

[डा० लक्ष्मी नारायण पांडेय]

कपिटल घायल मिल और कमल घायल मिल, इन दोनों मिलों के पास इस प्रकार तेल संशोधित करने का कोई लाइसेंस पहले भी नहीं था और मेरी जानकारी के अनुसार आज तक भी नहीं है। दिल्ली प्रशासन ने इस बारे में अपनी सख्त नाराजगी प्रकट की है। इन के पास लाइसेंस न होने के बावजूद जो उन्हें काम दिया गया उस के बारे में ऐसा ज्ञात हुआ है कि केन्द्रीय सरकार का जो आपूर्ति मंत्रालय है उस के कुछ अधिकारियों और इन कंपनियों के बीच में किसी प्रकार की साठ गांठ है जिस के कारण यह काम उन को दिया गया। "नवभारत टाइम्स" के 22 फरवरी के अंक में यह मामला साफ तौर से प्रकाश में आया है। उसमें—“तेल की काली घार—एक करोड़ ६० का घोटाला” इस शीर्षक के साथ यह प्रकाशित हुआ है और उस में साफ कहा है—श्री खुराना ने बताया कि लाही का तेल रेपसीड साफ करने वाली कमल घायल मिल और कपिटल घायल मिल नामक दोनों फर्मों को दिल्ली प्रशासन ने काली सूची में दर्ज किया था।

“इस के बावजूद ये फर्म अपने पैमे और सत्ता के सर्वोच्च गलियारों के साथ अपने सम्बन्धों के बल पर केन्द्रीय आपूर्ति मंत्रालय से लगभग एक करोड़ रुपये मूल्य का हजारों टन रेपसीड हासिल करने में कामयाब हो गई है।”

श्री मदन लाल खुराना जो यहां के एग्जीक्यूटिव कौंसिलर हैं उन का हवाला देते हुए कहा है—

श्री मदन लाल खुराना के कथनानुसार, विभिन्न स्थिति यह है कि एक ओर प्रशासन प्रति दिन इन फर्मों के कई कई चालान कर रहा है और दूसरी ओर वे केन्द्रीय आपूर्ति मंत्रालय से नियमित रूप से रेपसीड प्राप्त कर रही हैं।”

दिल्ली प्रशासन ने इन के खिलाफ केस दायर करने के बारे में 1977 के जुलाई में लिख कर दिया लेकिन आज आठ नौ महीने होने को आए, उस पर कोई कार्यवाही नहीं हुई। यह मालूम हुआ कि अभी तक जांच ही रही है। आठ महीने हो गए, अभी तक उम की जांच ही की जा रही है जब कि अब तक बाकायदा उन का चालान किया जाना था। एक तरफ दिल्ली प्रशासन यह कह रहा है कि ये फर्म गलत हैं, इन का काम ठीक नहीं है, इन के पास लाइसेंस नहीं है, इन का काम तुरन्त रोक जाना चाहिए, ये जन-जीवन के साथ खिलवाड़ कर रही हैं, करोड़ों रुपये का घोटाला हो रहा है, लेकिन दूसरी तरफ केन्द्रीय सरकार इन के साथ सौदा कर रही है। इन फर्मों का पिछला सरकार ने इसी प्रकार के ठेके दिए थे उस समय भी इन फर्मों ने भारी घोटाला किया था। उस घोटाले से और इन के इस प्रकार के कारनामों से नाराज हो कर दिल्ली प्रशासन ने इन का ब्लैक लिस्ट करने की बात कही थी लेकिन आज भी इन को यह काम दिया जा रहा है।

मैं मंत्री महोदय से जानना चाहता हूं, वे स्पष्ट करें कि किन परिस्थितियों में इनको यह काम दिया गया और आज भी हजारों टन रेपसीड साफ करने का काम जो इनको दिया जा रहा है यह किस की सिफारिश पर किया जा रहा है। जब कि दिल्ली प्रशासन ने विरोध किया तब भी इन को यह काम क्यों दिया गया और जो बिना लाइसेंस ये फर्म यह काम कर रही हैं उस के लिए उन के खिलाफ क्रिमिनल केस दायर करने के बारे में केन्द्रीय सरकार क्या कर रही है ?

14.23 hrs.

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

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: The House
will now take up further consideration

of the following motion moved by Shri Gauri Shankar Rai and seconded by Dr. Sushila Nayar on the 24th February, 1978, namely:—

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

"That the Members of Lok Sabha assembled in this Session are deeply grateful to the President for the Address which he has been pleased to deliver to both Houses of Parliament assembled together on the 20th February, 1978."

Dr. Sushila Nayar may continue her speech.

DR. SUSHILA NAYAR (Jhansi): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, on Friday last I had started my speech and had spoken for two minutes only. On that I had complimented the Home Minister on the restoration of our civil liberties and dignity and prestige of the judiciary and freedom of the press and had requested him to throw away the Forty-second Amendment to the Constitution in one stroke instead of mending it piece-meal.

श्री हुकम चन्द कछवाय (उज्जैन) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, राष्ट्रपति जी के भाषण पर यहां चर्चा हो रही है और मंत्रिमंडल का कोई भी मंत्री यहां उपस्थित नहीं है।

श्री बी०पी० मंडल (मधेपुरा) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, यह बहुत ही खराब प्रिसीडेंट होगा अगर इस तरह यहां चर्चा चलेगी और कोई कैबिनेट मिनिस्टर यहां नहीं रहेगा। ऐसा तो नहीं होना चाहिए।

एक माननीय सदस्य : कैबिनेट मिनिस्टर भी आ रहे हैं।

श्री बी० पी० मंडल : जैसे हम लोग आ गए, वैसे ही इनको भी पहले आना चाहिए।

श्रीम तथा संसदीय कार्य मंत्रालय में राज्य मंत्री (श्री लारंग साय) : मैं माननीय सदस्य की बात सुन रहा हूँ और उसे नोट कर रहा हूँ। वह भी आ रहे हैं।

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: I think, you send for some Cabinet Minister.

श्री नयू सिंह (दोमा) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, चूँकि राष्ट्रपति महोदय के अभिभाषण पर जो चर्चा होती है वह बहुत महत्वपूर्ण विषय है और उस में सभी तरह के विचार यहां प्रकट होते हैं, इसलिए यह जरूरी है कि कैबिनेट स्तर का कोई मंत्री जो अधिक जिम्मेदार हो, वह यहां रहे ताकि वह उस को सुन सके।

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: I have asked them to send for some Cabinet Minister.

श्री हुकम चन्द कछवाय (उज्जैन) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, माननीय लक्ष्मी नारायण पांडेय ने जो विषय उठाया है उस से सम्बन्धित मंत्री भी यहां नहीं हैं। उस से संबंधित मंत्री को भी यहां रहना चाहिए था।

DR. SUSHILA NAYAR: Sir, I must say that I am a little disappointed in the way in which we are dealing with the Forty-second Amendment to the Constitution. We had strongly opposed the Forty-second Amendment when the government of the day was bringing it and our opposition was based on the fact that (1) the Parliament of that time had outlived the five year term for which it was elected and we felt that to bring about such a sweeping change in the Constitution by a Parliament which was existing by extending its own life was morally and ethically wrong and (2) we also felt that at that time 125 members of this hon. House were in various prisons under the obnoxious emergency laws and under these circumstances the Constitution should not have been

[Dr. Sushila Nayar]

amended. Further, no Party had mentioned in their election manifesto that such sweeping changes were contemplated and, therefore, it was our view that it will be a surreptitious act to amend the Constitution in this fashion. It was wholly wrong on the part of the government therefore, to use its majority to bulldoze and destroy the basic structure of our constitution as was done by the Forty-second amendment.

Now, the previous government always tried to put before us that the Parliament was supreme. But we of the Janata Party have held all along that the people of this country are supreme and supremacy of the people is more important and we, the Members of Parliament, are really servants of the people and we cannot deny the supremacy of the people under any circumstances. As such it was felt that if such changes were necessary, we should have a Constitution Assembly and the issues should be squarely placed before the people and they can send representatives to deal with those issues as they wish and if the people so desire, they can change the basic structure of the Constitution. But way in which it was done by the last Parliament we felt was very wrong and, therefore, we felt that in the context of our opposition and our strong beliefs in this context, it was not enough that we should go on amending the Constitution bit by bit as we have been doing but it was necessary that it should be rejected in toto in one stroke and once for all. We need not wait for the concurrence of the Opposition. I know the Congress has a majority in the Rajya Sabha and they can obstruct and reject our proposals if they wish to. But if they do so, they will stand self exposed and the people of this country will know what to do with them as they have already shown in the last election. Therefore, I feel that the government must not delay this. It should be done as quickly as possible.

It is good that they are amending the obnoxious part of the constitution bit by bit. It is good that they have assured us that they will bring an amendment so that nobody can in future tamper with the rights, lives and liberties of the people of this country. I would wish the whole of this Forty-second amendment to be thrown out and if there is anything worthwhile, the Government may bring it before this House in an amendment if necessary but this Forty-second amendment must go lock, stock and barrel and once for all.

I am very glad that the President has assured us that the government is repealing the MISA. But may I submit in all humility that the proposed laws to substitute that obnoxious law, the Preventive Detention Bill and the mini MISA that some of the States have enacted are not something that we in the Janata Party can be proud of.

We are grateful to the government and to the Home Minister for restoring the rule of law in this country and I must say that while it is good so far as it goes, the very concept of detention without trial is contrary to the democratic spirit and is contrary to the rule of law and the principle of democracy for which the Janata Party has fought the last Government.

I know there are people who believe in violence. I know there are saboteurs. Let the Government and the Government machinery deal with these wrong doers under the normal law of the land. By all means make these laws more stringent, if necessary, but do not give weapons in the hands of the police which can be misused. We have had a bitter taste of that type of thing too recently to forget it.

The British Government introduced Preventive Detention in this country. I had the privilege to be detained as a young student in 1942 under those laws. But they did not do that in their own country.

While there are violence and troubles in their country, the conditions are far worse but they have not resorted to Preventive Detention even to deal with the explosive situation there. Therefore, I would like to say that to give such a powerful tool like MISA and MINI MISA in the hands of these people is not in the larger interests of the country—be it the police, be it the bureaucracy. We must be very careful about it. The greatest harm that the last Government did was to place MISA and Emergency and those obnoxious laws in the hands of police and bureaucracy. They have forgotten how to function in the normal laws of the land. To place such sweeping powers in the hands of these people is to say the least is dangerous. The result has been that sometimes some of us talked to police officers at various levels and brought to their notice the acts of goondaism, criminal assault and other horrible things. The reply that we got was, "what can we do? You have taken away MISA." They must be made to learn how to function under the normal Code of Criminal Procedure. By all means let that code be amended if it is ineffective in any area. But let us be very careful that they are not given something in its place which is a milder version or has a slightly different version of the laws which we have experienced, which we have opposed and which we are convinced are most obnoxious.

As I have already said the Preventive Detention is not in the larger interests of the country. I know they are proposing certain safeguards but those safeguards are not adequate. I hope the Home Minister will be so kind as to consider my humble plea even at this late stage and withdraw this Preventive Detention Bill for the preservation of the spirit in which he has already functioned and has restored our civil liberties, our freedom, freedom of the press. Though freedom of press can be abused but those who abuse it, let them be punished under the normal laws of the land. Let the guilty be punished. But let

no one be punished under the suspicion that so and so may commit a mistake. I, therefore, submit with all the force at my command that this is not good for the Janata Party. It is not good for democracy. It is not good for our country. We should deal with all those who are indulging in violence firmly and strongly. There should be no leniency shown to anyone of them. But let it be done by following the due processes of law. Make those due processes of law simplified, make justice speedy, make justice inexpensive. The Law Minister has been assuring us on that. But, Sir, let there be no shortcuts to the processes of law and justice as these proposed laws are threatening to do.

The President in his Address has been good enough to mention about the emphasis that is being laid by this government on the improvement of the villages in this country and the top priority that is being given to agriculture. We are very happy, about this. Let us congratulate the hon. Home Minister on the excellent paper that he had produced sometime ago which has been, in a way, the guiding light of the economic policy of this country. May I say that this policy has already started giving dividends? I cannot say that our economy has overcome all the difficulties it can possibly do, and all the difficulties that were created by so many misdeeds of the past Government. Although they keep on harping time and again that they had left the economy in very good shape, we all know that they have left in a very bad shape.

The Economic Review and all the other documents show how the money supply had increased by 22 per cent when the production had increased only by 2 per cent and how they had recklessly gone on increasing paper money and there was reckless spending also, not always on things that could be justified. I think there were some items which were of a questionable nature. But this is not the time to go into those details.

[Dr. Sushila Nayar]

The economy has shown a turn for the better. As the Economic Survey shows, the gross national product rose by 5 per cent in the place of 1.6 per cent in the previous year. The food-stocks are at 120 million tonnes as against 111 million tonnes last year. The industrial production has increased by 5 to 6 per cent as compared with last year. Money supply increased by 8.7 per cent as against 12.4 per cent at the same time last year and 22 per cent in the year before. Sir, foreign exchange reserves stand at Rs. 4,000 crores. I will come to that a little later. It is not an unmixed blessing and we have to think as to how we should use those foreign exchange reserves so that they don't accelerate any deleterious effect on the economy of this country.

The previous Government was all along talking of socialism, talking of the poor people, but they were actually working for the money-bags. It is quite obvious when you look at the paper sometime back what was circulated. I think, in answer to one of the Unstarred Questions wherein it is shown how much the total capital of these big houses has increased during the past few years. The very fact that they gave unstinted support to the last Government is evidence how they benefited from the fiscal and other policies of that Government. They think with no stalgia of those good old days when the Government of the day had come to their rescue by suppressing working class completely, by taking away the rights of the working class to bonus, right to protest, the right to demonstrate and go on strike. Sir, I am not in favour of strikes.

I am all in favour of industrial harmony and industrial peace because I believe, that that is absolutely necessary for improving the production. And it is only with the increased production that the lot of the common man can be improved.

But, Sir, may I say that this excessive labour unrest of the recent times and some horrible excesses committed by some members of the labour in Kanpur and at some other places is most deplorable? I agree with that. But, may I know whether it could not be a reaction to the ruthless suppression of the workers during the past two years? All the same, we must cry halt to this type of activity and, we must see to it that something is done to restore normalcy in this area of labour relations.

The President mentioned about the Study Group on Wages, production etc. etc. I hope this Study Group's recommendations will be such that the labour and management together will be able to solve the problems and restore peace and harmony so that there is rapid increase in production and rapid improvement of the lot of the commonman.

May I say that it is necessary to link wages with productivity and I do hope that its report, when it comes, will do the needful so that the wage and productivity can go hand in hand and, in this fashion, the rights of the workers are protected? At the same time, when nation's economy improves production goes up.

We are pledged to improve the level of living of the commonman. But, may I submit that it is necessary that we should have a check on the unlimited growth of population? The setback to the family planning in recent times is rather unfortunate.

I know the excesses and all possible measures used by the last Government are largely responsible for this setback. But, I think that it is time that we take note of the fact that there is a setback and we should take remedial measures to check the growth of population because this family planning is not only in the interest of the nation but it is the interest of the individual, in the interest of health and happiness of the mother and child. Sir, it is a shame that in spite of the big claims that we

make, even in Punjab, there is so much of prosperity, infant mortality is more than 100 per thousand or so. Like that, the infant mortality is a measure of the progress of any nation but when there is high infant mortality, it shows that though we made claims that we have made progress, but really speaking, we have not. And one of the most potent means to lower the infant mortality is to lower the birthrate so that the mother's health and the child's health improves. (Interruptions)

श्री हुकम चन्द कछवाय : माननीय सदस्या धन्यवाद प्रस्ताव के समर्थन में बोल रही हैं। एक भी यहां पर कबिनेट स्तर का मंत्री उपस्थित नहीं है। दो राज्य मंत्री बैठे हुए हैं और वे भी आपस में बात कर रहे हैं। मंत्री को आप बुलाएं। इसको हम बरदाश्त नहीं करेंगे। हम कार्यवाही को चलने नहीं देंगे (व्यवधान) हम कुछ सुनना नहीं चाहते हैं। आप मंत्री जी को बुलाएं।

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF RAILWAYS (SHRI SHEO NARAIN): There are three ministers here. There is not the way to run the Government.

SHRI. B. P. MANDAL: When the debate is going on and there is absence of Cabinet Ministers, the House will be reduced into a debating society. The State Ministers are not Members of the Cabinet and so they have not got direct responsibility. It is most unfortunate. (Interruptions)

SHRI A. BALA PAJANOR (Fondicherry): The Cabinet Ministers are not here. The hon. Member, Dr. Sushila Nayar has made very important points. We have been listening to her. Probably there is no necessity for them to listen to her on the Treasury Benches. At least maximum courtesy should have been shown to the House. The hon. Member has made a very important point and she has not been

discussing in party lines. She has been discussing the national questions and many of the points raised by her are important. Why should they have a conference there? Actually they are distracting us?

श्री हुकम चन्द कछवाय : सभापति महोदय, जब तक कैबिनेट मंत्री को नहीं बुलवायेंगे तब तक हम कार्यवाही नहीं चलने देंगे। मैं पहले ही कह चुका हूं कि कोई न कोई कबिनेट मिनिस्टर को यहां पर बुलवाया जाय।

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: I have already asked the Minister of State for Parliamentary Affairs. Please take your seat now.

श्री हुकम चन्द कछवाय : पर दुख की बात है कि आप के आदेश का पालन नहीं हो रहा है, इससे बुरी बात और क्या होगी। आपके आदेश का पालन तत्काल हो तभी सदन की कार्यवाही चलेगी। आप के दिये हुए आदेश को आधे घंटे से ज्यादा हो गया लेकिन उसकी अवहेलना की जा रही है। हम इसको बरदाश्त नहीं कर सकते कि आप की आज्ञा का कोई उलंघन करे।

श्रीम तथ संसदीय कार्य मंत्रालय में राज्य मंत्री (श्री लारंग साय) : माननीय सिकन्दर बख्त आ रहे हैं।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय : माननीय कछवाय जी, और 5 मिनट दे दीजिये इन को।

श्री हुकम चन्द कछवाय : आप रहम कर रहे हैं इसलिये मैं माने ले रहा हूं।

SHRI. A. BALA PAJANOR: There is no inspiration for us because we are here to contribute valuable suggestions for the progress of the nation.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Give them five minutes more. Please continue your speech.

DR. SUSHILA NAYAR: Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I was talking of improvement of economy. There is need to further increase production and improve the economy so that there can be a rapid improvement in level of living of the common man, the working class and others in this country.

I must say a word here on the urgent need for our industrial sector to realise that the road to profit lies in small margins and big turnovers and not in big profits and small turnover. Look at the price of car! How it is going up, up and up so that cars are becoming impossible for an average person to have in this country.

Sir, may I say that not only it is necessary that there should be large turnover but also that there should be...

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Order. Order, please.

DR. SUSHILA NAYAR: If the Ministers are not there, let the hon'ble members do me an honour to listening to my speech.

I feel that the only way to improve production and economy is on the one hand to lower the prices so as to bring up the industrial products within the reach of the common man and on the other to improve their purchasing capacity. Unless they have the purchasing capacity and lift the goods that are produced by the industry, there is going to be a glut which we are already facing in so many sectors—as has been brought out by the Economic Survey—with the result that the economy cannot improve and the lot of the common man cannot improve. It is necessary that the Government should give some subsidy for home consumption in certain sectors as they have been doing for export but we must see to it that the economy can recover. This can only be done by increasing production for internal consumption. Some people think it can be done by

exports. Let there be exports by all means but not at the cost of internal consumption and internal requirements. Here I would like to say that we have decided to export 6.5 million tonnes of sugar. Government should see to it that the price of sugar does not rise within the country as a result of that and the consumer within the country does not suffer. Then, Sir, there is the problem of growing foreign exchange in this country. It is bound to exercise inflationary pressures unless something is done about it. Now, some people say that we should liberalise imports. If we liberalise imports, Sir, it is bound to have... (Interruptions) Sir, may I say that we have been trying hard for five years to become self-sufficient in this country. We have been trying to have production for import substitutes. If we liberalise these imports as is being proposed by some people, however, selective they are, it is found to have effect on the internal consumption and self-sufficiency. It is bound to have an adverse effect on some of the young entrepreneurs who have taken up some production units on their hands. What is the reason? Why our Government does not think terms of paying off some of our foreign debts from out of the foreign exchange that they have accumulated. I am not an economist, but it is a common sense proposition that if we have foreign exchange in excess of our needs, we should pay off our debts and we do not have to pay the interest. Let us pay back to clear the debts rather than give import liberalisation unless import of a particular item is very necessary to increase our production and it is absolutely not possible for us to produce it within the country.

Sir, may I say that the Industrial Policy of the Government deserves congratulations? The earmarking of 500 add items for the small-scale sector and the village industries is a welcome step and it is bound to create a lot of potentialities for self-employment within the country. I would like

to draw the attention of the Government to the problems of faced by some young entrepreneurs. We have young engineers in small enterprises. On the one hand, they have to strive and struggle with new small units and get them going on and on the other they are expected to pay 15 per cent or 18 per cent bank interest. They are not even able to cope with it. I know certain enterprises that are being run by them. But whatever loans have been given to them, they have been used up. Now they have no capital and they cannot get loans at 18 per cent interest because these small units do not produce as large a quantity as they should be in a position to make profits unless the prices are raised so much that they go beyond the consumers' capacity to pay. It is a serious problem and it must be immediately attended to. One of the most interesting things that has come in front of us which has really upset is that there are amendments which have been proposed by our friends on the Opposition.

Now, Sir, it says: the people who were a party to glaring corruption that was rampant during the Emergency are today talking of opposing prohibition on the basis that it will lead to corruption. May I inform these friends that liquor is one of the most potent agents of corruption in this country? If they have any doubts let them go and see in the big clubs in Delhi and other metropolitan towns, big hotels and restaurants. The industrial houses are keeping liaison officers to cultivate and encourage such officers and such politicians who drink, to drink and then they pay their bills. They cultivate their friendship and get favours. There is a saying in Hindi:

“प्याले की दोस्ती बड़ी पक्की होती है।

When you drink together you become very good friends. Those gentlemen who were a party to suppression of freedoms and civil liberties in this country oppose prohibition on the basis of freedom of individual. I am all for the freedom of the individual so long

as it does not interfere with the freedom of other men. But what right has a man to drink away his wages and make his wife and children starve? What right has a man to drink and drive a vehicle and kill people on the road or break their bones.

Then they say that if there is prohibition, there will be bootlegging and then they turn round and say prohibition has failed in the past and it is bound to fail in the future. May I in all humility tell my sister Parvathi Krishnan that it is not prohibition that has failed; it is the rulers who have failed. Prohibition was never tried in all earnestness, except in two States: erstwhile Madras state and erstwhile composite Bombay State. Unfortunately both were split and a part of it remained in Tamil Nadu and in Gujarat. Anybody who has eyes to see and who is impartial can see for himself how much it has benefited the labour classes, small men and poor people. Time does not permit me to narrate my experiences. I should only say that the proof of the pudding is in the eating. There were those who are highly opposed to prohibition in Gujarat and when they came to power people forced them to adhere to the policy of prohibition. I remember what a working woman told me. As a child of 12 she used to see her father drink and they all used to starve; then she was married and she said: When I was married I felt I had come out of hell: into heaven: but when my husband started drinking my words fell apart and I wanted to commit suicide. She was carrying a child and she did not want to die then, and then came the Prohibition. She says: I am the happiest living person; my home is happy. She narrated that she had been able to acquire after prohibition came into force many things. No government can take away prohibition from them that is the reaction of the working class. . . . (Interruptions)

If we try to remove prohibition what would happen? They would be forced to go back to it. The women and children clearly said: those who have

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taken away bread from our hands by reopening the toddy shops will not get our votes. So it was reversed and this strong feeling opened their eyes and they had to restore prohibition. There are many difficulties no doubt. I know there will be some illicit distillation. But that is like any other social problem which has to be dealt with by the government machinery. The argument that they are corrupt does not hold water. Then they are corrupt in everything else and all crimes have to be wiped away from the criminal Courts. Everything should be open to everybody to do whatever they want. That cannot be. I want to tell my friends opposite....

15 hrs.

SHRI C. M. STEPHEN (Idukki): Tell your friends on the other side also, including some of the Cabinet Ministers.

DR. SUSHILA NAYAR: I agree. I stand corrected. I wish to tell my friends on both sides that the illicit distillation is financed and managed by the liquor contractors and not by the small dealers. If any specific proof is needed. I can tell you, sometime back in Delhi there were three toddy shops, each was given one lakh bottles price of which was fixed at Rs. 14, so that if they sold every drop of liquor given to them they could earn only Rs. 42 lakhs. What was the price in the auction of these liquor shops—72 lakhs. We called some of the Excise Officers of Delhi Administration and asked them to explain the economics as to how they paid Rs. 72 lakhs when they could earn only Rs. 42 lakhs. From there somehow he escaped. Outside he told us, "Why do you ask these embarrassing questions? We know and you know what happens." It is a fact and honest Excise Officers have told us that they could not disapprove illicit distillation so far as the regular liquor is there. They say, "If there is no liquor we know that all liquor is illegal and we can deal with it." Therefore

the argument of illegal and illicit distillation does not hold water.

There is the argument of finances. We will lose revenue. This is the most ignorant argument and it is encouraged and spread again by the liquor contractors and our people without knowing, keep on repeating these arguments. I wish to tell them that it is the Government's experts who have brought out these figures and they say that for every one rupee that comes to Government through excise, a man who drinks spends Rs. four to five. Supposing the Government loses one thousand or two thousand crores of rupees and the people save Rs. 10,000 crores, is it not a gain? The people will spend this money on food and household materials and the sales tax receipts will go up if they go to cinema, the entertainment tax receipts will go up; if they put the money in banks, then their savings will go up; if they invest in business or anything else, their taxable capacity will go up. Thus the Government always gains and it never loses. What is the cost of drinking? It is amazing to see how ignorant our people are. It is stated in our own Indian Official Reports that for every one rupee earned through liquor, at least four rupees have to be spent to put down the problems created by liquor. The State of California has printed this figure that for every one dollar that they earn, they have to spend seven dollars to meet the situation because their social security and services are better than ours and so they have to spend more money on that? Is it economics to earn money in that fashion? I must say that it is nothing but ignorance and I congratulate the Government on their decision to bring about prohibition because this is one single step that will go farthest in improving the lot of the common man, the working class the Harijans, the adhvasis and the small farmers.

You see, what happens. You increase the wages, the wages go back

via the toddy shop to the liquor contractors. I had been to a Harijans busti where the cobblers earn no less than Rs. 30 a day, but still they were in a miserable condition. You know, why, Because liquor shop within that busti was selling liquor worth Rs. 5,000 everyday. How can they prosper when they lose money like this? There are so many examples, but I have no time. In Delhi, for lands acquired by the DDA, compensation was paid to many farmers, but they just went to big hotels and squandered away the money on drinks. The increase in price of farm products is washed away by liquor. In Punjab with all its prosperity, the infant mortality is so high because they do not spend the money on their wives and children but on liquor.

When America did away with prohibition what was the result? The per capita consumption of absolute alcohol rose three times than what it was when prohibition was scrapped in 1933. There were 10 million alcoholics in 1976 against 2.4 million in 1940, a four-fold increase. Alcoholism is public health problem number one in America today. There are hundreds thousands of mental cases as a result of that. There is a 25 million annual economic drain due to alcoholism. The loss is colossal. Nobody is concerned about people in mental hospitals, about deaths due to road accidents caused by alcoholism, about deaths due to damage to the liver caused by drinking! Yet, they oppose prohibition: Let them remove their ignorance and they will not attack prohibition the way they do.

Then we are told it will affect tourism. The tourists do not come here to drink but to know our country. I compliment our Prime Minister and Foreign Minister on the excellent relations that we have established with surrounding countries. Our tourists traffic is bound to go up provided we show them what we are and do not try to ape them and please them by providing things that we think they require.

World peace is very dear to us. It has been dear to us all along. The way to world peace is again prohibition. It makes people have a balanced mind, which leads to disarmament and development. There is a UN Conference on Disarmament. It is a very important issue. If all the people press for 1 per cent of the gross national product of every country to be devoted to world development, the result will be very good. If they advance a little bit in the direction of disarmament, this money can be saved for development, for better living conditions and peace and prosperity for the family of man!

MR. DEPUTY-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 20th February, 1978."

Hon. members present in the House who desire to move their amendments may send slips to the Table within 15 minutes indicating the serial numbers of the amendments they would like to move.

SHRI O. V. ALAGESAN (Arkonam): Sir, at the outset, I congratulate the Prime Minister on having come out unhurt from the bomb blast in Australia. Providence has been kind to him and saved him a second time. We are thankful to Providence for this. The whole country heaved a sigh of relief. Not only our Prime Minister but Heads of State and Prime Ministers of 11 Commonwealth Countries were here. They escaped unhurt from what would have been the worst international tragedy.

Sir, you will excuse me, I do not mean anything about the person of the President or the President in the per-

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sonal sense. I have sat through in the Central Hall listening to many a Presidential Address. But I cannot recall a single instance where it was duller than and more utterly lacking in conviction than the one we are discussing at the moment. It was aimless, purposeless and it betrayed utter bankruptcy, reflecting thus the true character of the present Government. There is a curious sentence in this Address. It boasts of re-establishing a just balance between and among the legislature, the executive, the judiciary and the citizens. And it says: "The process is very nearly complete." This is what the Address says. What is this balance that this Janata Government has discovered and has carried out? Let alone the balance between the various arms of the polity inter se and between them and the people? I would like to ask: Is there balance between and among the Cabinet Ministers themselves? The Government speaks in as many voices as there are Ministers. I cannot recall a single Government where that Government was more multi-voiced than the present Government. At times it is difficult to know who leads this Government, whether it is the Prime Minister or whether it is the Home Minister. Then, there is a strike in the State of Maharashtra. The Prime Minister roundly disapproves of this strike and here is the Industries Minister who supports this strike. Have you ever witnessed such a spectacle in this country before? Then, we find the unedifying spectacle of the Minister for Steel trying to snatch away coal from the hands of the Minister of Energy and the Minister of Energy like an orphan goes and cries before the Prime Minister and gets some relief and consolation for the time being. Have you ever witnessed such a spectacle before?

Then I come to bankruptcy. Is there a greater example of bankruptcy than for the Finance Minister of this country to go before the International Seminar of Economic Journalists, such

an eminent body, and throw up his hands and says "I do not understand how investment does not pick up in this country. I have removed all the constraints, but I am not able to see the reason why investment is not picking up." Can there be a greater bankruptcy than this? It is for the Finance Minister to analyse the causes and create conditions where investment can increase. On the other hand, we have a Finance Minister—and I think the sooner this Government gets rid of him the better it will be for this Government—who goes about and throws his hands up and says: "I do not know why investment is not picking up." And then, take the Janata Party itself. Has it found balance among itself? Has it adjusted its differences and settled down to honest work, the serious business of Government? Is one constituent of this conglomeration called Janata Party satisfied with other constituents of this Party? It is reeking with differences, with accusations and with all sorts of charges.

It is an uneasy combination of convenience; and it threatens to break up. I don't wish that it should break up, because if it happens, it will be a great calamity for this country. But for these people to talk of balance elsewhere, without having any balance within the limits of their own home, is such a strange spectacle in this country. It used to be said of Mr. Attlee's Labour government that it came to the end of its tether by the middle of its term, and ran out of all its programme and found itself with nothing to do for the rest of the term. Here we find a government which has exhausted itself within a year and shows signs of tiredness and boredom. If by some quirk of fate this government is turned out of office it seems that they will be the most happy people. They would run home and be happy to be rid of the bother.

I am now coming to a very serious question. As one hailing from the South.....

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA (Begusarai): You should be happy to jump in.

SHRI O.V. ALAGESAN: No jumping in. After some time, I will come to defection. Then you will hear me. On the question of language, we feel most intensely. This is a question which has been settled when we wrote down the Constitution. It has been settled when the Official Language Act was passed. But what do we find? We find adolescent thinking on the subject. I do not find any mature thinking, on this very sensitive question of language. People on the other side act like adolescents, when they jump in their seats and shout for Hindi. We have no objection to Hindi or any other Indian language—or to any language in the world. But to bamboozle the President to speak in Hindi; he was bamboozled so much that he apologized and told the gentlemen at the joint session: "I am not in a position to learn Hindi at this advanced age." That was what he said. Why should he be apologetic for reading his Address in English? This is what is what I would like to know.

Why should we be apologetic about speaking in English in this House? We don't object to other hon. Members speaking in Hindi and there are examples where hon. Members speak in Tamil, Telugu etc. And the language of the President himself is Telugu. It is one of the most mellifluous of languages. While referring to that language, our poet Bharati said: "Sundara Telunginil Pattisaithu". When Hindi and many of the North Indian languages had hardly been formed into languages and had come to be written and spoken (Interruptions).... This is the adolescent approach that I talked about. (Interruptions). Here is a language in which a trio of poets i.e. Telugu poets wrote the immortal epic, Mahabharata. It was written during the 10th or 11th century when Hindi was not formed. That is the language which our President speaks. I am not degrading let people understand—I am not degrading any language. Anyone who has got

anything to do with languages, anyone who has anything to do with any other language, cannot hate any language. (Interruptions) I say this because we are the people who suffered. I do not want this Government to ride roughshod over the feelings of the people of South India. That was exactly what I was going to say. There was a Congress Government in Tamil Nadu, one of the best Governments in one of the best administered States, and it had done a lot for the people though it might not have been clever in propaganda. Such a Government came to grief in a moment on the question of language, on the question of Hindi. So, I want the hon. Members on that side to realise the seriousness of this question. Certainly, if you go slow it will help. If you show indecent haste and adopt coercive measures, you will fail and destroy the fabric of Indian unity. In the British days, it is communalism that disrupted the unity of this country. But, in the present times, linguistic chauvinism, and that too Hindi chauvinism, contains the seeds of disruption.

Now what business has the Central Government to send communications in Hindi to a State like Kerala? Who in Kerala, the Government or the officers, can understand Hindi? Yet, this Government sends communications to them in Hindi and I was told, I do not know whether it is true or not, that they send the reply in Malayalam to the Central Government. It serves them right, I should say.

Similarly, I am told when a communication is sent from the Centre to Tamil Nadu Government, for instance, along with the English Communication, a translation in Hindi is also attached. Why this waste of labour? Who will understand this? To those States which do not know Hindi, which have not adopted Hindi as their official language, why do you send translation of English communications in Hindi? Why do you waste stationery, time and money of the Government of India?

So, I hope that a sense of realism will prevail in this matter and such adolescent things will not be repeated

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adolescent things will not be repeated and we shall have an end to this adolescent approach to this problem of language, his very sensitive problem of language. We respect all languages, because all languages are great and beautiful. Every language has got beautiful literature within it. So, let us not quarrel over languages. Let the Hon. Vi-Speaking hon. Members not say that we are not Indians, because we do not speak Hindi. We can speak in our own language, but we do not want to embarrass you, we do not want to put obstacles in the way of the proceedings of this hon. House. That is why I do not speak in Tamil my friend, Shri Stephen does not speak in Malayalam, nor my friend, Shri Krishnappa in Kannada. So, I hope a sense of realism will prevail and we will not expose ourselves to ridicule in this House by bringing up this question every time, of wanting to speak in Hindi or English, one side protesting against the other and so on.

Now I come to the very serious question of aid to the cyclone-affected States, especially Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu. Sir, your constituency was also badly affected by the cyclone. It was an unprecedented calamity, which had never happened for a hundred years. When such a calamity has befallen the people of Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu, what is the assistance that they demanded and what did they get? Tamil Nadu demanded an assistance of Rs. 130 crores and it got Rs. 33 crores. Similarly, Andhra Pradesh demanded a little less than Rs. 250 crores and the generous assistance given by the Central Finance Minister was Rs. 63 crores. What about the balance? And on what account has this been given? It is said that this money is being given as advance plan assistance in terms of the recommendations of the Sixth Finance Commission. I had occasion to take up this matter on the floor of this House. I told the hon. Finance Minister that if he gives this huge

amount as advance, the States future development plans will be affected. How will they find the money to push through their developmental plans? I requested the Finance Minister that he should not make this as part of advance plan assistance. It should be under a separate plan assistance. It should be recouped with other assistance. But there has been no satisfactory response from the Government on this matter. It is a very vital matter. It has been mentioned that it had happened two months ago and the people are apt to forget. But the sufferings of the people are yet to be over. They have not yet been rehabilitated. So, this is a burning question, and this is a current question. I hope, the Finance Minister while presenting his Budget will come out with an assurance that this will not be treated as advance plan assistance but it will be on a separate account and will be recouped later in easy stages. In this respect, I would like my hon. friends on the AIADMK side to know this. I read through the Budget speech of the Finance Minister of Tamil Nadu Government carefully. He has mentioned about it but he has not placed special emphasis upon it. I want the Finance Minister of Tamil Nadu to take up the matter with the Finance Minister here and see to it that he gets this assistance on terms which are favourable to Tamil Nadu. This is all I want to say on this matter.

The previous speaker, Madam Sushila Nayyar, who preceded me, talked about the Industrial Policy of this Government and congratulated this Government on increasing the number of items from 180 to 504 under the small scale sector. She can derive whatever consolation she wants from that fact but we have to examine how this 180 has swelled to 504. I understand that there have been many repetitions the same thing written thrice over and counted among 504. For instance there is an item called brushes of all types. That was under the old list. Under the new list, this has been expanded as (1) fibre brushes (2) point

brushes and (3) tooth brushes. Under the old list, you have steel furniture. Under the new list, new items have been added to this—steel furniture including steel chairs, tables, almirahs, rakes, cabinet etc. So, one point has been made into two. Similar is the case under various items like sanitary fittings, rubber moulding goods glassware, locks of all types. Similarly under various items duplication and multiplication has been indulged in and the figure of 180 has swelled into 504. Now, I do not know whether to call it duplication or duplicity. However I do not deny that there are new items. But I would like to say that this Industrial Policy is just like old wine in new bottle.

Coming to bottles, I was all the while feeling guilty when the hon. Member who preceded me pointed out to us saying, 'You want this or that', as if we were drunkards. I would like to assure you that I have never tested drink. So also my neighbour Mr. Stephen. Also, the hon. Member Dr. Sushila Nayar, indulged in the myth that is being sought to be spread by the Janata Government that 30 years of Congress rule has been a waste. I would like to know whether my hon. friend, Mr. Ramachandran, sitting luckily on the Treasury Benches agrees with this view. He was a part of us only till yesterday. Is he prepared to do self-condemning in the manner in which Dr. Sushila Nayar has done? She was also a Minister in the Congress Government. Does she condemn herself for what has been done in 30 years which include the number of years she was a Minister on the Congress side? So, she condemns herself also. First of all I would like to dispose of the canard that is being sought to be spread very assiduously by the Janata Government in order to justify itself

President Carter came as an honoured guest to our country. What has he got to say about India? He was saying it to the Members of Parliament and to the members of the Government on the other side. Why I say is that the Government is not the Congress

Government. He has not said it to please the present Government. It is being said by the other side that 30 years of the Congress rule has ended in mismanagement of the economy that no benefit has resulted from it and so on and so forth. This canard should be given a burial once and for all. That is why I am saying this. I hope it will not be repeated from the Government Benches hereafter.

This is what President Carter said in his momentous address to the Members of Parliament. Let people know. I quote:

"India is now a major industrial power. Your economy ranks among the ten largest in the world. It is virtually self-sufficient in consumer goods and a wide variety of iron and steel products.

There have been notable increases in production in nearly every important sector of industry—increases which reflect an economy of great technological sophistication.

Most important though are the advances in human welfare that have touched the lives of ordinary Indians.

Life expectancy has increased by twenty years since Independence. The threat of major epidemics has receded. The literacy rate has doubled. While only a third of Indian children went to school in the years just after Independence nearly 90 per cent of primary age Indian children now receive schooling. Nine times as many students go to universities as before.

I mention these gains because we tend to overlook them in our preoccupation with the problems that quite properly engage most of our attention.'

Again I would like show how this has been reinforced by another high dignitary that followed President Carter, I mean the Prime Minister of United Kingdom, the Rt. Hon. James Callaghan. This is what Mr. Callaghan said while addressing the Members of

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Parliament with the Prime Minister on the one side and the Vice-President and the Speaker on the other side. I quote:

"Your economic achievements in the past 30 years have been impressive by any standards. Your industrial production has risen by four times and your exports by six times. Your industrial capacity makes you the tenth largest industrial country in the world.

"And despite all the developmental problems with which you have had to wrestle food production has kept pace with the growth of population, and you now have 20 million tonnes of foodgrains in reserve.

"In India you are increasing the yield per acre; you are raising the standards of health and of education in the countryside.

"The great campaign for literacy the network of schools and colleges that have been established throughout the country - is truly impressive. It is no easy task against a background of poverty."

There are many more passages; I do not want to weary the House by quoting excerpts from the speeches of these two hon. gentlemen. But this is what they have said. And they have not said this to please anybody, they have not said this to tender a certificate to the previous Congress Government, they have not said this to disparage the present Government; nothing of that sort; they spoke the truth; they said this when they came to India and spoke to the Members of Parliament. So, I hope, the Government benches hereafter will stop this myth of saying that nothing has been done in the past.

I now come to the economic situation. The President's Address claims that the rate of growth of the economy has risen by five per cent this year as against two per cent last year. It also claims to have brought inflationary pressures under check and brought

down money supply substantially. It also claims that the prices now are no higher than what they were when the present Government took over. I beg to submit that the above statement which the President's Address contains will not stand a moment's scrutiny. I shall now quote some figures.

Thanking May-September, 1977, that is, five months, the monthly average of index of industrial production rose only by 4.7 per cent this year whereas it rose by twelve per cent in the corresponding period of 1976—during the same period. The production of steel ingots increased by 20 per cent last year whereas it increased only by 5.2 per cent this year. The cement production increased by 10.5 per cent last year; now it has increased only by 5.2 per cent. Similarly, production of cotton textiles in the mill sector; has been less in 1977 than in 1976. Even in foodgrain production, what has been the performance? The Address says that it is 118 million tonnes in 1977-78. But this figure, I would like to remind you is less than what it was in 1975-76 which was as much as 126.8 million tonnes. Now, according to the Economic Survey, the saleable steel production in the integrated steel plants increased only by 1.4 per cent this year as against an increase of 22.7 per cent last year in 1976-77.

I am now coming to prices. It is wrong to say that prices now are no higher than they were when the Janata Government took over in March last. This is what has been given in the Economic Survey: the wholesale price rose by 2.3 per cent over the year ending January 21, 1978. But the increase in some groups was much larger. Foodgrains, very important, rose by 8.6 per cent; pulses 38.4 per cent; fruits and vegetables 24.4 per cent; eggs, fish and meat 15.5 per cent and condiments and spices 28.3 per cent. This is the picture of the price rise. Now if the Government wants to escape by saying that the prices have not risen higher since they took over,

they would be like the proverbial ostrich hiding their heads in the sand and refusing to see the reality

As far as the money supply goes and as far as containing the inflationary trends goes, if time deposits in banks are any indication, they rose only by 18.5 per cent in this year, 1977-78 compared to an increase of 25.9 per cent last year, 1976-77, the first ten months in both these years being taken into account. This is the picture that the economic side of management of this Government presents and if the Government wants to pride itself or pat itself on its back, then woe to themselves and also to the country. I hope, they would try to correct this trend and take positive action and not indulge in a policy of drift.

Now they have been talking about the rolling plan. They said, they would go back on the concept of Five Year Plan. Now, in the Address, I find that luckily there is no mention of the rolling plan they speak of the Five Year Plan. We have yet to know the contents of the new Five Year Plan that they are preparing. Some advance information has been given by the press today. I hope, the Government will soon come before the House and tell us what their Sixth Plan is going to be like.

This Address speaks of electoral reforms also. I do not understand with what face this Government speaks of electoral reforms. Have they brought the much talked about Anti-Defection Bill before this House? Whenever we ask the Government on this question they usually escape by saying that they are having consultations with the Opposition. This is nothing but a lame excuse. What has happened to this Anti-Defection Bill? Why don't they bring it before the House? Do they want all defections to take place in their favour before bringing forward this Bill in the House. Already I do not see my immediate neighbour not this neighbour but another neighbour he has moved away a few yards from me. I also find that two of my es-

teemed colleagues are knocking at the door of Janata Party. The door is kept ajar; it is not completely closed nor it is fully opened. Thank to some principled members of the Janata Party.. The door is just ajar and these two esteemed colleagues of mine are standing outside the door and seeking entry and knocking very vigorously but so far nothing has been done. This is the state of defections in our country. And, I would tell you that the defections on the scale these have been taking place in India will demoralise democracy and demoralise public life. So, for Heaven's sake, bring this Anti-Defection Bill as early as possible do not delay further on this matter.

The hon. previous speaker, Dr Sushila Nayar, said that the Forty-Second Amendment to the Constitution should go wholesale. I would like to explain our stand with regard to the provision relating to Emergency in the Constitution. Who has suffered on account of Emergency? It is the Congress that has suffered on account of the Emergency; not that we were put in the jails, but because of Emergency the Congress rule was eclipsed in this country. That was the beneficent rule which was there for thirty years. This was because something wrong was done in the course of nineteen months when the Emergency was in force. So, if anybody should fight shy of the Emergency, it is the Congress Party, not the Janata Party.

In fact it was a blessing in disguise for the Janata Party. Otherwise, how could these heterogeneous groups get together into one party called the Janata Party, form the government and run the affairs of this country? So, emergency has been a blessing in disguise to you whereas it has been an absolute curse for us. So, if anybody should fight shy of emergency we should fight shy. So we will emphasize that the emergency provisions in the Constitution should go first. What is your government trying to do? They want to keep internal emergency in

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some form or the other. They say that if there is an internal rebellion in the country, then 'we would like to bring this emergency out from the bag and have it in the country'. We say that even under those conditions we do not want emergency. You understand why we say it? Because we have suffered under it. We are the real sufferers.... (Interruptions) You please exercise your mind and understand a little bit. Do not go by ordinary slogans. You suffered apparently under the emergency while we really suffered under it....

AN HON. MEMBER: Due to an error of judgment.

SHRI O. V. ALAGESAN: So, we would like this emergency to go, as the phrase has been used on the other side and I would like to repeat it, lock, stock and barrel.

Now, with regard to the provision relating to the MISA, I find in answer to a question that there are 263 people kept under the MISA and 163 persons kept under COFEPOSA. The total comes to 426. Now, there also I understand from a reply to this question that most of them are foreigners. So, it is very clear that this MISA is not needed for Indians. So, have some measure for dealing with foreigners alone. Do not say that we are repealing MISA with one hand and bringing in provision of preventive Detention by the other hand. Do not make MISA go by one door and Preventive Detention come by the other door. That is what we have been saying. So I am very glad when my sister, Dr. Sushila Nayar emphasized on this point and said that there should be no preventive detention law because it is a very tempting thing for any government and they succumb to this temptation. I remember Rajaji standing here and pleading very vigorously for preventive detention. But once you have got this thing on the statute book, then you will not like to give it up. It is only a temporary law upto now but you

want to make it a permanent feature of the criminal law of the land. Once you put it on the statute book, then you will be tempted to use it and you will be tempted to use it wrongly. So, for God's sake do not think of preventive detention in any form. If you want to deal with foreign nationals then have a separate law for that purpose....

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Mr. Alagesan, at least now you must end.

SHRI O. V. ALAGESAN: Now I would not like to displease you because I have to stand before you on future occasions also....

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: You have taken the maximum time.

SHRI O. V. ALAGESAN: So, with these words, I oppose the motion on the subject.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Hon. Members may now move their amendments.

SHRI M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR (Trivandrum): I beg to move:

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

"but regret that the Address does not take any note of the fact that the Government is refusing to take initiative within its power and competence to secure the release of Naxalites and other political prisoners including the under-trials who are still in prison in many parts of the country." (2).

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

"but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that the Union Government itself is now unleashing the policy of police attacks and police firings as well as other repressive measures such as ban on strikes, imposition of the prohibitory orders against working class and the democratic mass agitation by the working people." (3)

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

"but regret that the Address fails to note that some of the policies of the Government especially in relation to the big business are encouraging the latter to lunch offensives including physical attacks against the workers by using the so called "security force" of the employers with the police often conniving at such crimes." (4).

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

"but regret that the Address does not see that the laws relating to closure, retrenchment and lay-off are not being observed by the employers, the authorities in many places conniving at such plain illegality." (5).

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

"but regret that the Address does not show sufficient concern about the attacks on the Harijans, agricultural workers and other weaker sections of the village community, which are continuing in many parts of the country but are being deliberately underplayed by the Government numerically to explain away its derelict attitude and its failure to discharge its responsibility on this score." (6).

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

"but regret that the Address does not promise immediate effective measures which the Government is going to take for the implementation of the recommendations of the numerous commissions which have gone into the atrocities and social oppression perpetrated against the Harijans and Adivasis, and whose reports are already pending before the Government for necessary action." (7).

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

"but regret that the Address does not take note that the problem faced by the Harijans and other members of the Scheduled Castes as well as Adivasis are such which cannot be solved without radical agrarian reforms and other effective measures of controlling the privileged sections of the rural rich such as the landlords and other exploiting classes." (8).

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

"but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that upto now no effective measure at the higher levels in the States and at the Centre has yet been taken to set up appropriate machineries to deal with the cases of atrocities and social oppression against the Harijans, Adivasis and other backward sections of the society." (9).

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention the need to stop the attempt by the Government to discourage if not sabotage the expansion of the public sector which is essential for the development of a modern self-reliant industrial economy in the name of encouraging cottage and small scale industries, which in effect, would not mean any significant advance on their part but would only encourage the big business in the private sector to enter the new fields or otherwise strengthen their control and grip in our economy." (10).

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

"but regret that the Address does not feel express surprise that

[Shri M. N. Govindan Nair]

even the minimum agricultural wages are not being paid in a number of States." (11).

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

"but regret that the Address does not show any concern about the pronounced and growing anti-working class posture in the labour policy of the Government nor does it give any assurance that such policy which is contrary to democracy would never be permitted." (12)

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

"but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that the Central Government still refuse to recognise the Moplah freedom, the Moplah Rebellion of 1921, the Punnappa-Vayalar struggle and the Telengana upsurge as freedom struggle while many who were arrested during the recent Emergency are being provided with pensions." (13).

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

"but regret that the Address does not take note of the bitter and costly experience of the prohibition in the past resulting in corruption, boot-legging, total failure of the policy itself and heavy loss of several hundred crores of rupees to the exchequer." (14)

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

"but regret that the Address clearly ignores the very legitimate demand of the people for the nationalisation of the jute, textile, sugar as well as foreign drug industries in our country which is long over due." (15).

PROF. P. G. MAVALANKAR (Gandhinagar): I beg to move:

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention some concrete, effective and significant measures by which the Government wishes (a) to curb rising prices and inflationary trends in the economy, (b) to ensure unmistakably the conditions of law and order and democratic and civil discipline in the nation, and (c) to give to the citizens—particularly to the economically weaker sections of the community including Harijans and Girijans—a reasonably good guarantee about the steadily improving and increasing welfare activities in our Democratic Republic." (16).

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

"but regret that bemoans the absence in the Address of the assurance by the Government that the Constitution (Forty-second Amendment) Act, obnoxious and perverted and harmful as it is to normal constitutional Government and democratic function, would be removed lock, stock and barrel." (20).

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

"but regret the failure to mention in the Address the Government's intention of the total repeal of the Maintenance of Internal Security Act from the Statute Book." (21)

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

"but regret that the Address does not include the promise that the Government would annul the provision of pension to former Members of Parliament." (23).

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address as to when the various investigating Commissions, like the Shah Commission, would conclude their proceedings and submit their findings so as to enable the Government to punish—as per laws and rules—those found guilty of a variety of excesses during the dark days of the June, 1975—March, 1977 'Internal Emergency'." (23).

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

"but regret that the Address is almost silent on the need and nature of educational changes for the building up of a truly literate, well educated and enlightened citizenry for the health and progress of the Indian polity." (24).

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

"but regret that the Address fails to give any indication of the Government's determination to evolve and implement a proper, phased and balanced programme of employment to lakhs of young men and women, including the educated unemployed." (25).

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

"but there is no mention in the Address of the Government's proposal for the lowering of voting rights from the age of 21 to that of 18." (26).

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

"but regret that the Address does not point out precisely the dangers of all kinds of fascist, sectarian and dictatorial trends which still manifest themselves and menace the political and national scene, and which must therefore be severely and speedily

dealt with by appropriate governmental action." (27).

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

"but regret the absence in the Address of a proper emphasis on the urgent need for a genuine and qualitative change in the style and functioning of the Government at all levels and in various spheres." (28).

SHRI P. K.-DEO (Kalahandi): 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 need for registration of political parties under the Societies Registration Act, 1860 and publication of their annual accounts audited by a Chartered accountant." (53).

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address of the need to remove the various regional imbalances so far as development is concerned during the Sixth Five Year Plan." (54).

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 time limit of the submission of reports of the various Commissions constituted to enquire into the excesses of the Emergency and the allegations against certain individuals." (55).

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address of the need to locate industries in public sector in backward areas of the country." (56).

[Shri P. K. Deo]

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

"but while appreciating the prohibition policy of the Government, regret that no mention has been made in the Address about the insincerity of certain State Governments in implementing the Centre's policy." (57).

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 involvement of big powers in creating trouble in the 'Horn of Africa' thereby intensifying the already existing world tension." (58).

SHRI R. VENKATARAMAN (Madras South): 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 review of the Centre-State relationship and decentralisation of powers." (124).

SHRI K. GOPAL (Karur): I beg to move:

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

"but regret that the Address fails to mention the need for:—

(a) curbing inflationary trend in the economy and bringing down prices.

(b) tackling the problem of unemployment in any concrete manner.

(c) bringing about a suitable climate of industrial relationship with a view to promoting production and growth." (143).

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 alarming deterioration in the law and order situation in the country and the steps that are being taken to meet the situation." (144).

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

"but regret that the Address fails to make any mention of the communal riots in different parts of the country which have resulted in serious loss of life, limb and property of the minorities." (145).

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

"but regret that the Address contrary to Government's earlier assurances and seeks to endorse the perpetuation of MISA through back door by making preventive detention a part and parcel of Cr. P.C." (146).

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

"but regret that the Address does not make any mention of the suppression of and use of force against peaceful agitations of teachers for their democratic rights in different parts of the country." (147).

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 wide misuse of power by the Government to suppress the rightful activities of political opponents." (148).

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

"but regret that the Address fails to take note of serious and extensive industrial unrest resulting in loss of production and violent attack on the working class and suppression of their democratic rights." (149).

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 anarchic conditions prevailing in a number of Universities and ruthless suppression of the students and use of force against them causing serious disruption of academic life in various institutions in different parts of the country." (150)

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

"but regret that the Address does not make any mention whatsoever of the loss resulting from the closure, retrenchment and lay-off resorted to by the employers in collusion with the authorities." (151)

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

"but regret to note that the Address does not show any concern for the disturbing dilution in the Government's approach to:—

- (a) planned economic growth.
- (b) the principle of self-reliance and indigenisation of industrial policy.
- (c) incursion of multinational companies in the national economy." (152)

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

"but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that Hindi is being unilaterally, unimaginatively and compulsorily imposed on non-Hindi speaking States and public in total disregard of their cultural traditions and sentiments, throwing to the winds earlier assurances of the Government that All Indian languages will be given equal treatment and English will continue as official language as long as non-Hindi speaking people want to continue it." (153)

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

"but regret that the Address does not spell out in concrete terms the much promised and publicised educational reforms." (154)

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

"but regret that the Address does not take note of the serious dilution that has been taking place in the field of Science and Technology undermining accent on self-reliance, especially in the nuclear technology." (155).

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

"but regret that the Address does not make any mention of the Ganga-Cavery link canal which will bring about a revolution in the agricultural economy of the country." (156)

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

"but regret that the Address fails to take note of the fact that Central Government's assistance to the States of Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu and Kerala affected by unprecedented cyclones and tidal waves and floods has neither been adequate nor is accompanied by an assurance that it will not be allowed to come in the way of future development plans of the States concerned." (157)

SHRI ABDUL AHAD VAKIL
(Baramulla): 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 review of Centre-State relations with a view to decentralise power." (160)

[Shri Abdul Ahad Vakil]

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention the recent communal riots in different parts of the country in which property worth crores of rupees belonging to minorities was destroyed and human lives lost and in future measures to be taken by the Government to curb recurrence of such riots, rehabilitation of confidence among minorities, religious, linguistic or weaker sections of the country." (161)

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the measures to be taken by the Government to meet the challenge posed by educated and uneducated unemployed in the country." (162)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address that Urdu language will be given the status of second official language in the Northern States." (163)

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

"but regret that the Address does not assure that recruitment in all Government Department of religious minorities, linguistic minorities, and weaker backward sections in the country would be done on priority basis." (164)

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

"but regret that the Address fails to enlist steps to be taken by the Government for improving relations with neighbouring countries particularly within countries in the sub-continent." (165).

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

"but regret that the Address does not give assurance of the steps to eliminate corruption at all levels and discourage political opportunism by passing of legislations like Lokpal and anti-defection." (166)

SHRI A. V. P. ASAITHAMBI (Madras North): I beg to move:

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address that Hindi will not be imposed on the non-Hindi speaking States and that English will continue as an official language as long as the non-Hindi speaking people desire its continuance." (214)

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

"but regret that the Address does not refer to the plight of the people of Indian origin in Sri Lanka who came to their motherland as refugees and the measures taken for their rehabilitation." (215)

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

"but regret that the Address does not take note of the demands made by the Chief Ministers and leaders of political parties of several States for the grant of more autonomy to States and does not indicate Government's reaction thereto." (216)

SHRI GIRIDHAR GOMANGO (Koraput): 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 sub-plan for the tribal areas of the country which has been adopted by the States and Cen-

tre to formulate the scheme by earmarking allocation from different developmental departments of State plan allocations and Central Ministries from their annual plan allocations for the economic upliftment of tribals and development of tribal areas in annual plans and in Sixth Five Year Plan. (217).

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address regarding the policies related to the tribal people such as (a) Forest Policy; (b) Excise Policy; (c) Personnel Policy; (d) Educational Policy; and (e) Economic Policy, so as to bring their scheme in the main stream of national policy and plan." (218)

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address regarding distribution of ceiling surplus lands to the tribals, alienation of tribal lands, distribution of Government waste lands, rehabilitation of tribals who have been deprived of their lands due to big irrigation projects and plans, improvement of land provided to the tribals for production by providing irrigation, inputs, investment facility and involvement of the tribal peasants for agricultural production." (219)

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address regarding the strengthening and reforming of the administrative machinery in the Scheduled areas of the country." (220).

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 policies and guidelines by the Government of India with regard to tribal and backward areas in the current financial year and Sixth Five Year Plan to develop these areas, to eradicate regional imbalance by raising the irrigation, communication, education allocations." (221)

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address of the need for change of the financial year from 31st March to 15th June according to the climatic condition in the rural areas." (222)

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address to check all forms of exploitation of tribals which is still existing in direct and indirect manner in tribal areas." (223)

SHRI MANORANJAN BHAKTA
(Andaman and Nicobar Islands): 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 preference for the industrial development of the backward and isolated districts in the country." (224)

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 sad plight of life led by the people of Andaman & Nicobar Islands due to high cost of living unconcerned administrative system, sudden increase of passenger and cargo fare and freight to the tune of 25 per cent inadequate and most hopeless mainland Andaman and Inter Island shipping service and lack of proper plan-

[Shri Manoranjan Bhakta]

ning for the development of the far-flung Union territory." (225).

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

"but regret that no mention in the Address has been made for providing popular administrative set up for the Union Territories in the light of democratic norms and policy of decentralisation." (226).

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 need for accelerated development and provision of incentives to the backward territories." (227).

SHRI C. M. STEPHEN (Idukki): I beg to move:

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

"but regret that words and phrases of threat have been used against people's movements pressing for redressal grievances." (230).

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

"but regret that the speech has presented a picture of a year of total bankruptcy of action in the matter of meeting the socio-economic problems of the people." (231).

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

"but regret that in the matter of the failure of the Government in the matter of law and order problem, family planning etc. the President has sought to find an alibi in the emergency." (232)

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

"but regret that no serious view has been taken of the atrocious

suppression of and attacks on the Harijans and other weaker sections." (233)

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

"but regret that the Address acknowledges, contrary to the factual position, that the Commissions of enquiry 'are engaged in the onerous tasks' assigned to them." (378)

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

"but regret that the Address has failed to announce the winding up of the Shah Commission." (379)

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

"but regret that the Address has not referred to the omission to make available Radio and Television for election broadcasts for the current Assembly elections in discriminatory contrast to State Assembly elections in June 1977." (380)

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

"but regret that no mention has been made about the farcical digging out of the time capsule, the omission of the Government to make its contents available to Parliament and the omission of admission that the loudly trumpeted attacks against the capsule were borne out to be baseless and unjustified." (381)

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

"but regret that no mention was made about the imposition of the President's rule in Karnataka on the eve of the meeting of the Assembly and about the conduct of the State Government in making announcement when the election was on in disparagement of certain candidates." (391).

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE
(Jadavpur): I beg to move:

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

"but regret that in the Address
there is no mention about the
need for a fresh look to the deve-
lopment of Sundarban areas in
West Bengal." (277).

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

"but regret that in the Address
there is no mention about the
need for providing unemploy-
ment allowance to the educated
unemployed." (278).

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

"but regret that in the Address
there is no mention about the
need for providing work or food
to the agricultural workers in the
rural areas." (279).

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

"but regret that in the Address
there is no mention about any ra-
dical land reform measures." (280)

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

"but regret that in the Address
there is no mention about the
severe attacks on Harijan agricul-
tural labourers and tribals in the
countryside and the failure of the
Administration to book the cul-
prits and prevent such atrocities." (281).

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

"but regret that in the Address
there is no mention about the need
for supply of essential commodi-
ties to people through opening up
of fair price shops through out
the country." (282).

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

"but regret that in the Address
there is no mention about the
failure of the Government to give
timely warning and protection to
the people of coastal areas from
sea fury and cyclonic storms." (283).

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

"but regret that in the Address
there is no mention about the
failure of the Government to give
a fresh look against sea erosion
which is affecting more and more
the main land in West Bengal and
southern parts of the country." (284).

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

"but regret that in the Address
there is no mention about the
need to call a National Conven-
tion on 'Centre-State Relations'
and powers." (285).

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

"but regret that in the Address
there is no mention about the
soaring prices of the essential
commodities which are affecting
the poor people in the country." (286).

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

"but regret that in the Address
there is no mention about the eco-
nomic development of backward
States like Assam, Tripura; Orissa
and Madhya Pradesh." (287).

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

"but regret that in the Address
there is no mention about the
need for development of tourism
in Jammu and Kashmir and Tri-
pura." (288).

[Shri Som Nath Chatterjee]

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention about the need for communication development of Tripura." (289).

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention about the need to eradicate casteism from India." (290).

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

"but regret that the Address fails to mention about the need for quick development of Haldia Port." (291)

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

"but regret that the Address fails to mention about the revival of Calcutta Port." (292).

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

"but regret that the Address fails to mention about the damage caused to the Calcutta Port due to non-availability of 40 thousand cusec of water needed for the navigability in Hooghly river." (293).

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

"but regret that the Address fails to mention about the failure of the Central Government to render immediate assistance to the West Bengal State Government to improve the severe power crisis." (294).

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the declaration of 'May Day' as a national holiday." (295).

PROF. SHIBBAN LAL SAKSENA (Maharajganj): I beg to move:

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the catastrophe that has overtaken the cane growers in U.P., Bihar and in fact all over the country owing to the bumper cane crop and catastrophic fall in the value of sugar owing to which sugar factories which started quite late will be unable to crush all available sugarcane and Khandsarie." (303).

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address that the Central Government has not issued any directions to State Governments to remove all restrictions on number of admissions to B.Ed., classes in existing B.Ed. training colleges and allow other degree colleges to start B.Ed. training colleges, L.T. training colleges and B.T.C. training colleges and permit private institutions to start new degree colleges with affiliation to teach B.Ed., L.T., B.T.C. classes in them." (304).

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention the measures that must be adopted to combat famine conditions prevailing in the Gorakhpur Division particularly in Dharwa and Maharajganj districts of Gorakhpur where a terrible drought has destroyed all crops." (305).

SHRI RAMACHANDRA RATH (Aska): I beg to move:

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of any

positive measures for creating avenues for new jobs by stepping up industrial production, curbing industrial unrest setting up new industries, starting rural based agro-industries for the benefits of the unemployed in the rural areas imparting vocational and job-oriented training in the educational institutions for self-employment and such other methods to solve the problem of unemployment." (366).

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of any positive, definite and effective measures to curb the price rise and artificial scarcity of essential commodities created by unscrupulous businessmen which hits hard the common man particularly the poor and the middle class." (367).

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address to improve the standard in our educational institutions through educational reforms by introducing modern techniques eradicating administrative inefficiency, improving the quality of teaching and research through making available adequate library, laboratory facilities, awarding more freeships, scholarships to the needy and deserving students, organising study tours and also improving the quality of teachers by organising summer teacher training programmes and seminars in the advanced fields." (368).

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of any positive steps to curb the fast deteriorating law and order situation

in the country resulting in mass murders of Harijans, industrial workers, innocent men and women and alarming rise in crime rate." (369).

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of any positive policy or programme towards improving the living conditions of Harijans and Adivasis who constitute a large bulk of the population of the country and to protect their life and property from the atrocities of the caste Hindus which has risen in great proportions in the recent times." (370).

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of any measures to control the growing inefficiency, corruption and nepotism in the bureaucracy which is growing stronger day by day detrimental to the interest and well being of the country." (371).

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Now the amendments are also before the House.

श्री बी० पी० मंडल : (मधेपुरा): उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, राष्ट्रपति जी के प्रति जो धन्यवाद का प्रस्ताव प्रस्तुत हुआ है, मैं उस का समर्थन करता हूँ ।

15.49 hrs.

[MR. SPEAKER in the Chair]

लेकिन मैं एक बात साफ कर देना चाहता हूँ कि श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी के सभासदों की तरह या रावण के सभासदों की तरह हम लोग हाँ-में-हाँ मिलाने वाले, जनता पार्टी के सदस्य नहीं हैं । रावण के समय में रावण जी अपने सभासदों की मीटिंग बुलाया

[श्री बी० पी० मंडल]

करता था और जब वह उन से पूछता था कि क्या विचार है, तो उस के सभासद जो राजस लोग थे, कहते थे कि हम आदमी और बन्दर को तो रोज ही खाते हैं, इस में कोई नई बात नहीं है। ऐसे ही सभासद श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी के वक्त में होते थे—यदि उस समय उन लोगों ने उन को रोका होता तो आज यह हालत देश की नहीं होती, जनतंत्र की न होती और वे अपने किये की जो सजा भोग रहे हैं वे न भोगते। इसलिये मैं कुछ वाजिब बातें कहना चाहता हूँ।

अध्यक्ष महोदय, इस बार का जो इमेबलन रिजल्ट था, वह कोई मामूली रिजल्ट नहीं था। यह एक रेवोलूशन था, एक क्रान्ति थी, जिस में सारे के सारे उत्तर भारत में कांग्रेस का बक्सा निल रह गया, लेकिन रेवोलूशन जहां कहीं भी होता है और उम के कारण जो दूसरी सरकार बनती है, उस में जनता यह उम्मीद करती है कि कोई डाइनेमिक चेन्ज, कोई रेडिकल चेन्ज होगी। अफसोस के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि जनता पार्टी की सरकार बनाए लगभग एक वर्ष हो गया है लेकिन अभी तक कोई भा डाइनेमिक चेन्ज नहीं दिखाई दी, कोई रेडिकल चेन्ज नहीं दिखाई दो और स्थिति वसी है जैसा कि कहा जाता है “वही रक्तार बड़ेगी जो पहले थी अब भी है।” वही जाही ठाट चल रहे हैं, वही तन्त्राहें ले रहे हैं और मिनिस्टर्स के पास वही पी० ए०, वही स्पेशल एसिस्टेंट और बहुत सारा दूसरा स्टाफ चल रहा है और काम के वक्त जबकि संसद में इतना इम्पोर्टेंट डिस्कशन चल रहा हो, तो एक भी कैबिनेट मिनिस्टर नहीं बैठता और जब बुलाते हैं तो बहुत मुश्किल में वे आ पाते हैं। इस में अध्यक्ष महोदय आप को भी दिक्कत हो जाती है कि करें तो क्या करें। बमोकेटिक

प्रिसिपल के मुताबिक जब कोई इम्पोर्टेंट डिस्कशन हाऊस में चल रहा हो तो, कैबिनेट मिनिस्टर को रहना चाहिए, प्राइम मिनिस्टर को रहना चाहिए और कम से कम दो, चार मिनिस्टर्स को रहना चाहिए। कैबिनेट के कम से कम एक मिनिस्टर को तो रहना ही चाहिए लेकिन उन की एटेंडेंस टोटली निल हो जाती है। ऐसे वक्त में मुनासिब तो यह होता कि अध्यक्ष महोदय आप पांच, दस मिनट के लिए इस संसद की बैठक को स्थगित कर दें। जब यहां पर इस बात को उठाया गया, तो वे बड़ी मेहनत करने पर आए, बड़ी मिनत करने पर आए और आखिर वे यहां आने के लिए मान गये। इसलिये देखने में यह आता है कि लोगों को कोई खास फायदा नहीं हुआ है। इन लोगों से जनता को बहुत उम्मीदें थी और वे यह सोच रही थी कि ये कुछ कर के दिखायेंगे लेकिन उन की उम्मीदें यों ही रह गई और कुछ खाम हुआ नहीं। चीन में जो क्रान्ति आई थी, उस में पहले जो वहां पर मोनार्की थी, उस के बाद जो के० एम० टी० की सरकार बनी, उस में लोगों को बहुत निराशा हुई लेकिन जब माऊ-त्से-तंग की सरकार बनी, तो बहुत डाइनेमिक चेन्ज चीन में आई, जिस से उनकी सरकार अभी तक चली और उन के मरने के बाद अभी तक वह सरकार चल रही है। यहां पर क्या डाइनेमिक चेन्ज आपने किया है? हमें तो कोई डाइनेमिक चेन्ज दिखाई नहीं देती। कांग्रेस सरकार के जमाने में जो बूसखोरी चलती थी, वसी ही बूसखोरी आज भी चल रही है। कोई नहीं बता सकता कि किसी किसम की चेन्ज हमें दिखाई देती है। कोई डाइनेमिक चेन्ज आप नहीं लाए हैं और कुछ करने की मायब तय्यारी भी नहीं है।

अब मैं राष्ट्रपति महोदय ने जिन बातों का जिक्र किया है, उन के सम्बन्ध में अपने कुछ विचार जाहिर करना चाहता हूँ। राष्ट्रपति महोदय ने सब से पहले यह कहा है कि हम ने लोगों की फ्रीडम को उन को वापस दिला दिया है। यह सही है कि हमारी सरकार ने उन की फ्रीडम को वापस दिला दिया है लेकिन बार बार फ्रीडम की वापसी की बात कहने से काम नहीं चलेगा। कोई नई बात आप को लोगों के लिए करनी चाहिए। प्रेस का फ्रीडम की बात भी कही गई है। ठीक है, प्रेस का फ्रीडम मिल गई है लेकिन जितनी फ्रीडम उनके लिए मुनासिब है, उतनी ही उन को देनी चाहिए। मैं तो यह समझता हूँ कि उनके ऊपर भी कुछ कन्ट्रोल की आवश्यकता होती है। बाबू जगजीवन राम की जो बनारस में बेइज्जती हुई, उस का कोई खास जिक्र अखबारों में नहीं आया। मैं उस वक्त बम्बई के एक अस्पताल में बीमार था और बराबर अखबार पढ़ता था। किसी ने उस का कोई खास जिक्र किया हो, ऐसा मालूम नहीं होता था। यहाँ पर जो प्रेस के मालिक हैं वे कैपोटेलिस्ट्स हैं और उन के अपने वेस्टेड इन्ट्रेस्ट्स हैं। जो उन को सूट करता है, वही यूज वे छाप देते हैं। वे पूरी न्यूज नहीं देते हैं। इसलिए जितनी फ्रीडम हम ने उनको दी है उतनी वे डिजबल कर रहे हैं और यह देश के हित के बात है कि उन पर थोड़ासा नियंत्रण होना चाहिए। अध्यक्ष महोदय, देखिये संसद की जो रिपोर्टिंग होती है, उसमें जिन दो-चार सदस्यों के नाम उन्हें पसंद होंगे उनकी कार्यवाही को वे छाप देंगे बाकि सब को छोड़ देंगे। मेज प्रेजिडेंट आफ पार्लियामेंट के अनुसार पार्लियामेंट की रिपोर्टिंग प्रेस में करेक्ट होनी चाहिए। कामनवेल्थ या ब्रिटेन का जो इतिहास

है उसके अनुसार वहाँ की पार्लियामेंट का स्पीकर किसी भी अखबार को पार्लियामेंट की प्रोसीडिंग्स छापने से रोक सकता है। हमने जनता पार्टी के मनिफेस्टो में कहा है कि हम टेलीविजन और रेडियो को आटोनोमस बोर्डों बनायेंगे लेकिन अभी तक उन्हें बनाया नहीं गया है। अभी आपने देखा होगा कि बाबू जगजीवन राम जी के बारे में जो यहाँ पर चर्चा हुई थी, उसमें कम से कम 15 सदस्यों ने भाग लिया होगा लेकिन कितने सदस्यों के भाषण रेडियो और टेलीविजन पर आये। अध्यक्ष महोदय, या तो आप इस सब को कंट्रोल कीजिए नहीं तो अगर यह मामला प्रिविलेज में आता है तो आप हमें इजाजत दीजिए ताकि इन लोगों के बारे में प्रिविलेज लाया जाए।

अध्यक्ष महोदय, यहाँ पर 42वें संविधान संशोधन की चर्चा हुई। यहाँ पर एमजेंसी के बारे में भी कहा गया है। इसके बारे में मेरा सुझाव है कि या तो संविधान में से एमजेंसी का प्रोविजन बिल्कुल निकाल दिया जाए या उसको डिफाइन कर दिया जाए कि किन किन परिस्थितियों में इन्टरनल एमजेंसी देश में लागू की जा सकती है। मैं समझता हूँ कि संविधान में इस प्राविजन को इसलिए रखा गया था कि देश में अगर ब्लडशेड होता है तो उसे रोका जा सके। जब संविधान बना, उस समय हिन्दुस्तान का विभाजन हुआ था और बहुत से स्थानों पर ब्लडशेड हो रहा था। इसी कारण से यह एमजेंसी का प्रोविजन रखा गया। हम इसका इस्तेमाल उस समय भी कर सकते हैं जब कि मालिक और मजदूरों में लड़ाई हो और वह देश के साधारण कानूनों से न रुक पा रही हो। लेकिन संविधान निर्माताओं ने यह कभी नहीं सोचा होगा कि देश का कोई ऐसा नेता भी होगा या होसी जो अपने

[श्री बी० पी० मंडल]

को पावर में रखने के लिए इस एमर्जेंसी के प्रोजेक्शन का मिसयूज करेगा। अगर इस प्रोजेक्शन को डिफाइन कर दिया जाता या इसे रखा ही नहीं जाता तो ऐसा नहीं होता। इसलिए मेरा सुझाव है कि अगर इस प्रोजेक्शन को हटाना मुश्किल न हो तो इस डिफाइन कर दिया जाए कि जब देश में अराजक है हिन्दू-मुसलमानों में है या कम्युनिज्म-मजदूरों में है और जिस आरिजिनरी को से कदाल न किया जा सके उस सूरत में ही इसका न्याया जा सकता है। यह न हो कि इलाहाबाद हाई कोर्ट ने अजमेट दे दिया और इस एमर्जेंसी का इम्प्लीमेंटेशन का पावर में रखने के लिए कर लिया। आज तो इंदिरा गांधी जी कल को कोई और भी व्यक्ति हो सकता है जा घबरे का सत्ता में बरकरार रखने के लिए इसका इम्प्लीमेंट कर बैठे और इसका मिसयूज कर जाने। इसलिए मेरा पुनः यह सुझाव है कि इस एमर्जेंसी के प्रोजेक्शन का भारत के संविधान से हटा दिया जाए। अगर यह न हो सके तो इसे कम से कम डिफाइन कर दिया जाए कि किन किन परिस्थितियों में एमर्जेंसी लागू की जा सकती है और एमर्जेंसी खानू करने के बाद उसे किनने समय तक बरकरार रखा जा सकता है। संविधान में यह डिफाइन करना जरूरी है। इस सम्बन्ध में सरकार न जा भी कदम उठाने चाहिए थे, वे कदम सरकार अभी तक नहीं उठा पाई है।

राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण में पिछले रिप्रिजेंटेशन एक्ट से अजमेट करने की बात भी कही गई है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि इसमें खर्च के बारे में भी अजमेट होना चाहिए। अध्यक्ष, महोदय, आप भी जानते हैं, और सब जानते हैं कि इस एक्ट के मुद्दाबिक कोई भी व्यक्ति पार्लियामेंट का सम्बन्ध रखने के लिए 35 हजार रुपये

खर्च कर सकता है लेकिन लोग खर्च करते हैं दो-दो लाख रुपये। इम्प्लीमेंट का जा अकाउंट दिया जाता है वह बोगस अकाउंट होता है। हमारा देश गरीब है, देश में अधिकांश लोग गरीब हैं इसलिए इस खर्च के बारे में भी इस एक्ट में प्रोजेक्शन किया जाए। वह पार्लियामेंट में या विधान सभा में जाने का खर्च भी नहीं दे सकता है भोजपुरी परिस्थितियों में। जा जाता सांशलिज्म की बात करते हैं वे चुनाव में लाखों लाख खर्च कर देते हैं। बता नहीं कहा से वे यह रुपया लाते हैं। जो गरीब बाबा मर रहा है वह मैनेज नहीं कर सकता है। इसलिए रिप्रिजेंटेशन आफ वीवल एक्ट में इस प्रकार का एमंडमेंट होना चाहिए ताकि इस तरह से चुनाव में पैसा बहाबा न जा सके।

16 hrs.

नाकपास बिल के बारे में भी राष्ट्रपति जी न कहा है। 1968 में शायद यह पक्षी बार भाषा था। उस वक्त मैं भी पार्लियामेंट का सदस्य था। तब से आज तक यह बिल आता रहा है और चला जाता रहा है। यह जब ऐक्ट बने तो मैं समझता हूँ कि इस में बहुत ज्यादा बेजिज कर दिए जाए तभी इसको ऐक्ट का रूप दिया जाए। आप इसका रिक्लामेडेटरी वाडी बनाना चाहते हैं। उसमें कुछ नहीं होगा। ऐक्ट मंडेटरी होना चाहिए उसकी प्राविजन्स मंडेटरी होनी चाहिए। आप शायद प्राइम मिनिस्टर का भी इस बारे में मत माना चाहते हैं और उस पर कुछ मतभेद है, ऐसा मुझे लगता है। मैं समझता हूँ कि प्राइम मिनिस्टर ही, हाई कोर्ट के जज ही, सुप्रीम कोर्ट के जज ही उन सब पर उसका जूरिसडिक्शन होना चाहिए। उस बिल प्रधान मंत्री ने कहा कि पार्लियामेंट के मेम्बर भी उस में आए। मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि उनको रखने से क्या लाभ

होगा ? वे करते क्या हैं ? वे अपनी बात कहते हैं । उनको इंडिपेंडेंट रहना चाहिए, जो समझें कहें और करें । कलम उनके पास नहीं है कि वे आर्डर कर दें । वे किसी मिनिस्टर के पास सिफारिश करते हैं तो वह मिनिस्टर उनकी सिफारिश को न सुने, उसको इसकी आजादी है । पार्लियामेंट के मम्बरों को उस में घसीटना ठीक नहीं होगा और कोई लाभ उससे नहीं होगा । जब बिल आएगा तब मैं फिर बोलूंगा । इस वक्त मैं इतना ही कहना चाहता हूँ कि लोकसब को ज्यादा पावर देनी चाहिए । जिन के एग्जैक्टिव फंक्शन हैं, जो हाई प्लेसिस में हैं, जिन के हाथ में और जिन की कलम में कुछ करने की ताकत है उनको उस में लिया जाना चाहिए । पार्लियामेंट के मम्बरों को उस में घसीट कर लाना और बेकार की कंट्रोवर्सी खड़ी करना ठीक नहीं है । दूसरी तरफ बहुत से आदमी छूट जाएं इससे कोई फायदा नहीं । इसकी प्राविजंज रिक्विजिटरी नहीं मैटेरि होनी चाहिए । हमारे यहां भी लोकायुक्त बिल है जो पास हुआ था । वहां एस० बी० सोनी साहब से कुछ नहीं होता है, उनकी बात को कोई सुनता नहीं है । उल्टे उन्हीं पर मुकदमा करने लग जाते हैं । दो तीन मिनिस्टर को उन्होंने पकड़ा था । उनके खिलाफ उन्होंने रिपोर्ट दी । हाई कोर्ट से लेकर मुर्राइन कांर्ट तक पहले तो उनकी एप्पॉइंटमेंट तक को क्वेश्चन किया गया । इस प्रकार से लोकपाल या लोकायुक्त बिल को कमजोर बनाने से कोई फायदा नहीं होगा । उनको आपको पूरी ताकत देनी चाहिए । स्कैंडेनेवियन कंट्रीज में, यूरोप के और देशों में जहां एम्बुड्जमेन प्रणाली है या पार्लियामेंटरी कमिशनर कहा जाता है उन देशों में जो व्यवस्था है उसको आपको जा कर देखना चाहिए । उसी तरह से लोक पाल बिल को आप एफेक्टिव बनाएं । वास्तव में

हाई प्लेसिस में कुरप्शन को चैक करने की जरूरत है और इसके लिए आप उनको ताकत दें और सख्त कानून बनाएं ।

आपने यह भी कहा है कि पुलिस कमिशनर आप बनाएंगे । अंग्रेजों के चले जाने के बाद जिस को तीस बरस हो गए हैं चाहे सी० आर पी हो, बी एस एफ हो, स्टेट की आर्म्ड पुलिस हो, ला एण्ड आर्डर मैटेन करने के लिए फारेन गवर्नमेंट के वक्त उनको जो ट्रेनिंग दी गई थी इसी तरह की ट्रेनिंग आज भी दी जाती है । ट्रिगर हैपी, गोली चलाने में ही वे फुर्ती दिखाते हैं । जनता का सहयोग नहीं लेते हैं, जनता की भलाई किस में है इसको नहीं देखते हैं । हमारे यहां बिहार में जयप्रकाश का आन्दोलन चल रहा था । मेरी कंरिट-ट्युएन्सी में पुलिस की फायरिंग से एक बारह चौदह साल का निर्दोष लड़का दूकान पर काम करता हुआ मारा गया । उस वक्त रुस्तमजी डायरेक्टर जनरल बी एस एफ थे और उनका एक स्टेटमेंट निकला था जिस का जयप्रकाश जी अपनी मीटिंगों में हवाला दिया करते थे । उसने कहा था कि हमारे यहां जो बुलेट बच्चों पर यूज होते हैं वे दुश्मनों पर होने चाहिए । उन्होंने बताया था कि यूरोप में रायट गन और रबड़ बुलेट यूज होते हैं । हमारे यहां भी वे होने चाहिए । हमारी जनता पार्टी की सरकार बन गई है । लेकिन इन सब बातों की तरफ उसने भी कोई ध्यान नहीं दिया है । कहीं कुछ नहीं । मिनिस्टर हो गये, कांग्रेस वाले सभी देशी नवाब हो गये । तो इसलिए मेरा सुझाव है कि हमारी पुलिस को ट्रिगर हैपी नहीं बनना चाहिए, बल्कि उसमें जन सेवा की प्रवृत्ति रहनी चाहिए । आप डाकुओं पर, क्रिमि-नल्स पर भले ही गोली चलायें, लेकिन विद्यार्थी जब डेमोन्स्ट्रेशन करते हैं जिसका कि हमको अधिकार है, ऐसे अवसर पर रबर बुलट, रायट गन का इस्तेमाल पुलिस को

[श्री बी० पी० मण्डल]

करना चाहिए, जैसे कि यूरोप में पुलिस करती है। होज पाइप से लोगों को रोकना चाहिए। लेकिन ऐसा नहीं किया जाता है। बढैया में पुलिस की बदमाशी से गोली चली, किस परिस्थिति में ऐसा हुआ वह मैं कहना नहीं चाहता। वहां एक अश्राकृतिक आफेंस के कारण पुलिस ने ढिलाई दिखाई जिसको ले कर लोगों ने डेमोन्स्ट्रेशन किया। इस पर पुलिस ने गोली चलाई जिसमें 15, 16 आदमी मारे गये। तो पुलिस बिना टीयर गैस चलाये एक दम गोली चला देती है। मेरा मुझाब है कि मौत को कंट्रोल करने के लिए पुलिस रायट गन या रबर बुलेट का प्रयोग करे। गृह मंत्री जी यहां रहते ही नहीं हैं, हम लोगों की बात जैसे क्राइ इन विल्डरनेस है। पुलिस फोर्स को आपको ऐसी ट्रेनिंग देनी चाहिए।

अध्यक्ष महोदय, इन्होंने बैंकवर्ड क्लासेज कमीशन की बात कही है। लेकिन मुझे शक है कि देग में बैंकवर्ड क्लासेज के लिए जो होना चाहिए, हरिजनों के लिए जो होना चाहिए वह नहीं हो रहा है। हरिजनों के लिए महात्मा गांधी जी ने मूवमेंट किया था, डा० लोहिया ने भी लोगों का ध्यान दिलाया था....

MR. SPEAKER: Please try to conclude. You have already taken twenty minutes.

श्री बी० पी० मण्डल: दो, तीन मिनट में समाप्त कर दूंगा। मेरा कहना है कि बैंकवर्ड क्लासेज के लिए भी सरकार को कुछ करना चाहिए। डा० लोहिया ने कहा था हिन्दुस्तान में चार वर्ग नहीं हैं, एक जाति ऊपर में है ब्राह्मणों की और नीचे तीन हजार जातियां हैं, और जो अण्डरप्रिविलेज्ड हैं अभी भी उनकी समाज में अच्छी पोजीशन नहीं है। उनके लिए जरूर कुछ पा जाये।

माननीय सदस्या श्रीमती सुशीला नायर ने प्रोहिबिशन के बारे में कहा, और राष्ट्रपति जी का भी कहना है कि चार साल में मद्य-निषेध लागू करेंगे। चार वर्ष बाद क्या हालत होगी, यह करें या नहीं करें। इसलिए शुभ कार्य जितनी जल्दी हो करना चाहिए। मेरा तो कहना है कि इसको चार महीने में करना चाहिए बजाय चार साल के। माननीय सदस्या ने बहुत अच्छे तरीके से समझा दिया कि थोड़ा रेवेन्यू पाने के लिए आप लोगों का पैसा बरबाद कराते हैं, यह ठीक नहीं है। चीन के लोग पहले अफीम खाते थे। आप जानते हैं कि चीन की उस वक्त क्या हालत थी। सब अफीमची थे। लड़ाई में भी छाता लगा कर जम्ते थे लड़ने के लिए, हमने फोटो में देखा है। लेकिन जब वहां रिप्रजेन्टेटिव सरकार बनी तो उसने अफीम को तुरन्त बन्द कर दिया। इसलिए कोई तुक नहीं है कि प्रोहिबिशन को चार वर्ष में लागू करें। इसको आप चार महीने में लागू करें तो अच्छा है और आपने चूँकि मुझे 2 बार कह दिया है बैठने के लिए, हालांकि मुझे बहुत बातें कहनी थीं, लेकिन मैंने चूँकि आप से कहा था कि मैं तीन मिनट में अपनी बात समाप्त कर दूंगा इसलिए मैं बराबर आपकी बात को मानते हुए अपनी बात समाप्त करता हूँ।

SHRI C. M. STEPHEN (Idukki): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I rise to oppose this Motion. Occasions come rarely and far between as far as I could recollect when one could oppose the Motion with as free a conscience as with respect to the Motion now before the House. As was mentioned by my friend, Mr. Alagesan, sitting through the President's Address in the Central Hall I lost myself in a bewilderment as to what exactly was being done here. I was reminded of a passage in the Merchant of Venice which says: "Gratiano speaks an infinite deal of nothing, more than any man in all

Venice. His reasons are as two grains of wheat hid in two bushels of chaff". I searched through the chaff as best as I could, but I have not yet discovered even the two grains of wheat.

Sir, the President's Address has got to cover three aspects. One is that it must give us a truthful review and faithful review of the year that has passed and correct appraisal of the situation that is current and must tell us what it proposes to do for the legislative claim, economic claim and national claim for the year that is ahead. Examining this Address from these three angles, I should confess to a feeling of utter disappointment and frustration because as far as the review of the past is concerned, it is a *suppressio veri suggestio falsi* with respect to many aspects. With respect to evaluation of current events, you do not get much in this Address at all. As far as the future is concerned, if only one reads between the lines the picture that is unfolding will be disturbing in the most as far as the masses of the people are concerned. I would just briefly take one by one a few items and will finish within the time allotted to me. I would just take up the first point. Here it is stated like this. "Due to proper management of the economy in the past year, it is today well placed for making a rapid advance in the coming year." I could not think of a more untrue statement, if I may be permitted to say so. You look at the growth rate. I do not quote any other at the moment rather than the economic survey itself. The claim is that in the rate of growth we have made a considerable improvement. But the Economic Survey tells us a different story altogether. This is what they say. The gross rate of national product in the current year is expected to be about 5 per cent. It is less than the growth rate of 8.5 per cent reached in 1975-76 and then the annual average growth rate for the four years, that is, upto 1977-78, works out to 3.9 per cent. This covers the period the Congress regime was also in power. 8.5 per cent was the growth rate at that time.

5 per cent is the growth rate today and you say you are making a very signal progress. I am sorry that the Cabinet made the President address the Members of Parliament in terms which do not conform to the factual situation and to the truth.

The Economic Survey says that industrial production increased by 10.4 per cent in 1976-77.... It says further that in contrast to the trend in 1976-77 industrial production in 1977-78 is likely to register a growth of 5-6 per cent. 1976-77 was the period when the Congress Government was in power and 10.4 per cent was the industrial growth and today it is about 5-6 per cent. Then, come to money supply which will control the price situation in the country. It says that in 1977-78 the increase in money supply had been of the order of 8.7 per cent. The important factor is that the contribution of the budgetary operations of the Government to the increase in money supply has shown a sharp rise this year as compared to the same period last year. Time deposits do exercise a contracting influence; the rate of growth of time deposits had been lower. Money supply has shot up considerably. The disturbing factor is that it is the result of budgetary operations of the government. Formerly money supply increased not because of the budgetary operations but because of the foreign exchange remittances which came in a large measure. The rate of growth of time deposit had been lower. That shows that we are in for greater trouble and inflationary spiral is round the corner.

Now look at the export position. The Economic Survey says that the export growth has decelerated to about 9 per cent from 27 per cent in 1976-77. Many of the items which showed buoyancy in the previous years such as sugar, leather, and leather manufactures, iron and steel, cotton apparel, fish and fish preparations have shown smaller growth during the year due to a variety of reasons. Production in important industries like electricity

[Shri C. M. Stephen]

generation, coal, steel, cement, commercial vehicles, etc. have shown a decelerating rate of growth. That is the picture before us.

श्री हुकम चन्द कछवाय : (उज्जैन) :
अध्यक्ष महोदय, यह भाषण बजट पर हो रहा है या राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण पर ?

SHRI C. M. STEPHEN: This is the 'proper' management of the economy in the past year which the President has placed before us. I am saying that this is not proper management of the economy.

The Survey ends: "To sum up, while there is sufficient cause for satisfaction in the performance of the economy in the current year, the shortfalls in the production of commodities like edible oils, pulses and cotton, the low rate of increase in industrial production, the increased liquidity in the economy, the sluggishness in industrial investment and the accumulation of reserves are matters for concern." This is what the Janata Party has achieved in the course of one year. From the big industrial buoyancy and growth, this is what they have brought us to.

Now looking to the future what is the position? The President says in his address that they are impatient of the controls and that they want to lift all the controls. He says: A Committee has been constituted to study comprehensively the entire systems of controls and make recommendations to reduce and streamline them. Well the Janata Party is free to take its own line. But may I submit, Sir, in the economy of our country—a developing country that ours is—with all sorts of strangleholds coming in, multinationals operating, big money operating and money concentrating in certain areas, control is an absolute desideratum to a certain extent. Janata Party is acting upto its article of faith. I would rather say that Swatantra Party philosophy is project-

ing forward strongly and they are now in for removing the controls altogether.

They again say that all the ills have been analysed and that the emphasis will therefore have to be on increasing the output of commodities and providing incentive for large investment in industry and formulating an overall strategy for growth. Therefore, on the one hand controls will be done away with and on the other more incentive will be given to the Industrialists, to the big houses in the name of incentives to investment. All the incentives given in the last Budget—are they not enough? All the relief given—is it not enough? As the Finance Minister pointed out somewhere else, "investment is not coming forward", here is an indication that more incentive will be given to them.

Looking to the future, the price front is going to be explosive. Let there be no doubt about this matter. What is the price position? The President says, the price position is perfectly alright. There are three aspects—one is the Consumer price index, the second is the Working class price index and the third is the Wholesale price index. The wholesale price index covers all sorts of articles. What is material is the working class price index and the consumer price index. Here there is a peculiar phenomenon. The wholesale price index rise was to the extent of 1.6 per cent, the consumer price index to the extent of 5.9 per cent and the working class price index to the extent of 9.8 per cent. This is what you are finding today. The working class price index has gone up. The result is that the Government of India had to come forward with an announcement today granting DA to the Government employees. If there was no rise in the price index, why do you give additional DA? It is very clear the prices have considerably gone up. The President himself admits that the inflationary potential is considerable. Why? The money supply is high, the production is low and other constraints are operating.

Therefore the compulsions are very high. In this context he makes an appeal. He says: "Industrial unrest will lead to loss in production and this will not be in anybody's interest. I appeal to employees, employees and other concerned to ensure harmonious industrial relations so that growth is not affected." Therefore already there is an inflationary pressure and to ease the inflationary pressure, you must have industrial peace. For that he is content with making an appeal. Are the conditions congenial for the sustenance of industrial peace? Much has been said about revocation of the legislative measures taken during the Emergency. I will come to that later. But with respect to bonus, no revocation; with respect to CDS, we know what they tendered, we resisted and therefore the money had to be paid by them; with respect to LIC agreement, the Parliament did not come forward for an enactment and the workers had to go to Supreme Court to get it annulled. Here is the more menacing statement made and it is a statement of threat to them. They say: "While any aggrieved section is welcome to seek redress of its legitimate grievances through constitutional channels open to it, the Government cannot obviously permit lawlessness and violence. Stringent deterrent action will be taken against those indulging in them." Therefore, here is the aggrieved section, the working class; the prices are going up and they are in difficulties. Their grievances have got to be redressed. What is the answer; it is not by tackling the economic problem, but by giving a stringent warning that action will be taken against them. No stringent warning against the capitalists who are not investing their money in spite of all the assistance given. No stringent warning against fellows killing Harijans and adivasis, against fellows who are snatching away property from the hands of landless labour or against goondas who are operating, creating a law and order problem. But stringent warning comes out only against the working class who may resort to strikes and industrial unrest.

It should be clearly understood that no shibboleth or advice is going to operate, no stringent warning is going to operate; if this is going to be the economic policy nobody will be able to contain the working class and their discontentment. The result may be an explosion, complete fall in production with the consequent reactions on the price front and economy. They say, a committee has been appointed for evolving a wages, incomes and price policy—the Boothalingam Commission. The trade unions may quarrel with one another, but not one central trade union has agreed to co-operate with this commission. All of them have passed resolutions saying that they will not cooperate with this wagefreezing committee which has been appointed. The Boothalingam Commission is anathema to the working class and here is the President swearing by it and saying it will evolve a suitable policy! There is wagefreeze on the one hand, denial of bonus on the other hand, increase in price, fall in production and goondas operating against the employees at the gates of factories. Against all this, avoidance of industrial unrest can be a matter of wishful thinking. Mr. Fernandes is shaking his head. I am happy he is there. He can understand the language perfectly well and he did it well. The same situation is round the corner. I am sure he will give up his ministership then and give a lead to the workers.

THE MINISTER OF INDUSTRY (SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES): It is nice to hear the devil quoting the Bible.

SHRI C. M. STEPHEN: I am quoting from the devil whom I heard sometime back. What I heard in 1975, I am quoting now!

Coming to weaker sections, day before yesterday's papers carry the report that in MP, 105 Harijans were murdered, according to a statement made on the floor of the Assembly. In Bihar every day you hear not more killing but scorching people by putting them on fire. There is oppression of

[Shri C M Stephen]

the Harijans and adivasis taking place in such a large measure. What is being done about it? It is now said that the government is aware of it. Here is a statement made and I must thank the government for it.

The government attaches the highest importance to the enforcement of the rights and safeguards for Minorities, Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

What is the panacea? Characteristic of the Janata Government, three commissions are being set up to find out what are the grievances of Minorities, what are the grievances of Harijans and what are the grievances of Backward Classes. This government has a commission mania. For everything there is a commission. They have appointed Mr Masani as Chairman of the Minorities Commission. Minorities include Muslims. Mr Masani has distinguished himself as a pro-Israel and anti-Arab Man. I do not know who is the Chairman of the Scheduled Castes Commission. But don't we have a constitutional machinery to guarantee the safeguards provided for scheduled castes and scheduled tribes? There is an officer provided. Why not strengthen that machinery and take it down to the State level and taluk level?

Why not you give that officer the constitutional authority with full powers to deal with this question rather than leave it with Home Ministers who are known more for their anti-pathy to the Harijans than for their love for the redressal of the grievances of the Harijans? You will leave the cause of the Harijans with Mr Charan Singh. Better leave a sheep with a wolf rather than leaving the Harijans with the Home Minister of India. This is the character of most of the Ministers and here is the solution coming in. Everybody knows the problems. What are the problems of the Muslim community for example? There was the language problem, there was the recruitment problem and they have got

their educational institutions problem. These problems are well-known and the solutions are well-known. Why not handle the solutions? Is there a real need to go in for the Commissions? I am not opposing the Commissions but you are not going to put dust in the eyes of anybody by the appointment of these commissions. You are now authorising somebody to write a post-dated cheque on a bankrupt bank. That is what is going to happen. By the time the Commissions finish their work, your Government will have left. That is all the long evity. I am giving to your Government. You are authorising somebody to write a post-dated cheque on a bankrupt bank. This is all that you are doing. This is a sheer gimmickry, an exercise in deceit. If you cannot help those people, the Scheduled Caste people and the minorities and the backward communities for Heaven's sake, do not insult do not put up an appearance as if you are solicitous about them and act in such a manner that they have absolutely no brains to understand the treachery that is played on them. If you cannot solve the problem, leave it at that. Do not insult them. That is all I have got to say on this.

A great claim made is about the saving of democracy. Democracy has been saved as if all these 30 years there has been no democracy. And what has happened about this democracy? I do not want to go back to the question of the dissolution of the Assemblies in the North. That is over. What happened in Karnataka? In Karnataka there was a Ministry which had full backing of the Legislative Assembly. The Legislative Assembly is to meet day after tomorrow. Can some majority of the MLAs go to say go and say We are against it? Is it not an accepted principle that the majority-minority question has got to be settled on the floor of the Legislative Assembly? I can understand your avoiding a Legislative Assembly and dissolving it if the Legislative Assembly is not scheduled to meet. The Assembly is scheduled to meet day after

tomorrow and today you are butchering and after that, the President's Rule is imposed. And you issue a press note and in that press note you say: "We had originally decided not to do this, but ask the parties to test their strength on the floor of the Legislative Assembly." This is the press note. "But complaints are coming up and pressures are mounting up on the MLAs. Therefore, to save them we are going to dissolve the Assembly." Is there any provision for that? Somebody puts up a pressure on a M.L.A. and therefore, you will dissolve the Assembly and you will call the Chief Minister names and, you put your Governor there and what did the Governor do? When the election was on, he held a press conference. Have you ever heard of this? And he said in the press Conference: "I have recommended to the Centre to take action against Mr. Devaraj Urs on corruption charges." Mr. Devaraj Urs was a candidate in the election, forget about his being the Chief Minister. What business had the Governor to come out with a statement that would have a derogatory effect? Is it not interference with the election? And you were publishing at that time the Grover Commission's Report? And the whole ground was being built up. But let us understand one thing. The common man in this country is more conscious and has also greater commonsense. He has got a sort of horse sense. The moment you are dealing with somebody unfairly, the moment you are mounting up your attack on somebody unjustifiably, the common man will make a cause and he will strike back and strike back with vigour. Well, the Central Government murdered a Government there and the Government went to the people, the people have retained that Government with full powers. May I ask: Will this Governor swear in Mr. Devaraj Urs or not? Or, would he say that there is a Grover Commission's Report?

And who is going to send that anti-corruption report to the Central Government for prosecution? What are

you going to do about this? You took an action against a democratic set-up. The people have given a verdict, vetoing your action, and have given you a censure. The people have put the same man back to power, and have given a slap on your face. If you have a sense of responsibility and of respectability, if you have got any sense about the democratic norms—certainly it is left to the Government to decide—you should consider whether Mr. Charan Singh will continue or whether in terms of collective responsibility Government will continue or not. With respect to the Governor, he does not deserve to be there for a moment. The Governor has got to be withdrawn. And if this report came on his initiative, he should be censured; he must be taken to task. If, on the other hand, as Mr. Morarjibhai said, if the Governor is a representative of the Centre, and if the report was dictated by the Centre, the Central Government must answer for this atrocious act on the democratic set-up. No less a person than Mr. Kuldip Nayar immediately wrote an article condemning this and censured the Central Government for this action. Is this the way democracy is protected?

You call us names for demolishing democracy. What about you? I am putting the mirror against your face. You demolished Assemblies in the North. You demolished the sitting Chief Minister and threw him into the street. You carried on a campaign against him, when the election was on. You carried out poll rigging in Bihar and UP. This is the way democracy is being fostered in this country.

MR. SPEAKER: Just 5 minutes more.

SHRI C. M. STEPHEN: And you have made it a regular practice to have onslaughts on the Opposition. Peasants were being arrested—whether in Punjab, Haryana or any other place. Congress offices are being raided; Congressmen were being harassed. In UP, thousands of people i.e. Congressmen, were arrested and thrown into jail, for defending their flags; they were thrown into jails. You attacked

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teachers and students on strike. You opened fire on the workers. This is the situation that is developing, and this is the way you are serving democracy in this country.

And now comes the Charan Singh-model of another threat against the Congress flag. (*Interruptions*) When it comes, I will answer about it. I don't want to say anything about it to-day; but that shows the spirit of the man. I do not know whether the Cabinet is going to allow it. Allow you may, at your peril, I must warn because Congressmen, if they have an iota of blood left in their veins, will fight for the preservation of their party flag at the cost of their lives. Let it be understood. This is the way you are going to preserve democracy.

I now come to foreign policy. It was a wonderful statement made—genuine, real non-alignment. I do not know what exactly you are meaning, when you say that we have achieved friendship. Mr. Vajpayee is repeatedly saying that there is no change as far as foreign policy is concerned and that his Government is continuing the foreign policy of the former Government. If that be so, then why this emphasis on genuineness? Do you mean to say that the foreign policy of non-alignment was not genuine? If you feel so, you are not then speaking the truth when you say you are carrying on the foreign policy of the former Government. Either you are deviating from that foreign policy, or there is no meaning in your saying "genuine non-alignment".

You speak about a tilt. There was a tilt, you say, on our part, towards the Soviet Union. Let it be very correctly understood. There are countries which will tilt towards a country which takes an independent stand. India took an independent and strong stand so far as her sovereignty was concerned. And therefore, may be Soviet Union made a tilt towards India. It is not

India made a special tilt to the Soviet Union. Because of our independent stand, when the Pakistan war came, they came to our aid; when there was an aggression, they came to our aid, because of the respect they have for our independent stand. Today you are tilting to some other country, not that they are tilting to you. Here is a wonderful phraseology used in the President's Address:

"We are confident that the many-sided cooperation and understanding which we have built with the Soviet Union and other Socialist countries will be strengthened and enriched. We have achieved cordiality and friendship in our relations with the United States of America and Western democracies with whom we share a common belief in the democratic system of Government."

With respect to one it is an "understanding" arrangement; with respect to another, it is "cordiality and friendship". This is the change and this is the tilt you are giving. Let it be very clearly seen that the western countries were not very happy with the progress that we were making, with the steel mills that were being built here, they were not happy with the nuclear explosion that took place here and the last straw which broke the camel's back was when we started capturing foreign markets by getting contracts in competition with those countries. But today at 6 O'Clock we will have a Bill, which will come forward in such a manner that our contract capability will be completely eliminated and given as a present to those foreign countries. They will be very very happy, and that happiness is flourishing in this "cordiality and friendship". That is what we are coming to.

Finally, much has been said about the Emergency. I had occasion in this House to say formerly what my stand has been with respect to Emergency. I would like to say one or two sentences about it. You have stated in this Address:

"...the Government cannot obviously permit lawlessness and violence. Stringent deterrent action will be taken against those indulging in them."

There is a situation now present which they have described as intolerant which requires stringent action.

I would request you to compare the situation today with what obtained in 1975. I have said earlier that we have got our own evaluation of the total revolution launched by Jayaprakash Narayan. Our evaluation is that it was a fascist counter revolution and I solidly stand by that opinion. By no democratic norms could you justify what you did in Gujarat or in Bihar. They could not be defended. What Shri George Fernandes did in his revolutionary fury or fervour in these days, is it in conformity with the democratic norms and considerations of this country?

The international situation was quite against us. According to us, that was the situation then, and our evaluation of JP's movement remains as it was and we do not retract from that position. We believe that because of that situation, action had to be taken and the Emergency Declaration had to be made. We justified it then and we still justify it. We stand by it. There is no going back.... (Interruptions) This is not the first time I am saying that. I have said it formerly.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE (Jadavpur): The hon. Member on the same issue is taking a completely inconsistent attitude. Before his defection, I mean the latest defection, he had condemned the Emergency in this House. Therefore, his views depend on defection.

SHRI C. M. STEPHEN: I have only to lay on the Table a copy of my earlier speech. I need not do anything more than that.

Then again, we are not apologetic about our claim that there were positive gains during the period of Emergency. We are proud about achievements of Emergency. In the matter of implementation of the Emergency there were excesses. We have collective responsibility there and we are sorry about those excesses as one should be even for excesses in normal periods. Then there were crimes committed. Declaration of Emergency necessarily means the suspension of the fundamental rights and their enforcement by the judiciary as also press censorship. That was indeed a fertile setting for crimes. Those crimes deserve to be condemned and we condemn them strongly. We have absolutely no sympathy for those crimes and we hold no brief for the criminals who committed them.

There is no point in always blaming the Emergency. It has got two aspects. There are certain laws and actions which came in as constitutionally and legislatively inherent in Emergency and which lapsed with it. There is section 16A of the MISA for example. With the withdrawal of the Emergency, section 16A automatically goes. The other MISA alone remains, which is another version of the Preventive Detention Act; nothing more than that. For the lapse of Section 16A you need not take credit. It had lapsed by itself even before you came in. But what about the MISA? What about the laws which were enacted during the Emergency and which survived the Emergency?

In the President's Address, this is what you said last year:

"Having regard to the gross abuse to which the Maintenance of Internal Security Act has been put during the last two years, a thorough review of the Act will be undertaken with a view to repealing it and examining whether the existing laws need further strengthening to deal with economic offences and security of the country, without denying the right of approach to courts."

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Mark the emphasis on right to approach to courts? Have you redeemed this promise? You have now brought forward a Bill to annul MISA. But, at the sametime, you have brought in an amendment to the Criminal Procedure Code, preventing the approach to courts. This is the way you are implementing your promises. And then what about the Bonus Amendment? You seem to say that Emergency laws will go, if they affected the vested interests and would stay if they harmed the working people.

They have spoken very much about the Commissions of Enquiry and all that. A Commission of Enquiry is sitting; it is going on and it is becoming a farcical performance. Therefore, I have moved an amendment about it. They say they are going about with the implementation of the task assigned to them. It is politicalisation.... (Interruptions)

श्री गौरी शंकर राय, (गाजीपुर) :
माननीय सदस्य ने फ़ारसिकल शब्द जो
कमीशन के लिए कहा है उसको ऐक्सपंज
कर दिया जाय ।

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE:
He has said farcical.

MR. SPEAKER: It is a passing expression.

SHRI C. M. STEPHEN: I have moved an amendment to say that it should be wound up.... (Interruptions) If you want to take my time, that is a different thing. But one thing, let it be very clearly understood. If you think that by this sort of commissions, by this sort of vilification, you can assassinate anybody, politically or otherwise, you are completely mistaken. During the last 12 months Shri Charan Singh has been going up and down the country and the all the world over to find material against Mrs. Indira Gandhi. I have heard the mountain climbing

birth to a mouse. But this mountainous combing about and investigations have not yielded even a mouse of a charge against Indira Gandhi. What is the thing coming forward? Nothing is coming forward.

I may tell you, commissions may come, commissions may go, inquiries may take place or may not take place, the reports may come and the findings may come, but the people of the country know what to do with them. They care two hoots for such things. They will tear them to pieces. I have nothing more to say.

Therefore, I oppose this motion, because it gives a picture of a year passed by as an year of vindictive vilification, a year of complete inaction to the detriment of the economy and the national strength of this country, and the picture of an year ahead which will be a bonanza for the capitalist and the moneyed classes, which will spell and destruction of the working classes and weaker sections. A Government which seeks to sustain itself on character assassination and vilification, without doing anything constructive to the people, will get what it deserves at the hands of the people. I oppose this motion as strongly as I can.

SHRI M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR (Trivandrum): Sir, The Mover of the Motion of Thanks was very critical about our Party. Now we are discussing the Address of the President, which is a balance sheet of the performance of the Janata Party for the last one year and the perspective that they have got for the future. Therefore, I do not want to waste my time by replying to him. I would only say that if the Communist movement in this country was united, if the Socialists had joined hands with them to take the country forward, instead of joining issues with the Communists, the Janata Party would never have had an opportunity of becoming a ruling party. Still he is not grateful to us. I would only

say that we shall strive to unify the communist movement and join hands with the socialist forces so that on the basis of programmes, we will try to take the country forward.

AN HON. MEMBER: God save the country!

SHRI M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR: Whether God will help us, I do not know.

ANOTHER HON. MEMBER: He does not believe in God.

SHRI M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR: I have no hesitation in applauding this Government for restoring the democratic rights. I also have no hesitation in supporting this Government when they intend to bring forward a comprehensive Bill to amend the Constitution Forty-Second Amendment Act, thereby ensuring that the basic democratic structure of our Constitution will be maintained. But I would make an appeal to the Janata Government that they should have a new look on the question of Centre-States relationship.

From the experience of the past, all the expanding revenues were with the Centre and all the growing expenditure were with the States so much so that from their own revenues, the State Governments find it difficult even to maintain the administrative machinery. Sometimes, they have to approach the Central Government for help even for maintaining the administrative machinery. Therefore, for all development works, they have to approach the Planning Commission. To call it "Planning Commission" is itself a misnomer. During the last years of planning, they themselves admit that richer have gone richer and the poorer have gone poorer and the backward areas have continued to remain backward.

Now, the other day, I was very much pained to hear the hon. Railway Minister when he was pleading his

helplessness before the House about the Planning Commission. If what he said is to be true, then I would ask, whether the Planning Commission is a super Cabinet. If the Ministers have to come and complain in this House that they have done everything that they could do but the Planning Commission does not agree, one may ask, whether the Planning Commission is a super Cabinet. About their expertise, the less said the better. They are not responsible to anybody. It is to this body that the State Governments have to come and cringe for development projects in their States. This situation cannot continue. Therefore, I would only appeal to the Janata Government that at the earliest opportunity the representatives of the States at the Centre should meet and discuss this question.

Coming to political morality and defections, I thought that my hon. friend who moved this motion would show at least some discretion not to mention it. But he did not do so. To my mind it was a golden opportunity for the Janata Party to set an example, and they would not have lost by it even in votes. But what was it that was happening? The Janata Party leaders were encouraging and supervising defections in such a manner that there was a chain reaction in their own ranks from State to State. I am very sorry to learn that some of their leaders were physically hurt, not at the hands of the Opposition but at the hands of their own followers. It is a shame on them to behave like that and then come and say here that they are going to bring a Bill. Why should you bring a Bill if the political parties cannot take a decision that they will not entertain defectors? What is the use of spending the valuable time of this Parliament? I am very sorry that things are developing like this.

Then I come to certain other points. In the President's Address and in the speeches of their leaders also, there was an assurance to the poorer

[Shri M. N. Govindan Nair]

sections of the people: they have said that they are going to concentrate on the rural sector; they have said that the cottage industries, the village industries and the small scale industries are going to get encouragement. But actually what is happening? I am speaking about my State. Coir industry is one which employs lakhs of workers; we had never allowed machinery to be used there; that was earning crores of rupee. Now, this Government has given—I am sorry to say that my friend, Shri George Fernandes, has given—a licence for mechanizing that industry. I have no time to explain how it will affect this industry. Quite contrary to what they are saying, they have done this...

THE MINISTER OF INDUSTRY (SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES): I have not given any licence.

SHRI M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR: Not only coir industry, take the cashew industry. The raw materials come from Africa, from foreign countries. It is through fair distribution of the nuts that the industry was able to be maintained. Now they are going to upset it. Lakhs of women are employed in this industry.

Then I come to fishing. It is rather a well-developed industry in our State. There, the big money-bags are concentrating; trawlers are coming; following them, the mother ship will come. They will destroy that industry that industry also there, and a lot of people will be thrown out of employment.

I am not questioning what they are saying. But when they say something, there should be some credibility at some point. But this is what is happening.

Now let us come to the question of peasants. Mr. Charan Singh happens to champion the cause of the peasants. I do not want to go into the rally and all that. He is taken to be an iron

man. But what is happening? Before independence, the per capita income was Rs. 197.80 in the rural sector—I am not speaking of the national sector. And today it is Rs. 150 less, that is, it is Rs. 19.5. How much money has been invested? Crores of rupees have been invested in the agricultural sector; not that this sector was ignored. What about the agricultural production? What was it before independence and what is it today? It has almost doubled, but what is the position of the agriculturists? I am not speaking of thirty per cent, who hold more than two hectares. Seventy per cent of the agriculturists hold land below two hectares. Of these, 32.9 per cent hold below half hectare, 17.7 per cent between half hectare and one hectare and 19.1 per cent hold between one and two hectares. That means that 69.7 per cent of the peasants hold land below two hectares. Then, there are 140 million Stateless people in this country, about whom a mention was made. 105 persons belonging to scheduled castes and scheduled tribes were murdered in one State in one year. This is not a joke, it is a very serious matter.

17.00 hrs.

Now, 59.5 per cent of our population is below poverty line. That means that 36 crores of our population is below poverty line. Shri Biju Patnaik is not here; in his State 85 per cent of the people are below poverty line.

Let us think of the health services in our country. There are 575936 villages in our country. But, there are only 5320 primary health centres and 37679 sub-centres without doctors. This is the state of health services in our country.

Should I repeat the situation about education in our country? The number of illiterates in the country is 70.5 per cent, i.e. about forty crores of people. The literacy between the age group of 11 to 14, which is the age when the children should be in the school, is only 30 per cent.

This is the tragic picture of the rural India today.

Now, coming to the small scale industries, they speak of helping the cottage industries, and handloom sector. Let them tell me one step that they have taken in this respect besides what the previous Governments had done to help these people. What step have they taken to help the peasantry? What is happening in this country is: there is economic growth. I agree with my friend, but what happens is wherever there is economic growth, that money is going into the big business houses. That is the process that has set in and that is the most dangerous thing to-day. Already 125 firms have established themselves in other countries. So they drain the money from the villages and from all sections of the people, accumulate it, make the maximum profit here and drain the money out for investing abroad. The present happy situation regarding foreign exchange is going to be utilised to encourage these forces and all the firms the government has permitted were to be started by these people outside. So this way the money that is saved is drained out and the country will become poor.

What will be the effect on the industrial side? I will only point out one thing. According to the report, from 10 per cent, the production has come down to 5 per cent. I will only refer to an article in the *Illustrated Weekly* about the happenings. The number of strikes—he comes from Bombay and so he should know about it. Is there any factory which is working there? What is the situation in Faridabad very close to us? Also in Ghaziabad. A regular warfare is taking place there. Is there a government here? Why is it happening?

There is also one point which he has pointed out. The rise in prices. Look at what was happening in the past. 63 per cent of the additional

value by manufacture previously went for the welfare of the workers by way of salaries, allowances, etc. It was reduced to 50 per cent. Now today what is it? Recently the Reserve Bank has made a study and according to that study, it has come down to 43.3 per cent. So this kind of taking the maximum benefit and reducing what the workers ought to get plus the rise in prices is the basic cause for this unrest. Therefore, in all these matters, this government has failed. I only have one sentence to add. President has said that the national calamity was the cyclone. According to me, it is not so. However good their intentions be, they cannot comprehend the problems facing the country. Even if they know, they do not know what to do. This is the biggest calamity.

श्रीमती चन्द्रावती (भिवानी) :

स्पीकर साहब, राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण पर धन्यवाद का जो प्रस्ताव श्री गौरी शंकर राय ने प्रस्तुत किया है और डा० सुशीला नय्यर ने अनुमोदन किया है, मैं उसका समर्थन करने के लिए खड़ी हुई हूँ। इस प्रस्ताव का समर्थन करते हुए मैं कुछ अपने सुझाव पेश करूंगी। हमारे स्टीफन साहब बहुत अच्छे वक्ता हैं, लेकिन आज उन्होंने जो बातें कही हैं, उन के जरिये सही मुलम्मा नहीं चढ़ा सके हैं। सब से पहले तो उन्होंने एमजेंसी का ही समर्थन कर दिया है, जो इस देश के लिए ही नहीं, बल्कि किसी भी देश के लिए बहुत खराब पीरियड रहा है, कई हजार सालों के बाद ही कोई बुरे-से-बुरा शासक ऐसी चीजों को लाता है और उन बात को भी उन्होंने अच्छा बताया, तो उन के लिए कुछ कहा नहीं जा सकता इस सम्बन्ध में मैं इतना ही कहना चाहती हूँ। उन्होंने हरियाणा के कुछ कांग्रेसियों की बात भी कही। मैं इतना ही बताना चाहती हूँ कि वहाँ पर उन लोगों के खिलाफ ही केस चले हैं जिन की आज से 7, 8 साल पहले घर में एक साइकिल लाने की भी हैसियत

[श्रीमती चन्द्रावती]

नहीं थी और जिन्होंने आज लूटपाट कर के लाखों रुपये बना लिए हैं न उन के पास खेत थे, न उनके कारखाने थे और न उनकी दुकानें थीं लेकिन इस सब के बावजूद उनके पास धन बढ़ता ही चला गया। उन से स्टीफन साहब ने क्यों नहीं पूछा कि इतना धन वे कहाँ से लाए हैं। एक बात मैंने पहले ही कही थी और आज भी कहना चाहती हूँ कि इस देश के कुछ चीकू मिनिस्टर्स ने इतनी लूटपाट की है कि जितनी शायद वारन हैस्टिंग्स ने भी नहीं की थी और उन पर साधारण तरीके से मुकदमा चला कर उनको सजा नहीं मिल सकती है। उन के लिए तो स्पेशल कोर्ट्स बननी चाहिए।

यहाँ पर आर्थिक आंकड़ों की बात हमारे अपोजीशन के साथियों ने की और कहा कि एकोनामिक्स के हिसाब से इन के वक्त में आंकड़े अच्छे थे और अब खराब हैं। मैं आंकड़े तो नहीं देना चाहती क्योंकि एकोनामिक्स का मैं ज्यादा अच्छा ज्ञान नहीं रखती लेकिन इतना ज्ञान जरूर रखती हूँ कि इस देश में आर्थिक गरीबी बढ़ी है, घटी नहीं है, लोगों का स्टेण्डर्ड घटा है, बढ़ा नहीं है और उन को रोजगार के जो मौके हैं वे कम मिले हैं।

यहाँ पर ये कई बार मुस्लिम्स की बात करते हैं। जब वे ऐसा करते हैं तो मुझे बहुत ज्यादा अफसोस होता है क्योंकि वे लोग हैं जिन्होंने देश के दो टुकड़े करवाने में मदद की। ये कहते कुछ हैं और करते कुछ हैं। आल इण्डिया कांग्रेस कमेटी ने प्रस्ताव पास किया कि देश के टुकड़े नहीं होंगे लेकिन बाद में ऐसे ही कुछ लोगों ने उस प्रस्ताव को पास कर के उस पर अपने दस्तखत कर दिए और देश के दो टुकड़े हो गये। इस के लिए ऐसे लोग जिम्मेदार थे जो इंसान को इन्सान नहीं समझते और ऊपर से कुछ और बोलते हैं। हम

देश में किस ने छुआछूत किया है, किस ने ऐसा लिटरेचर लिखा है। उन लोगों के बारे में कुछ भी नहीं कहते हैं। आज मैं यह बात कहना चाहती हूँ कि इन 30 सालों में मुस्लिम्स का स्टेण्डर्ड नीचे गिरा है और ऊपर नहीं बढ़ा है। मैंने मेरठ में जाकर देखा है कि मुस्लिम्स की जो बस्ती है, वहाँ पर उन के घर बहुत खराब हालत में हैं और उन का स्टेण्डर्ड बहुत गिर गया है। यह क्या जनता पार्टी ने इन 30 सालों में किया है। ये अपने आप को उन का शुभ-चिन्तक कहते हैं, अपने को उनका हित-चिन्तक बताते हैं लेकिन ऐसा कहकर उन्होंने उनका खून चूसा है। मैं इन लोगों की आर्थिक अवस्था के बारे में बिल्कुल भिन्न विचार रखती हूँ।

हमारी सरकार ने प्रेसीडेंट साहब का जा अभिभाषण है, उसमें काटेज इंडस्ट्रीज के बारे में कुछ बातें कही हैं पर स्पीकर साहब जो बातें कही गई हैं उनके बारे में अभी तक कोई ठोस कदम नहीं उठाए गये हैं और यह बड़े अफसोस की बात है। अगर इंडस्ट्रीज होंगी, तो धन कुछ लोगों के हाथों में ही रह जायगा और रोजगार भी कम लोगों को मिलेगा। इसलिए अगर आप काटेज इंडस्ट्रीज को रखना चाहते हैं तो छोटी मशीनों की इजाजत के बारे में हम को सोचना पड़ेगा। झाली में एक स्पीनिंग मिल है और कहने हैं कि यह सब से छोटी मिल है। मैं समझती हूँ कि इस से भी छोटी मशीनें इजाजत होनी चाहिए। अम्बर चरखा जो था, वह प्रैक्टिकल सिद्ध नहीं हुआ है, ऐसा मैं समझती हूँ आप के द्वारा सरकार को यह सुझाव देना चाहती हूँ कि हम को छोटी मशीनें इजाजत करनी चाहिए चाहे वे कपड़े की हों, आटा पीसने की हों या सूत कातने की हों। मैं तो समझती हूँ कि जितनी हमारी छोटी चीजें हैं, उनको छोटी-छोटी मशीनों से बनाया

जाना चाहिए और उन मशीनों का प्रदर्शन भी जनता के सामने किया जाना चाहिए ।

सोलर एनर्जी की बात हम बहुत सुनते हैं लेकिन वह तो अभी तक लेबोरेट्री से बाहर ही नहीं आई है । वह भी वैसे ही है जैसे कि एक्स प्राइम मिनिस्टर का लड़का कहा करता था कि मैं छोटी कार बनाऊंगा । उस कार को प्रदर्शनी में भी दिखा दिया गया लेकिन उसको प्रदर्शनी के बाद फैक्ट्री से बाहर आते नहीं देखा गया । यह कितना बड़ा देश के साथ धोखा किया गया, फ़ाड किया गया । इसलिए मैं कहती हूँ कि सोलर एनर्जी को लेबोरेट्री से बाहर लाया जाए और लोगों के इस्तेमाल में लाया जाए ।

हरिजनों के बारे में बहुत सी बातें कही जाती हैं । हरियाणा की तो मैं गारण्टी लेती हूँ कि वहाँ हरिजन भाइयों के खिलाफ कुछ नहीं किया जाता । हमारे हरियाणा में तो महेन्द्रगढ़ जिला एक ऐसा जिला है जिसमें सभी अफसर हमारे हरिजन भाई हैं । कुछ तो हरिजन भाइयों के खिलाफ कहीं कहीं होता है, लेकिन बहुत कुछ इस बारे में बढ़ा चढ़ा कर कहा जाता है ।

देश की इकोनोमी के बारे में कहा जाता है कि यह बहुत अच्छी है । मैं देश की इकोनोमी को आँकड़ों से अच्छी नहीं मानती हूँ । मैं तो इकोनोमी को तभी अच्छी मानती हूँ कि जब लोगों को अधिक से अधिक रोजगार के अवसर मिलें, उनको काम मिले, उनको जरूरत की चीजें आसानी से मिलती रहें । अगर ये सब चीजें लोगों को मिलती रहें तभी मैं इकोनोमी को अच्छा समझती हूँ ।

एक बात मैं लोकपाल बिल के बारे में कहना चाहती हूँ । जब यह बिल सेलेक्ट कमेटी में गया, मुझे तभी लग गया था कि

अब यह खटाई में पड़ गया है । अगर हम कोई गलत काम नहीं करते, कोई चीज नहीं करते तो हमें डरने की क्या जरूरत है । मैं चाहती हूँ कि लोकपाल बिल को इसी सेसन में लाया जाए और उसे पास कराया जाए । इस बिल का बहुत ज्यादा स्कोप हो, लोकपाल को खाली रिक्मण्डेटरी पावर्स ही न हों बल्कि उसके पास सजा देने की ताकत भी हो जिससे कि लोग अपराध करने से बाज आयें । हमारे देश में सब से ज्यादा इकोनोमिक अपराध होते हैं और ये अपराधी वही लोग सब से ज्यादा करते हैं जो सब तरह से असरदार होते हैं । आज तक उनको कोई दबा नहीं पाया, इसी वजह से ये अपराध बढ़ते चले गये । ऐसे अपराध करने वालों से अक्सर हम डर जाते हैं और सोचते हैं कि क्यों इनसे दुश्मनी मोल ली जाए । इस तरह ऐसे लोग काफी नाजायज धन इकट्ठा कर लेते हैं । इस सब को भी रोकने की जरूरत है । अगर हम लोकपाल बिल जल्दी से जल्दी पास कर लेते हैं तो हम लोगों को साफ एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन दे सकेंगे । पीछे इस एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन का बड़ा डिजेनरेशन हुआ है । हमारी एडमिनिस्ट्रेटिव मशीनरी को बड़ा डिजेनरेट किया गया है । यह लोकपाल बिल ही ऐसा साधन है जिससे इस मशीनरी को स्वच्छ किया जा सकता है ।

एक-दो दिन पहले हमने एक काल अटेंशन मोशन गुड के बारे में दिया था । गुड का भाव बहुत नीचे चला गया है और आप देख लीजिएगा कि मई-जून में यह भाव फिर बढ़ जाएगा । अगर आप इन चीजों को जल्दी से जल्दी ठीक नहीं करेंगे और यूँही समय गुजारते चले जायेंगे तो लोग परेशान ही होंगे और अगले चुनाव तक लोग हम से नाराज़ हो जायेंगे । आज किसान हाहाकार कर रहा है । जिन लोगों ने जनता पार्टी को सफल बनाया, वे छोटे लोग ही हैं । अगर हम इन छोटे

[श्रीमती चन्द्र बनी]

लोगों को पार्टीबाजी और घुपबाजी का शिकार बनायेंगे तो हम इन के साथ न्याय नहीं कर पायेंगे। इन्होंने लोगों ने अपना कीमती वोट दे कर जनता पार्टी को सरकार में बिठाया है। इन्हीं लोगों की मदद से हम आज यहां बैठे हैं। इसलिए इन छोटे लोगों की दिक्कतों की तरफ हमें सबसे पहले ध्यान देना चाहिए। यही हालत आज आलू की हो रही है। उसको रखने की जगह नहीं है। अगर उसका एक्सपोर्ट नहीं किया गया तो वह भी खराब हो जाएगा। गेहूं भी आने वाला है। जब गेहूं आता है तो उसका भाव भी बाजार में गिर जाता है। जो लोग यह कहते हैं कि गरीब आदमी को मंहगा मिलेगा यह उनकी भूल है। गरीब आदमी तो हफ्ते का खरीदता है। उस को कमी सस्ती चीज नहीं मिलती, उस को हमेशा महंगी मिलती है।

तम्बाकू पर टैक्स को आप देखें। बहुत नाजायज टैक्स उस पर लगा चला आ रहा है। इसको हमें चाहिये कि हम ठीक करें। दो सौ रुपये क्विंटल या उस से ज्यादा पर अगर वह तम्बाकू बेचता है तो 180 रुपये टैक्स लगा कर उसको सरकार को देना पड़ता है। बेचे तो दो सौ रुपये क्विंटल के भाव पर और सरकार को दें 380 रुपये, अब यह रुपया वह कहां से लाएगा। यहां पर इसको आप पैदा नहीं करवा सके और इम्पोर्ट करने को आप मंजूरी दे देते हैं। मैं चाहती हूं कि इसको आप प्रैक्टिकल रूप दें।

मजदूरों के जो झगड़े होते हैं मैं समझती हूं कि वे इसलिए होते हैं कि लेबर एक्ट को आपने बड़ा डिफेक्टिव बना रखा है। उसको आपको एमेंड करना चाहिये। बोनस का झगड़ा रहता है। कम्पलसरी जो बोनस है वह मजदूर को तनख्वाह के साथ ही माहवारी मिल जाना चाहिये। ऐसा अगर होगा

तो बिचौलिया लीडर जो पैदा हो जाता है और जो मालिक को भी खाता है और मजदूर का भी शोषण करता है, वह पैदा नहीं हो सकेगा। हमें बोनस एक्ट में संशोधन लाना चाहिये। जो अंश लाभ का होता है जो उस को साल के बाद मिलता है वह उस को महीने के एक आध दिन के अन्दर ही मिल जाना चाहिये, माहवारी मिल जाना चाहिये। मैक्सिमम तो कभी उस को मिलता नहीं है। मिनिमम जो उस को मिलता है वह महीने के बाद मिल जाना चाहिये। इसके जो लीडर होते हैं पहले इटक के होते थे और जो मालिक और मजदूर दोनों को खा लेते हैं वे उन को खा नहीं सकेंगे। ला को आपको ठीक करना चाहिये। मजदूरों को और मालिकों को भी इससे फायदा पहुंचाना चाहिये। मजदूरों को कोई एक्सप्लायट न कर सके इसकी व्यवस्था आपको करनी चाहिये। जो कमी कानून में है उसकी वजह से सौदेबाजी कर के बीच में लोगों को भड़काने का इस तरह के लोगों को समय मिल जाता है। इस चीज को आप को रोकना चाहिये।

गोबर गैस का अब गांवों में इस्तेमाल हो रहा है। कुछ समझदार जमींदार उसका इस्तेमाल कर रहे हैं। उसका भी हम को और ज्यादा एक्सपैरिमेंट करना चाहिये। अगर ऐसा किया गया और इसके प्रयोग को बढ़ावा दिया गया तो इस से ईंधन की बहुत बचत होगी और औरतों की आंखें जो लकड़ी जलाते जलाते खराब हो जाती हैं बर्बाद वहां तो ज्यादातर लकड़ी ही इस्तेमाल होती है वे खराब होने से बच सकेंगी। इस वास्ते जरूरी है कि गोबर गैस की तरफ सरकार ज्यादा ध्यान दे।

17.24 hrs.

[SHRI D. N. TIWARY in the Chair]

सरकार ने कहा है कि वजट का चालीस प्रतिशत हिस्सा खेती पर खर्च होगा। इसकी मुझे खशी है। लेकिन अफसोस है कि उस तरफ कदम नहीं उठाया गया है। मुझे यह मुताकर ताज्जुब हुआ जब हमारे बहुत जिम्मेदार एक सदस्य ने कहा कि किसान तो शोषण करने वाला है। अगर किसान शोषण करता है तो मुझ पता नहीं दूसरे लोग क्या करते होंगे। वह सब का पेट भरना है। उसके खन में अनाज आया, पैर के नीचे अनाज आया तो उसके भाव गिर जाते हैं। फायदा विचौलिया उठाना है। कंज्यूमर को नहीं मिलता है। छोटा किसान हमारे देश में सतर फीसदी है। सतर फीसदी किसान जैसे ही उन के पैर के नीचे अन्न आता है उसको वे बेच देने हैं। आज उसको कोई सम्भालने वाला नहीं है। मजदूर हड़ताल कर सकता है। लेकिन जो रोज कमा कर लाता है, दूसरों को खिलाता है वह जिस दिन हड़ताल करेगा उस दिन देश में क्रान्ति हो जाएगी। उसको तब आप फारग्राटिड नहीं ले सकेंगे हैं। बहुत देर तक उसने लोगों का पेट भरा है, लोगों को कमा कर खिलाया है। यह जरूरी है कि उसको वस्तु का उस को ठीक दाम मिले। अनाज, कपास, तिलहन आलू आदि जो चीजें वह पैदा करता है उन के बाजार में आने के दो महीने पहले भाव निर्धारित कर दिए जाने चाहियें। इसके बारे में मैं आप से आश्वासन चाहता हूँ। आज वह बहुत तंगी में है। आज उसका गुड़ तो गोबर के भव बिक रहा है। इससे ज्यादा ज्यादा किसान के साथ और क्या होगी? और जब अगली बार वह गन्ना नहीं बोयेगा तो आपको चीनी इम्पोर्ट करनी पड़ेगी जिसकी वजह से फ्रैरेन ऐक्सचेंज खराब होगी। इसलिये सरकार को चेतावनी देना चाहती हूँ कि इस मामले में लम्बा अर्सा नहीं

3739LS—13.

लगाना चाहिये। मैं कहती हूँ कि जो काम 30 साल में कांग्रेस सरकार नहीं कर सकी अगर वर्तमान सरकार इरादा कर ले तो तीन साल में कर सकती है। हमको अभी भी साढ़े तीन साल हैं काम करने के लिये। लेकिन इस के लिये इरादे की जरूरत है और जरूरत है कि उन के दिल में लोगों की भलाई की भावना है कि नहीं, सहानुभूति है कि नहीं। अगर लोगों के लिये सहानुभूति नहीं होगी तो वह यह काम नहीं कर सकेंगे। वस मुझे इतना ही कहना है।

मैं फिर राष्ट्रपति जी को धन्यवाद देती हूँ।

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE (Jadavpur): Mr. Chairman, Sir, a little while ago we heard the speech of Mr. Stephen, the newly appointed leader, after his defection, a fascist party. We had seen during the government of their leader that we had the darkest period in our country's history. We are happy we have got back our freedom of speech and that is why Mr. Stephen could speak in support of the Emergency on 27th February, 1978 when the people have repudiated them in no uncertain terms. It was nothing but shameless out-pourings of the leader of a party which had been instrumental in keeping the common people of this country in darkest agony and in utter economic ruin. Without improving the economic conditions of the people that party was responsible for taking away all the vestiges of human freedom from this country.

Sir, I request my hon'ble friends on the ruling party to take note that the time has come once more to seriously ponder as to the direction this country is taking after the people had liquidated the forces of fascism during the March 1977 elections. Now, we find these fascist forces are regrouping themselves. They are trying to regroup themselves and if they again come back to power that will be the end once-for-all of all cherished human values in this country. There-

[Shri Somnath Chatterjee]

fore, a tendency that we see in some parts of the country and what has happened during the last Assembly elections the results of which are not yet fully out it is time that we must pool our resources for maintaining the civil liberties and the democratic rights of the people in this country. The Constitution had been defiled and polluted; civil liberties were taken away; freedom of speech and independence of judiciary was taken away and MISA had become the normal law of this country. The people were treated as second-class citizens. We do not want that situation should come back. That is why we have co-operated with the Janata Party and shall cooperate with them in their endeavour to restore democratic rights of the people. We shall certainly co-operate in preventing recurrence of dictatorial trends in body politic of this country. We feel that without democratic rights, without restoration of civil liberties the common people of this country will not have any future. The working class has been denied its rights; it has been denied its ordinary facilities of life. The poor people in the country—a very large number indeed—are still below the poverty line. They cannot fight, they cannot struggle against the injustices and oppressions, against the landlords and the capitalists and the bourgeoisie without having their democratic rights. But I have to make it clear as we have made it clear that we shall join hands with you in your fight for all democratic rights and maintenance of democratic rights of the people. But if you stray from the real path from the equally great task of improving the condition of the people and in maintaining and enlarging the democratic rights of the people and of the working class, you will find us against you. Sir, the address of the President quite pertinently and appropriately refers to the steps taken for the removal of the aberrations of the Emergency and reminds the people of the dangers of authoritarianism and of the ruthless attempts that were made during the last regime by a power hungry dicta-

tor to erode the rights of the people. But, Sir, we have to say that so far as the working class in this country is concerned, so far the people who have been oppressed and deprived for years in this country and the unemployed and the rural masses are concerned, the President's Address is nothing but a Testament of despair as it discloses a policy of no change and continuance of, by and large, the old policies. But we fail to find in it any well-defined direction or any proper and deep awareness of the multitudinal problems which beset the country and the people.

Sir, take the case of the recent actions of the ruling party. Sir, the Janata Party says that they are pledged to maintain the democratic rights of the people, but what we saw during the visit of Shah of Iran in this country, gives us a different picture. The Iranian students in this country who have been protesting against the suppression of all democratic rights in their own country were treated in a manner which no civilised State can do. How would you have liked if our countrymen who had been trying their best to hold aloft the banner of civil liberties and democratic rights of the people of this country in foreign lands, had been treated like that by the foreign country? Some of the leaders of the Janata Government had been making efforts outside the country during the Emergency. How would you have liked if one of the then Ministers of this country had visited one of those foreign countries and the protesting Indians were kept in prison or had been brutally treated? And not only that. The students of this country, the young men of this country, the citizens of this country who are supporting the Iranian students in their fight against authoritarianism in their own country, are also being hauled up and put behind the bars. Sir, let there be some consistency between what the ruling party preaches and what it practises. We have seen the same attitude has been taken so far as the Palestinians are concerned. Therefore, I would request the Janata Gov-

ernment that they should be consistent with their professions, if they have to earn the faith of the people.

Sir, so far as the people's rights are concerned, you cannot have a double standard just to suit the ruler of the foreign country who may be in a position to invest petro-dollars in abundance in our country. Sir, what is the other position? In this country, there is a genuine demand for discussion on the important question of Centre-State relations. There was not a single reference in the President's Address. The Government cannot ignore the reality and just by omission of reference, you cannot forestall something which has genuine, popular demand behind it. The Chief Minister of West Bengal has mooted this proposal and we have never said that we want confrontation with the Centre, nor do we want to weaken the centre or the country. But what is the harm in starting a dialogue and discussions. There are many Chief Ministers even Janata Ministers, the Janata Government of Gujarat, of Orissa have said; there are others, for instance Punjab. Some have courage to say it openly and some do not have the courage to say openly, but they are all saying: let us sit across a table and discuss this question. But why this kind of arrogance?

THE MINISTER OF STEEL AND MINES (SHRI BIJU PATNAIK): Discuss, but not debate.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: Mr. Biju Patnaik tries to find out the difference between discussion and debate. The Prime Minister says that he does not agree even to have a discussion on this .. (Interruptions)

AN HON. MEMBER: What is the difference between debate and discussion?

SHRI BIJU PATNAIK: I would like to go on record saying that the Prime Minister had said all the time that he was prepared to discuss with anybody at any time. (Interruptions.) English is a difficult language.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: Mr. Biju Patnaik in his heart of hearts supports the demand.

SHRI BIJU PATNAIK: What demand?

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: There must be proper evaluation of the powers between the Centre and the States. Should the States which have got a large responsibility have to run to the Centre even for meagre expenses. (Interruptions) The demand is only to have a dialogue and debate. A memorandum has been sent by the Chief Minister of West Bengal; everybody I am sure, including Mr. Patnaik has got a copy. That memorandum says that those are not our unalterable proposals. They are open issues for debate and discussion. Those proposals have been born out of experience of different states in their functioning in the context of the existing powers and financial resources. How can the states discharge their responsibilities to the people when people sitting in Delhi, at the farthest place from the seats of state governments, decide what should be our priorities. Our land reforms amendment Bill was passed by a overwhelming majority in the State assembly, was kept here for 4 and half months for granting President's assent. In the meantime problems had gone on accumulating and harvesting season had gone. The Central Government owes an explanation to the people of West Bengal as to why when the zamindars and jotedars were playing havoc during this time and even ordinary protection could not be given to the Borgadars, the President's assent was delayed. The people have formed the left front government not to perpetuate the old Congress policies or the Janata policies which cannot take care of the problems which we have in West Bengal. This matter, namely, the question of Centre-State relations should have found some reference in the President's Address. I know that this is an address prepared by the Council of Ministers and I also know that if the President himself had prepared the

[Shri Som Nath Chatterjee]

address, he would have put it in the forefront because his views have been quite well known by now.

There is another matter on which we have strong feelings.

I am happy that the esteemed Member of the Janata Party, Dr. Sushila Nayar spoke so vehemently in support of the repeal of MISA and all preventive detention laws. It is a matter of great concern to the people. The Janata Party has come to power on a clear commitment to the people. I shall read from the manifesto of the Janata Party. "To generate fearlessness and to revive democracy, the Janata party will repeal MISA, release all political detenus and review all other unjust laws and will reestablish the rule of law." Now what is happening? MISA has been recognised by everybody to be the biggest weapon of oppression in the hands of the Indira regime. MISA was used indiscriminately against politicians, contrary to the clearest promise given on the floor of the House, against students, teachers, peasants, working class and against political opponents—Mr. Patnaik himself is a victim. Now repeal of MISA—does it mean only changing the name? You repeal MISA and by the same law you introduce it into the permanent Statute book of the country i.e., the Criminal Procedure Code.

Let us not delude ourselves by the so-called changes or differences between MISA and the Criminal Procedure Code. The Criminal Procedure Code lays down the procedure for dealing with the criminals or those who are accused of crimes and now a person who is suspected to be allegedly concerned with a so-called prejudicial act is put on the same footing as a criminal or a person who is accused of crime. Now you want to gloat over it by bringing it in the Criminal Procedure Code; probably you do not like the expression 'Pre-

ventive Detention Act' or MISA because they are the most dreaded and hated words in this country. It is nothing but an attempt to side-track; they are going back on their promises. This is declaration of lack of faith on the people of this country. Does this action of the Government generate fearlessness? Does this Government as they have promised in their election manifesto act by maintaining the preventive detention law in the manner it has been done. In some cases—when the discussion comes, I hope to establish it—this is worse than pre-Emergency MISA. If you don't have faith in the people, if you cannot deal with the ordinary crimes or ordinary suspected crimes under the ordinary law you are not fit to govern. This is the position. Today one year has passed and the Janata party has kept MISA in the statute book of this country.

SHRI BIJU PATNAIK: It has not been used.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: Whether used or not, we shall see that. You had mini-MISA in Madhya Pradesh to deal with the agitating State Electricity Board Workers. This is your attitude. I should have thought that the Janata Party who had come with the great expectations of the people, should have at least protected their democratic rights, their civil liberties should be protected and one of the first things this Janata Party does in Madhya Pradesh is to pass what is called a mini-MISA, the object is not to catch hold of criminals or anti-socials, which we also oppose, but to deal with the agitation of the working class in the Madhya Pradesh Electricity Board.

Please do not follow their footsteps, calling everything sabotage, calling everything anti-social and anti-national. The same thing was done by them and the same excuses were put forward when the MISA was supported with the added assurance that was there that it will never be used

against political parties and how it has been kept, my hon. friends know. At least I had the privilege of protesting against those laws in my humble capacity in this House. Therefore, I am requesting my friends that instead of using the worn-out clichés in support of a black law, a draconian law, you please redeem your pledge to the people of this country. Otherwise do not forget the writings on the wall. Things are coming to such a state and it is a shame. Now that Mr. Stephen in the euphoria of some freak results will speak in support of Emergency, he will get an audience outside. This is due to your activity. One of the promises was to rescind the 42nd amendment, but what is the exercise that is being done now. They are trying with a powerful microscope to find out the so-called good features of it. It is an amazing attitude. The 42nd amendment is nothing but the symbol of authoritarianism in this country. It was meant to institutionalise a total concentration of powers in the hands of one individual by distorting some of the basic features of the Constitution. We hear from the Law Minister of the Janata Government that there are three very good things in it—participation of workers in management, provision of legal aid and improvement of the conditions of the backward classes. But these are contained in the directive principles; they are not fundamental rights. It has been proved for years that directive principles are nothing but shibboleths. It seems that, you have no courage to face the Congress Party in the Rajya Sabha and you come with Constitutional Bills in dribblets. You want to change the basic law of the country with the good wishes of a fascist party. If you do not pay heed to the mood of the people, you will have to face the consequences. You have no courage and that is why you are coming in dribblets so far as deletion of the most pernicious provisions of the 42nd amendment is concerned.

I would like to read out from the manifesto of the Janata Party, what

the party said about the 42nd Amendment:

"It is a betrayal of the testament of faith that the founding fathers bequeathed to the people and it subverts the basic structure of the 1950 Constitution. It vitiates the federal principle and upsets the nice balance between the people and Parliament, Parliament and the Judiciary, the judiciary and the executive, the States and the Centre, the citizen and the government. It is the culmination of a conspiracy to devalue democracy that started with the erosion of the cabinet system, the deliberate and consummate scuttling of democratic processes in the ruling party and the concentration of all power in the hands of a leader who has been sought to be identified with the nation or even to be placed above it."

Those were the words of the Janata party out of power. Now the Janata Party in power is busy in the exercise of finding out the good things in it. The 42nd amendment was nothing but a declaration of war on the people and this party is pledged to the total repeal of it. Many hon. members of the Janata Party are asking for it. Still no explanation has been given as to why it is not being repealed. If you want to give legal aid or make workers participate in management, bring them in the Fundamental Rights chapter. That would be more honest and germane. Don't try to mislead the people. Don't follow the footsteps of your predecessors.

17.48 hrs.

[SHRI N. K. SHEJWALKAR in the Chair]

What about the working class? As I said, mini-MISA was used to deal with the State Electricity Board workers in M.P., U.P. Government banned a number of strikes. Bihar prevented its employees from taking part in any strike or demonstration.

[Shri Somnath Chatterjee]

A number of police firings have taken place on the workers. Attacks were mounted on the workers in Faridabad, Gaziabad, Sonapat and Kanpur. It has become a routine practice with the different State Governments of Janata Party to treat the problems of the working class as law and order problems. The Prime Minister says, "I shall never discuss with the workers so long as they are on strike". The working class will not give away their right of going on strike for a legitimate cause. They have been at the receiving end for years together, for decades, and the working class is not going to surrender its rights. The Prime Minister has said: "If you go on strike, I shall not negotiate." Therefore, are you trying to ban all strikes and all legitimate working class movements? Demonstration by the workers has been held to be a fundamental right of the workers.

SHRI BIJU PATNAIK: Always, but not strike.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: Sir, I will give you one more instance. What happened to the LIC bonus? There was a solemn agreement between the LIC employees and the Life Insurance Corporation that they will get bonus from 1973 to 1977 at the rate of 15 per cent. There was a solemn agreement but, Sir, shamelessly a law was passed and Mr. Stephen had slipped out of the House at that time. He could not openly support that illegal Bill for taking away the right to bonus. Now, what happened? A law was passed in this House to take away the right of the LIC employees to the bonus and the Janata Party Government found great virtues in that LIC Modification of Settlement Act and when the workers went to the Supreme Court of India, the Janata Party supported that Emergency measure and it was argued solemnly in the Supreme Court that this Emergency measure cannot be challenged even after the withdrawal of the Emergency and they

have learnt a lesson. And now that the Supreme Court is free of the clutches of Mr. Stephen and his leader.

SHRI BIJU PATNAIK: Because of the Janata Party.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: That is why I said, yes. I thank you for what you have done and you should thank the people for they have put you in power and if the people had not put you in power, you would not have been able to take this credit. Now the Supreme Court has held that this was an illegal Act, *ultra vires* the Constitution. And along with Mr. Stephen the Janata Party Government has learnt a lesson. Now they have been directed to pay this bonus. This is the way you treat the people of this country and even today, although the Judgment has been delivered on the 21st February, up till today, so far as I know, unless it has been done today, the payment has not been made. This is your respect to judiciary. Therefore, we want to say that the people of this country had great hopes that there would be a substantial change, the method of functioning would be altered, the sufferings of the poor people, the working class, the rural people, the unemployed, would be mitigated. But what are you doing? You have not been able to solve any of their problems. You have participated in the struggle for restoration of the democratic rights in this country and for the civil liberties. But what has happened today? Within one year, as Mr. Stephen is saying, the real problems in the country are not being solved. People's economic condition is not being improved, the unemployment problem is not being properly tackled even and the people are fed up with mere pious wishes and promises. That will not suffice and that will be taken advantage of by persons like Mr. Stephen and his leader. This is the warning you are getting. This is the warning you should pay heed to.

So far as the Harijans and backward classes are concerned, what do you

find? I do not know Mr. Stephen and Mr. Alagesan can refer to it because this is a perpetuation of their policy. During their times the Harijans or backward classes and the minorities suffered and now the same suffering is continuing. And everybody, whoever is in power, has only verbal sympathies for them. What happened yesterday in the Meerut District which, I am told, is the constituency of Chaudhuri Charan Singh, the Home Minister? A member of a minority community was taken inside the jail. What is happening? A person of the minority community, a young man, was beaten up in jail. His wife was molested by Police taking advantage of the fact that her husband was whisked away to the Thana and kept in the lock-up. There is a feeling of insecurity. Will you follow the same policy, as the Congress Government?

Sometimes Commissions are necessary. The Shah Commission is a must, it was a necessity, because those ugly things must be properly exposed and investigated, and people must know the real things. I do not decry Commission for the sake of decrying them. They are necessary. It is necessary to completely expose the party which was in power in this country. But Commissions are not the final solutions in this country. Unless the powers of landlords, who have been committing these atrocities on the people, are checked, and unless the rural vested interests are controlled, Harijans and the backward classes will continue to be the victims of these tortures. This is the real situation, otherwise, you cannot change the situation. Unless you uplift them and their economic condition, and provide better facilities to them, you cannot avoid the atrocities committed on them.

On the economic scene, we find that quite a rosy picture has been painted. The rate of growth has been shown to have increased from 2 per cent to 5 per cent, and agricultural production is said to have gone up to 118 million tonnes of foodgrains. There is sup-

posed to be larger production of commercial crops, and there is also a large procurement. The rate of inflation or the price level is the same as in March 1977. Is this a satisfactory balancesheet? It is a performance for which the Janata Party can take credit? Have the prices of essential commodities fallen? Has the purchasing power of people increased? Have the rigours of unemployment lessened?

We find, on the other hand, that the state of the economy is something different from what is said. Food production has not reached the level of 1970. The production of commercial crops has increased, but, as the hon. Member before me said, what is the fate of the growers of these commodities? Prices have steeply gone down. The benefit is not going to the producers of these commercial crops. But it is going to the middle-men, hoarders and to the big people who are cornering these articles in the market. There will be no improvement unless Government is prepared to curb the profits of the monopoly Houses it is necessary that the essential consumer goods are made available to the people through a wide-ranging public distribution system, if necessary with a subsidy to be provided by Government. Otherwise there will be no remedy against these artificial shortages, artificial scarcity and the soaring prices that we are experiencing in this country.

Our demand has been that the poor people of this country....

MR. CHAIRMAN: How long will you take?

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: One minute now; and then I continue tomorrow. Unless the poor people throughout the country are able to purchase essential commodities at a fair, uniform and reasonable price throughout the country, you cannot give any relief to the people. You cannot have different prices for the

[Shri Somnath Chatterjee]

same commodities in different States. It is not playing fair with the people. The control is now being minimized. It will only help those who are monopolizing in these trades.

I will continue later.

18 hrs.

PUBLIC SECTOR IRON AND STEEL COMPANIES (RESTRUCTURING) AND MISCELLANEOUS PROVISIONS BILL—Contd.

MR. CHAIRMAN: The House will now take up further consideration of the following motion moved by Shri Biju Patnaik on the 23rd February, 1978, namely:—

"That the Bill to provide for restructuring of the iron and steel companies in the public sector so as to secure better management and greater efficiency in their working and for matters connected therewith or incidental thereto, be taken into consideration."

Shrimati Parvathi Krishnan will continue her speech.

SHRIMATI PARVATHI KRISHNAN (Coimbatore): Sir, at the time when the pendemonium broke out last time, I was questioning the Minister why he wants to take the various units under SAIL, leading to over-centralisation, when the Government is claiming that it is wedded to the philosophy of decentralisation. One of the objectives of establishing a holding company was that the mode of taking decisions and arriving at conclusions would be those adopted in industry, rather than those adopted in the civil services and, therefore, in the words of the late Shri Mohan Kumaramangalam, "the existing decision-making process would be streamlined and the holding company would introduce industrial culture instead of the culture of the civil services". Why is it that

the Minister wants to break up SAIL as it exists now, and also why he does not want to strengthen the NMDC but merely wants to turn it into a Government department and bring it into the culture of the civil service, which is precisely what he would be doing by this measure. The magnitude of iron ore mining in our country is huge and there has to be much fuller exploitation of these resources in the future. The National Mineral Development Corporation was formed precisely with this purpose. We know what happened in the Babudam project. Now this is being given without any compensation to the private sector. That is why we have our apprehension that this break up, which he says is taking the process further forward, is really taking it backward, undoing the process that was undertaken at the time of the formation of the holding company.

So far as the Mineral Development Corporation is concerned, it has done very very well. It has technical knowledge, expertise, personnel and organisation not only to initiate projects but to prospect, to construct and also to manage production units. When it has shown all this, why does he on a very specious plea of exporting expertise and so on, break it up and turn it into a Government department again? In the promising background as it exists now, with the expansion of the iron ore industry, the NMDC should really become the focal point, the nucleus for iron ore mining in this country, and it should not be dismembered in this very foolhardy and haphazard fashion.

If one goes back to what was the object of forming the holding company, the SAIL, it was said at that time that it would be responsible for the "integrated development of iron and steel industry and also control the inputs." Therefore, I could very well understand if the Minister had taken a very firm stand and saw to it that the Bharat Coking Coal also comes