाला हो जाय। ब्राह्मणों की वृत्ति हमेशा भिक्षा वृत्ति रही है, शासन में उनका कोई अधिकार नहीं होना चाहिये।

अतएव प्रगतिशील विचारों की रक्षा के लिये ब्राह्मणवाद को मिटाना आपका कर्तव्य है। अतः कांग्रेसी उम्मीदवार श्री शम्भूनारायण मिश्र को हरा कर ब्राह्मणवाद को मिटाइये और अपना मत डा० लोहिया जैसे कर्मठ समाजवादी को दीजिये।

[श्री राम सेवक यादव]

निवेदक,

हम हैं कन्नौज के प्रगतिशील नागरिक ।'

इसका क्या अर्थ हो सकता है ? ये पर्व बाटे जाते हैं ब्राह्मणों के बीच में ताकि उनके मर्मस्थल को ये छुएं और वे यह निश्चय करे कि डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया को हराना है। इसका अर्थ यही हो सकता है कि उनके खिलाफ जहर फैले ताकि वह हार जायें। यह सब उस जालसाजी और पैसे का नतीजा है जो उधर बैठने वाले 25-30 या 50 के बहुमत से जीत कर आए हैं और अगर ऐसे हथकंडों का सहारा न लिया गया होता तो इनकी यह हैसियत भी न होती।

इसी तरह के काश्मीर की तरफ मैं आपका ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूँ। वहाँ क्या हुआ है ? वहाँ जो कुछ हुआ है वैसे आपको शायद कहीं और देखने को नहीं मिलेगा। इस एक राज्य में आप देखें कि आधे लोग निर्बिरोध निर्वाचित, घोषित कर दिये गये। किस तरह से इनको निर्वाचित घोषित कर दिया गया ? क्योंकि दूसरे लोगों के प्रार्थना पत्र, नामजदगी के पर्व कायदे से नहीं भरे गए थे। क्या वजह है ? श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू का वह पुराना राज्य है। वहाँ से वह आते थे। क्या वहाँ इतने लोग भी इस लायक नहीं हैं कि पर्चा ठीक से भर सके ? वही यह सब चीज क्यों होती है ? क्यों शपथ नहीं ली गई ? साफ़ बाहिर है कि मिल जुल कर काम किया गया है। चुनाव आयोग के सामने भी यह सारी चीज लाई गई। जब सब चीज ला दी गई तब उसके बाद यह जो परिणाम है यह हमारे सामने आया। वहाँ क्या क्या नहीं हुआ ? यह कानून तो सभी के लिए बना हुआ है कि जो चुनाव में खड़ा हो उसको संविधान के प्रति प्रतिज्ञा लेनी पड़ती है या शपथ खानी पड़ती है। शपथ में यही होता है कि हम संविधान की रक्षा करेंगे। यहाँ भी हम शपथ हैं।

मैं आपके सामने अनुच्छेद 44 पढ़ना चाहता हूँ। उस में लिखा हुआ है :

"The State shall endeavour to secure for the citizens a uniform civil code throughout the territory of India."

सभी लोगों के लिए समान सिविल कोड की व्यवस्था होगी। संविधान की कसम हम सब खाते हैं और नामजदगी के साथ शपथ पत्र भी भरते हैं। उसके बावजूद भी हम भाषण करते हैं कि मुसलमानों के निजी कानून में किसी तरह का हस्तक्षेप नहीं किया जाएगा। इसका अर्थ यह होता है कि ठीक इसके विपरीत माननीय डा० लोहिया के खिलाफ प्रचार चलता है कि वह मुसलमानों के निजी कानून में दखल दे रहे हैं। क्या इस तरह से मजहब का, इस तरह से जाति का सवाल उठाया जाना चाहिये ? उत्तर प्रदेश की जानकारी के आधार पर मैं बताना चाहता हूँ कि चाहे वह खेती का कानून हो, चाहे सरकारी नौकरो के लिए शादी ब्याह का कानून हो कि एक से अधिक कोई शादी नहीं कर सकता है, उस मामले को ले कर बराबर कांग्रेस सरकार ने मुसलमानों के निजी कानून में दखल दिया है। लेकिन इस तरह की बातें अगर कोई कह सकता है तो श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी ही कह सकती हैं। संविधान की शपथ तो ले लेकिन उसके बाद भी खड़े हो कर कहे कि हम तो सभी लोगों के लिए समान सिविल कोड नहीं बनायेगे, मुसलमानों के निजी कानून में दखल नहीं देंगे। यह बही कर सकती हैं।

मुझे ताजुब हुआ उस वक्त जब वह शपथ ले रही थीं। क्या चल रहा है ? क्या मुल्क में जनतंत्र चलेगा ? क्या इस देश में भी वही बंश परम्परा या उसका नाम या जाति का इस्तेमाल होगा ? क्या इस तरह से सारी चीज चलेगी ? मैं तो समझता था कि श्रीमती गांधी, श्रीमती गांधी हैं। जब उन्होंने शपथ की तब मुझे पता चला कि

वह श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी ही नहीं श्रीमती इंदिरा नेहरू गांधी हैं। यह हिन्दुस्तान की परम्परा के विपरीत है। ऐसा क्यों किया गया? कारण यह है कि अपने गुणों के आधार पर वह कोई काम नहीं करना चाहती। शायद उनको अपने गुणों पर भरोसा नहीं है। बाप के नाम पर, नेहरूजी के नाम का फायदा उठा कर वह चाहती है कि देश में वंश परम्परा को कायम रखा जाए और जनतंत्र को खत्म किया जाए और गद्दी पर बादशाहत वाला कानून चलाया जाए। यह चुनाव में हुआ है। आप विचार करें। बहुत बड़ा खतरा हमारे जनतंत्र को है। कारण यह है कि आज सम्भव नहीं है कि कोई भी साधारण आदमी जो सही मानों में जन सेवी है, सही मानों में जनता का दोस्त है वैसे के अभाव में चुनाव जीत कर यहां आ सके।

मैं सुनता हूं कि प्रधान मंत्री को समाजवाद से बड़ा प्रेम है। लेकिन जब यहां प्रधान मंत्री या नेतापद का चुनाव था तब इसका पता चल गया। सरकारी दल में कौन प्रगतिशील है, कौन दक्षियानुसी है, उस बहस में पड़ना नहीं चाहता हूं। इसको मैं कांग्रेसियों पर छोड़ता हूं। जो अपने को तरक्की पसन्द कहते हैं उन पर मैं इस बहस को छोड़ता हूं। मुरारजी देसाई साहब प्रगतिशील हैं या दक्षियानुसी विचारों के हैं या श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी प्रगतिशील हैं या दक्षियानुसी विचारों की हैं, मैं इस बहस में पड़ना नहीं चाहता हूं। मैं तो सिर्फ इतना कहना चाहता हूं कि जैसा अभी पता चला श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी जब लीडरी का चुनाव लड़ रही थीं तो श्रीमान बिड़ला जी की गोद में बैठी थीं। इसको अगर आप जनतंत्र कह सकते हैं, अगर आप समझते हैं कि इससे जम्हूरियत मजबूत होगी तो आप जानें, जो भी आपने निष्कर्ष इससे निकालना हो विकारों। लेकिन मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि बड़े बड़े बड़े परिणाम होने जा रहे हैं।

अगर इस बात का पता नहीं लगाया जाता है कि किस दल ने, किस व्यक्ति ने...

श्री बलिवार्ड जे० फेल : मान ए प्वाइंट आफ आर्डर, सर.....

श्री हुकम चन्द कछवाय (उज्जैन) : नियम बतायें, किस नियम के अन्तर्गत वह उठा रहे हैं।

श्री बलिवार्ड जे० फेल : अभी माननीय सदस्य ने कहा कि श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी बिड़ला जी की गोद में बैठी थीं। ये आपत्तिजनक शब्द हैं। वह सबूत दें और अगर नहीं दे सकते हैं तो वापस लें। अन्यथा इनको प्रोसीडिंग्स में से निकाल दिया जाए।

Mr. Chairman: There is no point of order.

श्री हुकम चन्द कछवाय : इनकी इस आपत्ति को प्रोसीडिंग्स में से निकाल दिया जाए।

श्री राम सेवक दास : श्रीमती तारकेश्वरी सिन्हा अभी बोल रही थीं। वह कह रही थीं कि अभी हमारी सरकार नाबालिग है। उस नाबालिग सरकार के नाबालिग मंत्री इस तरह से बोलें तो कोई शिकायत नहीं है, उनको आप मत रोकिये।

हमारा जनतंत्र खतरे में है और जब तक वैसे पर रोक नहीं लगती है खतरे में रहेगा। वैसे पर तब तक रोक नहीं लग सकती है जब तक मुट्ठरी भर लोगों के हाथ में देश की सम्पत्ति का आधिपत्य रहेगा। जहां इतनी जबर्दस्त असमानता हो, छोटे बड़े का इतना जबर्दस्त फर्क हो वहां जनतंत्र की बात करना, निष्पक्ष चुनाव की बात करना, जहां मोटरों की रेलपेल हो नोटों और रिश्वत की रेल पेल हो, वहां सच्चे जनतंत्र की बात करना मैं समझता हूं अशुभाह्व है।

राष्ट्रपति जी ने प्रगति का इशारा किया है और कहा है कि देश की प्रगति हो रही है। मैं बताना चाहता हूं कि देश में प्रगति नहीं हो रही है बल्कि देश अधोगति की ओर जा

[श्री राम सेवक यादव]

रहा है। ये सरकारी आंकड़े हैं कि पिछले बीस वर्षों में दो प्रति सैकड़ा तरक्की हुई है। अगर हम आबादी को देखें तो पता चलेगा कि आबादी की दो प्रति सैकड़ा बढ़ी है। दोनों दो प्रतिशत बढ़े हैं। अब इसका साफ नतीजा होता है कि हम बढ़ नहीं रहे हैं, जहां थे वहां हैं, रंग रहे हैं। जो योजना बनाते हैं उनके सामने यह साफ बात होनी चाहिये कि देश की बढ़ती हुई आबादी को साथ ले कर तब हम तरक्की को आर्केंगे, बढ़ती हुई आबादी को निकाल कर हम आंक नहीं सकते हैं। यदाकदा यहां के मंत्री लोग कह दिया करते हैं कि तरक्की तो हो रही है, अनाज तो पैदा हो रहा है, उत्पादन तो बढ़ रहा है लेकिन हम क्या करें, आबादी भी बढ़ती जा रही है। मैं पूछना चाहता हूं कि जब योजना बनती है या जब कोई और काम होता है तो उस में बढ़ती हुई आबादी को ध्यान में नहीं रखा जाता है? इसलिए मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि इन दोनों चीजों को अगर हम ध्यान में रखें तो पता चलेगा कि मुक्त आगे नहीं बढ़ रहा है।

जब जब बहस चलती है तो कहा जाता है कि अमीर अधिक अमीर और गरीब अधिक गरीब हुए हैं। यहां पर मैं डा० ल्युनिस पालिंग का शिक कर्कंगा जोकि नोबेल पुरस्कार विजेता है। उन्होंने भी इसको माना है। मैं चाहता हूं कि इसको अच्छी तरह से समझ लिया जाए कि आखिर इसका अर्थ क्या है। अगर हम देश की प्रगति, देश के उत्पादन को देखें और उत्पादन के उपभोक्ता कौन लोग हैं, उनका हिसाब किताब लगायें तो पता चलेगा कि आया देश प्रगति कर रहा है या नहीं कर रहा है। अगर हम मोटर गाड़ियों का हिसाब लगायें तो पता चलेगा कि पांच प्रतिशत ऊपर की जो आबादी है वही मोटर गाड़ियों का उपभोग करती है। अगर बार्सिकल का हिसाब लगायें तो पता चलेगा कि दस से पंद्रह सैकड़ा जो ऊपर की आबादी है

वही बार्सिकलों का इस्तेमाल करती है। अगर हम कपड़े और भोजन को देखें, तो मुशिकलसे ऊपर की 25 से 30 सैकड़ा आबादी में उस की खपत होती है और नीचे के 20 से 60 सैकड़ा लोगों में उसकी खपत में गिरावट हुई है, उन की खपत बढ़ी नहीं है। इसलिए मैं आह्वान कि नेशनल कन्सन्सशन सर्वे की तरफ मंत्री महोदय का ध्यान जाये। इसी प्रकार जहां तक चिकनी चीजों का सम्बन्ध है—मैं मक्खन और घी की बात नहीं करता हूं, बल्कि तेल आदि की—, नीचे की 20 से 60 सैकड़ा गरीब आबादी में उसकी खपत घटी है। इस देश की यह स्थिति है !

आज 30 से 50 सैकड़ा आमदनी हमारे देश के पचास लाख लोग, यानी एक सैकड़ा लोग, खा जाते हैं। यह रकम होती है 50 अरब से लेकर 75 अरब तक। और करीब करीब आधी आमदनी 99 सैकड़ा लोगों में बंटती है। अगर देहाती भाषा में कहें, तो इस देश में मछली का कानून चलाया जा रहा है, यानी छोटी मछली को बड़ी मछली खा रही है। ठेठ गांव की बोली में हम दौलत और चीजों के बंटवारे को इस तरह बता सकते हैं, "आधे में अघधर, आधे में सब घर।"

यह है आज बीमारी की जड़। अगर हमका इलाज नहीं दूँदा जाता है, तो केवल समाजवाद की माला जपने से समाजवाद आने वाला नहीं है। समाजवाद की माला जपो और बिड़ला और टाटा की हैसियत बढ़ाओ, यही पिछले बीस बरस से हो रहा है। मैं चाहता हूं कि यह जो 50 अरब से 75 अरब तक रुपया एक सैकड़ा आबादी की जेब में जाता है, इसमें अगर ज्यादा कटौती न की जाये—क्योंकि उसके लिये अभी हमारी ताकत और हैसियत नहीं है—, तो कम से कम इतना तो किया जाये कि उसमें से हर साल 15, 20 25 अरब रुपया बचाया जाये और उस रुपयों की पानी देने के इस्तेमाल में लगाया जाये। श्रीमती सिन्हा इस समय सदन में नहीं हैं।

उन्होंने कहा कि पानी गिरता है, मरता नहीं है मैं समझता हूँ कि बेहया लोगों का पानी भर जाता है, गिरता नहीं है। उस 15, 20, 25 अरब रुपये से मत्क के नये निर्माण का काम शुरू हो सकता है।

डा० लोहिया के साथ अन्याय न किया जाये। वह किसी के चरित्र-हूनन की बात नहीं करते हैं। उन के मन में कसक है कि गांधी युग, जो साबगी, त्याग, तपस्या, कुबानी और ईमानदारी का युग था, उस की जगह लेसी है मौज मस्ती, फिजूलखर्ची, शानों-शोकत और लापरवाही के युग ने, जिस का भन्त होना चाहिए। इसी लिए हीरे, मोती पन्ने का सबाल उठता है। उस के पीछे कोई और धर्म नहीं है। इस देश के गरीब लोगों को प्रतिष्ठित किया जाये और गांधी-युग की सादगी और सच्चाई को फिर से लाया जाये और मत्क का नया निर्माण शुरू हो।

जब तक यह क्रान्तिकारी परिवर्तन नहीं होगा, तब तक चाहे जितनी समाजवाद की पुस्तकें लिखी जायें, चाहे जितने समाजवाद के भाषण दिये जायें और श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी चाहे जितनी समाजवाद की बात करें लेकिन न तो समाजवाद आयेगा, न समता आयेगी और न देश आगे बढ़ेगा।

इन शब्दों के माथ मैं चाहूंगा कि जिन बातों पर राष्ट्रपति महोदय ने इशारा नहीं किया है, जिक्र नहीं किया है, उन को इस धन्यवाद-प्रस्ताव के साथ जोड़ा जाये। मैं चाहूंगा कि मैंने जो बातें दी हैं, उन को इस के साथ जोड़ा जाये।

श्री बणि भाई जे० बटे० : सभापति महोदय, राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने अभिभाषण में जो बातें कहीं हैं, मैं उन की पुष्टि करता हूँ।

सबसे पहले मैं हिन्दी भाषा की बात कहता हूँ। अगर कोई व्यक्ति इंग्लैंड जाये, तो वह देखेगा कि वहाँ के लोग अंग्रेजी भाषा के द्वारा अपना सारा काम काज चलाते हैं। उन के विभाग कन्वरवेटिव हैं और उसी के

मुताबिक वे अपना व्यवसाय करते हैं। अमरीका में अंग्रेजी भाषा होने के बावजूद वहाँ के लोग अपने तरीके से और अमरीकन प्रोन्सिएशन से अंग्रेजी भाषा का इस्तेमाल करते हैं। दुनिया के हर एक प्रजातंत्रीय देश में उस की अपनी भाषा के द्वारा सारा काम काज चलाया जाता है। जापान में लोग अपनी जापानी भाषा इस्तेमाल करते हैं। वे लोग अंग्रेजी भाषा इस्तेमाल नहीं करते हैं। इसी प्रकार फ्रान्स में फ्रेंच भाषा का इस्तेमाल किया जाता है। मुझे दुनिया के जिन जिन हिस्सों में घूमने का मौका मिला है, वहाँ मैं ने देखा है कि पार्लियामेंट में देश की अपनी भाषा का इस्तेमाल किया जाता है और वही भाषा बहुमान्य होती है।

लेकिन मुझे इस बात से बड़ा दुख है कि हमारी इस लोक सभा में बहुत से सदस्य अगर अंग्रेजी भाषा का इस्तेमाल करते हैं, तो वे अपने आप को बड़े अच्छे समझते हैं। यह एक बहुत बड़ी मानसिक बीमारी है, जिस ने यहां बुरी तरह से घर कर लिया है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि जहां तक हो सके, हम सब को देश की राष्ट्र-भाषा का ही प्रयोग करना चाहिए। हम लंग यहां पर देश की पचास करोड़ जनता का प्रतिनिधित्व करने के लिए आए हैं। हमें अपनी अपनी पार्टियों की बात भूल जानी चाहिए। हमें सोचना चाहिए कि जिस भारत-भूमि में हमें जन्म मिला है, उस का ऋण चुकाने के लिए हम सब लोग मिल कर सहयोग दे और राष्ट्र को आगे बढ़ाने की कोशिश करें।

आप इतिहास के पन्ने उलट कर देखिए, भगवान् कृष्ण जब इस धरती पर पधारे, उस समय से लेकर आज तक दुनिया के किसी भी राष्ट्र ने प्रजातन्त्र के अन्तर्गत इतनी प्रगति नहीं की, जितनी कि भारत ने पिछले बीस वर्षों में की है। इतिहास के पन्ने इस बात की गवाही देते हैं।

सबसे पहले लोकमान्य तिलक ने इस देश में जाग्रत का संचार किया और "स्वराज्य

[श्री मणिभाई जे० पटेल]

हमारा जन्म सिद्ध अधिकार है' का सन्देश दिया। महात्मा गांधी ने इस देश को स्वतन्त्रता दिलाई। मैं उनको राम कहता हूँ। मैं उनको मोहन दास नहीं कहता हूँ, मोहन दास कर्मचन्द गांधी नहीं कहता हूँ, मैं उनको महात्मा नहीं कहता हूँ। मैं उन को राम कहता हूँ, क्योंकि दुनिया में किसी व्यक्ति ने किसी भी देश को शान्तिपूर्ण तरीके से स्वतन्त्रता और स्वराज्य नहीं दिलाया। सारी दुनिया में यह एक अनोखा कार्य है, जिस को महात्मा गांधी ने यहाँ पर करके दिखाया है। यह कांग्रेस की दूसरी सेवा है।

कांग्रेस की तीसरी सेवा वह है, जिसकी बहुत निन्दा की जाती है। मैं पिछले तीन चार दिन से यहाँ पर दिये गए भाषणों को सुन रहा हूँ। मुझे विधान सभा में भी दस साल तक रहने का मौका मिला है। सरदार बल्लभभाई पटेल ने इस देश के सब राजाओं को एक किया। उन्होंने उन लोगों को खत्म नहीं किया। अगर वह उन को खत्म करना चाहते, तो वह उनको लगीटा पहना देते। लेकिन वह चाहते थे कि राजा और जनता दोनों एक-साथ हो जायें, एक दूसरे के साथ मिल जायें।

कल महारानी गायत्री देवी ने बहुत सी बातें कही। बहुत से राजा और जमींदार लोग हमारे विरोधी हैं, क्योंकि वे चाहते थे कि सभा को मन-माने ढंग से अपने मुट्ठी में रखा जाये, लेकिन वे ऐसा नहीं कर पाए। यह सरदार बल्लभभाई पटेल की देन है।

चौथी देन है पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू की, जिन्होंने इस देश में प्रजातन्त्र की स्थापना की। अगर वह चाहते, तो वह राजा बन कर राज्य कर सकते थे और उन को कोई रोक नहीं सकता था, लेकिन उन्होंने जनता को राजा बनाने के लिए प्रजातन्त्र की स्थापना की, जिसमें देश के हर एक नागरिक को समान अधिकार प्राप्त है। बीस साल पहले यहाँ के लोग धुने हुए कपड़े नहीं पहन सकते थे, बिड़ी नहीं पहनते थे, उन के घरों में कोई ट्राजिस्टर आदि

नहीं थे, बिना पैसा दिये बिद्याभ्यास की कोई व्यवस्था नहीं थी और लड़के लड़कियाँ शिक्षण प्राप्त नहीं कर सकते थे, लोगों को प्रजातान्त्रिक अधिकार प्राप्त नहीं थे। यह कांग्रेस की सेवा है। इसके बावजूद अगर विरोधी लोग कांग्रेस की निन्दा नहीं करेंगे, तो कौन करेंगे? यह विरोधियों का धर्म है।

Shri Umanath (Pudukkottal): The Britishers brought to us railways, posts and telegraphs, steamers, etc.

Mr. Chairman: This is the maiden speech of the hon. Member. I would request you not to interrupt him.

श्री मणि भाई जे० पटेल : मैं यह निवेदन कर रहा था कि आज देश के सामने जो स्थिति है उस स्थिति का अगर सामना करना है तो मेरी आप सब लोगों से करबद्ध प्रार्थना है . . . . . (व्यवधान) . . . . आप कृपा करके थोड़ा सुनो तो अच्छा रहेगा। वह प्रार्थना यह है कि सब से पहले धन की समस्या है। अगर इस समस्या को हल करना है तो मेरे विचार के मुताबिक सारे भारत देश के अन्दर पूरब से पश्चिम और उत्तर से दक्षिण नहरों की योजना होनी चाहिए वह नहरों की योजना ऐसी हो सकती है कि दो नहरे एक साथ में बनाई जायें जिन के अन्दर एक नहर के पानी का दूसरी में आवागमन हो सके जिससे जबकि दूसरी नहर के रिपेयरिंग का मौका आये तो दूसरी से काम ले सके। उसके अन्दर भालबाहक छोटी छोटी बोटें भी चल सकती हैं।

दूसरी बात, हिन्दुस्तान के अन्दर पचास करोड़ की जनसंख्या की बाध समस्या को पूरी करने के लिए पूरे पचास करोड़ लोगों को सहयोग करना चाहिए। देखिए, दुनिया के हर एक देश के अन्दर जब लड़ाई होती है, ईम्पीड में जब एक जगह लड़ाई हुई तो बर्चिस का एकभीता बैटा लड़ाई में गया और वहाँ अपना सहयोग दिया।

उसी तरह आज हिन्दुस्तान के अन्दर पचास करोड़ की जनसंख्या के सहयोग की आवश्यकता है। प्रत्येक व्यक्ति कुछ समय निश्चित करे एक बंटा, दो बंटा या चार बंटा वह इस देश को बनाने के लिए खाद्य समस्या को हल करने के लिए दे, इस तरह अगर हर एक सहयोग दे तब इस समस्या पर हम जल्दी से जल्दी काबू पाने में कामयाब हो सकते हैं वरना जैसा कि गोस्वामी तुलसीदास जी ने लिखा है :

भय बिन प्रीति न होय गोसाईं

जब तक भय न हो तब तक प्रीति नहीं होती इसलिए यह भय पैदा करने के लिए राष्ट्र को ऐसे नियम बनाने चाहिए कि एक गलती करे तो सात साल की सजा हो। जापान में एक आदमी एक गलती करता है तो उस की सात साल की सजा होती है। हिन्दुस्तान में एक गलती करे तो कोर्ट ऐसी होनी चाहिए कि सात दिन के अन्दर फैसला करे और उस फैसले के बाद, सजा होने पर वह जेल में न जाय बल्कि नहर बनाये, रास्ते बनाये, और जितनी योजनाएँ हैं उनको पूरा करे। ताकि मस्तिष्क के अन्दर जो अशांति का वातावरण है, सुख जो कांग्रेस ने दिया है, उस को बर्दाश्त नहीं कर पा रहे हैं। इसलिए यह अशांति है, दुनिया में दो चीजें हैं, सुख और दुख। सुख का नाम शांति है और दुख का नाम अशांति। दुख इसलिए है कि आप सुख को बर्दाश्त नहीं कर सकते। सुख को बर्दाश्त करने के लिए जमीन से लेकर यहाँ आसमान तो नहीं दिख रहा है आसमान तक जितना अन्तर है, उतना गम्भीर बनना चाहिए। आकाश को भी देखना होगा, पृथ्वी, जल, तेज, वायु और आकाश यह पांच तत्व हैं, इन को देखना होगा तब हम को ज्ञान आ सकता है कि विश्व क्या है और अज्ञान ने क्या रचना बनाई है। तब कुछ भय प्राप्त कर सकते हैं। और

इस देश में उस सुख को लाने के लिए मेरा निवेदन है . . . (व्यवधान) . . . . . उनका काम है बोलना, उन के हिसाब से धन प्लस वन इज इक्वल टु माइनस वन हाफ हमारे हिसाब से वन प्लस वन इज इक्वल टु टु।

तो मेरा यह निवेदन था माननीय उपाध्यक्ष महोदय से कि अगर इस देश के अन्दर कोई ऐसी व्यवस्था हो कि जिसमें जल्दी से जल्दी नहर बनाने का प्राविधान किया जाय तो जल्दी से जल्दी लाभ हो सकता है और उससे भ्रष्ट उपजाने में काफी सुविधा हो सकती है।

दूसरे, एजुकेशन के बारे में कहा जाता है तो 1947 से या आज से पन्द्रह वर्ष पहले भारत वर्ष में कुल केवल 3 प्रतिशत ग्रेजुएट थे और आठ प्रतिशत मुस्लिम से दस्तखत करना जानते थे। बाकी 89 प्रतिशत बिल्कुल शून्य थे। उन्हें कोई ज्ञान नहीं था। कांग्रेस के राज में 20 साल के अन्दर इतनी प्रगति हुई कि आज 18-19 प्रतिशत ग्रेजुएट है और 20-25 प्रतिशत ऐसे हैं जो अच्छी तरह से लिख पढ़ सकते हैं। बाकी जो लोग हैं उन की प्रगति के लिए भारतवर्ष के शासन ने इतना अच्छा काम किया है कि बिना शुल्क लिए, बिना पैसा लिए उनकी शिक्षा की व्यवस्था है। मैं समझता हूँ कि यह काफी है।

तीसरी बात जो आपने कही उस का मुझे जबाब देना है। सब से पहले भारत ने एक अनोखा उदाहरण दुनिया के सामने प्रजातन्त्र के तौर पर पेश किया है कि पहली पंचवर्षीय योजना जल्दी से जल्दी स्वतंत्रता मिलने के बाद उन्होंने बनाई और फिर दूसरी और तीसरी योजना, इस तरह से तीन पंचवर्षीय योजनाओं की व्यवस्था की और तीनों पंचवर्षीय योजनाओं को पूरा किया तो चौथी पंचवर्षीय योजना के अन्दर जो उन्होंने बात रखी है जैसा कि भूतकाश की योजनाओं से साबित होता है, जब

[श्री मणि भाई जे० पटेल]

भूतकास में जो तीन योजनाएँ बनायीं वह पूरी कर सकते हैं तो चौथी योजना भी पूरी होगी और उसमें काफी तरक्की हो सकती है। इसलिए उस बारे में पूज्य राष्ट्रपति जी का जो अभिभावण है उसमें उन्होंने जो बातें कही हैं, उन की बातों के साथ मैं पूर्ण सहमत हूँ। आप ने जो बीड़ा समय मुझे बोलने के लिए दिया, उस के लिए, मैं बहुत आभारी हूँ। धन्यवाद। जयहिन्द।

Mr. Chairman: Shri Debabrata Barua.

An. hon. Member: Not here.

Mr. Chairman: Shri Shankaranand—Shri Syed Ahmed—Shri Ram Kishen Gupta—Shri M. Sudarsanam—

It is not proper, having given the names, that they should have walked out.

Shrimati Sushila Rohtagi—Shrimati Savitri Shyam—

Shri Umanath: What happened to the Congress Party? Are they on strike?

Mr. Chairman: Shri Chintamani Panigrahi—Shri P. K. Ghosh—Shri Hukam Chand—

जी हुकम चन्द कछवाय सभापति महोदय, मैं माननीय राष्ट्रपति के भाषण का स्वागत करता हूँ। राष्ट्रपति जी ने बहुत से तथ्यों के ऊपर अपने विचार रखे और उन विचारी से देश में काफी लाभ होगा ऐसा मैं मान कर चलता हूँ। परन्तु अभी जितने भाषण हुए उसमें जितनी बातें उठाई गईं, हमारे राष्ट्रपति द्वारा जिन विचारों को रखा गया उस में बहुत सी बातें ऐसी हैं जो छूट गई हैं। आज जो देश के अन्दर भयकर बेरोजगारी बढ़ रही है इससे देश को बड़ी चिन्ता है। और हमारे यहाँ बहुत के ऐसे लोग चुनकर इस बार आये हैं अभी जो पूर्व वक्ता बोल रहे थे, अभिजाई पटेल, यह एक ऐसे व्यक्ति हैं जिनका बड़ा इनका बीड़ी का उद्योग है,

इन्होंने बड़ी लम्बी बीड़ी बातें कहीं बिरोधियों के लिए कहा कि एक लाख रुपया खर्च करके चुनाव जीतकर आये हैं, मैं इस बात का चेलेंज करता हूँ कि ये स्वयं तीन लाख रुपया खर्च करके चुनाव जीत कर आये हैं और बीड़ी के उद्योग में यह इनका एक ऐसा वर्ग है कि हमारे मध्य प्रदेश के अन्दर इन्होंने किस तरह उनका दमन किया है, किस प्रकार उनके ऊपर अत्याचार किया है, उसका एक जीता जागता उदाहरण देखना हो तो हमारे सामने जो बैठे हैं मणि भाई पटेल, यह उसके जीते जागते उदाहरण हैं।

मैं आप से यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि देश के अन्दर जो महंगाई बढ़ रही है इस सरकार ने उस महंगाई को रोकने के लिए ठीक ढंग से खोज नहीं की है। इस का एक तरीका हो सकता है। यह महंगाई बढ़ती क्यों है? महंगाई बढ़ने के तीन कारण हैं। प्रमुख कारण एक तो यह है कि उत्पादन कम होता है और उसके कारण महंगाई बढ़ती है। इस महंगाई को, चीज कम मिलने के कारण जा बढ़ती है, इसका साग भाग जनता भोग सकती है, जनता इस महंगाई को सहन कर सकती है। लेकिन जो उद्योग-पति या व्यापारियों द्वारा महंगाई बढ़ाई जाती है इसका सारा भार उन व्यापारियों के ऊपर पड़ना चाहिए जिनके द्वारा महंगाई बढ़ती है। तीसरी बात—जो सरकार के घाटे का अर्थ-व्यवस्था के कारण महंगाई बढ़ती है उस का भार सरकार पर पड़ना चाहिए। इन तीनों चीजों का विश्लेषण सरकार को करना चाहिए जैसे कि पश्चिम के देशों में यह प्रणाली है। तब हम समझेंगे कि सरकार महंगाई को ठीक ढंग से रोकना चाहती है। तभी हम इसको रोकने का ठीक उपाय कर सकते हैं।

सभापति महोदय, आज हर क्षेत्र के अन्दर, चाहे कोई सा भी प्रांत आज से



ले लीजिये, पढ़ा लिखा वर्ग इतना बेकार होता जा रहा है दिन पर दिन इतना परेशान होता जा रहा है कि उन्हें सर्विस नहीं मिलती है, आज कुछ लोगों को इतना तंग किया जाता है.... (व्यवधान).....

श्री कमल नयन बजाज (वर्धा) : कई सौ विरोधी बेकार तो विधान सभा और पार्लियामेंट में आ गये, अब तो बेकारी कुछ कम हो गई होगी।

श्री हुकम चन्द कछवायः मैं ऐसा समझता हूं सभापति महोदय, कि जो बेकारी आज बढ़ती जाती है, सरकार ने उसके लिए कोई क्रांतिकारी कदम ऐसा नहीं उठाया कि जिससे किसी तरह भी बेकारी दूर हो सके। आज मजदूर क्षेत्र के अन्दर जो मजदूरों को पैसा मिलता है, तनख्वाह मिलती है, और एक ओर महंगाई जिस प्रकार में बढ़ती जा रही है उसकी तुलना में यदि देखें तो उनके लिए अपना जीवन यापन करना, अपना पालन पोषण करना बड़ी कठिन समस्या है।

17 hrs.

खाद्य समस्या के बारे में काफी विचार हमारे सामने आये और हमारे राष्ट्रपति ने भी अपने विचार हमें बताये। कृषि के क्षेत्र में इस सरकार ने बार बार यह कहा है कि कि हम क्या करें? वर्षा नहीं हुई। पानी नहीं आने के कारण आज यह सारे भोग भोगने पड़ रहे हैं। सरकार यह तो कर सकती थी कि अगर पानी ऊपर से नहीं आया तो नीचे से लाने की व्यवस्था करती। अधिक से अधिक ट्यूबवेल, कुएं आदि के द्वारा सिंचाई की व्यवस्था कर सकती थी। आज एक प्रश्न के उत्तर में कहा कि 84 करोड़ रुपया हमने सिंचाई के लिए दिया है परन्तु सभापति महोदय, मैं जानना चाहूंगा कि क्या आज की परिस्थिति में यह 84 करोड़ रुपया पर्याप्त है। क्या इस सूखे की अवस्था

के अन्दर जबकि सारे देश के अन्दर अकाल पड़ता जा रहा है, इसके लिए 84 करोड़ रुपया पर्याप्त है? मैं यह भी जानना चाहता हूं कि जो रुपया आपने मंजूर किया उसका क्या समुचित सदुपयोग हो रहा है क्या इस बात का भी खोज सरकार ने की? मुझे मालूम है कि सरकार ने कोई खोज इसकी नहीं की। आज जो लोगों को अनाज नहीं मिलता कृषि के क्षेत्र में इसका प्रमुख कारण है कि सरकार ने गलत नीति बनाई लेवी वसूलने में इतनी दुर्व्यवस्था है, किस तरह से जबरदस्ती लेवी लगाई जाती है, किस तरह से दमन किया जाता है..... काश्तकार भयभीत है, काश्तकार परेशान है, वह डर के मारे माल लाना नहीं चाहता। इतना ही नहीं पहले वह जो अनाज लाता था, व्यापारी उसका अनाज लेते थे और तत्काल उसको पैसा देते थे, लेकिन आज सरकारी एजेंसियों द्वारा जो अनाज खरीदा जाता है वह अनाज लेवी रूप में लिया जाता है, महीने, डेढ़ महीने तक पैसा नहीं भुगतान किया जाता, उनके माल का पैसा उनको नहीं देते हैं और काश्तकार परेशान होता है। क्या सरकार ने इस तरफ ध्यान दिया है कि जो माल काश्तकार के घर में आता है और काश्तकार जब मण्डी में ले जाता है तो उसके दाम काफी हल्के दिये जाते हैं। मैं आपके सामने एक उदाहरण रखना चाहता हूं। अभी कपास की फसल हमारे यहां आई, जब उसका भाव खुला तो 175 रु० क्विंटल था, लेकिन जब माल काफी तादाद में आने लगा, उसके दाम 140 रु० और 145 रु० क्विंटल कर दिये गये, लेकिन काश्तकार के घर से जब माल साफ हो गया, तब उसी माल का दाम, जो व्यापारियों ने खरीदा था, उसे दूसरे प्रान्तों में भेजते समय 225 रु० क्विंटल हो गया।

काश्तकार ज्वार पैदा करके लाया, उसका भाव 40 रु०, 42 रु० क्विंटल कर दिया और उसी को सरकार 60 रु० क्विंटल पर बेचती है। इसका दोषी कौन है, इस का

[श्री हुकमचन्द कछवाय]

अपराधी कौन है, इस की यदि खोज की जाय तो मालूम पड़ेगा कि सरकार ने सारा अनाज का घडा अपने हाथ में ले रखा है और बड़े बुद्धिपूर्ण तरीके से उसको बसाया जाता है। कहा यह जाता है कि व्यापारी ज्यादा पैसा कमाते हैं, इसलिये सरकार अनाज का घडा अपने हाथ में लेना चाहती है, मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि सरकार घडा करे, परन्तु व्यापारियों को भी छूट दे। काश्तकार को कम दाम मिलता है तो सरकार ज्यादा दाम पर खरीद ले, लेकिन काश्तकार बाटे में नहीं जाना चाहिये।

17.03 hrs.

#### BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE

Mr. Chairman: Shri Hukam Chand may continue his speech next day.

Now, the Minister of Parliamentary Affairs will make an announcement.

The Minister of State in the Ministry of Parliamentary Affairs and Communications (Shri I. K. Gujral): With your permission, Sir, I have to submit that since the Budget etc. have to be discussed before a certain date, the programme now will be that the debate on the President's Address will continue on the 29th, 30th and 31st and on the 3rd, 27th and 28th we will take up the General Budget, the Railway Budget and all other financial matters so that this can be finalised by the 28th because these are to be sent to Rajya Sabha on that date.

17.04 hrs.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Thursday, March 23, 1967/Chaitra 2, 1869 (Saka)