

है कई बार मैं उस के ऊपर बोल चुका हूँ कोई जवाब नहीं आया है। मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि दस लाख तक लम्बे फाइबर वाली रूई मगाई जाती थी। किम लिए? निर्यात के लिए नहीं। कुल 20 लाख बेल लाग स्टैपल फाइबर दुनिया में पैदा होती है जिसमें अमेरिका जैसा धनी देश एक लाख बेल इस्तेमाल करता है। जापान दो लाख बेल इस्तेमाल करता है वह भी निर्यात के लिए। लेकिन यह गरीब देश चार लाख बेल मगवाना था और मारे हिन्दुस्तान के जो बड़े लोग हैं उनके उपभोग के लिए महीन कपड़ा बनाने के वास्ते इस्तेमाल करता था। एक पैस का उसमें एकपयाई नहीं हाता था। इस बात का दामानी जी भी काट नहीं सकते। इस गरीब देश में क्या चार लाख बेल अमीरों के लिए कपड़ा बनाने के लिए 100 करोड़ की विदेशी मुद्रा खर्च करके मगवाना चाहिए था? इसके ऊपर ये लेवी लगा कर एकमोर्ट प्रमोशन का काम चलाने थे। अब वह कहते हैं कि यह बन्द हो गया है। बन्द हाँ ता अच्छी बात है। लेकिन दूसरी चेतावनी ये भी है कि यह पूरा मामला आप अपने विवेक से या ता प्रिविलेज कमेटी में भेजिए या पब्लिक अकाउंट्स कमेटी में भेजिए।

MR. SPEAKER: Now we take up the next item....

श्री मधु लिमये: इस पर आप क्या कर रहे हैं?

अध्यक्ष महोदय मैं देखूँगा। आप हेड आन्सर मैं इस तक नहीं दे सकते।

SHRI B. K. DASCHOWDHURY (Cooch-Bihar): Mr. Speaker, Sir. . .

श्री मधु लिमये: अध्यक्ष महोदय की गैड केयर एनेक्शन का क्या हुआ? इसके पहले उस पर कुछ हाना चाहिए।

अध्यक्ष महोदय: वह हाँ चुका जो होना चाहिए।

श्री मधु लिमये: नका भाषण होने के पहले इस पर कोई फैसला करना चाहिए। वरना अपने मित्रों के साथ बिलम्ब से ही मही मुझे सदन त्याग करना ही पड़ेगा।

Shri Madhu Limaye then left the House.

अध्यक्ष महोदय: जैसे आप की एग्ज केयर रहे अपने वाक आउट में ऐसे ही वह भी रहे

12.45 Hrs.

# MOTION OF THANKS ON THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS

MR. SPEAKER: We will now take up discussion on the President's Address. Shri B. K. Daschowdhury.

SHRI B. K. DASCHOWDHURY (Cooch-Bihar): Sir, I beg to move:

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

"That the Members of Lok Sabha assembled in this Session are deeply grateful to the President for the Address which he has been pleased to deliver to both Houses of Parliament assembled together on the 18th February, 1974"

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU (Diamond Harbour): You have seen our gratefulness in the Central Hall on the 18th!

MR. SPEAKER: Don't be proud of that. There is nothing to be proud of.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: We are not ashamed.

MR. SPEAKER: If you are not ashamed of it, then God help.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: Let them help others

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA (Alipore): God will not help Mr. Jyotirmoy Bosu.

MR. SPEAKER: Nothing can help him. It is much better if he had kept quiet.

SHRI B. K. DASCHOWDHURY: This House has conferred a great honour to the people of my constituency by permitting me to move this respectful Motion of

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Thanks on the President's Address Sir, as I said, it is a great honour to the people of my constituency as I represent one of the rural constituencies of our country and at the same time a backward region. Sir, I said that it is a respectful Motion of Thanks on the Address that the President delivered on the 18th of February 1974, because the Address mentions all aspects that we are facing today. As a matter of fact it may be argued by some that the President's Address is nothing more than a ritual. I do not agree. Sir, I feel it is a solemn occasion. Further, I feel, Sir, that the Address presented this year by the President is a document of reality. I feel that the Address of the President is to be judged by his own candour, is to be judged by his own temperament. The Address which has been presented has not left any matters which we are facing today.

Not only has the President mentioned the problems but he has also given the guidelines and chalked out what we as the representatives of the people have to do. I quote from the last para of the President's Address:

"The formidable challenges that the nation faces can be turned into an opportunity by a determined people. I have no doubt that as the representatives of the people, you will give the right lead in a spirit of dedication and constructive cooperation and that the country will overcome the present difficulties and emerge stronger and more united to advance along the chosen path."

This is the duty that has been cast upon the elected representatives. This is the duty that by our determined effort, by our sincere dedication by our constructive co-operation, we must take the country to the path of progress and to advance along the chosen path.

As I said early, the President's Address is really a document of reality. He has not even failed to mention the stark reality

that we are facing to-day. I again quote from the President's Address:

"The rise in prices and the scarcity of food articles, particularly in deficit States, is of prime concern to the people and the Government. The expectation that the good *khurif* harvest of 1973 would help to stabilise prices has not materialised."

So, as I said in the Address, the President has not minced matters. He has not hesitated either to mention all sides. He has only eulogised the achievements of the Government but even mentioned the denigration of the Government. I again quote from the Address page 1 para 2:

Scarcely has a country faced such gigantic problems in quick succession year after year as we have these last three years. It has been a continuous testing of the nation's mettle. The nation has survived these difficulties and has not allowed them to come in the way of its basic endeavours towards development. This is no mean achievement and should not be ignored, even though positive aspects are apt to be overlooked in difficult times."

Having referred to the foresight and guidance given by the President in his Address, it is now our duty, the duty of the elected representatives of this august House, to come to a proper decision in a democratic manner, after having deliberations and discussions. We should come up with a spirit of determination and dedication and with a spirit of constructive cooperation to face these challenges.

Being on the threshold of the beginning of the Fifth Five Year Plan the nation seems to be grouping for answers to some of the fundamental questions that the recent developments in the country have brought up to the surface with greater clarity than before. One of the most important things to-day that we have to consider is how adequately equipped are we



to face the challenges of the shortages and production shortfalls? Obviously, the question that I would like to put is this. How are we going to solve the problems of the challenges before the nation to-day. Is it by inciting violence and *bandhs*? I would ask of my friends who are inciting and taking a cue under the garb of shortages and production shortfalls, to give the answer as to how it will help them to overcome the challenges before the nation.

This is the thing that one has to consider in present circumstances. It is not enough to focus on shortages of foodgrains and go on censuring the Government every now and then for it. Just a while ago, questions were raised that in certain parts of the country, particularly in West Bengal, in some constituencies, elections have been stopped by the Election Commissioner and it is surprising that the Government are being held responsible by the opposition for that. The action of the Election Commissioner show how democratic principles are being practised in the country. As rightly mentioned in the Address, one-fifth of our total population is going to the polls in the country and it has started already and will be ended by tomorrow. If there are any troubles over here and there for smooth conduct of elections, it is for the Election Commissioner to take the proper steps in such cases. And, as some hon. Members pointed out, the Election Commissioner has also taken immediate steps. In fact, it is the duty of the Election Commissioner to take immediate steps.

SHRI C. H. MOHAMED KOYA (Manjeri): Government have no responsibility?

SHRI B. K. DASCHOWDHURY: If he feels that the Election Commissioner has to be given guidance by Government, I would like to ask, how he will reconcile the suggestion, as in the Constitution, the Election Commissioner is a separate body; he is an autonomous body. . . .

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: This Parliament can give a directive to the Election Commissioner.

SHRI B. K. DASCHOWDHURY: I cannot understand the reasoning of the hon. Member sitting in the Opposition. If Government give guidance to the Election Commissioner, they will say that the Election Commissioner is nothing but the handmaid of Government.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: He is, so.

SHRI B. K. DASCHOWDHURY: If the Election Commissioner is given a free hand, they will say that this Government is not doing anything. . .

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: Does he have any doubts? There is a superannuated man as Election Commissioner.

SHRI B. K. DASCHOWDHURY: I am not yielding, Sir.

The major question that I had put before was this. Are we adequately equipped to face the challenges before the nation in regard to shortages and production shortfalls? We know that we are passing through very difficult times, not only during this year but for the last three years. As the President has rightly mentioned, it has been a testing time for the nation's mettle, and we have survived, and Government have achieved success in the past years. But there are certain reasons why there is still agony, and the President has appreciated this understandable agony in the minds of the people.

Coming to the question of food and fuel, especially in regard to the food shortage, I have raised the question whether these shortages would be made up and whether the nation will be benefited by the incidence of violence and other things that we are seeing today. Actually, these agitations and resort to violence are creating difficulties in the way of just solution of the problems. That is why in the Address it has been mentioned that we can arrive at a proper solution of these problems only with a spirit

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of service, a spirit of dedication and with patience after evolving a proper way and making a proper decision.

**SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU :** For how long ?

**SHRI B. K. DASCHOWDHURY :** In regard to the shortages of foodgrains, what do we find today ? Just today during the Question Hour, Shri Shinde, the Minister of State in the Ministry of Agriculture rightly said 'Look at the food prices today in the world market'. While in past years the price was \$70—80 per tonne, now it has gone up to three times or more, \$215—220 per tonne. This is the scarcity position throughout the world. You know that in the last year even socialist countries like Soviet Russia and China had to purchase a huge stock of foodgrains from the US and some other countries wherever they were available. Judging from this we know what condition we had to pass through in 1971 which was a testing time for the nation because of war with Pakistan, the years 1972 and 1973 followed with severe drought and flood.

**MR. SPEAKER :** He might continue after the Lunch recess.

**13.01 hrs.**

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

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

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

**MOTION OF THANKS ON THE PRESIDENTS' ADDRESS—Contd**

**MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER :** Shri Daschowdhury will continue his speech.

**SHRI B. K. DASCHOWDHURY :** Sir, I was emphasising the point of the challenges before the country today as the

shortage of food production and other production shortages. We must go back and take stock of the situation and the causes for the shortage. Only this morning the hon. Minister said in answer to a question regarding procurement that in the year 1970-71 the food production was to the extent of 109 million tonnes. In 1972-73 it decreased, went down, to a figure of 95 million tonnes. This is one side of the picture.

Then, before 1971-72, the requirements of the fair price shops and ration shops were normally met from the imported supply. In those years, the prices of foodgrains and other commodities in the country were much higher than the price of the imported commodities. To quote one example, the price of fertilizer in the international market some three or four years back was so low, so ridiculously cheap because of the glut in fertilizer production in the international market that we found that the transport cost was much higher than the cost of fertilizer itself. It is in this perspective that we have to view the present situation.

We have certainly an obligation to increase our production and increase the supply through the public distribution system. How that is to be done is the big question today. In those years the demand for the public distribution system throughout the country was not so much. Hardly 4 million to 5.5 million tonnes were needed for distribution through the public distribution system and almost this entire demand could be met from the imported supplies of foodgrains, because of low prices and other facilities, like the facility of getting concessional rate for foodgrains and so on.

From 1971 the food crisis has been more aggravated by two successive droughts and floods in some parts of the country and the country's food production went down. The result is that we do not have sufficient stocks to feed our own people. At the same time, we find that the international prices have gone up to such an extent

making it almost impossible on the part of the Government to import substantial quantities of food. Yet, the Government did not sit idle. Finding no other alternative but to gear up internal procurement from all parts of the country, as far as possible, the Government lost no time for that.

It is said that the system of procurement and the procurement policy of the Government have failed. It is not a fact. In the earlier years, even in the year 1972, the procurement was to the extent of 7.5 million tonnes. Only in the previous year the procurement was to a certain extent more than that i.e. 8.4 million tonnes. In all other years it was less because it was not necessary according to the exigencies of the circumstances to have more and more procurement. But, having declared ourselves that we are not going to be breadbasket by food-supplying countries like the United States of America, having decided that we are not going to beg for food, having decided rightly in the year 1971 to maintain ourselves out of our own stock, it was the declared policy of the Government to have more and more internal procurement and to distribute those through the net work of public distribution system.

What is the position today? Even the monthly quota that has been supplied by the Government to 1,75,000 fair price shops is to the extent of 8 lakh tonnes. If we calculated on the basis of 8 lakh tonnes, annually it comes to near about 10 million tonnes. Where can we have this? Either to purchase from outside, import it, or to gear up our procurement drive. But here we find, wherever procurement drive is there, there are interested parties to cash in on the economic difficulties and shortages in the country, propagating no more procurement, telling the people "procurement—never, never". They are the persons who are also saying that the Government has failed in their procurement drive.

I find, there is a big contradiction. On the one side, they are not allowing the people to hand over their excess foodgrains, helping the procurement drive in the national interest and, on the other hand, they are putting pressure on the Government that the Government has faued in their procurement drive. It has to be considered whether it is only the Government that has got the responsibility for procurement. Certainly, the Government has got the responsibility, but whether other parties which are claiming that the procurement drive has totally failed have any obligation or responsibility to the people. Let my hon. friends answer that.

Not only that. Even during recent elections, we have seen that on one side they are claiming that let there be more price for the procurement of foodgrains and, on the other side, they are claiming that the issue price of foodgrains should be subsidised more and that its price should be lowered. I remember to have seen one cartoon published in the newspapers some days before it was published as an election poster. On the one side it is written: more prices for the procurement of foodgrains in the rural areas. At the same time, coming to the suburban areas, cities and towns, it is written: lower issue prices.

I cannot understand it. This is what is being said by the Opposition parties. On the one side, they are saying that let there be more prices for procurement of foodgrains and, on the other side, they are saying that let there be lower issue prices. How to solve the problem? Even according to a modest estimate, the Government is paying to the tune of Rs. 250 crores a year as a matter of subsidy for the distribution of foodgrains through public distribution system. If the prices of foodgrains are to be increased more and, if the issue prices are to be lowered, it means more subsidisation—which means double or even treble the amount now paid, i.e., Rs. 700 to 800 crores more. At the same time, it is said by the opposition parties that the Government is taking recourse to deficit financing. It has been said

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in the Address that under certain compelling circumstances, the Government has to resort to deficit financing to feed the people in the drought-prone areas. Even in the Address, it has been mentioned that deficit financing has been done in the best interest of the country without curbing any expenditure on the Plan development works and other essential things, e.g. Defence and other things. That is a big programme. If we are to increase the foodgrains prices or the procurement prices, as they are demanding and, at the same time, if we are to lower the issue prices, it means more deficit financing—more inflation. Again, on the one side, they are saying that let there be restrictions on the deficit financing—I appreciate it. But at the same length of argument, they are putting pressure on the Government that let there be more subsidisation on foodgrains and other things. These two ideas are irreconcilable. It is difficult to understand the philosophy of some of the persons who are just inciting violence and doing many other things on this particular issue.

Now, let us come to oil crisis. It is known to all what the oil crisis means today. Not only oil crisis. Even from a little before the oil crisis took its sway, the international monetary situation or the international price trend had gone to such an extent that it has become impossible on the part of the Government to insulate our own economy against such trends of price rise throughout the world.

Viewed in this perspective, we have to come to our own conclusion how we have to solve this problem. As it is said, nowadays even the prices of essential commodities in the international market have tripled or in some cases even more. But even then what do we find today? Our Government, under the leadership of our Prime Minister, is managing the country, is managing the economic affairs, in the best interests of the nation. Now what do we find throughout the world? Look at Japan, one of the most industrialised countries. The Japan's economy is just in doldrums; practically a sort of state of emergency has been declared because of the price

rise and the international pressure on her own economy—the price rise of oil and all that. I look at West Germany. In West Germany, another highly industrialised country, they have started retrenching the foreign workers from their country. I look at Great Britain. What is the impact of this international crisis and the increase in the prices of other essential commodities? Well, it is all known. They have started working only three days in a week. The day after tomorrow Great Britain is going to have a snap General Poll and there the issue is whether, on the pressure of certain organized sector, whether the Government of Mr. Heath is to stand, or the nation has to bear the brunt of all these 'Be firm and fair'—is the call given by the Prime Minister of England.

Not only this. What have we seen in the European Common Market? The European Common Market in the course of less than a decade, has come to be so big such a giant but because of the international price structure because of the oil crisis very high price of oil, even the European Common Market is crumbling down and down. We know that France, one of the big major partners of European Common Market has started negotiating unilaterally even changing their long standing policy—it is only to save the Government of France—with the oil-producing countries so that they can have oil under certain sympathetic considerations under certain fair price. This is the position in the whole world. We have seen that the value of the Dollar, one of the hardest currencies, has started falling down because of the international crisis. Is it possible on the part of the Government of India or is it possible on the part of any Government to insulate her own economy without feeling the impact of this international crisis in this regard? It is not possible. If any one claims so, I must say that he is only trying to have his own building—well, out of nothing.

What have we seen regarding our policies? Take for example, oil. We find that, if there is any country today in the

whole world, it is perhaps India, the Government of India, which is receiving fullest cooperation and sympathetic attention from the oil-producing nations

We have seen that Only the other day our Minister of External Affairs has made a statement that Government of India have entered into an agreement with the Government of Iran and according to the agreement they will supply large quantities of oil to feed our refineries, particularly the Madras Refinery Not only that, Iran has entered into an agreement with our Government to supply crude to such an extent that at least, two-thirds of our requirement will be fully met this year We have good relations with Iran, Iraq Saudi Arabia and with other, oil producing countries Our ONGC is taking all possible steps even to explore new wells in the oil-producing areas What does it mean ? It means that the policy that we have pursued in the past in regard to the West Asia crisis, in regard to the oil-producing countries, the Arab countries had started giving us dividends it has not only started giving us dividends it also proves once again that the policy pursued by the Government of India is one of the most successful policies even dreamt of by any of the countries of the world Our policies have been vindicated completely and they have been successful

We have been clamouring that the birth of Bangla Desh is a reality, Bangla Desh must be recognised by every country, not only by Pakistan Prime Minister Bhutto so long delayed recognition through various tactics but ultimately, he had to see the realities and only the other day, Bangla Desh has been recognised by Pakistan

We hope that the policy pursued by the Government of India, the policy pursued and consistently pursued in all facets of our foreign relations the whole world will come to realise that it is the correct and real policy to pursue in the field of International relations

In the last session, I think, in the first week of December, when one of our greatest friends of Soviet Union, Comrade Brezhnev come here, he said in unequivocal terms that in the field of foreign relations in peace, progress and co-operation and in rapidly stabilising the economies of the Government the steps taken by the Government are unparalleled There is no doubt about it Also other foreign dignitaries

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : He never said 'unparallel'

SHRI B K DASCHOWDHURY My friend has disputed it I let me quote what he said He said :

'We highly appreciate the position taken with regard to the Middle East events by the Republic of India which resolutely and unambiguously backed the just cause of the Arab peoples The stand taken by India is not fortuitous On the contrary it is indicative of her general role in modern international relations as a peace-loving state actively fighting for the cause of peace and for the peoples rights'

This is what he said

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA I am not quarrelling with that part

SHRI B K DASCHOWDHURY I will quote further to substantiate my point This is *Indian and Foreign Review* This is what he said :

"He said that Soviet people are well aware of the magnitude of the Indian people's contribution over the centuries to the treasure house of world culture, and of the significance of modern India's achievements in the field of economic and social progress"

You have it here . .

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU : This is what you say in your UP election posters.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : It is not the same as what you said.

SHRI B. K. DASCHOWDHURY : You also know it well but now you argue for your own purpose probably.

So, what we find is that we find in all aspects, we find either in the home policy or in the internal policies or in the matter of foreign relations with other countries, particularly, in order to accelerate the progress of peace and peaceful co-existence with various countries of the world, the lead of India is being taken as granted almost by all countries of the world by and by.

Even then we find that the problems of the country have not been solved in all spheres. There are difficulties. That is true. That has been amply stated in the Address also. There are difficulties. But, how to overcome these difficulties ? Is it enough for some people to call for violence ? Is it enough to call for *bandhs* ? The people, who may feel that this may show a sort of resentment, maybe enough for them to show their resentment. But how will these solve problems of the country ? That is a big question to-day. It should be our determined effort to solve all our problems and to meet the challenges the nation faces to-day. We must survive in this struggle. We must survive as a good citizen as any other member of the world. In that respect, all violences and *bandhs* and even the strikes from time to time will be more harmful to the nation. The stoppage of production is harmful. Even a few days ago there was a jute strike in West Bengal. My friend is very careful to hear about that. But what is the impact of the jute strike in West Bengal ? There was a production shortfall to the extent of Rs. 50 crores on a humble estimate. Again, the railway strike which created a bottle neck for the easy transpor-

tation, easy movement of our locomotives has caused a loss to the extent of nearly Rs. 75 crores.

What is more, it is putting the clock back. The bottleneck created in the way of transportation of essential commodities like coal and others created a loss of steel production to the extent of 2 lakh tonnes. To whom these losses go ? This loss is to be borne by the nation. And how ? With these sorts of strikes, *bandhs* and violence, who have got the benefit ? I will ask one thing of my friends and those persons who are following that path. I will ask them that they may do very well turn their eyes inwards and to have an introspection and ask to themselves, to whom these sorts of strikes are giving the benefit. And, virtually who are benefited ? Is the nation benefited ? Are the poor people benefited ? Is the country benefited ? Then, how are you serving the cause of the nation ? You are a dedicated soul, you are a dedicated person. You have an obligation to serve the cause of the people. Now, it is a challenge before the nation whether you have to create this violence, whether you have to create this transport bottleneck. We have to suspend the call for strikes and *bandhs* for any time and no time. This is not the time. So, let them have an inward look, that is those who are supporting these types of agitations, strikes, *bandhs*, etc.

Sir, there is no doubt that we are confronted with price rise and production shortfall and Government is certainly taking adequate steps in these directions. Government will take even the strictest measures whenever they are necessary. Much has been said about the experience regarding the procurement target. It has been said about hoarders and others should be punished. I agree, Sir. But there is one thing which I would like to say. Some hon'ble Members in their amendments have suggested certain things regarding procurement and foodgrains trade takeover. In one of the amendments it is being said, well, in view of the difficulty faced by the Government in the case of procurement of foodgrains, it is better to

give up this idea of State takeover and let this be handed over to the people back. Now who are the hoarders? Who are supporting these hoarders? If we give up this idea of the wholesale trade in foodgrains then who will be the persons benefited? The said amendments suggested, if accepted, will benefit the traders and hoarders only. I do not understand the philosophy which they advocate on this point.

I wish to say something with regard to external affairs. I have seen statements published in the *Times of India* dated the 23rd February. This is regarding the Indian Ocean and the Anglo-American base there. Mr. Zuhellen said and I quote:

"The current U S deployments in the Indian Ocean are consistent with our long-established policy. Also American naval vessels in the Indian Ocean fulfil importance political and military needs of the U S national interest."

I cannot understand this logic of Mr. Zuhellen, Deputy Director of U S Disarmament and Arms Control Agency. I do not know how they can say that it is in their national interest to have US or UK airbases and navies in the Indian Ocean. What we declare is that they cannot have this permanent interest or permanent right in the Indian Ocean and to disturb peace in the Indian Ocean. It is declared by a Resolution in the UN General Assembly that Indian Ocean should remain as an ocean of peace, as an area of peace. All the littoral States by the side of the Indian Ocean have protested and have started protesting in a vigorous way.

Being far away from the Indian Ocean, if some of the forces declare that it is in their own national interest to have permanent stay in the Indian ocean how one can reconcile it? These exploiters and those imperialists may have certain powers, but, they must not also forget that India though a developing country, has started emerging in a united way and she can also tell those people that their national in-

terests cannot be served by having a permanent stay, a permanent navel base in this area.

These are the troubles that we Indian are facing, the whole nation is facing. Since we are experiencing this sort of difficulty of acute shortages, price-rise and external pressure it must be the endeavour—it shall be our determined effort—to come out and overcome this crisis by our constructive cooperation from all sides of this august House. It is not merely a matter of the Congress Party alone but it should also be the responsibility of the Opposition Parties equally, as they are also a part and parcel of this country. If I have understood them correctly, well, they have also equal sympathy and obligation for the people particularly for those who are hard hit because of this crisis. But, they are creating obstacles; they are trying to put the clock back by creating bigger problems for the people. I am sure that under the leadership of our Prime Minister, the Government is determined to solve all these problems. If it was possible on the part of the Government to solve even the bigger problems in the year 1971, it shall not be difficult now on the part of Government to solve even those problems in the coming months or in the coming years. It may take some time. That is a different question.

Therefore, I find that there is no justification for inciting violence and other things. The Government is now in a position to overcome those difficulties, as they were in a position earlier, however difficult it may be.

In conclusion I would like to say that it is not democracy simply to incite violence and call for strikes and other things. Democracy means that in a concerted way, through discussions, through the constructive cooperation, we must come out in a united manner in order to solve all such problems now faced by the country. But, the activities on the part of the opposition Members and some other Member, show that they are more interested in



[Shri B. K. Daschowdhury]

creating this violence and other things. Their activities simply show that they are trying to invite anarchy to democracy. They are simply trying to create chaos for the Congress Government. I am sure that this Congress Government, whatever be the difficulties, will be able to overcome them and the Government will take certain measures. Before I conclude, I will say that there are certain facts which the Government should also consider — I am sure the Government is considering them. Because of this crisis, we are in great difficulty to invest our resources for the Plan. But, in certain sectors of industries, we find that investments have been made in such a manner that more and more luxury goods — not the goods of mass consumption—are being manufactured. I can quote certain figures. The production of refrigerators is going up; the production of air-conditioners is going much higher. I have seen that the production of refrigerators in our country, beginning from 1951 upto 1972, has gone up as high as 174 times. The production of air-conditioners has gone up as high as 10.8 times.

**SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU :** These are mostly taken by the Ministers.

**SHRI B. K. DASCHOWDHURY :** The Prime Minister is considering all these issues. One of the measures that the Government has to take is proper distribution of essential commodities through public distribution system. This is necessary. It shall be the duty on the part of the Government, to come forth with such measures from time to time to tackle all such problems.

In order to have a proper distribution system, the entire organisation should be streamlined. We have a Department of Supply, but we do not know whether this is responsible for making all these supplies of foodgrains and other commodities. I would suggest to the Government that in view of acute shortages and crisis before the country the present distribution system should be streamlined. The Department of Internal Trade which is now under the

Ministry of Commerce may be tagged on to the Department of Supply if possible and given more powers so that they can streamline the distribution machinery better for effective distribution in the coming months so as to relieve the people of their sufferings.

With these words, I commend to this august House to accept unanimously the respectful motion of thanks to the President that I have moved. I hope the entire House will agree with me.

श्री ब्रजलाल बाहुरा (बाडमेर) उपाध्यक्ष महोदय  
जिस दिन राष्ट्रपति महोदय अपना अभिभाषण देने समक्ष के केन्द्रीय मदन में पधारे थे उस दिन हमारे कुछ माननीय सदस्यों ने उस अभिभाषण का बहिष्कार किया था और कुछ माननीय सदस्यों ने केन्द्रीय मदन में ही कुछ प्रदर्शन किया था। इन माननीय सदस्यों ने कहा है कि यह बहिष्कार अथवा प्रदर्शन द्वारा कुछ दृश्य उपस्थित इसलिए किया गया कि वे अपना आश्रय प्रकट करना चाहते थे—मृत्यु-वृद्धि के खिलाफ वस्तुओं के प्रभाव के विरुद्ध अपना गुस्सा जाहिर करना चाहते थे।

आप जानते हैं कि राजनैतिक प्राणी हर वजह एक एक कर उठाता है हर काम नाप-तोल कर करता है। मैं तो समझता हूँ कि नेता सब में बड़ा अभिनेता होता है। यदि हमारे ये माननीय साथी सच्चे मनो से आश्रय व्यक्त कर रहे थे तो मुझे कुछ नहीं कहना है बल्कि मैं उनका सम्मान करूँगा क्योंकि मैं आज की परिस्थितियों में आश्रय को प्रकट करने के कार्य को पवित्र मानता हूँ। लेकिन प्रश्न यह है कि क्या उनका यह आश्रय सच्चे दिल से प्रकट किया गया है।

मेरे पड़ोस में एक बहुत बड़े नेता रहते हैं विरोधी दल के नेता। जब उत्तर प्रदेश और उड़ीसा के चुनाव की तैयारियाँ हो रही थीं तो यह नेता जो बहुत ही ईश्वर-भक्त और धर्मशील हैं हर प्रातः काल प्रार्थना किया करते थे कि हे प्रभो कीमते और बड़े चीखों की कमी और बड़े। (व्यवधान) मैंने यह नहीं कहा कि वह इस सदन के सदस्य हैं। (व्यवधान) जोधपुर में जहाँ मैं रहता हूँ मेरे पड़ोस में।



मैं आप से यह पूछना चाहता हूँ कि जब ये चुनाव की तैयारियाँ हो रही थीं उस समय मूल्य वृद्धि और वस्तुओं के अभाव का राजनैतिक लाभ किमको मिला रहा था। कौन उसका राजनैतिक लाभ उठाना चाहते हैं और उठा रहे थे। कौन लोगों के असंतोष का शोषण करना चाहते हैं और कर रहे थे? स्पष्ट है कि हमारे कुछ विरोधी दल के सदस्यों को उसका लाभ मिला रहा था। और इस लिए यदि वे उसके लिए प्रार्थना ही नहीं बल्कि प्रयास भी करें तो कोई आश्चर्य नहीं होना चाहिए—और प्रयास किया है लोगों ने। (अव्यवधान)

प्रो० मधु बटवले (राजापुर) प्रार्थना उन्होंने प्रभु का की है या प्रधान मंत्री को?

श्री असुत नाहाटा . न केवल प्रार्थना बल्कि प्रयास। जब नागा को केरोमीन या राशन की दुकानों पर गेह नष्ट। मिनता तो उन्हें धोंध आता है जोकि स्वाभाविक है लेकिन इस आशंका के पीछे भावना यह है कि हमारा देश की जनता यह मानती है कि यह सरकार का कर्तव्य है कि वह उसे जीवन की दैनिक आवश्यक वस्तुओं का उचित मूल्य पर उपलब्ध कराए। जनता की यह भावना है यह यह भाग वर्तनी है कि यह सरकार का काम है कि उसे राशन दे करमान दे मिमेट द और मैं इस भावना का आदर करना हूँ इसका प्रति मानता हूँ। लेकिन जो दल अपने चुनाव घोषणा पत्रों में यह घोषणा कर चुके हैं कि यह सरकार का काम नहीं है मुक्त होड़ मुक्त स्पर्धा और मुक्त व्यापार जाना चाहिये यह सरकार का काम नहीं है कि वह इन चीजों का व्यापार करे वह क्यों गुस्मा होंगे है यह मेरी समझ में नहीं आता। जैसे स्वतंत्र दल जनसमूह ने अपने घोषणापत्रों में कहा है कि सरकार को इन सब चीजों का व्यापार नहीं करना चाहिये। जब वे यह मानते हैं कि यह सरकार का काम नहीं और उसके बाद भी आक्रोश करने है तो मैं इसे समझ नहीं पाता। असंतुष्ट अस्तुष्टि एक चीज है और अव्यवस्था दूसरी। पीछे-पीछे कई एक उपचुनाव हुए और हमारा दल उन बहुत-से उपचुनावों में हारा जाँका डिडीगल साबरकाठा अहमबाबाद और बम्बई

में हारा। हमारे दल या हमारे नेताओं ने यह कभी नहीं कहा कि आप हमारे दल को क्यों हराने है एक संसदीय प्रणाली है और संसदीय प्रक्रिया है जिसमें जनता अपना असंतोष अपनी नाराजगी व्यक्त करती है विशेषकर उपचुनावों के अवसरों पर यह चीज संसदीय प्रक्रिया का अंग है इसमें किसी को कोई एतराज नहीं हो सकता। लेकिन जब हमारे विरोधी दल के सम्माननीय सदस्य कहते हैं कि हिमा लूटपाट आगजनी और अराजकता की प्रक्रियाओं के द्वारा गैर-संसदीय प्रक्रियाओं के द्वारा हम अपना असंतोष व्यक्त करना चाहते हैं तो मैं समझता हूँ कि यह संसदीय प्रक्रियाओं को तथा संस्थाओं को कमजोर बनाने का एक बहुत बड़ा षड्यंत्र है और यह राष्ट्रीय हित में नहीं है। जब भी इस तरह के आंदोलन होते हैं कहा यह जाता है कि सरकार मुनती नहीं इसलिए क्या करें? इसलिए हमें हड़ताल का महारा लेना पड़ता है बन्द करने पड़ते हैं घेराब करने पड़ते हैं और बाज वक्त दुकानें लूटनी पड़ती हैं। लूटपाट जब शुरू होती है तो अराजकता का रूप धारण कर लेती है। हमें यह नहीं भूलना चाहिये कि पिछले तीन चार वर्ष ऐसे बीते हैं जब देश के भीतर और बाहर ऐसी शक्तियाँ रही हैं जिन्होंने ऐसे मौकों और अवसर छूड़ने की कोशिश की है आपको याद होगा कि वगला देश की आजादी के संघर्ष में जब हमने मदद की थी तो अमरीका के कुछ बहुत जिम्मेदार लोगों ने एक चेतावनी दी थी और हमें यह कहा था कि भारत को यह नहीं भूलना चाहिये कि भारत में भी अलग-अलग भाषा बोलने वाले लोग हैं अलग-अलग प्रान्त हैं और उस मुस्क के भी टुकड़े हो सकते हैं। बहुत-सी शक्तियों को देश के भीतर तथा बाहर भी वह सब कुछ पसन्द नहीं आया जो इंदिरा जी ने इस देश में शुरू किया। लोक की तलाश में लोग हैं कि इंदिरा जी को सबक सिखायें। देश के भीतर तथा बाहर भी कुछ शक्तियाँ हैं जो देश में अराजकता और अव्यवस्था पैदा करना चाहती हैं, हिमा, आगजनी और लूटपाट का आतावरण पैदा करना चाहती हैं, संसदीय प्रक्रियाओं को कमजोर करना चाहती हैं और निराशा तथा अंधकार का आतावरण पैदा करना।

## [श्री धनूत नाहाटा]

चाहती है। प्रजातांत्रिक तरीके से, संसदीय प्रणाली से आप अपना गुस्ता जाहिर करे तो हम उसका स्वागत करेंगे। इतनी संवेदनशीलता हम दल में नहीं है, बहुत सारी कमजोरियाँ हमारे दल में हो सकती हैं, बहुत गलतियाँ हम कर सकते हैं लेकिन हमारा दल एक संवेदनशील दल है, जनता की भावनाओं को वह समझता है, उनके असन्तोष और नागरिकों की समस्या है और इसके बाद भी अगर वह यह विश्वास करने हैं कि नहीं, हम बहरे और गुंगे हैं, हमारी सरकार कुछ नहीं समझती तो प्रजातांत्रिक प्रणाली में गुंगी और बहरी सरकार को भी समझाने के तरीके विधान में हैं, हमारी प्रक्रियाओं में है, हमारी परंपराओं में है। लेकिन मांगनी, अंग्रेजकता और हिंसा का तरीका हम देश को कमजोर करेगा, हम देश की एकता को खतरे में डालेगा। हमें ऐसे तरीकों को निरुत्साहित करना चाहिये।

समस्या क्या है ' बहुत आसानी से कह दिया जाता है कि आप क्या नहीं करते, कौन जिम्मेदार है? आप देखें, बहुत जटिल समस्याएँ हैं। हमारे देश में कोई दम पाव या पदम लागू का प्रश्न नहीं है, हिन्दुत्व का धनी किमान, मुसलमान किमान, ईसाई किमान यह चाहता है कि जो वह पैदा करेगा है उसकी उसका अधिक से अधिक कीमत मिले। शहर का रहने वाला मजदूर और मध्यम वर्ग का नागरिक यह चाहता है कि उसको अनाज सस्ता मिले। हमें आप इन्कार नहीं कर सकते। व्यापारी चाहता है कि ज्यादा मुनाफा मिले, उपभोक्ता चाहता है कि मस्ती चीजें मिलें। उद्योगपति चाहता है कि कीमतें बढ़ें और उपभोक्ता चाहता है कि कीमतें गिरें। देश में धनी किमान चाहता है कि उनके पास अधिक से अधिक जमीन रहे और जो भूमि भूमि हीन है वह चाहता है कि उसको भूमि मिले। अब कोई दम पदम पचास या साठ परिवार एक घर हो और करोड़ों लोग दूसरी तरफ हो, इतना असमान भी नहीं है। हम देश के लाखा लोग ऐसे हैं जो शांति भी है और शोषक भी है। लाखा लोग ऐसे हैं जो बहुत बड़ी तादाद में हैं, शिक्षाली हैं, मर्गटन हैं। एक बड़े व्यापारी

का मुँह पता है, एक नगर में वह खरीदारी करता था, सामान इकट्ठा कर के रखता था। उस को मजदूर किया गया तो सैकड़ों हजारों व्यापारियों ने दुकानें बन्द कर दी, हड़ताल कर दी, बाजार बन्द हो गई। तो कोई सीमित लोग नहीं हैं। बहुत बड़ी तादाद में है। अधिकतर यह है कि अलग-अलग राजनैतिक दल किसी एक वर्ग-विशेष के हित का प्रतिनिधित्व करते हैं। कुछ किसानों के प्रतिनिधि हैं तो कुछ ग्रेट मजदूरों के प्रतिनिधि हैं। कुछ मजदूरों के प्रतिनिधि हैं तो कुछ अधिकारियों के प्रतिनिधि हैं। आज हमने पढ़ा कि ५०० एन० जी० सी० के अधिकारी और ५०० आई० सी० के अधिकारी भी अपनी मांग करत हैं, वह भी आन्दोलन का रास्ता अपनाते हैं, उनके भी अपने अलग हित हैं।

अब प्रश्न यह है कि इन परम्परा विराधी टकराने लगे हैं। किम तरह में समन्वित किया जाय। एक तो तरीका यह है, हिन्दुत्व का मजदूर परधान है, उसका भ्रष्टाचार में परधानी है, चीजें नहीं मिलती हैं, तो एक तो दृष्टिकोण यह है कि हम तो मजदूरों के प्रतिनिधि हैं मजदूरों के हित की बात करेंगे, बाकी देश भाड़ में जाय। किसानों के प्रतिनिधि यह कहेंगे कि हमें हमसे कोई मतवाज नहीं। हमें हमारी पैदावार की बाँटव कीमत मिलनी चाहिये। शहर के लोग यह कहेंगे कि हमें तो मस्ती कीमत पर चीजें मिलनी चाहिये। अब क्या यदि आर्थिक और एक-पक्षीय दृष्टिकोण में हम चलो दें तो समस्या का हल नहीं होता। गुट राजनैतिक दल है जो सब का खुश करना चाहते हैं। भारतीय जनसभा ने किसानों से कहा कि जितनी कीमत तुम चाहते हो उतनी कीमत देकर हम अनाज खरीदेंगे और शहर के लोगों से कहा कि जितना मस्ती तुम चाहते हो उतना मस्ती अनाज हम तुम्हें देंगे। हम में समस्या का हल नहीं होगा। यह भी संभव नहीं आता कि किसान से यह कहें कि 105 रुपये के भाव से हम तुम्हारी अनाज खरीदेंगे और शहर के लोगों से कहें कि 80 रुपये के भाव से तुम्हें देंगे। इस का अर्थ हुआ कि आप राजकीय व्यापार करेंगे लेकिन साथ-साथ आप यह भी

कहते हैं कि राजकीय व्यापार सरकार को नहीं करना चाहिये। ये परस्पर विरोधी बातें हैं। इसके बाद इन के रान्ने पर यदि सरकार चले तो केवल गेहूँ 105 रुपये के भाव में खरीदने और 80 रुपये के भाव उसको बेचने के लिये प्रति वर्ष हम को 500 करोड़ रुपये चाहिये इस अनाज की व्यवस्था के लिये। फिर मुद्रा स्फीति का भी ये विरोध करते हैं। मुद्रा स्फीति नहीं चाहते, नाउ नहीं छपन चाहते, ता आखिर पैसा आगुला कहा से? इस तरह परस्पर विरोधी बातें करके कांशिश यह की जाती है कि हर वग का मतुष्ट किया जाय, उसकी बात कह दी जाय। लेकिन हमसे समस्या हल नहीं होती।

म समस्या है कि आज उन परस्पर टकराने वाले हितों के समन्वय या एक मात्र रास्ता है कि हम देश में उत्पादन बढ़ाना चाहिये। अब उत्पादन बढ़ता नहीं है। क्यों नहीं बढ़ता? यहाँ फिर बड़ी बग-हिन रास्ते में मान है। पिछले कई सालों में आप हिमाचल लगाइये काँटे इस में दिल-चस्पी नहीं रखता कि उत्पादन बढ़े, उत्पादन बढ़ने में उसका लाभ नहीं हुआ।

श्री ज्योतिर्भय धनु जब उत्पादन बढ़ा था 1962 में 'नौ नव', बकने का क्या दिया?

श्री अमृत नाहाटा में मिलाव देता है—मान लीजिये, मैं मावुन का उत्पादन करता हूँ—अगर मैं मनलाइट बनाता हूँ तो उस का 100 आदमी खरीदेंगे, लेकिन मनलाइट की टिकिया के पीछे मुझे दो पैसे मुनाफा मिलेगा, इस तरह से 100 टिकिया के पीछे मुझे 2 रुपये मुनाफा मिलेगा। लेकिन अगर मैं ग्लोमरीन का मावुन बनाऊँ और दो रुपये या दस रुपये में बेच तो उसके खरीदने वाले 20 आदमी ही होंगे, ज़ादा उसको नहीं खरीदेंगे लेकिन उस में मैं 5 रुपये या 10 रुपये मुनाफा कमा लूँगा। तो फिर सीधी-भावी बात है 100 आदमियों की गन्दगी क्या छोड़, 20 आदमियों की चमड़ी धोने के लिये, उसको चिकना बनाने के लिये महंगा मावुन ही बनाया। वही भी देखिये, उत्पादन बढ़ाने में किसी का हित नहीं है।

जब-जब उत्पादन बढ़ा है तो किसान परेशान हुआ है, कीमते गिरी हैं, उन को अनाज मरने दामों में बेचना पड़ा है और उससे उन को मुकामान हुआ है। इस लिये उत्पादन की व्यवस्था में अगर वह मुनाफे के लिये होगा, आर्थिक स्थिति सुधारने के लिये उत्पादन किया जायेगा तो मुझे सन्नेह है उपाध्यक्ष जी, उत्पादन बढ़ने की स्थिति पैदा नहीं होगी।

अब प्रश्न यह है कि हम में रास्ते कैसे निकालें? पता नहीं कैसे यह चीज शुरू हुई—बड़े से बड़े स्तर से लेकर नीचे से नीचे के स्तर तक के लोग व्यवहारवाद की बातें बहुत करत हैं, अंधार की बातें करते हैं। हम लोग ने यह मान लिया है कि किसी भी व्यक्ति से यदि काम लेना है—देश के निर्माण के लिये, समाज के पुनर्निर्माण के लिये, उत्पादन बढ़ाने के लिये, चाह वह बाई भी व्यक्ति हो, मजदूर हो, किसान हो, वैज्ञानिक हो, उद्योगपति हो या सरकारी अधिकारी हो—ना उसके बदले उसे उचित पारिश्रमिक मिलना चाहिये, उचित पैसा मिलना चाहिये। मुद्रा का, अर्थ को हमने एकमात्र प्रेरक माना है, यही वह चीज है जिससे इन्सान को ज्यादा मेहनत करने की प्रेरणा मिलेगी, उत्पादन ज्यादा देने की प्रेरणा मिलेगी। बाई अधिकारी कही जायेगा, ना वह कहेगा कि मुझे अच्छा मकान चाहिये, मृत्वि-धारे चाहिये। उद्योगपति ज्यादा मुनाफा चाहेंगे, मजदूर ज्यादा पैसा चाहेंगे, किसान भी ज्यादा पैसा चाहेंगे। जहाँ हमने अर्थवाद के मूल्यों का निर्माण किया है, पैसे को एक-मात्र प्रेरक माना है, वहाँ हम कैसे किसानों में कहे कि ज्यादा मूल्य न मागा, मजदूरों से कैसे कहे कि ज्यादा मजदूरी न मागा, सरकारी अधिकारियों से कैसे कहे कि ज्यादा सुविधाएँ न मागो।

उपाध्यक्ष जी, हमारे देश की जनता मरियों से भुमीबतों में रही है, भुमीबते उठा सकती है। आज का सकट, मैं आप से निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ, आर्थिक सकट बड़ी है, आज का सकट मूल्यों का सकट है, आज का सकट नैतिकता का सकट है, विश्वास का सकट है, मैं इस से इन्कार नहीं करता। हम ने भी इस प्रकार के मूल्यों के निर्माण

[श्री अमृत माहटा]

करने से जाने-आ-अनजाने में सहयोग दिया है। कुछ समय पहले 1959 से 1972 तक एक नया उभार हम देश में था। एक भी हड़ताल नहीं हुई, बन्द नहीं हुये, जनता देश के निर्माण के लिये अपना सब कुछ देने के लिये तैयार थी। उस समय सहस्रानुवक्त किया था—केवल आर्थिक उत्तेजना ही नहीं, बल्कि ऐसी चीजें भी हैं, आदर्श हैं, भावनाएँ हैं जो समाज और देश को प्रेरित कर सकती हैं, ज्यादा देना है, बजाय हम के कि ज्यादा ले। कुछ आदर्श हैं राष्ट्र प्रेम के, देश भक्ति के, समाज को देने के, समाज का निर्माण करने के लिये उनका विशेष महत्व है, लेकिन उनका विकास अधिक नहीं हुआ। यह भी सही है कि अनुकरण तब होता है जब उदाहरण पेश किया जाय। हमारे दल में भी कभी-कभी कमजोरियाँ आती हैं, हम लोग भी आदर्शों से भटक कर व्यवहारवाद से फस जाते हैं, मित्रता की राजनीति को छोड़ कर कभी-कभी व्यवहारवाद की बातों में फस जाते हैं। लेकिन एक चीज में निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ—हमारे दल पर कई बार गहरे संकट आये, कई बार ऐसा भी लगा कि यह संस्था अब टूट जायेगी, कभी महात्मा गांधी और निलक महाराज के बीच मतभेद हुआ, कभी पं० नेहरू और नेताजी सुभाष चन्द्र बोस के बीच हुआ, कभी श्रीमति इंदिरा गांधी और श्री मोरारजी देसाई के बीच हुआ, जब संकट आते हैं तो ऐसा लगता है कि वह डगमगा जायेगी, लेकिन पता नहीं इस दल में कोई अज्ञान शक्ति का ऐसा श्रोत अवश्य है—विरोधी दल भी इस बात को मानेंगे—हर संकट में अधिक शक्ति लेकर सामने आई, अधिक ताकत लेकर उभर कर सामने आई।

हमारे कुछ साथी जो आज की तकलीफों से घबरा जाते हैं, जिन की आस्था डगमगा जाती है, कहते लगते हैं कि इस देश में प्रजातन्त्र नहीं चलेगा, इस देश में अधिनायकवाद चलना चाहिये, कभी यह बहुत सीमित अधिनायकवाद की बात करते हैं। अभी मानकेकर साहब ने एक लेख लिखा, अन्धनीय प्रजातन्त्र नहीं होना चाहिये, लेकिन 'नानु' से दो दल नहीं बनाये जा सकते।

हमारे देश की जनता से अपनी राजनीतिक परिपक्वता का प्रदर्शन एक बार नहीं हमने की बार किया है। हमारी यह प्रजातन्त्रिक भावना, सहिष्णुता की भावना, एक दूसरे के साथ रहने की भावना आज में नहीं है, संविधान बना तब से नहीं, सदियों से इस देश में रही है। हमारे पाम-पडोम में जहाँ नज़र डालिये प्रजातन्त्र लड़खड़ा गया, लेकिन इस देश में प्रजातन्त्र आज भी कायम है और कायम रहेगा, इस के लिये इस देश की जनता में विश्वास रखने की बात होनी चाहिये, आस्था रखने की बात होनी चाहिये।

हमारे दल में कई बार हम भी मित्रताओं में भटक सकते हैं, कई बार मुस्ती में काम नहीं करते हैं, लेकिन इस दल में एक ऐसी विशेषता है, जो इस देश की आत्मा के साथ इस देश की जनता के साथ घुली-मिली है कि हर संकट में जिस प्रकार देश की जनता बढ़ता के साथ बाहर निकलती है, हमारा दल भी और अधिक दुर्बल के साथ निखर कर सामने आता है। मारा देश इस बात को मानता है और मेरे विरोधी दलों के साथी भी इस बात को मानते हैं कि हमारी प्रधान मंत्री जी में एक विशेषता है—बहु विशेषता—ठीक वक्त पर ठीक कदम उठाना। दुनिया के बड़े-बड़े राजनीतिज्ञ भी इस बात को मानते हैं और हमारे विरोधी दलों के साथी भी मानेंगे कि जब वह किसी युद्ध की घोषणा करती हैं तो उन्होंने पराजय मंजूर करना नहीं सोचा, ठीक वक्त पर ठीक कदम उठाती हैं और इस देश की जनता को उनमें इस बारे में पूरा विश्वास है। अगर उन्होंने कुछ व्यवस्थाओं को चुनौतियाँ दी हैं, हिंसा को चुनौती दी है, सचपं छेड़ा है समाज को बदलने का, देश को बदलने का तो वह उस युद्ध में पराजय कभी स्वीकार नहीं करेगी, किस वक्त कौन-सा कदम उठाना है, इस को वह भली-भाँति जानती हैं। आप को याद होगा—जब बंगलादेश का स्वतन्त्रता संग्राम चल रहा था, हम अंधोर हो रहे थे कि प्रधान मंत्री की क्या कदम नहीं उठा रही है, लेकिन आज मारी दुनिया जानती है किम वक्त कौन-सा कदम उठाना है, इस में जितनी बड़ी योग्यता हमारी प्रधान मंत्री जी में है, दुनिया के बहुत कम राजनेताओं में

है। इसलिये हमें विश्वास है देश की तमाम कठिनाइयों और संकटों के बावजूद हमारा दल, कई व्यवहारवादी कमजोरियों के बावजूद भी यही दल एकमात्र ऐसा दल है जो राष्ट्रीय दृष्टिकोण से देखता है, राष्ट्रीय समस्याओं को सैद्धांतिक तरीके से हल करता है और हमारे पास वह नेतृत्व है, हमारे पास वह परम्परा है, हमारे पास माथ भारतीय जनता है जिसने भारतीय आत्मा के साथ एक रूप होने की क्षमता है। इस लिये हमें विश्वास है कि हम इन चुनौतियों का, कठिनाइयों का आत्मविश्वास के साथ मुकाबला करेंगे, उनको हल करेंगे।

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 18th February, 1974.'

A number of amendments have been given notice of by the members. Those who are present and would like to move their amendments may do so.

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

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

"but regret that in the Address no steps have been contemplated to bring that Maharashtra Government in line with the national integration movement and force them to take stringent action against atrocities of the Shiv Sena." (1)

SHRI JAGANNATHRAO JOSHI (Shajapur): 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 Government's repression of junior doctors who are agitating for the implementation of the March 31 (1973) Agreement between them and the Government." (2)

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention the practice indulged in by the Prime Minister by flooding U.P. with Election-eve Foundation Stones of projects some of which were neither approved by the Planning Commission nor any funds were provided for them in the Budget." (3)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the blatant misuse of All India Radio and Television by the ruling party for its electoral campaign in U.P." (4)

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

"but regret that the Address does not show any interest in the decision to remove disparity in status and emoluments between Generalists and Technocrats in Government services." (5)

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

"but regret that the address does not mention the utter failure of the Election Commission of India in stopping the gross misuse and abuse of Government

[Shri Jagannathrao Joshi]

machinery in U.P. by the ruling party for its election campaign" (6)

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

"but regret that in the Address no tributes have been paid to the heroic people of Gujarat in general and over 50 martyrs in particular, who fought a gallant and successful battle against the corrupt and incompetent regime there" (7)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the utter and miserable failure of the Government to check in Gujarat acute shortage of essential consumer commodities and their soaring prices resulting in food riots which were brought under control with the help of army" (8)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the specific and compelling reasons due to which Gujarat peoples demand for dissolution of the State Assembly was not accepted and instead a suspended Assembly has been imposed there" (9)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् —

"परन्तु खेद है कि सभी प्रकार के विक्रो करों का समाप्त कर, केवल मात्र उत्पादन शुल्क लगाये जान की व्यवस्था का लागू करने का अभिभाषण में कोई प्राश्नामन नहीं दिया गया है।" (10)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् —

"परन्तु खेद है कि कर्नाटक-महाराष्ट्र सीमा विवाद को निपटाने की एक निश्चित अवधि अभिभाषण में नहीं बनाई गई है।" (11)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् —

'परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में इस बात की घोषणा नहीं की गई है कि प्रत्येक नदी जल विवाद के बारे में कितनी अवधि में निर्णय कर दिया जायेगा।' (12)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् —

'परन्तु खेद है कि उच्चपदासीन नेताओं और अधिकांशों के विरुद्ध अप्रत्याशित के ठाम आरोप दिये जाने के बावजूद, सरकार द्वारा उपयुक्त जांच कराये जाने में विफलता का उत्तर अभिभाषण में नहीं दिया गया है।' (13)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् —

'परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में मताधिकार की आयु को 15 वर्ष करके, नवायित यवा पीढ़ी में राष्ट्रनिर्माण राय में सहभागी बनने की भावना का उदय करने का कोई प्राश्नामन नहीं दिया गया है।' (14)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् —

पर खेद है कि मत्ताधारों दल के साम्यवादियों से खूना गठजोड़ हो जाने से उत्पन्न भारतीय लातन्त्र के नियंत्रण की गंभीर चेतावनी अभिभाषण में नहीं है। (15)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् —

"परन्तु खेद है कि गरीब किसानों की सीमित सम्पत्ति पशुधन व फसल का सर्वेक्षण बीमा किये जाने का प्राश्नामन अभिभाषण में नहीं दिया गया है।" (16)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् —

"परन्तु खेद है कि एक निश्चित अवधि में भारत के प्रत्येक परिवार के लिए आवास का प्रबंध करने की आवश्यकता की कोई घोषणा अभिभाषण में नहीं की गई है।" (17)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये अर्थात्:-

“परन्तु खेद है कि अल्पशिक्षित मंहर्गई व अभाव की स्थिति से संतप्त बेरोजगार, गरीब तथा दुर्गम क्षेत्रों में बसे, जनता के कमजोर वर्गों को अविनम्बनीय राहत के लिये कारगर कदमों की घोषणा अभिभाषण में नहीं की गई है।” (18)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात्:-

“परन्तु खेद है कि बढ़ती बेरोजगारी और लक्ष्यहीन शिक्षा प्रणाली के कारण देश की युवा पीढ़ी में बड़े पैमाने पर व्याप्त गहरे क्षाम के निराकरण के लिये, कोई समय-बद्ध आश्रमन की घोषणा अभिभाषण में नहीं की गई है।” (19)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात्:-

“परन्तु खेद है कि गेह के धाँक व्यापार के सरकारीकरण की असफलता का ध्यान में रख कर उसे त्यागन की घोषणा अभिभाषण में नहीं की गई है।” (20)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात्:-

“परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में आर्थिक सकट और विकास गति में तीव्र गिरावट के लिये जिम्मेदार अब तक की सरकारी नीतियों की चर्चा नहीं की गई है।” (21)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात्:-

“परन्तु खेद है कि काम करने के अधिकार को सबिधान के मूल अधिकारों में सम्मिलित करने की आवश्यकता का कोई उल्लेख अभिभाषण में नहीं किया गया है।” (22)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात्:-

परन्तु खेद है कि मारुति वि० के बारे में लगाये गये आरोपों की जांच के लिये ससद सदस्यों की एक समिति गठित

किये जाने का आश्वासन अभिभाषण में नहीं दिया गया है।” (23)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात्:-

“परन्तु खेद है कि कर्मचारियों और मजदूरों को आवश्यकतानुसार न्यूनतम वेतन दिये जाने की घोषणा अभिभाषण में नहीं की गई है।” (24)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात्:-

“परन्तु खेद है कि किसी राज्य में राष्ट्रपति शासन लागू करने समय विधान सभा को भग करने के बजाय उसे निर्वाचित करने के ‘संवैधानिक दृष्टि से सिद्ध और राजनैतिक दृष्टि से अनैतिक, कार्य को सविध्य में न करने का कोई आश्वासन अभिभाषण में नहीं दिया गया है।” (25)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात्:-

“परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में काले धन का समाप्त करने के लिये किसी समय-बद्ध योजना को क्रियान्वित करने की घोषणा नहीं की गई है।” (26)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात्:-

“परन्तु खेद है कि 1971 के युद्ध क्षेत्र में भारत की विजय होने के बावजूद, छम्ब-जार्जिया की भारतीय भूमि को पाकिस्तानी कब्जे में दे देने के सरकारी निर्णय पर, दुःख व रोष अभिभाषण में प्रगट नहीं किया गया है।” (27)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात्:-

“परन्तु खेद है कि केन्द्र और राज्यों के बीच स्थिरता और न्यायसंगत आवश्यकता के आधार पर, वित्तीय आर्बंटन के प्रश्न को हल करने के लिये एक स्थाई वित्त प्रायोग की नियुक्ति के लिये कोई रुचि अभिभाषण में नहीं है।” (28)

[श्री जयलाल राव जोशी]

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात्—

“परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में एक ऐसी राष्ट्रीयता के अमल पर जोर नहीं दिया गया है जिसके अन्तर्गत मरीची की रेखा में नीचे जीवनयापन करने वाले किसानों, मजदूरों व अन्य कमजोर वर्गों का, उनके ऊपर लदे सभी प्रकार के ऋणों का एक निश्चित अवधि में छुटकारा दिलाया जा सके।” (29)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात्—

“परन्तु खेद है कि चौथी यात्रा के विभिन्न लक्ष्यों की प्राप्ति में मिली असफलता के लिये जिम्मेदार सरकार की आधारभूत नीतियों में अविनम्बनीय परिवर्तन के लिये कोई स्वि अभिभाषण में नहीं दिखाई गई है।” (30)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात्—

“परन्तु खेद है कि गत तीन वर्षों की अवधि में देश में बढ़ती गरीबी, गिरते उत्पादन और इसके परिणामस्वरूप फैलते जनश्रम के उपयुक्त निदान और उचित उपचार का कोई प्रभावी मकल अभिभाषण में नहीं है।” (31)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात्—

“परन्तु खेद है कि सभी सरकारी उपक्रमों में, एक निश्चित अवधि के भीतर, उनके प्रबन्ध में श्रमिकों को भागीदार बनाने के लिये कोई स्वि अभिभाषण में प्रगट नहीं की गई है।” (32)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात्—

“परन्तु खेद है कि केन्द्रीय विश्वविद्यालयों के प्रशासन के प्रबन्ध में बढ़ते हुए सरकारी हस्तक्षेप को रोकने के लिए कोई विज्ञा-विद्वेष अभिभाषण में नहीं दिया गया है।” (33)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात्—

“परन्तु खेद है कि 1971 के युद्ध के कारण भारत की तरफ से आए सिंधी विस्थापितों को भारतीय नागरिकता देने और उनका स्थायी पुनर्वास करने की घोषणा अभिभाषण में नहीं की गई है।” (34)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात्—

“परन्तु खेद है कि राजस्व, मुख्य उत्पादन तथा आय संबंधी एक राष्ट्रीय नीति के निर्धारण के लिए आर्थिक दृष्टि से महत्व के, देश के सभी वर्गों के प्रतिनिधियों का एक गोलमेज सम्मेलन बनाने की घोषणा अभिभाषण में नहीं की गई है।” (35)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात्—

“परन्तु खेद है कि चुनावों का विवादोंवादी क्षेत्रीयता तथा धन के दुर्प्रभाव से मुक्त करने के लिए चुनाव-प्रणाली में आधारभूत सुधार करने की कोई व्यवस्था अभिभाषण में प्रगट नहीं की गई है।” (36)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात्—

“परन्तु खेद है कि जम्मू-काश्मीर के भारत में पूर्ण विलय का मूर्तत्व देने के लिए संविधान के अमर्दा अनुच्छेद 370 को समाप्त करने की घोषणा अभिभाषण में नहीं की गई है।” (37)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात्—

“परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में यह आश्वासन विस्मृत कर दिया गया है कि सर्वोच्च तथा उच्च न्यायालयों के लिए न्यायाधीशों की नियुक्ति में सरकारी हस्तक्षेप का अन्त किया जायेगा।” (38)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात्—

“परन्तु खेद है कि एक निश्चित अवधि में भारत के प्रत्येक तम में पीने के पानी की व्यवस्था सुनिश्चित करने संबंधी कोई आश्वासन अभिभाषण में नहीं दिया गया है।” (39)



कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् —

“परन्तु खेद है कि आवश्यक वस्तुओं के अभाव और उनके मूल्यों में भयानक वृद्धि पर नियंत्रण पाने में सरकार की लगानार असफलता के संबंध में ठोस आधारभूत तथा कारगर उपायों की चर्चा अभिभाषण में नहीं की गई है।” (40)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाय, अर्थात् —

“परन्तु खेद है कि किसानों का उर्वरक मिलाई का पानी तथा बीज समय पर देने में सरकार की असफलता और इस संबंध में ठोस कदमों का उल्लेख अभिभाषण में नहीं है।” (41)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् —

“परन्तु खेद है कि 1971 के भारत-पाक युद्ध में छम्ब-गोरिया क्षेत्र में आयें विस्थापितों के उचित तथा उद्युक्त पुनर्वास एवं क्षतिपूर्ति करने के लिए एक निश्चित अवधि की घोषणा, अभिभाषण में नहीं की गई है।” (42)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् —

“परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में यह ध्यावान्वित नहीं दिया गया है कि एक निश्चित अवधि के भीतर अनुसूचित जनजातियों को उनकी वे भूमि लौटा दी जायेगी जोकि अनुचित तरीके से, उनमें अन्य लोगो ने हस्तांतरित कर ली है।” (43)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् —

“परन्तु खेद है कि देश की औद्योगिक क्षमता का पूर्ण उपयोग करने के ठोस कदमों की चर्चा अभिभाषण में नहीं है।” (44)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् —

“परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में ऐसे अविलम्बनीय ठोस कदमों का उल्लेख नहीं है जिनके द्वारा शिक्षा को सामाजिक

उत्थान और आर्थिक विकास के लिये तथा उत्कृष्ट नागरिक बनाने की दिशा में एक महत्वपूर्ण माध्यम बनाया जा सके।” (45)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् —

“परन्तु खेद है कि देश की समस्त मानव शक्ति के प्रभावी तथा परिणामदायी तथा पूर्ण उपयोग करने का उल्लेख अभिभाषण में नहीं है।” (46)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् —

“परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में मजदूरी द्वारा अधिकतम उत्पादन हेतु आवश्यक भूमि सुधार योजना को एक निश्चित अवधि में लागू करने का ठोस ध्यावान्वित नहीं दिया गया है।” (47)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् —

“परन्तु खेद है कि देश में सकटकालीन स्थिति को समाप्त करने की घोषणा अभिभाषण में नहीं की गई है।” (48)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् —

“परन्तु खेद है कि सभी कर्मचारियों के लिए समान कार्य के लिए समान वेतन के बारे में अभिभाषण में कोई उल्लेख नहीं है।” (49)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् —

“परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में यह घोषणा नहीं की गई है कि समूचे देश में गौ-हत्या पर प्रतिबन्ध लगाया जायेगा।” (50)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् —

“परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में यह घोषणा नहीं की गई है कि पेशवरों की समस्त कठिनाइयों पर विचार करने और उन्हें उपयुक्त सहायता तथा अन्य सुविधायें दिलाने के लिये एक उच्च स्तरीय आयोग का गठन किया जायेगा।” (51)

[श्री जगन्नाथ राव जोशी]

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् —

“परन्तु खेद है कि मत्स्यधारी बल की अधि-  
नायकगोत्री प्रवृत्तियों के कारण देश में  
लोकतन्त्र के बढ़ते हुए खतरे के प्रति  
अभिभाषण में चिन्ता प्रकट नहीं की गई  
है।” (52)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् —

“परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में यह सकल्प  
नहीं है कि एक निश्चिन्त अवधि में  
देश के प्रत्येक ग्राम में बिजली, पक्की  
सड़क, पीने का पानी, विविध केन्द्र,  
कृषि-उपकरण केन्द्र तथा लघु तथा  
बूटीर उद्योग उपकरण और शिक्षा  
सुविधाएँ उपलब्ध कराने में राज्या का  
पर्याप्त वित्तीय सहायता दी जायेगी।”  
(53)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् —

“परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में यह चिन्ता  
व्यक्त नहीं की गई है कि 1967 में  
मसद द्वारा पारित इस सकल्प को सरकार  
ने अभी तक क्रियान्वित नहीं किया है  
कि मविधान की आठवीं अनुसूची में  
उल्लिखित सभी भाषाओं तथा क्षेत्रों  
को अखिल भारतीय तथा उच्चतर  
केन्द्रीय सेवाओं की संपूर्ण परीक्षाओं के  
निये वैकल्पिक भाषाओं के रूप में माना  
जायेगा और न अभिभाषण में इस  
सकल्प का क्रियान्वित करने के लिये एक  
निश्चित अवधि की ही घोषणा की गई  
है।” (54)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् —

“परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में यह आश-  
वासन नहीं है कि गुजरात की जनता पर  
पुलिस द्वारा की गयी ज्यादतियों की  
अदालती जांच करायी जायेगी।” (55)

**SHRI C. H. MOHAMED KOYA (Man-  
jeri):** 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 atrocities committed against  
South Indians in Maharashtra  
by the Shiv Sena and the fail-  
ure of the Government to pro-  
tect their lives and properties”  
(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 necessity of amending  
the Aligarh Muslim University  
Act to ensure the minority  
character of the University.” (58)

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  
Government of India ensuring  
12 Oz. of rice ration to the  
citizens of Kerala.” (59)

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 communal riots in the  
country and the measures to  
check them” (60)

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 coir industry (re-  
organisation) schemes sub-  
mitted by the Kerala Govern-  
ment which will serve the in-  
dustry directly employing half  
a million people” (61)

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

but regret that no mention has been made in the Address about measures to give adequate representation to Muslims and other minorities in the Government services and nationalised banks" (62)

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 to construct Calicut aerodrome and the Melattur Feroke Railway which are the long felt needs of the backward Malappuram district of Kerala" (63)

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 proposal to make Urdu a second language in the Urdu speaking States (64)

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

but regret that no mention has been made in the Address about giving political pension to the patriots who took part in the 'Mopla Rebellion' which was part of the Civil Disobedience movement started by Gardhi known as the Khilafat movement (65)

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

'but regret that no mention has been made in the Address about writing off the amount given as loan to the repatriates from Burma as was done in the case of loans given to the goldsmiths" (66)

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 necessity to expedite the opening of a separate passport office for Kerala' (67)

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 tragic death of job hunters from Kerala who tried to escape from Dubai in a launch and the negligence of our Embassy staff in redressing the grievances of the illegal immigrants" (68)

SHRI C. K. CHANDRAPPA (Telli chetty) I beg to move

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

'but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the atrocities committed against the linguistic minorities especially against the Malayalees settled and working in Bombay by the Shiv Sena recently' (84)

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

'but regret that there is no mention in the Address that the Government will grant the right to vote at eighteen, a promise made to the youth of the country" (85)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address that the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (Orders) Bill will be introduced in this session" (86)

[Shri C. K. Chandrappan]

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address that the Government will take immediate steps to abolish the so called public Schools which produce Pro-West elite and snobs in our society." (87)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address that the Government will grant bonus to the railway employees." (88)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address that the Government has failed in bringing down the steadily soaring price lire." (89)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address that the Government has failed in curbing the growth of Indian and foreign monopolies in our economy." (90)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address that the Government will immediately grant permission to the Kerala Government to issue the ordinance for the nationalisation of the foreign owned plantations in Kerala, which is lying with Centre for more than 3 years." (91)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address that the Government will take meaning-

ful and stern actions against the black marketeers, hoarders and profiteers who are responsible for the miseries of the common people." (92)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address that the Government will take strong measures like demonetisation to put an end to the growth of black money." (93)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address that the Government will take steps to ban semi-fascist and para military organisations like Siva Sena and RSS which are threatening the very unity of the country and Nation." (94)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address that the Government will take immediate steps to reform and democratise the education system in India, which even today remains out dated and inadequate to meet the needs of the country." (95)

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

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address that the Government will take steps to include the backward class Christians of Kerala, Velan community of Malabar and the Kudumbi Community in the list of Scheduled Castes." (96)

SHRI K. S. CHAVDA (Patan) : I beg to move :

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about Government's failure to bring down prices of foodgrains and other essential commodities of life" (97).

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about failure to provide foodgrains and other essential articles of life at reasonable prices to the people living below poverty line." (98)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of sympathies to the families of those who have been killed during the anti-price rise agitation and agitations against non-availability of foodgrains and other essential commodities of life in the State of Gujarat." (99)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the feelings of the people of Gujarat in favour of dissolution of the suspended Legislative Assembly and having fresh election immediately." (100)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of setting up judicial enquiries into corruption charges against the former

Ministers of Gujarat Government and police excesses during the anti-price rise agitation in Gujarat." (101)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of undue delay in giving award by the Prime Minister on the Narmada River Project dispute." (102)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the failure of the Government to stop the mass killings and repression by Central Reserve Police and Border Security Force in order to suppress unanimous and popular demand of the people of Gujarat for dissolution of the State Legislative Assembly and holding of fresh elections." (103)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of Government's failure to introduce total prohibition throughout the country." (104)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of stopping Government's encouragement to foreign drugs manufacturing firms at the cost of Indian drugs industry." (105)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of a definite time-bound programme of removing unemployment from the country." (106)

[Shri K. S. Chavda].

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of taking effective steps to stop lotteries in the country."

श्री रामबाबुलाल शास्त्री (पटना) मैं प्रस्ताव करता हूँ :

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् --

"किन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में आवश्यक वस्तुओं के मूल्य कम करने या कम से कम उन्हें स्थिर करने के लिये कोई सुनिश्चित या ठाम उपायों के संबंध में कोई उल्लेख नहीं है ।" (108)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् —

"किन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में ग्राम आदमी को आवश्यक वस्तुओं बिना किसी गठिनाई के उपलब्ध कराने के लिये ठाम उपाय करने के संबंध में कोई उल्लेख नहीं है ।" (109)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् -

"किन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में राजिना, गिण्डे वगैरे और अनुसूचित जातियाँ का जिन पर देश के विभिन्न भागों में अत्याचार किये जा रहे हैं और जिनकी दशा प्रतिवार खराब होती जा रहा है स्थिति सुधारन के उपायों के संबंध में कोई उल्लेख नहीं है ।" (110)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् -

"किन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में गरीब किसानों को उबरका और ड्रेक्टरों की मज्दारी बढ़ाने ताकि वे अनाज का अधिक उत्पादन कर सके जिसका देश को बहुत आवश्यकता है, के संबंध में कोई उल्लेख नहीं है ।" (111)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् :-

"परन्तु खेद है कि विदेशी मुनाफाखोरो पर प्रतिबंध लगाने की आवश्यकता का अभिभाषण में कोई उल्लेख नहीं है ।" (112)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् -

"परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में विदेशी स्वामित्व वाले कारखानों के राष्ट्रीयकरण का कोई उल्लेख नहीं है ।" (113)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् -

"परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में चीनी उत्पादकों को खले बाजार में चीनी बेचने की छूट का समान करके चीनी का राशन की दुकानों के द्वारा एक समान मूल्य पर बेचने की आवश्यकता का अभिभाषण में कोई उल्लेख नहीं है ।" (114)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् -

"परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में प्रतिगामी तथा की जो ग्राम्य प्रदेशों के बटनार की मांग कर रहे हैं निन्दा नहीं की गयी है ।" (115)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् -

"परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में गुजरात में खाद्य आन्दोलन के दौरान अनायास गालीबार्गी में निर्दोष लोगों के मारे जान का नोति की निन्दा नहीं की गयी है ।" (116)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् -

"परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में गुजरात की अनपूर्य सरकार का वर्तमान स्थिति के लिये जिम्मेदार ठहरा कर उसकी निन्दा नहीं की गयी है ।" (117)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् -

"परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में उन तत्वों तथा दलों की जो गुजरात में खाद्य आन्दोलन को प्रतिगामी दिशाओं में ले

जाने का प्रयास कर रहे है, निन्दा नहीं की गयी है ।" (118)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् :-

"परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में देश में प्रति-त्रियावादी दलों के गठबन्धन की निन्दा नहीं की गयी है ।" (119)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् :-

"परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में विदेशी तेल कम्पनियों के तुरन्त राष्ट्रीयकरण का कोई उल्लेख नहीं है ।" (120)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् :-

"परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में डीजल, पेट्रोल और स्प्री के तेल में चांगबाजारी तथा मनाफाखोरी करने वाले व्यक्तियों के विरुद्ध कार्यवाही करने का कोई उल्लेख नहीं है ।" (121)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् :-

"परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में किसानों की डीजल की सप्लाई सुनिश्चित करने की आवश्यकता का कोई उल्लेख नहीं है ।" (122)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् :-

"परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में विदेशी व्यापार के राष्ट्रीयकरण का कोई उल्लेख नहीं है ।" (123)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् :-

"परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में ऐसे अधि-कारियों के विरुद्ध जो भीतर में सरकारी क्षेत्र के कारखानों को विनष्ट कर रहे हैं, कार्यवाही करने का कोई उल्लेख नहीं है ।" (124)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् :-

"परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में सरकारी क्षेत्र में चोरी, बर्बादी और फालतू व्यय को रोकने का कोई प्रस्ताव नहीं है ।" (125)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् :-

"परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में सरकारी क्षेत्र में कारखानों में नौकरशाही और अफ-सरशाही को रोकने का कोई उल्लेख नहीं है ।" (126)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् :-

"परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में सरकारी क्षेत्र के कारखानों में मजदूरों और कर्मचारियों के महंगाई में अथवा प्रबन्ध व्यवस्था में उन्हें भागीदार बनाकर उत्पादन बढ़ाने और कार्यकरण में सुधार करने के किसी प्रस्ताव का उल्लेख नहीं है ।" (127)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् :-

"परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में सरकारी क्षेत्र के कारखानों में केवल उन्हीं अधिकारियों का जिन्हे समाजवाद और सरकारी क्षेत्र में विश्वास हो, सर्वोच्च पदों पर नियुक्त करने संबंधी किसी प्रस्ताव का उल्लेख नहीं है ।" (128)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् :-

"परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में प्रगतिशील भूमि सुधार के लागू होने पर जांतबारी और भूस्वामियों की उपलब्ध होने वाली फालतू भूमि को कृषि मजदूरों और गरीब किसानों में वितरित किये जाने के संबंध में कोई उल्लेख नहीं है ।" (129)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् :-

"परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में भूस्वामियों और मनाफाखोरी करने वालों का पक्ष-पान करने वाले राज्यों की निन्दा नहीं की गई है ।" (130)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् :-

"परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में भुद्धा स्कीति के लिये उत्तरदायी सरकारी नीति को बदलने की आवश्यकता के संबंध में कोई उल्लेख नहीं है ।" (131)

[श्री रामावतार सास्त्री]

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् —

“परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में सूखे और बाढ़ का मुकाबला करने के लिये ठोस उपायो का कोई उल्लेख नहीं है।” (132)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् —

“परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में आकाश छूती महगाई और अभाव के विरुद्ध कारगर कदम उठाने संबंधी निश्चित एवं ठोस कार्यवाही करने का उल्लेख नहीं है।” (133)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् —

“परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में मृनाफाखोरो जमाखोरो एवं सट्टेबाजों के विरुद्ध शक्ति से शक्ति कार्यवाही करने की आवश्यकता का कोई उल्लेख नहीं है।” (134)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् —

“परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में खाद्यान्नों के व्यापार का शाक सरकार के हाथ में लेकर अनाज उगाही स्कीम को चालू रखने संबंधी नीति की आवश्यकता का कोई उल्लेख नहीं है।” (135)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् —

“परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में चावल के शाक व्यापार को अपने हाथ में लेकर उगाही स्कीम चालू नहीं करने सम्बन्धी नीति के फलस्वरूप मृनाफाखोरो एवं गल्लाखोरो द्वारा आम जनता को दाम बढ़ाकर लूटने सम्बन्धी प्रवृत्ति की निंदा नहीं की गई है।” (136)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् —

“परन्तु खेद है कि रबी की अगली फसल के समय गेहूं तथा दूसरे अनाजों के थोक व्यापार को अपने हाथ में लेने तथा पिछली गलतियों को दूर कर नई उगाही स्कीम को क्रियान्वित करने के किसी का प्रस्ताव अभिभाषण में उल्लेख नहीं है।” (137)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् —

“परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में विभिन्न राज्यों में चावल उगाही स्कीम का सरकार के भीतर और बाहर से भीतरघात करने वाले तत्वों को बेनकाब करते हुए उनकी निंदा नहीं की गई है।” (138)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् —

“परन्तु खेद है कि अनाजों की सरकारी उगाही स्कीम का भीतरघात करने वाले अप्सरो के विरुद्ध कड़ी कार्यवाही करने का अभिभाषण में कोई उल्लेख नहीं है।” (139)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् —

“परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में देशान्त में बड़े जोतदारा द्वारा अनाज छिपाकर रखने तथा उसे निकालने में सरकारी नीति की असफलता का कोई उल्लेख नहीं है।” (140)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् —

“परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में टिपे गल्ले को निकालने के लिए गल्ला निवाला अभियान चलाने तथा इस काम में आम जनता के सहयोग का आह्वान करने सम्बन्धी किसी नीति का उल्लेख नहीं है।” (141)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् —

“परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में मृनाफाखोरो एवं गल्लाखोरो को शरण देने वाले राजनीतिक दलों की खुली निंदा तथा जनता को इनसे सावधान रहने का कोई उल्लेख नहीं किया गया है।” (142)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् —

“परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में वर्तमान पूँजीवादी समाज को मिटा कर विकास का गैर पूँजीवादी मार्ग अपना देने की आवश्यकता का कोई उल्लेख नहीं है।” (143)



कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् —

“परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में सरकारी मशीनरी पर कब्जा जमाकर बैठे प्रतिगामी एवं समाज विरोधी तत्वों को निकाल बाहर करने का कोई उल्लेख नहीं है।” (144)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् —

“परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में बिहार, केरल, गुजरात तथा आवश्यकता से कम अनाज पैदा करने वाले अन्य राज्यों के पाम पर्याप्त मात्रा में अनाज भेजकर वहाँ की जनता के बीच समुचित बटवारे की नीति क्रियान्वित करने की आवश्यकता का उल्लेख नहीं किया गया है।” (145)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये अर्थात् —

“परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में राशन की दुकानों द्वारा सभी आवश्यक वस्तुओं की बिक्री का कोई उल्लेख नहीं है। (146)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् —

“परन्तु खेद है कि खाद्यान्न तथा जीवन की अन्य आवश्यक सामग्रियों के दाम बाँधने सम्बन्धी किसी निश्चित नीति का अभिभाषण में उल्लेख नहीं है।” (147)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् —

“परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में राशन की दुकानों द्वारा गेहूँ, चावल, बाजरा, आदि के अतिरिक्त डालडा, मरसो का तेल, साबुन, मिट्टी का तेल, कपड़ा, दालें, कोयला, आदि सस्ते दामों पर सप्लाई करने का कोई उल्लेख नहीं है।” (148)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये अर्थात् —

“परन्तु खेद है कि डालडा, बीनी, कपड़ा जूट, साबुन, सरसों का तेल, दवा आदि के कारखानों, के राष्ट्रीयकरण की आवश्यकता का अभिभाषण में कोई उल्लेख नहीं है।” (149)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् —

“परन्तु खेद है कि मुनाफाखोरो एवं इजारेदार पूँजीपतियों के मुनाफों पर रोक लगाने तथा उन्हें बाधने के उपायों का अभिभाषण में कोई उल्लेख नहीं है।” (150)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् —

“परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में देश के 75 इजारेदार पूँजीपति परिवारों की आर्थिक शक्ति को तोड़ने की आवश्यकता का उल्लेख नहीं है।” (151)

SHRI P. G. MAVALANKAR (Ahmedabad) : I beg to move.

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

“but regret the failure of the Government to advise the President to dissolve forthwith the Gujarat Legislative Assembly.” (152)

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

“but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the spontaneous and tremendous popular upsurge in Gujarat against the Congress Government in that State which led ultimately to the downfall of that Government.” (153)

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

“but regret that the Address does not mention the continued anger and agitation of the people of Ahmedabad and Gujarat against the animated suspension of the Gujarat Legislative Assembly even while the State is now already put under the President's rule.” (154)

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

“but regret that the Address fails to take note of the largely avoidable bloodshed caused by indiscrimi-

[Shri P. G. Mavalankar]

nate police firings all over Gujarat and to pay tribute to the several innocent victims of such firings." (155)

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

"but regret that the Government have not taken immediate and concrete steps to give proper relief and adequate compensation to the families who suffered bereavement and/or serious injuries due to police firings in Ahmedabad and other parts of Gujarat during the popular upheaval in that State in the last six or seven weeks." (156)

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

"but regret the failure of the Government to institute promptly the judicial inquiry into police firings and into a number of other atrocities on countless innocent and peace-loving citizens of Ahmedabad and Gujarat during these past six or seven weeks." (157)

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

"but regret that the Address fails to condemn the repressive and dictatorial ways of the Congress Government in Gujarat during the recent popular upheaval." (158)

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

"but regret that in the Address no mention has been made that the discredited and ousted Congress Government in Gujarat had resorted to various steps at intimidation on the press, and that freedom of press was being strangled." (159)

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention how all India Radio, Ahmedabad was sought to be used

for Government propaganda by the Congress Government in Gujarat leading inevitably to the loss of credibility of the AIR among the general public." (160)

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

"but regret the failure of the Government to disapprove of the many arrests of students, teachers, journalists and political opponents, made by the Congress Government of Gujarat, in January and February, 1974, under the Maintenance of Internal Security Act" (161)

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

"but regret the failure to establish an effective public distribution system in Gujarat, particularly in the matter of supply of foodgrains, edible oil and other essential commodities." (162)

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

"but regret the failure of the Prime Minister to give her award on the Narmada Waters Issue, thereby causing untold agony, harassment, humiliation and hardships to the people of Gujarat." (163)

SHRI K. S. CHAVDA: 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 to give interest free loans repayable in easy instalments after ten years to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes for starting small scale industries." (164)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of any efforts to increase the literacy rates in Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes communities, which are stagnating for a decade at 10.27 per cent and 8.54 per cent respectively and which are far below the general literacy rate of 29.6 per cent" (165)

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

but regret that in the Address no mention of the need is made to fill up the reserved quota for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in Class I, II and III services of Government" (166)

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

but regret that there is no mention in the Address of Government's failure to remove untouchability lock, stock and barrel from the country even after 26 years of Independence" (167)

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address of Government's failure to remove slums from metropolitan cities like Delhi, Calcutta, Bombay and Madras" (168)

SHRIMATI KRISHNA KUMARI (Jodhpur) : I beg to move

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

"but regret that the Address does not contain any concrete or tangible solutions to the difficulties of the common man" (169)

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

"but regret that the Address does not delineate a firm course of action to deal with the problems of corruption and mal-administration." (170)

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

'but regret that the Address does not provide an outline of a definite programme to deal with the problem of spiralling inflation and acute scarcity of essential commodities" (171)

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no reference to any realistic approach to the problems of our country." (172)

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

'but regret that the Address discloses the Government's continued adherence to misconceived policies and platitudinous promises" (173)

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

"but regret that the Address does not offer a promising programme for work and employment and for the development of handicrafts, cottage industries and self-employment." (174)

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

"but regret that the Address does not contain any solutions to the problems of rural India particularly those of agriculture, irrigation, electricity, seeds and fertilizers" (175)

श्री राधाशंकर शर्मा : मैं प्रस्ताव करता हूँ

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् :—

“परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में किसानों की उपज की उचित कीमत तय करने की आवश्यकता का उल्लेख नहीं है।” (179)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् :—

“परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में किसानों को खाद, बीज तथा खेती के औजार उचित मूल्य पर सप्लाई करने की आवश्यकता का कोई उल्लेख नहीं है।” (180)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् :—

“परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में किसानों को आवश्यक वस्तुएं उचित मूल्य पर देने की आवश्यकता का उल्लेख नहीं है।” (181)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् :—

“परन्तु खेद है कि किसानों के लिए ईंधन की कीमत 15 रुपये प्रति किटल तय करने की आवश्यकता का कोई उल्लेख नहीं है।” (182)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् :—

“परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में किसानों को पर्याप्त मात्रा में तथा उचित मूल्य पर उर्वरक दिलाने संबंधी किसी ठोस बात का उल्लेख नहीं है।” (183)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् :—

“परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में राष्ट्रीयकृत बैंको से इजारेदार पूंजीपतियों, जमाखोरो, मुनाफाखोरों, सट्टेबाजों, चोर बाजारी करने वालों तथा जनता को चूमने वाले दूसरे लोगों को ऋण देने पर प्रतिबंध लगाने की आवश्यकता का उल्लेख नहीं है।” (184)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् :—

“परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में कोयला उत्पादन के मार्ग में उत्पन्न की जा रही बाधाओं को दूर करने के लिए कारगर उपाय अपनाने की आवश्यकता का उल्लेख नहीं है।” (185)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् :—

“परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में कोयले के मूल्यों में कमी करने की आवश्यकता का उल्लेख नहीं है।” (186)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् :—

“परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में कोयला उत्पादन का भीतरघात करने वालों के विरुद्ध सख्त कार्यवाही करने की आवश्यकता का उल्लेख नहीं है।” (187)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् :—

“परन्तु खेद है कि बिहार के सयाल परगना तथा हजारीबाग जिलों के कुछ भ्रष्टाचारपूर्ण कोयला खानों के राष्ट्रीयकरण करने की आवश्यकता का अभिभाषण में उल्लेख नहीं है।” (188)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् :—

“परन्तु खेद है कि कोयला उत्पादन में मजदूरों के सहयोग लेने पर जोर डालने सम्बन्धी बात का अभिभाषण में उल्लेख नहीं है।” (189)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् :—

“परन्तु खेद है कि सरकारी क्षेत्र के कारखानों को कोयला पहुंचाने में प्राथमिकता देने संबंधी बात का अभिभाषण में उल्लेख नहीं है।” (190)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् :—

“परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में बिजली पैदा करने के लिए बिहार में ऐटोमी पावर स्टेशन बनाने संबंधी किसी प्रस्ताव का उल्लेख नहीं है।” (191)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् :—

“परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में बिहार में बिजली की कमी को दूर करने तथा खासकर उत्तर बिहार में प्रत्येक व्यक्ति बिजली की खपत में वृद्धि करने के लिए कटिहार में थर्मस पावर स्टेशन स्थापित करने के प्रस्ताव का उल्लेख नहीं है।” (192)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् :—

“परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में बिजली के बड़े पैमाने पर होने वाली खोरी को रोककर करोड़ों रुपये की होने वाली बर्बादी को रोकने की बात का उल्लेख नहीं है।” (193)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् —

“परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में निकम्मे और व्यय बांझिल रेलवे बोर्ड को तोड़कर रेलवे की व्यवस्था में सुधार करने की दृष्टि से स्वतंत्र निगम बनाने के किसी प्रस्ताव का उल्लेख नहीं है।” (194)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् —

“परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में रेलवे बोर्ड की मजदूर बिगारी नीति में परिवर्तन करने सबधी बात का उल्लेख नहीं है।” (195)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् —

“परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में रेलों को मुचारा रूप में चलाने के लिए उसमें काम करने वाले करीब 17 लाख कर्मचारियों की सुख-सुविधाओं में वृद्धि करने सबधी बात का उल्लेख नहीं है।” (196)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् —

“परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में रेल मजदूरों को बोनस देने की घोषणा का उल्लेख नहीं है।” (197)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् :—

“परन्तु खेद है कि सभी प्रकार के धमजीवियों को बोनस देने की आवश्यकता का अभिभाषण में उल्लेख नहीं है।” (198)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् :—

“परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में मालों की दुलाई के लिए पर्याप्त सड़मा में रेल डिब्बों की व्यवस्था करने का उल्लेख नहीं है।” (199)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् :—

“परन्तु खेद है कि रेल डिब्बों के उत्पादन में तेजी लाने के लिए प्रार्थर बटलर कम्पनी मुजफ्फरपुर, ब्रिटानिया इजीनियरिंग कम्पनी, मोकामा तथा अन्य निजी कारखानों को फौरन अपने हाथ में लेकर काम करने की आवश्यकता का अभिभाषण में उल्लेख नहीं है।” (200)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् :—

“परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में मजदूर विरोधी नीति को तिलाजलि देकर उनकी विपत्तियों को महानूभूति के साथ हल करने की बात का उल्लेख नहीं है।” (201)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् :—

“परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में श्रमिकों के हित में औद्योगिक विवाद कानून में संशोधन करने के लिए समद के वर्तमान अधिवेशन में एक विधेयक पेश एवं पाम करने सम्बन्धी किसी प्रस्ताव का उल्लेख नहीं है।” (202)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् :—

“परन्तु खेद है कि एक उद्योग में एक यूनियन बनाने के किसी सम्भावित प्रयास का अभिभाषण में उल्लेख नहीं है।” (203)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् :—

“परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में गुप्त मतदान के आधार पर यूनियनों के प्रतिनिधि मूलक चरित्र का निर्णय करने तथा केवल उसे ही मान्यता देने के किसी प्रस्ताव का उल्लेख नहीं है।” (204)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् :—

“परन्तु खेद है कि दवा उद्योगों, विश्वविद्यालयों और अस्पतालों में काम करने वाले मजदूरों एवं कर्मचारियों को “वर्कमैन” घोषित करने सम्बन्धी किसी प्रस्ताव का उल्लेख अभिभाषण में नहीं है।” (205)

[श्री रत्नावतार शास्त्री]

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् --

“परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में कारखाना बन्दी और लाक आउट जैसी दोष बिरोधी एवं मजदूर बिरोधी कार्यवाहियों पर प्रतिबन्ध लगाने का उल्लेख नहीं है।” (206)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये अर्थात् --

“परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में पूँजीपतियों के मुनाफों को सीमित करने संबंधी बात का उल्लेख नहीं है।” (207)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये अर्थात् --

“परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में विदेशी कारखानों एवं कम्पनियों द्वारा अपने मुनाफों को देश से बाहर भेजने पर प्रतिबन्ध लगाने का उल्लेख नहीं है।” (208)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये अर्थात् --

“परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में औद्योगिक क्षेत्रों में उत्पादन वृद्धि का प्रतिकूल मजदूरों को भेद देने का कोई उल्लेख नहीं है।” (209)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये अर्थात् --

“परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में चुनावों में सरकारी मशीनरिया के उपयोग पर प्रतिबन्ध लगाने सम्बन्धी बात का उल्लेख नहीं है।” (210)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये अर्थात् --

“परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में कर्ज-गुलामी की प्रथा को समाप्त करने तथा सभी प्रकार के महाजनी कर्जों को मनसूख करने का उल्लेख नहीं है।” (211)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये अर्थात् --

“परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में जनवादी चीन के साथ सम्बन्ध सुधारने के लिये प्रयास करने का उल्लेख नहीं है।” (212)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् --

“परन्तु खेद है कि एशिया में मार्क्सवादी सुरक्षा सम्बन्धी सावधान प्रस्ताव के स्वागत का उल्लेख अभिभाषण में नहीं है।” (213)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् --

“परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में सोवियत रूस तथा दूसरे समाजवादी देशों के साथ भारत की मैत्री में दगर पैदा करने का प्रयास करने वाली प्रतिगामी शक्तियों के विरुद्ध सजग, सचेत और लगातार सघर्ष करने पर बल देने का उल्लेख नहीं है।” (214)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् --

“परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में सरकारी विभागों में ऊपर से नीचे तक व्याप्त घोर भ्रष्टाचार के उन्मूलन की आवश्यकता का उल्लेख नहीं है।” (215)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये अर्थात् --

“परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में पिछड़े राज्यों तथा क्षेत्रों के विकास के लिए विशेष आर्थिक सहायता प्रदान करने का उल्लेख नहीं है।” (216)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् --

“परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में देश में बढ़ रही साम्प्रदायिकता एवं माफ्काट का गंभीरता से निवारण के लिए किसी प्रभावकारी कदम का उल्लेख नहीं है।” (217)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् --

“परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में देश की जाति एवं धर्म के नाम पर बाटने का नाश करने वाले तत्वों की भूमना का उल्लेख नहीं है।” (218)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् --

“परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में बम्बई में शिवसेना द्वारा गैर-महाराष्ट्रीय लोगों पर किये जा रहे बर्बर हमलों की निन्दा का उल्लेख नहीं है।” (219)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् --

“परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में राष्ट्रीय स्वयंसेवक संघ जमाने-इस्लामी, शिवसेना तथा इस प्रकार के साम्प्रदायिक एवं जातीय विद्वेष फैलाने वाले संगठनों पर फौरन रोक लगाने का उल्लेख नहीं है।” (220)

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU (Diamond harbour). I beg to move.

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

"but regret that the Address is nothing but full of distortion of facts and travesty of truth" (222)

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

but regret that the Address fails to make a realistic assessment of the politico-economic conditions prevailing in India today" (223)

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

but regret that the Address fails to mention the fact that the Congress Government by following wrong, anti people and promonopolist policies has brought the country on the verge of collapse" (224)

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

but regret that the Address fails to mention that more than 80 people have been shot dead on the streets of Gujarat for demanding foodgrains" (225)

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

"but regret that the Address fails to mention that parliamentary democracy has been thrown overboard in West Bengal and all norms of parliamentary democracy have now been deliberately broken in Orissa, UP and Gujarat and in many other States previously in favour of the ruling Congress party" (226)

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

"but regret that the Address fails to mention that the Government let

loose a reign of terror on the hungry people of Gujarat." (227)

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

"but regret that the Address fails to mention that even now the Gujarat State Assembly has not been dissolved thereby strengthening the apprehension that the Centre has been conspiring to bring back the discredited ministry to power through the back door" (228)

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention that the country under the leadership of the party in power at the Centre and most of the States, is rapidly heading for a one-party dictatorship, and that ours is already a police State" (229)

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

but regret that the Address fails to mention that the DIR, Emergency, MISA and other black Acts and Laws have been and are being utilised by the Government to suppress democratic movements of the common people against anti-people policies of the party in power" (230)

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

"but regret that the Government's unwillingness and failure to curb the forces of regionalism, Jingoism and aggressive nationalism and also Government's unwillingness and failure to protect the minority South Indians in Bombay from the atrocities by the Shiv Sena, has found no place in the Address" (231)

[Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu]

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the fact that the ruling party is making large-scale use of Central and State Government machinery to influence the elections in U.P., Orissa, Manipur, Nagaland and Pondicherry in its favour." (232)

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

"but regret that the Address has nothing to say on the growing corruption and the influence of black wealth which are sapping the very vitals of the nation." (233)

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

"but regret that the Address does not also recognise the fact that the present Central Cabinet headed by the Prime Minister is the fountain head of all corruption." (234)

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

"but regret that there is no reference in the Address to the problem of alarming growth in the incidence of unemployment and under-employment as if the problem does not exist." (235)

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

"but regret that the Address does not recognise the fact that due to wrong and pro-monopolist economic, fiscal and monetary policies pursued by the Government, the country is in the midst of an economic crisis of unprecedented nature and that economic activities and production have almost come to a standstill." (236)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the fact that price rise continues unabated despite Government's claim of bumper harvests, and that public distribution system throughout the country is on the verge of collapse due to the failure of the Government to realise even the modest targets of foodgrains procurement" (237)

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

"but regret that the Address is silent over the fact that prices of daily necessities of life are not only sky-rocketing but some of the essential commodities have disappeared from the open market as well." (238)

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

"but regret that Government's failure and unwillingness to curb the growth of monopoly industrial houses and rural vested interests has not been mentioned in the Address." (239)

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

"but regret that the Address has failed to mention that the Government did not enforce its scheme of wholesale wheat trade takeover in the interests of the rural rich, and as a result the scheme has flopped and in the States like Gujarat it has been formally scrapped." (240)

DR. KARNI SINGH (Bikaner) : Sir, 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 Rajasthan



Canal and the Lift Channel being taken up as a National Project by the Centre." (241)

SHRIMATI ROZA DESHPANDE (Bombay Central) : Sir 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 need for setting up of a Central University in Bikaner about which the people are very much agitated." (242)

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 allotting more quota to Rajasthan for increasing the rationed quota of food-stuffs in Northern Rajasthan from 3 Kilograms a month to the original 8 Kilograms a month." (243)

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 setting up of a Thermal Power Station at Palana where lignite is available on location." (244)

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 setting up of a fertilizer factory near Bikaner where lignite and gypsum are readily available at Palana and Jamsar respectively within a radius of 15 miles and adequate water will be available from the forthcoming Rajasthan Canal since Naphtha is becoming expensive due to the oil crisis and the use of lignite and gypsum are highly recommended for cheap fertiliser." (245)

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 certain industries like the textiles have in fact been helped to produce articles which go into the consumption of the wealthy section of the community while reducing the production of commodities which go into common consumption such as cloth of medium and coarse varieties." (246)

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

"but regret that the Address does not acknowledge the need for the nationalisation of such industries as cotton textiles, sugar, essential drugs and vanaspati." (247)

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

"but regret that the Address does not show any concern at the fact that the deficit financing, causing inflation, is not being kept under control." (248)

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

"but regret that the Address does not show any awareness that the Fifth Five Year Plan is doomed to failure unless the price situation is brought under control." (249)

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

"but regret that while giving a rosy picture of the Fifth Five Year Plan the Address ignores the fact that the size of the Plan has already been reduced in fiscal terms as a result of nearly 25 per cent rise in prices during the last year." (250)

[Shrimati Roza Deshpande]

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

"but regret that the Address does not offer any special measures to meet the requirements of the vulnerable sections of the community, especially those in the rural areas" (251)

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

"but regret the failure to supply the duly necessities of life and other essential commodities even to the government employees through a public distribution system such as Government run Fair Price Shops" (252)

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

"but regret that while the Government and the Planning Commission are quibblingly talking about the so called consumption cut for the top 30 per cent of the community the Address does not come forward with any effective proposal for reducing even the conspicuous and ostentatious spending by the affluent sections of the society" (253)

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

"but regret that while the Government vex eloquence on raising the consumption of the bottom 30 per cent of the people the Address has no proposal what so ever to offer to raise the standard of living of this segment of the community" (254)

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

"but regret that the Address has completely forgotten the slogan 'garibi hatao' which was the keynote of the mandate of mid-term

parliamentary election on which the present 5th Lok Sabha is based." (255)

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

but regret that the Address has chosen to by-pass the crucial question viz, that neither the slogan 'garibi hatao' nor the commitment for meeting the living conditions of the poorer sections of the community can be realised without changing existing production relations and hence without bringing about radical structural changes in the economy" (256)

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

"but regret that the Address does not indicate any awareness of the havoc which is being caused by black money—the parallel system in our economy—nor does it indicate that demonatisation of the higher denomination notes has become essential" (257)

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

"but regret that the Address is not alive to the fact that the black money is largely responsible for the rise in prices and corruption in the country" (258)

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 in order to serve the class interest of the bourgeoisie not only are the operations of black money allowed to continue but they are also in some ways encouraged by certain aspects of the Government policy." (259)

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

"but regret that the Address does not show any awareness of the fact that the black money is responsible for corruption in high places which again is one of the contributory causes of rising prices." (260)

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 even the public sector banks are still advancing disproportionately large amounts to monopolists and speculators under one pretext or another resulting in impermissible credit expansion in the private sector which again amounts to inflationary measure" (261)

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

"but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that while the monopolists are being financed by the nationalised banks and other financial institutions the big business is diverting its internal resources for speculation and profiteering which result, among other things, in price boost." (262)

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

"but regret that the Address does not take note of monopolists and others in the big business are allowed to continue their accustomed tax evasion and tax avoidance running into several hundred crores of rupees annually while the funds resulting from such evasion and avoidance are diverted to speculation and profiteering." (263)

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

"but regret the failure to carry out the anti-hoarding and de-hoarding drives throughout the country nor does it say a good word about the public initiative in launching such drives." (264)

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

"but regret that the Address does not note the fact that even the government godowns as in Delhi were placed at the disposal of the whole-salers to secrete and hoard essential commodities which in some cases at least were later unearthed by popular intervention organised by the Delhi unit of the Communist Party of India." (265)

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

"but regret that the Address does not show concern at the fact that while some smaller fry has been arrested and punished for hoarding and profiteering the big shots in the world of black trade are left scot free." (266)

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

"but regret that the Address does not have a critical approach to the corruption which is rampant in the top echelons of administration which are helping the speculators and profiteers." (267)

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

"but regret that while bemoaning the oil crisis the Address does not propose even of rationing on petrol while there is talk of further raising its price." (268)

[Shrimati Roza Deshpande]

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

"but regret that the Address does not take note of the extraordinary fact that even salt in many places have become scarce and is selling at exorbitant prices." (269)

SHRIMATI KRISHNA KUMARI: Sir, I beg to move:

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

"but regret that the Address does not contain a blueprint for making drinking water available to the people in many parts of the country, particularly Rajasthan." (270)

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

"but regret that the Address does not strike a note of urgency in completing Rajasthan Canal as a national project." (271)

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

"but regret the failure to take steps for establishing a network of legal aid for the poor." (272)

SHRIMATI ROZA DESHPANDE. Sir, I beg to move:

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

"but regret that the Address fails to make any truthful correct objective assessment of the prevailing economic situation in the country and to indicate any lead whatsoever to face the situation." (273)

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

"but regret that the Address fails to state that strikes, bandhs and unrest and that militant democratic mass actions are in fact

the result of the rising prices, scarcities and shortages for which not only the monopolists, profiteers and hoarders but also the Government must share its responsibility." (274)

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

"but regret that the bankruptcy of the Government in appreciating either the depth of the crisis or the causes which have brought about it is writ large on the Address." (275)

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

"but regret that the Address while claiming that 'the people's mood' in the present situation is understandable shows no difference whatsoever to their deep urges, not to speak of indicating any effective measures in response to the legitimate popular mood born of unrelieved suffering" (276)

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

"but regret that the Address, as usual, is full with a plethora of platitudes and pretensions which in today's situation can only add to the despair of the masses in addition to causing the resentment and revulsion." (277)

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

"but regret that the Address is self-contradictory to note the fact that the rise in prices continue in our country today even when the production is rising as in the case of foodgrains." (278)

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

"but regret that the Address does not take serious note of the fact that despite the bumper

crop this year, the food prices are still ruling high not only because of the operations of the hoarders and profiteers but also because of the failure of the Government to curb them by effective measures." (279)

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

"but regret that the Address does not pin-point in particular the failures of the Government in the procurement of the kharif crop which has been allowed to be largely sabotaged by the Government's own vacillating as well as appeasing policies in favour of certain land owning classes, hoarders and wholesalers" (280)

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

"but regret that the Address does not have a word of appreciation for the CPI and other parties which had warned the Government last year that the rice procurement target was not going to be attained unless the Government vigorously went in for the takeover of the wholesale trade in rice through an effective machinery for the purpose and by enlisting people's cooperation." (281)

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

"but regret that the Address does not admit the fact that merely by offering high or so called incentive prices the foodgrains cannot at all be procured in the absence of a correct Government policy of procurement through State takeover".(282)

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

"but regret that the Address does not criticise the failure of the State Governments of West Bengal and other rice producing States in fulfilling even their respective modest quotas for procurement." (283)

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 during the first few weeks of harvesting, foodgrains have been allowed to be cornered by hoarders and wholesalers, with the authorities simply looking on in many places and even with their connivance." (284)

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

"but regret that the Address does not take any serious view of the total failure of the procurement of coarse grains as against the total target of 1.5 million tonnes." (285)

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

"but regret that even when the procurement was failing in several States the Ministry of Agriculture did not take any timely and effective action to set things right for ensuring procurement." (286)

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 it is the liaison between the hoarders and wholesalers on the one hand and certain elements in the Government and administration on the other which has created the shortfalls in attaining the procurement targets." (287)

[Shrimati Roza Deshpande]

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

"but regret that the Address does not indicate any remorse on the part of the Government even for the fact that lesser quantity of food-grains are today being supplied through the public distribution system while the system has virtually ceased to work in many regions and places in the country" (288)

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

"but regret that the Address does not show any awareness of the serious situation which has been created as a result of the low buffer stock in the Government godowns the procurement under way in many States is slow and disappointing" (289)

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

"but regret that the Address does not acknowledge the fact that reliance on USA and certain other western countries for heavy food imports has proved to be wrong" (290)

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

"but regret that the Address surprisingly does not have a word of appreciation for the loan of 2 million tonnes of foodgrains by the friendly Soviet Union involving no foreign exchange expenditure to ease the critical food situation" (291)

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

"but regret that the Address seems hardly conscious of the fact that along with the price hike in food-grains the prices of other daily necessities of life continue to

spiral causing mounting misery on the life of the common man." (292)

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

"but regret that the Address, while expressing sympathy for the suffering of the people does not take due note of the fact that the Government itself has raised the prices of a number of essential commodities in utter disregard to their negative impact on the economy as a whole and also of the additional burden they put on the living standards of the masses" (293)

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

"but regret that the Address does not show any awareness of the fact that the present inflation has become a built in feature of the present economic set up designed to fleece the masses through this mechanism in order to finance the capitalist development in the country" (294)

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

"but regret that the Address betrays a total lack of understanding of the phenomenon of the present price rise but seeks to rationalise and explain it away as inevitable where it is necessary to admit that the present price spiral in our country is largely caused by the internal factors such as hunting for profits, speculation, hoarding and profiteering" (295)

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

"but regret that the Address even at this late hour does not recognise that the price issue cannot be effectively tackled without bring-

ing about certain urgently needed structural changes in our national economy and in particular without changes in our drastic economic and other measures against all those elements who are minting their millions out of the hunger and misery of the people." (296)

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

"but regret that the Address does not realise that in order to check the price rise and ensure supplies of essential commodities to the people it is necessary to have physical control over such commodities not only at the distribution level but also at the production level for which nationalisation of certain consumer goods industries producing such daily necessities of life has become imperative." (297)

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 instead of taking measures in the above direction the Government is currently busy in offering new concessions to monopolists and similar other elements in the name of enlisting their cooperation." (298)

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 in these days of shortages and scarcities and also decline in production the monopolists increased their profits compared to the previous years and are being encouraged and assisted by the Government in doing so." (299)

जी राणावतार साहसी : मैं प्रस्ताव करता हूँ :

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् :—

"परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में ब्रिटिश प्रियतमा की क्रान्तिकारी अस्थायी सरकार को मायता देने के सम्बन्ध में कोई उल्लेख नहीं है।"

(300)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् :—

"परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में ब्रिटिश प्रीत अमरीकी सरकारों द्वारा हिन्द महासागर के दिगो गासिया में फौजी अड्डा कायम कर भारत की सुरक्षा पर आसन्न खतरा पैदा करने की उनकी घातक नीति की निंदा करने का उल्लेख नहीं किया गया है।" (301)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् :—

"परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में ब्रिटिश प्रीत अमरीकी साम्राज्यवादियों द्वारा हिन्द महासागर के दिगो गासिया में सैनिक अड्डा कायम करने के विरोध स्वरूप राष्ट्रमंडल से नाता तोड़ लेने का उल्लेख नहीं है।" (302)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् :—

"परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में ब्रिटिश अमरीकी साम्राज्यवादियों द्वारा हिन्द महासागर के दिगो गासिया में फौजी अड्डे का निर्माण करने के विरोध स्वरूप उनका आर्थिक बाह्यकार करने का उल्लेख नहीं है।" (303)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् :—

"परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में जूनियर डाक्टरों की करीब दो महीने से चलने वाली हड़ताल को उनके साथ सम्मानपूर्ण तथा पहले से किये गये बादों को पूरा करने के आधार पर समझौता कर रोगियों की दिक्कतों का अन्त करने के लिए शीघ्र कार्यवाही करने की आवश्यकता का कोई उल्लेख नहीं है।" (304)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् :—

"परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में केन्द्रीय सरकारी कर्मचारियों के लिए आवश्यकता पर आधारित 314 रुपये का न्यूनतम वेतन निर्धारित

[श्री रामलाल शर्मा]

करने की आवश्यकता का उल्लेख नहीं है ताकि उनमें ध्यात प्रसन्नोप को दूर किया जा सके।" (305)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् —

"परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में रेल कर्मचारियों को राष्ट्रीय दिवसों के अवसर पर केवल तीन दिनों की छुट्टी देने के बजाय तमाम सरकारी छुट्टियाँ अन्य सरकारी कर्मचारियों की तरह देने या बढ़ाने में और टाइम की मजदूरी देने का उल्लेख नहीं है।" (306)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् —

"परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में हमारे देश के विभिन्न ग्रामों और खासकर शिक्षा के क्षेत्र में अमरीकी घुसपैठ की निन्दा का उल्लेख नहीं है।" (307)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् —

"परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में हमारे देश में सी० आई० ए० के गन्दे घिनौने कामनामों के विरुद्ध मतलब और सजग सचेत करने तथा उनकी राष्ट्रघाती नीतियों का पर्दाफाश करने का आह्वान नहीं किया गया है।" (308)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् —

"परन्तु खेद है कि आन्ध्र की तरह देश के प्रत्येक प्रदेश में कम-से-कम एक केन्द्रीय विश्वविद्यालय स्थापित करने की आवश्यकता का अभिभाषण में उल्लेख नहीं है।" (309)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् —

"परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में खाद्य पदार्थों में मिनाइट करने वाले मानव जानि के दुष्-मनों का फाँसी पर चढ़ा देने की आवश्यकता का उल्लेख नहीं है।" (310)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् —

"परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में संपूर्ण देश के विद्यालयों के लिए समान पाठ्यक्रम निर्धारित करने की आवश्यकता का उल्लेख नहीं है।" (311)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् —

"परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में संपूर्ण देश में शिक्षा का राष्ट्रीयकरण करने की आवश्यकता का उल्लेख नहीं है।" (312)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् —

"परन्तु खेद है कि कालेजों और विश्वविद्यालयों के अध्यापकों और प्राध्यापकों के लिए विश्व-विद्यालय अनुदान आयोग की सिफारिशों के अनुसार वेतन तथा अन्य सुविधाएँ देने की आवश्यकता का उल्लेख नहीं है।" (313)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् —

"परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में पटना विश्वविद्यालय को केन्द्रीय विश्वविद्यालय का दर्जा देने की आवश्यकता का उल्लेख नहीं है।" (314)

SHRI DASARATHA DEB (Tribuna Fast) : I beg to move.

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

"but regret that the Government have failed to take drastic steps against the money lenders and land grabbers belonging to non-tribal communities who have been indulging to usurp land from tribals in the tribal areas through unfair means".

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

"but regret that the Address does not contain any proposal to take over tea industries in general and sick tea industries in particular immediately for the benefit of tea industry as well as tea garden labourers" (324)

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

"but regret that the Address does not contain any proposal to nationalise all foreign banks." (325)



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

"but regret that the Government have failed to provide land, to the poor and landless peasants in all the States by enacting a radical Land Reforms Act." (326)

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

"but regret that the Address fails to mention the need to provide to Railways adequate number of railway wagons for transportation of goods." (327)

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

"but regret that the Address does not make any mention about the need for immediate recognition of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam and also of the Government of Cambodia headed by exiled king Narodom Shinouk." (328)

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

"but regret that the Address fails to mention the weakness of the Government to take strong attitude against US naval base in Diego Garcia in Indian Ocean and also the Government's failure to take any vigorous initiative in mobilising world opinion against the American activities in this part of the world." (329)

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

"but regret that the Government have failed to provide reasonable prices to the producers of jute and cotton".(330)

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

"but regret that the Government have failed to provide either jobs or maintenance allowances to the unemployed youth of the country."(331)

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

"but regret that the Address fails to mention the failure of the Government to bring the entire non-producing areas of the country under Statutory Rationing areas and its failure in giving relief to the people of such areas from hardship of procuring foodgrains from the open markets at high prices".(332)

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

"but regret that the Address fails to make a mention that the Government have failed to take over wholesale trade in foodgrains and they have surrendered to the pressure of the landlords, speculators, hoarders, black marketeers and wholesale traders in foodgrains." (333)

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

"but regret that the Government have failed to withdraw Emergency which has been in force in India since, 1972." (334)

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

"but regret that the Address does not contain any indication as to when the actual work for setting up of jute mill and paper mill in Tripura will be undertaken." (335)

[Shri Dashrath Deb].

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention any activity of the Government to establish train services from Calcutta to Agartala via Bangladesh although the principle for having such train service operation was accepted long before by the Governments of India and Bangladesh".(336)

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

"but regret that the Government have failed to link-up Agartala, the Capital of Tripura State with the rest of India by Railways even after 26 years of our independence".(337)

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

"but regret that the Address fails to mention that the Government let loose a reign of terror on the poor tribals of Raina Sarma in Tripura for uprooting them from their traditionally occupied land for the construction of centrally sponsored scheme, namely, Gomati Hydro Electric Project." (338)

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

"but regret that the Government have failed to provide alternative land to those Jhumias in Tripura who have been uprooted from Jhuming occupation owing to the extension of Reserve Forests."(339)

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

"but regret that the Address does not contain any proposal to introduce Regional autonomy in the Tribal areas of Tripura." (340)

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

"but regret that the Address does not contain any mention of a scheme to undertake the construction work for establishing railway lines from Dharmanagar to Agartala in Tripura during the ensuing financial year." (341)

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

"but regret that Government have failed to preserve Tribal Reserve Area which was constituted by Maharaja for the protection of backward tribals in Tripura before the attainment of our Independence." (342)

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

"but regret that the Address does not contain any proposal for reconstituting Tribal Scheduled Area in Tripura and for introduction of Regional autonomy there to undertake development work of the tribal area" (343)

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

"but regret that the Government have failed to stop atrocities perpetrated against Harijans and tribals in various parts of the country". (344)

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

"but regret that the Address does not tell the citizens of India that 'Garibi Hatao' slogan made by the Ruling Party in its election campaign during the election of Fifth Lok Sabha was not for execution but for deception." (345)

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

"but regret the failure of the Government to supply the daily necessities of life and other essential commodities to the low and middle income groups of citizens of the country in general and to the low and middle income groups of citizens living in transport bottleneck areas like Tripura and Mizoram in particular through public distribution system such as Government run fair price shops". (346)

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

"but regret that the Address does not say anything about the fact that the price rise of the essential commodities continues unabated and public distribution system of all essential articles throughout the country is on the verge of collapse." (347)

SHRIMATI ROZA DESHPANDE : Sir, I beg to move :—

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

"but regret that the Address does not show concern that the Union Government still believes that all its policies are correct and that it is only some other people who have gone wrong." (372)

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

"but regret that the Address does not take serious note of the fact that the DIR and MISA are being grossly misused by the authorities so much so that in some cases at least the Supreme Court have had to pass strictures against such misuse." (373)

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

"but regret that the Address does not show any awareness that the right wing forces in the country are being helped by the policies of the Government, especially in relation to the day to day problems of the masses." (374)

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

"but regret that the Address does not indicate any concern on the part of the Government that more than 30,000 political workers are today in prisons either as under trial prisoners or under detention orders, which is a sad commentary on our public affairs." (375)

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

"but regret the failure to commute the death sentences on political workers." (376)

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

"but regret that the Address does not give any assurance that use of third degree methods against political workers will be strictly prohibited in the whole country." (377)

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

"but regret that the Address does not take serious note of the frequent use of MISA against trade union movement notwithstanding the assurance that the MISA would not be used against trade union and other democratic movements." (378)

[Shrimati Roza Deshpande]

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 even Members of Parliament have on more than one occasion been assaulted by the police even when they knew the identity of the persons so assaulted." (379)

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

"but regret that the Address does not give a warning against the dangerous theory of 'limited dictatorship' which can only encourage those who are interested in replacing the present parliamentary democracy by authoritarian and ultimately by a reactionary take-over of the country." (380)

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

"but regret that the Address does not take due note of the current right wing political manoeuvres behind the slogan of a "national government" when the actual need of the moment is to bring about a shift to the Left of the Government by the combined efforts and struggles of the Left and democratic forces." (381)

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

"but regret that the Address does not indicate any realisation that centrism has completely failed to meet the needs of the country or even to safeguard democracy" (382)

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

"but regret that the Address does not see that the threat to parliamentary democracy arise from the acts of omission and commission of the bourgeois rule." (383)

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

"but regret that the Address does not give an assurance that the pending applications of freedom fighters' will be expeditiously disposed of and that every one eligible for getting pension will be granted it without any avoidable delay, the priorities being given to the cases of old, sick and otherwise needy persons." (384)

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

"but regret the failure to evolve a sound policy in regard to newspaper, which is in short supply" (385)

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

"but regret that the Address has not noted the fact that while the big newspapers have reduced their pages on the pretext of shortage of newsprint, they maintain the advertisements on the old scale by reducing the space allowed to news coverage." (386)

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

"but regret that the Address does not give any assurance that the small newspapers and journals which are facing great difficulties will receive special consideration from the Government to overcome them." (387)

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 big newspapers are misusing their newsprint quotas in various ways including the issue of so called consumer supplement." (388)

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

"but regret that the Address does not pay any heed to the legitimate democratic demands of the working journalists contained in the representation of the Indian Federation of Working Journalists made to the authorities from time to time." (389)

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

"but regret that the Address does not note the fact that the All India Radio is more and more functioning as a crude mouth-piece of ministers and Government while the coverage of democratic mass activities and other activities of our social and cultural life are neglected." (390)

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

"but regret the failure to reorganise the All India Radio in such a manner it educates public opinion in an objective manner and help promotion of cultural and other popular activities." (391)

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

"but regret that Address does not take due note of the controversy which has arisen between the bureaucrats and technocrats, the latter having their legitimate grievances yet unredressed." (392)

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 discontent and frustration are now spread even among doctors and engineers many of whom are currently on strike in different parts of the country." (393)

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

"but regret that the Address does not show any realisation on the part of the Government that the privilege and prominence which the IAS people are enjoying is causing resentment and discontentment not only among the scientific and technical workers but among others also in the country." (394)

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

"but regret the failure to discontinue the practice of writing confidential reports in the Government services which are instruments of ensuring subservience to the higher officials sychophancy and intimidation as well as victimisation." (395)

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 textile magnates and some others are given new licences in the name of export promotion while in fact this device is used for earning added profits." (396)

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

"but regret that the Address does not take note of such malpractices and patronage in the undertakings under Government management as the extension of service to the INTUC leaders in violation of the rules and regulations in the Kulti unit of the Indian Iron and Steel Company, while workers and employees owing allegiance to the AITUC are being forced to retire." (397)

[Smt. Roza Deshpande].

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

"but regret that the Address does not take serious note of the fact that under the so-called settlement of the PL 480 loans Rs 830 crores have been left with the US mission in India to be spent by them when it is known that much of this fund is utilised for financing the CIA and other activities." (398)

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

"but regret that the Address does not take serious note of the fact that the Indian Ambassador in Washington is going about beating the drums of Indo-US friendship while the Americans are building up a nuclear naval-cum-air base in Diego Garcia to threaten the security of India and other countries." (399)

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

"but regret the failure to recognise the provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam" (400)

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

"but regret the failure to curb the CIA activities in our country which have been recently stepped up in the North Eastern Region and also a link-up over similar activities in Bangladesh" (401)

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

"but regret that the Address does not give any assurance that the inspired invitation to the Ford Foundation and similar other American Missions by different ministries will be stopped." (402)

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 in the name of tourists, anti-India subversive foreign elements are increasingly coming to our country." (403)

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

"but regret that the Address does not make any promise of formulating a democratic national education policy to meet the requirements of the changing times" (404)

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

"but regret that the Address does not take into account the growing discontent and frustration among the teaching community all over the country whose demands are often being brushed aside by the concerned authorities." (405)

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

"but regret that the Address does not show concern at the deterioration of the standards in the central universities like the Vishwa Bharti where mismanagement and nepotism have grown to alarming proportions" (406)

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

"but regret that the Address does not show concern at the rampant prevalence of corruption in high places in the administration of all the States." (407)

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 serious charges of corruption have been made against a number of Chief

Ministers in the country and that it has not indicated as to how the Government proposes to deal with these charges." (408)

scarcity of essential articles, blackmarketing and adulteration which the Government have completely failed to control" (419)

SHRI SAMAR MUKHERJEE (Howrah) : I beg to move :—

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

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

"but regret that the Address fails to analyse the serious economic and political crisis gripping the country and the policies and actions of the Government which led to this serious situation" (416)

"but regret that the Address has failed to take note of the all-pervasive corruption and moral degeneration of the ruling circles in the country led by the ruling Party's highest functionaries and the sense of frustration, indignation and cynicism that such a situation creates among the masses of people" (420)

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

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

'but regret that the Address fails to give a positive lead to the country and the people to face the trials and tribulations brought on them by the anti-people pro-monopoly, pro landlord policies of the Government" (417)

"but regret that the Address has failed to take note of the destruction of norms and forms of parliamentary democracy in the country by the ruling party for narrow, partisan and factional interests." (421)

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

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

"but regret that the Address is a complete negation of the Government's earlier declaration of curbs on monopolies, distribution of surplus lands of landlords, eradication of poverty, solution of unemployment and underemployment, prevention of concentration of economic power and all other rosy promises made to the people at the time of the last general elections to Parliament" (418)

"but regret that the Address fails to mention the subversion of democracy and the rule of law in many parts of the country by the ruling party and its Government in Centre and States in order to perpetuate the ruling faction's grip over the State apparatus and destroy the growth of healthy opposition" (422)

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

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

"but regret that the Address attempts to place the blame for the sufferings of the people on the working people who are compelled to resort to strikes and bandhs in order to protest against the continuous and steep increase in prices,

"but regret that the Address fails to take note of the serious and blatant misuse of official State machinery for electioneering in Uttar Pradesh and Orissa." (423)

[Shri Samar Mukherjee]

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 the procurement of foodgrains has by and large failed because of the pro-landlord and pro-trader policies of the Central and State Governments" (424)

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

"but regret that the Address fails to take note of the stagnation in industrial production" (425)

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

"but regret that the Address fails to apprehend the causes which has led and is leading to recurring power crisis, loss of production and breakdown of transport system" (426)

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

"but regret that the Address fails to pay heed to the persistent demand of the people of Gujarat for dissolution of the Assembly and holding of fresh elections" (427)

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

"but regret that the Address has ignored the attempts at suppression of popular movements in the country by the Government by resort to frequent police lathi charges, firings and calling in of Armed Forces" (428)

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

"but regret that the Address has completely ignored the mounting problem of millions of unemployed youth and the social and political unrest in the country arising therefrom." (429)

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

"but regret that the Address has completely ignored the continuing inhuman oppressions of the Harijans, adivasis and agricultural labour and poor peasants in the country" (430)

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

"but regret that the Address ignores the serious threat to the integrity of the country posed by the recurrent attacks of the Shiv Sena in Maharashtra on the linguistic minorities and the sense of insecurity felt by them because of the open and unashamed support to such fascist forces by the State Government in Maharashtra" (431)

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

"but regret that the Address ignores the failure of the Government to honour the assurances given to the Junior Doctors on 31st March, 1973" (432)

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

"but regret that the Address ignores the failure of the Government to fulfil the targets of food procurement" (433)

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

"but regret that the Address ignores the growing attacks on trade unionists and left political party workers in West Bengal by Congress supporters and anti-socials." (434)

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

"but regret that the Address ignores the failure of the Government to withdraw the Emergency." (435)



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

"but regret that the Address ignores the failure of the Government to supply foodgrains to the mass of people at a reasonable price through fair price shops." (436)

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

"but regret that the Address ignores the failure of the Government to take over all the closed factories and mills throughout the country." (437)

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

"but regret that the Address ignores the failure of the Government to give need-based minimum wage to toiling masses including the agricultural labourers." (438)

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

"but regret that the Address ignores the failure of the Government to dissuade the State Governments, specially the Maharashtra State Government from pursuing the policy of parochial approach of giving employment only to the sons of the soil *i.e.* the Marathi speaking people." (439)

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

"but regret that the Address ignores the failure of the Government to nationalise all the foreign private companies working in India." (440)

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

"but regret that the Address ignores the failure of the Government to stop the monopoly growth in the country." (441)

SHRIMATI ROZA DESHPANDE : I beg to move :

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

"but regret that the Address overlooks the fact that the land reforms measures are still not being implemented in many States with the result that the concentration of land in the hands of few still continues to the detriment not only of agriculture but of national economy as a whole." (464)

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

"but regret that the Address does not call upon the Government to take measures to stop all the evictions of the toiling peasantry from land." (465)

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

"but regret that the Address does not take into consideration the problems created for the toiling peasantry because of lack of necessary supply of fertilisers, seeds, credit, other input and water facilities to them while all the benefits are going mainly to the landlords and rich peasants." (466)

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

"but regret that the Address does not call upon the Government to provide necessary inputs, water and other facilities to the toiling peasantry by ensuring their distribution among them in co-ordination with the peasants." (467)

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

"but regret that the Address is completely oblivious of the inhuman conditions in which the agricul-

[Smt. Roza Deshpande]

tural workers live as well as of their problem of minimum wages which are denied to them." (468)

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 Harijans have become lately the special targets of the landlords and other exploiters in the villages and that in some cases Harijans are being brutally murdered and even their homes are being burned". (469)

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

"but regret that the Address does not take notice of the fact that house sites have not been provided to most of the Harijans and agricultural workers in our rural area." (470)

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

"but regret that the Address gives no assurance that at least arrangement for drinking water will be made for all the villages while it is well known that almost one half of our villages do not have any facility for drinking water." (471)

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

"but regret that the Address does not realise that the rate of growth and stability in agricultural production can never be ensured without reorganising our agricultural economy and in particular without changing the existing production relations." (472)

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 although a large number of new branches

of public sector Banks have been opened in the rural areas they are catering almost wholly to the needs of rural rich ignoring the poorer sections of the peasantry." (473)

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 unemployment and under-employment in the country-side is growing at a time when new employment opportunities in the urban areas have begun to shrink." (474)

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 industrial production in the country has begun to slump, the rate of growth last year being only 3 per cent as against the annual target of 11 per cent under the 4th Plan." (475)

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

"but regret that the Address does not show concern at the fact that in many cases the industrial production is deliberately brought down by the monopolists and others with a view to blackmailing and pressurising the Government or for earning extraordinary profits by creating artificial scarcity." (476)

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 sabotage in the public sector industries is being planned and consciously carried out by the agents of the vested interest and bureaucrats who are entrenched in them." (477)

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 calculated sabotage in the public sector is intended to put the public sector in disrepute so that the Government is pressurised not to go ahead with the expansion of public sector." (478)

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

"but regret that in some public sector units like coal, the agents of monopolists have begun to enter the mines in the guise of contractors with the connivance of officials." (479)

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

"but regret that no anxiety has been shown over the fact that there are new moves to invite foreign private capital including the multinational corporations to our country." (480)

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

"but regret that the Address does not call upon the authorities to put a ceiling on industrial profits while it is well known that some of the industries are making exorbitant profits." (481)

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

"but regret that the Address does not take into account the legitimate problems of the small and medium industries which are suffering today due to lack of raw materials, credits and other legitimate assistance from the Government." (482)

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 industrial development of the backward regions is being neglected thereby perpetuating the uneven development and imbalance in our economy." (483)

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

"but regret that the Address does not give an assurance that monopolists will not be allowed to enter the backward regions in the name of their development." (484)

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

"but regret that the Address does not promise adequate assistance to the State Governments for development of public sector industries." (485)

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

"but regret that the Address does not find it necessary to stop the production of small cars either in the public sector or in the private sector when the need of the nation is to mobilise all available resources in the automobile industry for production of buses and other vehicles for public transport." (486)

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

"but regret that the Address does not give any warning against new concessions being made to monopolists including foreign monopolists." (487)

[Smt. Roza Deshpande]

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

"but regret that the Address does not show concern at the fact that the production of steel has gone down and the crisis is being created by vested interest both in steel and coal industries." (488)

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 there is no proper co-ordination between coal, steel and washeries with a view to ensure production in the steel industry." (489)

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 Tatas and Birlas and other monopoly houses are becoming richer year by year notwithstanding the existence of the Monopolies Commission." (490)

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

"but regret that the Address does not realise that the Monopolies Commission has miserably failed to fulfil its objective in view of the fact that its work is nullified by the vested interest." (491)

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

"but regret that the Address does not realise that the Monopolies Commission which has been appointed to deal with the problem has become now a mere eye-wash to bamboozle the people." (492)

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

"but regret that the Government have entered into a shady deal with the Esso to purchase their shares

at a heavy cost while it was necessary to nationalise this and other foreign oil concerns." (493)

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

"but regret that the Address does not call upon the Government to take drastic measures with a view to eliminating monopoly capital altogether." (494)

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

"but regret that the Address does not pay any heed to the demand of the working class for the nationalisation of jute industry." (495)

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

"but regret that the Address does not ensure the participation of the workers in the management at all levels in public sector industry." (496)

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

"but regret that the Address does not show any awareness that for ensuring industrial production and peace on the industrial front it is of paramount importance to have democratic industrial relations policy the formulation of which is deliberately being deferred." (497)

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

"but regret that the Address does not take note of the sabotage of the Bokaro expansion programme in order to suit the interest of Tatas who are seeking to expand their steel plant." (498)

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

"but regret that the Address does not give any warning against inviting the Americans for off-shore oil exploration".(499)

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 new licences are being given to monopolies for cement factories in the name of mini-plants for quick Production, thereby going against the spirit of the Industrial Policy Resolution".(500)

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

"but regret that the Address does not take note of the going out of the way to invite US monopoly capital for fresh investments in India in the name of improving Indo-US economic cooperation".(501)

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 a number of foreign teams belonging to multi-national corporations have been invited to India to explore the possibilities of investment".(502)

SHRI P. G. MAVAI ANKAR : I beg to move :

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

"but regret that the Address fails to disapprove the use of governmental machinery by the ruling Congress for electioneering in U.P., Orissa and all other parts of the country where the poll is being held in February, 1974".(503)

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

"but regret that the Address does not criticise and disapprove the use of governmental media, particularly All India Radio and Television, by the ruling Congress leaders and Ministers for electioneering and party propaganda in various States of the Indian Union where elections are in progress at present".(504)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the need of the ruling Congress Party taking an initiative and lead in establishing a good and proper code of conduct in campaigning so that elections do approximate to the idea of 'free and fair elections'".(505)

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

"but regret the failure to check rising prices and inflation in the country".(506)

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

"but regret the failure to take measures to reduce substantially, if not eliminate altogether, the various man-made scarcities in essential commodities and goods".(507)

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

"but regret the failure to check lavish and pompous style of living by ruling party leaders while in the same breath they go on talking loudly about poverty and promising day in and day out the removal of poverty from our land".(508)

[Shri P. G. Mavalankar.]

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the failure of wheat take-over in many parts of the country".(509)

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

"but regret the failure of the public distribution system in various States of the Union".(510)

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

"but regret the failure to eradicate corruption, nepotism, favouritism and such other ills and poisons from the political, administrative, financial and public fields of the country".(511)

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

"but regret the failure to prepare, plan and implement the relevant developmental plans for bettering the lot of the teeming millions on a just and rational basis and with a sense of right ordering of pressing priorities".(512)

श्री रामाबल्लभ शास्त्री मैं प्रस्ताव करता हूँ .

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् —

"परन्तु खेद है कि सरकार देश में छिपे काले धन को निकाल बाहर करने में विफल रही है।" (513)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् —

"परन्तु खेद है कि सरकार काला धन इकट्ठा करने पर प्रतिबद्ध लगाने में विफल रही है।" (514)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् :—

"परन्तु खेद है कि सरकार काले धन एकत्र करने वालों तथा इजारेदार पूँजीपतियों पर अधिकार लगाने में विफल रही है।" (515)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् :—

"परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में वर्तमान पूँजीवादी समाज को सभी बुराइयों एवं असमानताओं की जड़ मानने का उल्लेख नहीं है।" (516)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् —

"परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में चुनावों में बेशुमार धन व्यय करने पर प्रतिबद्ध लगाने की आवश्यकता का उल्लेख नहीं है।" (517)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् —

"परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में राजनेताओं, काला धन एकत्र करने वालों तथा इजारेदार पूँजीपतियों के बीच बोली-दामन के सम्बन्ध को समाप्त करने के लिए किसी निश्चित कार्य-का उल्लेख नहीं है।" (518)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् —

"परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में सरकार द्वारा सन् 1971 में दिये गये आश्वासनों को पूरा करने के लिए विशिष्ट कदम उठाने का उल्लेख नहीं है।" (519)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् —

"परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में जातिवाद, साम्प्रदायिकता तथा भेदवाद की निन्दा नहीं की गई है।" (520)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् —

"परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में विभिन्न सरकारी विभागों में नौकरशाही रवैये की निन्दा नहीं की गई है।" (521)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् —

"परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में विश्वविद्यालयों और खासकर बनारस हिन्दू विश्वविद्यालय और अलीगढ़ मुस्लिम विश्वविद्यालय में बढ़ती हुई साम्प्रदायिक शक्तियों की निन्दा नहीं की गई है।" (522)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् :—

"परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में इस बात का कोई उल्लेख नहीं है कि अमरीकी तथा दूसरे विदेशी इजारेदारों को भारत में धन लगाने की

अनुमति नहीं दी जायेगी।" (523)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात्:—

"परन्तु खेद है कि अधिभाषण में भारतीय खाद्य-निगम के अधिकारियों द्वारा करोड़ों रुपये का गोनमाल करने की भर्त्सना करने का उल्लेख नहीं है।" (524)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात्:—

"परन्तु खेद है कि अधिभाषण में स्वतन्त्रता सेनानियों को पेशान देने में विसंब करने की नीति की निंदा नहीं की गई है।" (525)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात्:—

"परन्तु खेद है कि अधिभाषण में स्वतन्त्रता सेनानियों के लिए प्रत्येक राज्य में स्वतन्त्रता सेनानी कालोनी के निर्माण का उल्लेख नहीं है।" (526)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात्:—

"परन्तु खेद है कि अधिभाषण में अण्डमान जेल (काला पानी) को स्वतन्त्रता सेनानी स्मारक के रूप में परिवर्तित करने का उल्लेख नहीं है।" (527)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात्:—

"परन्तु खेद है कि अधिभाषण में गरीब जनता पर किसी भी प्रकार का कर नहीं लगाने का उल्लेख नहीं है।" (528)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात्:—

"परन्तु खेद है कि अधिभाषण में बाटे के बजट की अर्थव्यवस्था का अन्त करने का उल्लेख नहीं है।" (529)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात्:—

"परन्तु खेद है कि अमरीका से किसी भी प्रकार की सहायता न लेने का अधिभाषण में उल्लेख नहीं है।" (530)

SHRI DASARATHA DEB : I beg to move :

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 due to the exploitation by money-lenders, forest contractors and corrupt officials in the tribal belts, the tribals are being ruined economically".(531)

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 most of the State Governments and the university authorities have failed to implement the recommendation of the U.G.C. regarding salary scales for college and university teachers with modification as suggested by the associations of the respective institutions".(532)

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

"but regret that the Address fails to take note of the complete breakdown of the examination system of the educational institutions throughout the country".(533)

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 due to coming up of the National projects like Gumati Hydro-electric Project in Tripura about 15 thousand tribals and others have been forcibly uprooted from the lands traditionally occupied by them and neither adequate compensation for

[Shri Dasaratha Deb]

the land they lost nor any alternative lands have been provided to them".(534)

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

"but regret that the Address fails to note that the Tribal Development Blocks controlled and run by non-tribal dominated officials have hastened up the wiping out the tribal population of the various Tribal Development Block areas in the country, instead of rehabilitating and providing tribals gainful occupation". (535)

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

"but regret to note that the national projects like Bhilai Plant, Bokaro Plant, Ranchi Complex and other irrigation dams have rendered tremendous disservice to tribals causing eviction, making them homeless and destitute because of the absence of planning to provide alternative rehabilitation to the evicted families for the lands acquired for the projects".(536)

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

"but regret that the Address fails to note the fact that the Government have failed to construct even a single irrigation project in Tripura during the last 26 years".(537)

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 due to lack of proper schemes for rehabilitation of the evicted people, the national projects, such as irrigation projects, construction of water dams, Bhilai Plant, Bokaro Plant, Ranchi Complex have become source of eviction of tribals and causes of their hardship and ruination".(538)

SHRIMATI ROZA DESHPANDE : I beg to move :—

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 prevailing trend in the Ministry of Industrial Development is one of giving maximum possible encouragement as well as concessions to the private sector industries notably the monopoly houses." (539)

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 Ministry of Industrial Development is now-a-days regarded as very helpful by the big business elements".(540)

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

"but regret that the Address does not give an assurance that the factories and mills, the management of which have been taken over by the Government, will be run efficiently".(541)

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 sometimes the capitalists are themselves interested in handing over their undertakings after mis-managing them to the Government".(542)

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

"but regret that the Address has ignored the criticism that the Board of Directors of the nationalised banks have been packed with the representatives of monopolists".(543)



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

"but regret that the Address does not take into account the legitimate grievances of the small scale units in the leather industry while new opportunities, including those regarding export, are being offered to some big units in the industry".(544)

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

"but regret that the address does not show sympathy for the difficulties into which the small scale units of woollen industry, especially in Punjab, have now been put to as a result of Partition to the bigger industrialists". (545)

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

"but regret that the Address does not pay any heed to the criticism of the working class and the organised trade union movement against the "tough" policy of the Government towards labour notably to intimidate and brow-beat them".(546)

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

"but regret that the Address is not alive to the strong criticism which has been made recently against the indiscriminate resort to lock-outs by Government undertakings even when an industrial dispute is pending with a view to pressurise the labour and gain an upper hand in bargaining with them".(547)

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

"but regret that the Address does not take note of the serious situation

created by the large scale victimisation of the workers by the employers in many places".(548)

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 employers in many cases as in jute industry are flouting their agreements with the labour or even the terms of tripartite agreements".(549)

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 in a number of places some elements in the INTUC are being deliberately boosted while popular representative units are being denied recognition".(550)

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 of late there is a tendency on the part of the Government to keep the Labour Ministry, as far as possible, out of the picture when the industrial disputes call for the intervention of the Labour Ministry".(551)

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 Government is showing scant regard for even the unanimous recommendations and proposals of the central trade union organisations".(552)

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 even now equal wage for equal work

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is not guaranteed and that women workers are continued to be discriminated against". (553)

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 even now no norms have been evolved for determining the national minimum wage for the workers". (554)

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 democratic intervention in actual and potential industrial disputes by the Government is becoming more and more difficult in view of the fact that some influential ministers are interested in collecting funds from the industrialists". (555)

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

"but regret that the Address does not take note of the magnitude of the problem of the staggering growth of unemployment including unemployment amongst the educated youths". (556)

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

"but regret that the Address does not seem to be concerned at the fact that the rate of growth of unemployment today is far ahead of the rate of growth in the creation of employment opportunities with the result that the back-log of unemployed persons is steadily increasing". (557)

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

"but regret that the Address does not criticise the fact that the funds allocated under the so-called rural

employment crash programme have been largely wasted". (558)

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

"but regret that the Address does not propose any measures to stop retrenchment of workers which is still going on in the country". (559)

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

"but regret that the Address does not propose any measure whatsoever for helping unemployed persons". (560)

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

"but regret that the Address does not take note of the explosive situation which has been created as a result of growth of unemployment especially due to the fact that some rightist elements in the country are trying to exploit this development in semi-fascist style for advancing their political designs". (561)

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

"but regret that the Address does not display any concern at the fact that even among the engineers and doctors the unemployment is alarmingly growing and that some of these people are going out of the country in search of employment". (562)

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 as a result of the uncertainties in the Food Corporation of India as well as its mismanagement a large number of employees are now threatened with retrenchment". (563)

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 unemployment has been aggravated by an indiscriminate closure of mills and factories in some cases and that the Government does not intervene in time to ensure uninterrupted running of these undertakings".(564)

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 Government have not made a serious effort to assess the dimension of the unemployment problem and the rate of its growth".(565)

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

"but regret that the Address disregards the popular suggestion that in the present economic situation the Government should step remittances of all profits, dividends, royalties, interests, etc. by foreign business concerns operating in this country".(566)

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

"but regret that the Address does not call upon the Government to declare a moratorium on repayment of foreign debts particularly when such repayments amount to nearly over rupees five hundred crores eating up more than one-third of India's export earnings".(567)

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

"but regret that the Address, while taking note of the recent developments in Gujarat, does not care

to go deeply into the causes behind them, much less into the responsibility of the State and the Central Government in bringing about the eruption of popular discontent and anger".(568)

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 although the production of foodgrains as well as of ground-nut was a bumper one, artificial shortages and scarcities were created by the wholesalers and the hoarders with the backing of the ex-Gujarat Ministry".(569)

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

"but regret that the Address does not own the responsibility of the Central Government when it failed to supply adequate quantities of foodgrains to Gujarat during the critical period".(570)

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

"but regret that the Address does not take into account the role corrupt on in high places in Gujarat including the ministerial level had played in emboldening the hoarders and profiteers and generally in creating the crisis which could have been easily avoided".(571)

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

"but regret that the Address does not take due note of the fact that although in some places right-wing parties initially wanted to exploit the situation, the popular upsurge by and large was spontaneous".(572)

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

"but regret that the Address does not take serious note of the fact that instead of facing the situation calmly and sympathetically the Gujarat State Government reacted violently against the people and launched repression by wanton resort to curfew, lathi charge, teargassing and even police firing in addition to arrests under MISA".(573)

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

"but regret that the Address does not show sympathy for those who had been killed by unprovoked and premeditated police firing in Ahmedabad and other places when it is well known that a young muslim boy Rahman in the Jamalpur area of the city was shot dead when he was flying a kite from the roof of a house and Pankaj Joshi was killed in the Shahapur area in a similar cold-blooded manner" (574)

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 while the people were being attacked no action was initially taken against the hoarders and profiteers in Ahmedabad and other places" (575)

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 serious charges of corruption were being levelled against some ex-Ministers of ex-Gujarat Government without any action being taken against them or even without the Central Government taking any interest in the matter".(576)

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

"but regret that when Gujarat was passing through a crisis the ex-Ministers there were openly engaged in factional quarrels and mutual shippings, some of them jockeying for the Chief Minister-ship".(577)

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

"but regret that the Address does not take into account that despite the so called majority of the ruling party in the Gujarat Assembly and the formal existence of a ministry, the latter had virtually collapsed and there was no trace of collective responsibility in it at all" (578)

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 instead of trying to assess correctly and objectively the situation in Gujarat thought it fit to protect the ex-Gujarat Ministry".(579)

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

"but regret that the Address does not realise that the popular demand for the removal of the ex-Gujarat Ministry should have been heeded much earlier in order to bring the situation under control instead of allowing it to go altogether out of hand" (580)

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

"but regret that the Address does not take note of the futile exercise of assessment of the situation in Gujarat at which was carried out by one of the Central Ministers".(581)

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention of the damage done by the ex-Gujarat Ministry in arresting the trade union leaders and others in order to suppress the movement instead of trying to take some immediate measures to improve the food situation in co-operation with the people".(582)

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 situation in Gujarat demanded handling at the highest level in the union Cabinet".(583)

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

"but regret that the Address does not seem to be alive to the fact that while the Gujarat Government had so miserably failed to meet the needs of the people, it was wrong and provocative step to call out the army to intimidate them"(584)

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

"but regret that the Address fails to note that the calling out of the army in Gujarat looked like an attempt to protect an uncivil, unwanted and thoroughly discredited Government, thereby causing damage to the position of the army itself in addition to provoking the masses".(585)

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

"but regret that the Address does not realise that after more than 50/60 persons had been killed in Gujarat as a result of police firings what is necessary for the Government is to take all necessary

steps to improve the situation regarding food and other essential commodities". (586)

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

"but regret that the Address does not show any awareness of the fact that the Gujarat Ministry had done a great damage to democracy nor does it see that what has happened in Gujarat is a grim warning for those authority". (587)

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

"but regret that the Address does not realise that unless the situation in Gujarat is tackled rightly the right wing and disruptive forces are bound to take advantage of it to push their own political ends as they have already begun to do". (588)

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

"but regret that the Address does not indicate any serious concern at the growth of communal and other divisive activities in some parts of the country in the recent period". (589)

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 some communal organisations have greatly intensified their poisonous campaign during the recent period leading to violent incidents in different parts of the country". (590)

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

"but regret that the Address does not own up the responsibility of the Central Government which has failed to ensure the implementa-

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tion of the recommendations of the Srinagar meeting of the National Integration Council held in 1968" (591)

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

"but regret that the Address does not show due awareness that the communal elements are still entrenched in bureaucracy and in the police with the result that the minority communities sometimes do not get even elementary protection which has been guaranteed to them under the Constitution" (592)

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

"but regret that the Address does not take note of the communal propaganda which is being carried on in some schools and colleges". (593)

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

"but regret that the Address does not admit that the Government has made no serious effort to identify the communal elements in the Administration and the Police with a view to removing them from service". (594)

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

"but regret that the Address does not give any assurance that drastic action will be immediately taken to ban all communal propaganda in the country and firmly suppress it without which both secularism and national integration will always remain in danger" (595)

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

"but regret that the Address does not express its disapproval of the praise showered on late R.S.S. Chief by the Union Home Minister while trying to score a debating point against some other communal leader in the country". (596)

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

"but regret that the Address does not take serious note of the fact that the forces of communalism are now trying to link up their nefarious activities with the popular discontent of the people, thereby seeking a camouflage for their criminal and anti-national activities" (597)

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

"but regret that the Address does not show any concern that some Ministers at the Centre are sympathetic to communal forces, not to speak of the top bureaucrats and high police officials". (598)

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

"but regret that the Address proposes no effective measures against the Shiv Sena in Bombay which is indulging in instigating riots against the non-Maharashtrians and also against the democratic movement". (599)

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

"but regret that the Address does not take due note of the fact that the worthy admonition by the Prime Minister and others of the Central Government against the Shiv Sena activities in Bombay have been all but ignored by the Maharashtra Government". (600)

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

"but regret that the Address does not show any awareness that when some Ministers and prominent leaders of the ruling party seek the cooperation and alliance with the Shiv Sena, the latter cannot but be emboldened to carry on its disruptive activities which has in fact happened and is still happening in Bombay". (601)

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

"but regret that the Address does not give an unequivocal warning against unprincipled gang-up by the ruling party with the Shiv Sena in view of the fact that such gang-up gives a boost and protection to the organisations like the Shiv Sena". (602)

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

"but regret that the Address does not take due note of the serious concern which has been expressed by the people of Kerala, Karnataka and other places against the Shiv Sena's activities in Bombay". (603)

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 Maharashtra Government is trying to persecute the CPI and other Leftist forces who are fighting the disruptive and violent activities of the Shiv Sena in Bombay". (604)

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

"but regret that the Address does not give any convincing assurance that the Central Government will do everything in its competence

and power to curb the activities of Shiv Sena in Bombay so that the people in the city may feel secured". (605)

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

"but regret that the Address has completely ignored the deliberations and decisions of the recently held All-India Convention against Communalism in Delhi." (606)

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

"but regret that the Address does not suggest that the Union Home Ministry will be thoroughly overhauled so that it can discharge its responsibilities in protecting the minority communities and in dealing with communal activities in the country in the most effective manner." (607)

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

"but regret that the Address does not seem to be aware that most of the State Governments are simply flouting even the directives of the Central Government in regard to the task of dealing with communalism and communal activities" (608)

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

"but regret that the Address does not see that under communal pressure even Urdu language is still being, in practice, denied its rightful place in our national life and that the Central Government is not taking effective measures to remedy the situation". (609)

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

"but regret that the Address does not even promise that the Nepali language will be included in the

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Eighth Schedule of the Constitution when the entire Nepali speaking people are already restless over this issue". (610)

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

"but regret that the Address does not indicate that the demands of the Nepali speaking people and also of the tribal peoples for autonomy, within the constitutional framework, will be sympathetically considered where there is basis for such demand being legitimately met" (611)

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

"but regret that the Address fails to note that the prolongation of the Karnataka-Maharashtra border dispute may create new difficulties" (612)

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

"but regret that the Address does not take into account the growing popular demand for greater economic powers especially for planned development of the States" (613)

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

"but regret that the Address does not take note of the disruptive and separatist propaganda which has been started in Orissa by some communal and political forces in the name of 'concurrent economic powers' with the Centre" (614)

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

"but regret that the Address pays no heed to the popular demand for lowering the voting age from 21 to 18". (615)

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

"but regret that the Address does not indicate and realisation on the part of the Government that the stability of the country cannot be ensured without radical, social and economic changes and improving the living conditions of the down-trodden masses". (616)

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 theory of political stability through legislative majority for the ruling party has been already belied by the recent developments in Andhra Pradesh, U.P., Gujarat and Orissa" (617)

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

"but regret that the Address fails to note that in the socio economic conditions of today, the problem of political stability cannot be solved merely by gaining electoral majorities while neglecting the basic task of national rejuvenation" (618)

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

"but regret that the Address fails to note that the root of instability lies in the continuing social injustice, exploitation and oppression by a handful, directed against the overwhelming majority of our people". (619)

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

"but regret that the Address does not show due awareness of the fact that a strong and stable Government at the Centre, which is undoubtedly necessary, can only be based on the foundations of an



ever expanding democracy and on the ruins of the outmoded and oppressive socio-economic order". (620)

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

"but regret that the Address does not have the historical view of social developments inasmuch as it seems to realise that even with the framework of capitalism the political and economic stability can be achieved" (621)

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

"but regret that the Address does not accept the fact that capitalism itself produces instability all along the line and that to achieve real stability means the abandonment of the capitalist path of development" (622)

PROF MADHU DANDAVATE (Rajapur) : I beg to move :

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

"but regret that the Address does not take note of the spate of foundation-stone laying ceremonies performed by the Prime Minister during the UP election campaign even in the case of projects for which sanction has not been obtained in the Fifth and Fourth Plans thereby exerting a corrupting influence on the voters".(623)

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention concrete measures to reduce economic and social inequalities and to break stranglehold of monopolists on our economy".(624)

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

"but regret that the Address does not take note of the failure of the Government to demonetise the currency with a view to unearthing black money in the country".(625)

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention the failure of the Government to make the take-over of the wholesale trade of wheat a success by ending the distinction between the marketable surplus and marketed surplus while procuring wheat" (626)

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

"but regret that the Address does not take note of the failure of the Government to streamline the working of the nationalised banks and radically change the norms of credit worthiness so that the neglected sections of industry and agriculture could secure financial assistance". (627)

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

"but regret that the Address does not take note of the failure of the Government to protect the lives of weaker sections and linguistic minorities in the country".(628)

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

"but regret that the Address does not make any mention of the urgent need to implement radical land reforms".(629)

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

"but regret that the Address does not contain any proposal for introduction and passing of a Bill for amending the Industrial Disputes Act in the interest of workers during the current session of Parliament". (630)

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

"but regret that the Address makes no mention, of any proposal to declare as 'workmen', labourers and employees working in pharmaceutical industries, universities and hospitals." (631)

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

"but regret that the Address makes no mention of the urgent need to settle the long pending Karnataka-Maharashtra border dispute leading to fratricidal war between the people of the two States" (632)

SHRIMATI BHARGAVI THANKAPPAN (Adoor) : I beg to move:

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

"but regret that the Address does not contain any positive assurance to protect the traditional industries of Kerala such as cashew and coir". (633)

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

"but regret that the Address makes no mention of any action to be taken against the persons indulging in atrocities against linguistic minorities, weaker sections of the communities and women in various parts of the country and the failure of the Government to protect their lives and properties." (634)

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

"but regret that the Address fails to condemn the frequent atrocities committed against Harijans in various parts of the country and the continuous failure of the Government to protect their lives and properties" (635)

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

"but regret that no assurance has been given in the Address about the concrete measures to provide adequate representation to Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and other backward communities in Government, quasi-Government, nationalised banks and private enterprises." (636)

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

"but regret that in the Address no anxiety has been expressed about the continuous failure of the Government in taking concrete, basic and effective measures to remove untouchability" (637)

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 failure of the Government in taking concrete and effective measures to remove illiteracy among the people within a specified time" (638)

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

"but regret that in the Address no anxiety has been expressed about the continuous failure of the Government in taking concrete and effective measures to remove unemployment among the educated youth within a specified time" (639)

**SHRI P. G. MAVALANKAR :** I beg to move :

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

"but regret that the Address does not reflect truly and fully the present state of the Union".(643)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of tremendous all-round hardships and harassments faced and suffered by countless commoners and citizens of the country to-day".(644)

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

"but regret that the Address does not unfold candidly and boldly the Union Government's response to the current economic crisis".(645)

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

"but regret that the underlying and unquestionably serious crisis of confidence that confronts our nation at present and the leadership of the day is not properly and adequately reflected in the Address." (646)

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

"but regret that the Address fails to convince the people that the Government is honestly and surely working towards the establishment of a democratic, just and egalitarian society".(647)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the variety of tasks and challenges which face

the Government and the people in political, administrative, economic, social, educational and cultural spheres of national life." (648)

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

"but regret that the Address lacks the realistic and rational approach to the various problems facing the nation." (649)

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

"but regret that no effective steps or measures have been indicated or outlined in the Address to give a better deal to the millions of our countrymen still hopelessly languishing far below the poverty line." (650)

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

"but regret that no prompt and punitive steps to be taken by Government against those who indulge in hoarding and speculation, are mentioned in the Address." (651)

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

"but regret the failure of the Government in obtaining an adequate procurement of grains, thereby throwing to winds the whole public distribution system." (652)

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

"but regret the failure of the Government in effectively checking and curbing the smuggling of goods and articles." (653)

[Shri P. G. Mavalankar]

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention the failure of the Mines and Railways in raising and moving the coal to various centres of consumption throughout the country." (654)

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

"but regret that there is no neat and clear indication in the Address as to how the extraordinary damage done to our economy is proposed to be repaired by expeditious and corrective action at both the policy making as well as the executive levels " (655)

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

"but regret that Address fails to express in a concrete way the new and positive aspects of our foreign policy " (656)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of any practical schemes to reduce the mounting unemployment in the country, particularly among the educated youth." (657)

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention the continually depressed and oppressed lot of the countless number of people belonging to Scheduled Castes and Tribes." (658)

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

"but regret that in the Address no mention has been made about the inhuman treatment and cruelties

and tortures perpetrated on the Harijans and Adivasis." (659)

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

"but regret that no remedial measures have been mentioned in the Address to give a better deal to the Harijans and Adivasis and to free them from the horrors and humiliations to which they are subjected." (660)

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

"but regret that the Address fails to take note of the depressing climate on our educational and university campuses " (661)

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

"but regret that the Address does not spell out the Government's stand on Maharashtra-Karnataka Border Dispute " (662)

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

"but regret the failure of the Government to immediately institute judicial inquiry into the charges of corruption against ministers and other high-office-holders in many parts of the country." (663)

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

"but regret the delay in taking decisions by the Government on several long standing issues and disputes." (664)

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

"but regret that the working and housing conditions as also minimum wages and living standards of

workers all over the country are not yet adequately improved." (665)

"A want of fact is worse than want of virtue."

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

"but regret that the Address devotes only four lines to the extra-ordinary and historic events in Gujarat, which was and is rocked by a Statewide revolt against corruption and immorality in Governmental and public life." (666)

15 hrs.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU (Diamond Harbour): The President's speech is a distortion of facts and a travesty of truth. We are in the country today sitting on a volcano and the Government as well as the President could not see the mood of the people and the writings on the wall. Yet, the Cabinet headed by Shrimati Indira Gandhi cleared this rotten speech, ignoring the vast expression of anger in the country. She has forgotten the reception she got in Nagpur from three lakhs of people. She forgot what happened to Mr. Lalit Narain Mishra, Mr. Gafoor and Mr. Kesari in Madhubani. She forgot what happened to Shri Dharam Bir Sinha. She forgot how the literate people of Gauhati have rejected them in the Municipal elections. These are all rejections by the people of this Government and its policies. I cannot resist the temptation of quoting from Sheridan:

"Where, Oh, Where shall we find more foolish knaves or more knavish fools than these?"

And Mr. President, to quote again:

"The right hon. gentleman is indebted to his memory for his jests and to his imagination for his facts."

And when I read the speech, I say again from Disraeli:

It is not lack of correct objective assessment but deliberate distortion of truth, full of plethora and platitudes, most unfortunate and unbelievable. The President who had been a trade union leader has agreed to a draft which meant bracketing the workers, with hoarders, black-marketeers and anti-socials—the workers who are the real assets of the country.

I start with availability of food and essential items. There is no real scarcity. It is an artificial scarcity in the midst of plenty. It is unavailable at fair price but available as much as you want at the seller's price. The Prime Minister blames the Opposition. Her own experts in the Secretariat say that due to the wrong policy of the Government the crisis—this crisis is due to the wrong policy of the Government—will deepen further, if the policy remains unchanged—and I can say that the policy has to remain unchanged as far as they are concerned. The scarcity is really marginal. I will quote.

SHRI K. P. UNIKRISHNAN (Badagara): Source?

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: Jugantar Patrike of Calcutta, 31st January 1974, page 7, column 5.

The scarcity is marginal. As per the Economic Survey of India, page 104, the *per capita* availability of cereals per day is as follows: total 16.25 ounces; that was for 1968. You do not have the price rise then. 1969—15.72. You do not have the price rise then. You are consolidating the *Samajvad*. 1970—16.07, 1971—16.59 and 1972—a little less than 15.11 and the price jumps up because you are practising *Samajvad*.

The Reserve Bank Survey, that is, the Report on Currency and Finance, 1972-73 says on page 14:

"Besides, among the experiences of the recent years, the decline in 1972-73 in *per capita* per day

[Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu]

availability from 464 grams to 453 grams was much less than the decline in 1968-69, the only year to experience a steep decline after the drought years of 1965-66 and 1966-67. Yet the pressure on supplies, as reflected in an unprecedented rise in food prices now experienced, was unknown in that year..."

We would like the Government to explain this. Mr. Shinde is looking very wistfully to this side. He is a very intelligent man. He should be able to explain this.

SHRI C. M. STEPHEN (Muvattupuzha): Nobody takes the hon. Member seriously.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: Mr. Stephen, I think you would say something more sensible.

The Government claims a bumper harvest but also inflation and shifting of real income due to lack of sufficient economic activities and inflation.

Actual consumption has not gone up. Perhaps it has come down and still there is a terrific rise in foodgrain prices. The price rise in 1973 at the wholesale level is 39 per cent. Guess about the retail which will be at least 60 per cent or may be 100 per cent. As a result, the public distribution system is on the verge of collapse and the people of Gujarat have shown the path and they rightly and sharply reacted. Prior to the agitation their wheat ration in Ahmedabad was 2 kg. a month due to the freedom given to the hoarders, speculators and black-marketeers for a price.

The wholesale foodgrains take-over was a fiasco. Congressmen themselves did not part with their surplus, not only that, they stopped others also in Bihar and UP. We have got plenty of evidence. Then the Government had to publicly abandon the rice-take-over and in regard to coarse grains where the target was 1.65 million tonnes, the procurement did not exceed

2.78 lakh tonnes. The procurement target was 6.65 million tonnes and the achievement till 15th February, 1974 was not even 50 per cent. For example, in Kerala where you are required to show more loyalty and kindness and friendship because politically you have a different assessment for those two States, due to the machinations of the vested interests, when the target was 1,25,000 tonnes, your procurement did not exceed 16,000 tonnes. In West Bengal where the target was 5 lakh tonnes, the procurement did not exceed 89,000 tonnes. It is because you have surrendered to the big peasantry, hoarders, speculators and black-marketeers. . . (*Interruptions Result*—on the one hand, rationing will fail and on the other, the hoarders will loot—it is already there—and the buffer stocks will cease to exist. In West Bengal the rice mills . . .

SHRI AMRIT NAHATA: Your Party is agitating against procurement in Rajasthan—in Jugnu and in Sikar they have held agitations. . . (*Interruptions*).

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: In West Bengal . . . (*Interruptions*) They are afraid Madam.

THE PRIME MINISTER, MINISTER OF ATOMIC ENERGY, MINISTER OF ELECTRONICS AND MINISTER OF SPACE (SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI): They are not afraid but I am telling them that I shall answer you, they need not bother.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: In West Bengal the rice mills are expected to deliver a quantity of 3 lakh tonnes. The deliveries upto 31st of January, 1973 are only 20,000 tonnes. The mills operate under the patronage of the ruling party; they operate during the night and they sleep during the day.

Sir, in Calcutta today the price of rice is Rs. 3.80 a kilo. This is the situation. Almost ninety percent of the fair price shops have literally no wheat. Against a minimum of 1.50 lakh tonnes, the Centre gave 20,000 tonnes to Bihar in the month of November and December. In Kerala even 340 grammes of wheat and rice a

day cannot be given. In Maharashtra the quota of 3.5 kilogram per head has been reduced to 2.5 kilograms. We talk about shortages, we talk about shortage of vanaspathi. Vanaspathi sells at Rs. 12 a kilogram. What is the increase in price due to? There is illegal forward trading in edible oils on a large scale.\* Forward trading has pushed up prices of vanaspathi. It is all done by the people who have done all these things in collaboration with the ruling party. Imported oil lies in the ports. Here also it is the same condition. The wholesale price rise was 39 per cent in 1973. The retail price has come up to 60 to 100 per cent from 30 per cent. The Prime Minister takes shelter under the plea that the price rise is a global phenomenon.

I would now quote from the UN Report regarding the index number of wholesale prices. Whereas the increase in India has been so much—115 per cent, the increase in Austria was 28.8 per cent, in Canada 30 per cent, in Egypt, 39 per cent, in Germany 22.8 per cent, Italy 41.5 per cent, Japan 20.7 per cent. In regard to consumer price index, we are topping that list. With regard to the *per capita* income of the country, what does it show? It shows that we are the poorest people throughout the globe today. The Prime Minister has very cleverly concealed how the real income of the workers in some of the countries outside have risen and how the same has come down in this country. That is a very important factor.

The Prime Minister should know what the Reserve Bank of India says in this regard. Chapter I Introduction has something to say on this point. They say: 'This did not make the Indian situation either more bearable or less disrupting of developmental efforts'. This is from the Reserve Bank itself; this is none of our publication at all.

Now I will quote from the Economic Times regarding price survey. This is dated 22nd February, 1974. Vanaspathi sold last year at Rs. 6.58; this year it is Rs. 13 a kilo; groundnut oil, which was selling at Rs. 5.80 a kilo last year is now selling at Rs. 11.40 a kilo. Sugar was selling at Rs. 3.50 a kilo and now it is selling at Rs. 4.80 a kilo. What for? Election in U.P. and Government itself abets in these matters. It is these various efforts which have contributed to the increase in the price of indigenous and imported oils. Do they forget the people who have made profits? With effect from 1-2-74 vanaspathi price rise allowed was 60 paise a kilo. Reason? The Hindustan Lever had a profit of Rs. 5 crores in 1971. In 1972, they have had a profit of Rs. 10 crores.

The dividend that they paid is 40 per cent. You are talking about Samajwadi. You feel they are friends. When there is a little rise in price of raw materials, you must give them a rise—that is a profit from Rs. 5 crores to 10 crores in one year to a foreign monopoly dominating in this country. Take for example sugar. Profits are as follows—

1971-72	Rs. 622 lakhs
1972-73	" 1527 lakhs.

Do you know that it is 250 per cent rise in profit? Look at the percentage of profit in U.P. They must be very generous for the elections.

1971-72	4.85 per cent
1972-73	19.3 per cent

If anybody wants to challenge the figures, I am quite willing to lay the entire document on the table of the House.

In Bihar, in 1971-72 it was 6 per cent but in 1972-73 it came to 19.7 per cent. In South India, in 1971-72 it was 15.2 per cent but in 1972-73 it came to 25.6 per cent.

Coming to groundnut oil, it is one of biggest scandals that we have ever come across. I had been to Gujarat and I have made a thorough study from first-hand sources and I take the responsibility of



[Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu]  
 what I say here to-day. The prices used to be Rs. 90 per 16 k.g. tin with a profit. Gujarat Government used to buy for distribution through ration cards. Before Samajwadi came in, they used to get 50,000 to 75,000 tonnes every year at a lower price from the millers. There was a bumper crops of groundnut from 3.49 lakhs tonnes in 1972 to 12.3 lakhs tonnes in 1973, a rise of about 400 per cent. The price of oil was pushed up from Rs. 90 to 120 per 16 k.g. tin. At Delhi it is being sold at Rs. 12 a kilo. The difference comes to more than Rs. 200 crores. In Gujarat, they are making an excess profit of Rs. 30/- per tin daily. The profit for the crushing season by the millers in Gujarat exceeds Rs. 45 lakhs a day. For the whole crushing season, four months, approximately, additional profits come to Rs. 46 crores at the cost of blood and sweat of the people of this country. They paid to the Congress, "a paltry sum of Rs. 25 lakhs." It is an open truth being told by everybody in Ahmedabad. And all the papers have published it. We have not seen a single contradiction.

But, what about the mustard oil? Last year, the price was Rs. 6/- per kilo; this year it is Rs. 12 a kilo. The price rise is due to Shrimati Indira Gandhi and her Government's complete surrender to big peasantry, hoarders, speculators, black marketeers and tycoons. There is no second reason for this.

Coming to kerosene and coal and for every item, the position is the same. The Prime Minister has been telling that some unscrupulous traders have been doing this mischief. Are they not her own friends in the ruling party? Take Shri S. K. Mody's case. He is the nephew of Shri Gujran Mull Mody. His case was withdrawn. What has happened to the case? Shri S. K. Mody is a close and great family friend of many of us here. (Interruptions)

We know that. Don't tell us. Do you know the most alarming thing. I was travelling with an army officer the other

day. He was telling the conditions of our jawans in the army. A jawan gets a ration from the army but his family and his dependents, posted in villages are starving; they cannot afford to buy foodstuffs with the money that they get. If you allow them to continue starving, there would be difficulty.

There is dissatisfaction in Gujarat among the people. This should act as an eye-opener. The whole thing is so spontaneous that people from every walk of life came and made a considerable sacrifice. And they will continue to do so and show the path to the rest of the country. They have shown the path in Bombay, Nagpur, Poona, Rajasthan, Bihar and Madhya Pradesh and many other places. They will all go that way. I particularly congratulate the people of Gujarat, the youth and the students specially. 80 lives have been lost in police firing there and till today they have retained undaunted. In the 1942 quit India movement, the British could not take more than 12 lives. Today you have taken 80 lives because they were wanting things at proper prices. In 1956-59, during the Maha Gujarat movement, they lost 33 lives, and today you are making a joke of the fact that 80 lives have been lost due to police firing in Gujarat. Although it started on the students' hostel bill, later it embraced everybody. I again congratulate all of them. It was all over high open market price, meagre supply from fair prices shops and growing repression.

The people were dragged out of their homes by the police and shot at. Youngmen—I can give you their names—were made nude and made to march. Attempts of rape by policemen were also there. Even the people inside temple compound were not spared but they were shot at and killed. There is an order for shooting at sight which the Gujarat Government had issued, but this fascist Government has rightly been taught a lesson by the Gujarat High Court. The press report says:

'A Division Bench of the High Court today held that the law and order machinery of the State Govern-



ment had no authority to shoot at anyone for a mere breach of curfew orders. Mr. Justice Mehta and Mr. Justice Sheth who constituted the Bench also ruled that the executive directions in the Government announcement relating to the threat of shooting were unlawful and void. . . and the judges allowed the petitioners' plea and rejected the prayer on behalf of the State authorities for leave to appeal to the Supreme Court."

How nicely you have been served! But you are thickskinned people and you do not understand it.

Even more deplorable is the news item that a Congress MLA has murdered three students in Gujarat. The news item reads thus :

"A Congress MLA of Surat district, his wife, brother and watchman were taken into custody by the police today in connection with investigations into the death of three students of 'Kathor tow-ship' . . ."

It is a matter of deep shame and regret that our young men, the future of the country are being treated so badly and so harshly that they have been replied to only by bullets and hateful treatment. A man was lying shot at on the streets, and he was bayoneted, and even so, the trigger-happy police could not control themselves. Constables and other policemen were killed by the policemen themselves. Today, no Congressman, MP, or MLA or leader can possibly go and stay at home in Gujarat. And novel protests were there. They took out a procession of 17 donkeys and for each donkey they gave the name of a Minister, and of course, the tallest one was given the name of the Chief Minister. Though, they performed many funeral ceremonies and *shraddha* ceremonies and they dug pits here and there. The kulak-oriented Government practically had no procure-

ment, they yielded to the pressure of the Khedut Samaj, the branded kulaks of Gujarat.

The levy on bajra and rice was ineffective. Of course, they had to buy clearance for it. The State Government's forecast first was 12 lakhs tonnes; then, it was corrected to 10 lakhs tonnes and it was again corrected to 8 lakh tonnes and finally to 5 lakh tonnes to suit the convenience of those who want *Samajwad* and nobody else—50 per cent of the bajra went underground. Procurement of bajra was less than one-tenth of the target. Though the target was 1 lakh tonnes, they could not procure more than 6100 tonnes. Rice was more miserable. The target was 62,000 tonnes while the actual procurement was only 14,000 tonnes. I have already told you about the bumper crop of groundnut. But 50 per cent went underground, and the growers were holding stocks with Government protection for traders and millers, because they do not have to give stock declaration. About oil profits, I have already told you. The Centre was equally bad for Gujarat. They did not want to give foodgrains. They had plenty of foodgrains lying in Kandla but they wanted to tranship it to UP to buy ballot papers. The people and the workers at Kandla refused to unload the foodgrains and allow it to be carried outside the State of Gujarat. And we are seeing the condition in Gujarat today. Even last year, when Gujarat had a severe drought, the price rise was nowhere near the mark that it has reached today.

Now, what does a foreign paper, *Far Eastern Economic Review*. Hong Kong, say ?

"There is no fixed procedure to end the mandate to a party given at a general election. The people of Gujarat State sacrificed more than 50 lives" . . .

At this time it is 80—

"and suffered a long drawn-out or deal to bring home the fact that they had lost confidence in the Congress Government headed until recently by Chimanbhai Patel.

[Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu]

"Students who spearheaded the agitation against higher prices and corruption in Gujarat gave an ultimatum . . .

"For more than a month, as the State writhed in agony, the Congress leadership in New Delhi was trying to make out a case" . . .

Shri Pant is here; he could be very useful—

"that while the Ministry in the State enjoyed the support of the people, opposition parties were exploiting local shortages to embarrass the party and the Government. As most of the State was under round-the-clock curfew and police fired at mobs in every town in the State . . .

This is a most uncomplimentary and scathing article. This is a paper which circulates all round the globe. Your PIB will not be able to lay much hand on it.

My demand in regard to Gujarat is very clear: Dissolve the Assembly and go for a fresh election. If you are worth the name, you should go to the people for a fresh mandate and let them tell you what you are worth. We want a judicial inquiry into each firing and killing and damage inflicted. We want adequate compensation for those who have suffered at the hands of the fascist forces.

Then I come to the unprecedented rise in share prices, besides black money which, of course, knows no limit. In the Bombay share market, we have seen a rise of 210 per cent in equity prices in one year. Cotton textiles have recorded a rise in prices of over 140 per cent—Mafatlals and Birlas. In reply to a question in this House on 22nd February 1974, it was stated:

"A study of balance sheets of 228 cotton textile mill companies in the private sector for the year 1972-73 reveals their gross profit (after depreciation, but before interest, development rebate and tax-

ation) as Rs. 8,664.73 lakhs in 1972-73 as compared to Rs. 5,171.33 lakhs in 1971-72."

So in one year of the installation of the *samajwad* of Shrimati Gandhiji's Government, the profits of monopolists rose by more than 65 per cent.

Her party has come to a definite understanding and agreement with the monopolists: 'We shall give you unlimited licence to loot and plunder. You keep me installed. You finance me when I need it.' This is crystal clear to the people of the country. Otherwise, these things would never happened.

15.28 hrs.

SHRI JAGANNATHRAO JOSHI in the Chair.]

As for black money, I have revealed through the Interim Report of the Wanchoo Committee what is its extent. According to their estimates in November 1970 it was Rs. 7,000 crores. If they had put a check on it, prices would have been curbed and concentration of power in evil hands would have been curbed. But you knew that you could not get a copper from the capitalists unless it was black money. So you could not commit suicide and you have allowed them to grow.

श्री जिवूति मिश्र (मोतीहारी) : आप लोगों के पास पैसा कहाँ से आता है, आप जीप रखते हैं, चुनाव लड़ते हैं ?

श्री ज्योतिर्मय बसु : कल आप ने 2 रु० दिये थे, कल उस की रसीद भेज देंगे ।

(Interruptions)

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: I have excellent relations with my dada. Do not come in between.

श्री जयन्त कहाटा : यह इस बात का सबूत है कि हमारा पैसा काला नहीं है। तभी तो आप ने लिया ।

श्री ज्योतिर्मय बसु : कल श्री मिश्र ने 2 रु० दिये थे, कल उस की रसीद भेज देंगे ।

There are tax arrears to the tune of Rs. 900 crores, with the tycoons. As for the concealment list, if you see the public Accounts Committee's 87th Report—God knows how many names there are—there are at least 73 names, where we see Modi Private Ltd. receiving consideration, where we have seen decisions being taken in many cases in a peculiar way. Here in the report it says that when the prosecution has to be launched against Modi Private Limited, it is 'being considered'. So it cannot be decided like that.

Another powerful man is Mr. Pran Pershad of Northbrook Jute Mills who, I am told, is a big contributor, and no action can be taken against him.

There are today 600 companies which have a tax arrear of an amount exceeding Rs. 10 lakhs which includes foreign and Indian companies. In industrial growth rate, your performance, Mr. Nahata, is two per cent. Take power shortage. If you see the power shortage, you will see the fun. This is from the draft five year Plan, page 118, wherein the percentage of shortfall is given; it was in the first Plan 15.4 in the second Plan, 35.7; in the third Plan, 35.8 and in the fourth plan, 50. You have not only failed to arrest the deterioration but you have allowed further deterioration to take place. See where you are and what you are doing.

Every sector of the industry is suffering from shortage of power, shortage of diesel, petrol, steel, coal, wagons, everything. Every sector of the industry and agriculture is suffering. Small and cottage industries are closing down. I have been to Azamgarh recently. Small weavers who need powerlooms are going out of existence, and the Prime Minister blames the junior engineers, that they are creating trouble for electricity generation. What was the Planning Commission doing? Why generation has not come up and why generation has not increased? Generation is not in the hands of the diploma-holding engineers. You can blame somebody who

is not there to defend you. I am told anybody who attends the Prime Minister's meeting is often searched as on the other day. You could accuse the junior engineers but there is no basis for that.

The engineering industry in West Bengal lost an estimated Rs. 57 crores worth of production from power shortage alone in 1973. We are losing millions and millions of rupees because of your faulty, wrong and pro-monopolist policies.

We have seen the British company in Calcutta, the Calcutta Electric Supply Corporation. They are buying the public sector power for a fraction of the value and selling it to the poor consumer at three times the price. Their profit was also in excess of a reasonable return. We want that this should be nationalised at once. I am surprised to see that there is no mention about unemployment, as if the problem does not exist. The famous professor of the London School of Economics, Dr. Amarta Sen, has very clearly stated about this. Mr. A. K. Sen, Professor of Economics at London University has pointed out that the draft fifth Plan "is characterised among other things by saying less on employment than any previous five-year plan.". Indeed, it "evades the main problem so systematically after paying a handsome tribute to its importance, that it reads almost like a piece of black humour." More specifically, Mr. Sen points out that unlike previous plans, the fifth Plan draft contains no estimates of the existing number of the unemployed, the likely increase in the labour force during the Plan period and the number of jobs the Plan would create, though the unemployment problem has worsened dramatically in the last five years."

Then it says :

"From available data Mr. Sen goes on to estimate the degree of unemployment under each definition."

etc. etc. He has said that your fifth Plan is not worth the salt. It does not mention any thing about unemployment.

[Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu]

Then, what about the Expert Committee on Unemployment? They made some study on unemployment although they took some-time. But what has happened? They say that on the basis, or according to the final draft, the likely number of unemployed persons may be reasonably be taken as 18.6 million, etc. I wrote to Mr. D. P. Dhar asking, "How is it that in your fifth five year Plan draft there is no mention about the Expert Committee on Unemployment in the final and exhaustive report?" There is no reply coming from them.

In West Bengal, what is happening? There is a 100 per cent increase in the number of job-seekers. "The number of job-seekers has registered an increase of over 100 per cent in the last four years, while the number in the live register of 1970 was nearly 4.07 millions by the end of November last year up to which figures from the employment exchange are available". The number shot up to 8.29 million. Similar is the case in other States also Kerala is also featuring. What are you doing about your unemployed? You are doing nothing. You have not bothered even to mention their problem in your Fifth Plan. You want to escape it. You want to get votes by making some platform speeches, but when it comes to these things you want to run away.

What is the future of students and youth today? They have come forward. There is an upsurge of students and youth. They have given a new lead. I take my hat off to them.

What about your junior doctors? Your Secretary entered into an agreement with them which you do not want to honour. You say that was only an olive leaf. I am surprised to hear that. A written agreement by no less a person than the departmental Secretary is dishonoured by you. This is the treatment which you give to your doctors, teachers and others. I am sorry that these youths are called anti-social elements. It is true that they are sometimes being misled by Shrimati Indira Gandhi for selfish interest. That is the position.

Coming to poverty, we are the poorest country in the world. One newspaper had the caption "India's GNP among lowest in the world". We would like the ruling party, particularly the Prime Minister, to tell us what it is about. If you see the State-wise estimate of the number of people below the poverty line it is very interesting. For Jammu and Kashmir the percentage is 44.9. For Bihar—Shri Bhagat may note because he was a Minister here for long—the figure is 49.4. For Orissa it is 64.7 and for UP

जिसके बारे में प्रधान मंत्री कहती हैं जो पहले मुख्य मंत्री थे नावायक थे उनको कुछ पता नहीं था उनको कर्प्शन और इन्फ्लिक्शंस की वजह से हटाया गया

it is 44.8 and Arunachal Pradesh 57.4.

Today, 27 years after freedom and independence, in eastern Uttar Pradesh there are places where people pick up undigested gram from cow dung, wash it and eat it. This is what you have done 27 years after freedom. You make them eat a thing called *Gobaraha*. Some foreign journals and television have given publicity to this. I hang my head in shame because I have to come and represent the people here. I cannot do anything about it.

SHRI K. P. UNNIKRISHNAN: Don't come here.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: We will consult you next time.

This country is really a police state. It is moving fast towards dictatorship.

SHRI AMRIT NAHATA: Last year you said it is a fascist State.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: The Centre is not supposed to have a police force under the Constitution. Yet, in 1950 you had a police budget of Rs. 3 crores. In 1973, because you are proceeding from this towards democracy, your police budget has come to Rs. 135.81, 46,000.

Then I come to CRP, which I call the *Kendriya Raksha Peetha*. Wherever there is trouble, the CRP goes and hits on the heads of people. A few years back their budget was Rs 6½ crores. In 1973 it rose to Rs 35 crores. Then, for the Intelligence Bureau, for the collection of information for your own welfare, the budget for 1973 was Rs 9 crores. Further, one Ministry has a discretionary fund of about Rs 14 crores. Then comes the Research and Analysis Wing. Let me hope they will be able to publish a little more about its functions.

The Prime Minister if I have got it right had stated in an address that dictatorial rule also has its advantages. We would like to know when she replies to the debate what are the good things she had in mind when she said this.

Our comrades have been murdered. Two of them have been murdered recently. Only this morning there was a furore in the House about this. They do not want democracy to survive. The ruling party uses the police for its own purpose. Wherever the police uses violence against the opposition parties Mrs Gandhi does not disapprove of it and I would not expect for a moment that anything could be done in this country without her consent or order.

It is very interesting to see a news item which says what the police State is doing. It says

"Association with the CPI(M), CPI(M-L), Jamiat-ul-Islamia or the RSS debar people from Government employment, it is understood. Until recently the CPI was also considered 'unsafe' but now there is no bias against its members or sympathizers."

Well, this is the reward they have got. "Practically all recruits for Government jobs, except peons, chowkidars and sweepers, are screened

before employment or at least not confirmed until their antecedents are checked.

This task has been entrusted to the district authorities in the States where the candidate has lived for more than a year. In the case of Kerala, the Central Intelligence Bureau has been doing the verification because since 1968 "this is, when we came to power" the State has refused to follow such a procedure.

Official figures show that during 1971-72 the Central Intelligence Bureau forwarded to the Cabinet Secretariat the cases of 225 employees."

We would like to know what is the truth in the matter. They will tell a tale which will show that it is nothing but a police State.

Then, MISA and DIR are the ornaments which they always wear and use. Under these powers a man can be put behind the bars if you displease anybody from the Prime Minister to the sub-inspector. There will be no regular trial and you will not be given an opportunity to defend yourself.

What about the emergency? Do we live in perpetual emergency? Then, why are the UP elections being held? Perhaps, the lifting of the emergency may be difficult for the ruling party. They cannot do it.

The Watergate people can take some good lessons from the people in South Block and around them.

Coming to the inflow of foreign money, about which the lady talks so much, why is it that the report of the Intelligence Bureau of 1968 has not been published and has not been laid on the Table of the House? It is because they have a lot of skeletons to hide. It is no use telling these cock-and-bull stories here they are,

[Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu]

of course, stories. If you are worth your salt, print the report and place it on the Table of the House. Let us know who are the people who receive money and from whom. But they dare not do it.

Then I come to the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Muslims. I find that they still suffer from social disabilities, repression and harassment. I do not see any advance in any direction in their case.

What about Shiv Sena? Now Current is your own paper. Its Chairman, Shri Salve, was here earlier. It gives a vivid account of its activities. Now Maharashtra State and the Centre are ruled by the same party, namely, the Congress. Recently, they got into a wedlock with Shiv Sena.

MR. CHAIRMAN: He has already exceeded his time. He should conclude now.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: If the Shiv Sena is not ruthlessly suppressed, the country will break into pieces. Why is it that a man who comes from one part of the country, when he goes to another part of the country, is debarred from getting employment? Why should he be treated differently? Somebody said that Mrs. Gandhi is hunting with the hound and running with the hare.

सेठ को बोलो "जग जा" चोर को बोलो "लग जा" ।

What has happened to the programmes of urban property ceiling and diffusion of ownership and delinking of the press? You are for delinking of the press. The press is a very good friend of yours. You do not want them to publish Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu's speech. So, diffusion of ownership must be done away with.

Regarding land reform you say you have to wait for the report of the task force. The class character of the ruling party is reflected in this action again.

I want to close my speech with a reference to corruption. John Randolph said :

"They buy and sell corruption in the gross. A few millions more or less is hardly felt in the account."

MR. CHAIRMAN: Better finish with corruption.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: Sheridan said: "there is nothing open or upright, simple or unmixed". There is corruption of the political type, collective and individual. Take, for instance, the use of official machinery for the UP elections, which has been mentioned in a number of national dailies. The Prime Minister has been making the fullest use of it. There is the Supreme Court judgment. A reference has been made to it in the *Hindustan Times*. The Prime Minister had started the election campaign long ago with the much publicised foundation-laying. It is all political corruption.

Regarding Shri Lalit Narayan Mishra the Kapur Commission's Report on Bharat Sevak Samaj has clearly stated certain things.

SHRI K. P. UNNIKRISHNAN: It has not stated anything.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: Then there is the scandal about rags and stainless steel. Madam Prime Minister has offered a probe. Unless there is a probe, nothing would be revealed. I had a letter to say that it cannot be done just now.

Why is she shielding him? Is there something more deeper than that? I want to know that. He should be prosecuted at once because the corrupt practices that he has indulged in have crossed the limit. Why keep the Santhanam Report in the Library? Why don't you make a bon-fire of it or throw it into the Jamuna river?

The fountain head of corruption is the Prime Minister. Look at the Maruti affair. She said about holding a parliamentary probe in Lucknow, in July. She decline to do so because there are many skeletons in

the cup-board. The peasants have been cheated to the tune of crores of rupees. The price of land given to them was only a fraction. Against a price of Rs. 60,000 to Rs. 70,000 an acre, they were given a net amount of Rs. 9,000 only. If the Prime Minister has any sense of self-respect, she should immediately volunteer for a thorough parliamentary probe into the Maruti affair.

I do not wish to say anything more. They have got plenty of blisters on the body. I do not want to add fuel to the fire. Therefore, I say, this puny piece of speech delivered by the President should be thrown lock, stock and barrel into the nearby river.

SHRI C. M. STEPHEN (Muvattupuzha):  
Mr. Chairman, Sir, I rise to support the Resolution.

I am speaking immediately after Mr. Jyotirmoy Bosu. I was listening to him very closely to find out whether there was something new in his speech to which I should reply. This is the fourth time, the fourth successive year, that I am listening to the speech of Mr. Jyotirmoy Bosu during the Budget session. I have heard him repeating just the same things that he has been repeating all along. There is nothing new. It is exactly the same speech, containing the same points—the Wanchoo Commission's Report, black money, corruption, Lever Brothers, and so on. I have heard him saying all that last year, the year before last, the year before that, every year, as if playing back the same tape-recorded speech. I have, therefore, nothing to refer to his observations and I shall not reply to him because the points raised by him have been replied to umpteen times on the floor of the House.

I am really sorry that his party did not choose its leader, Mr. Samar Mukherjee or somebody else to speak on this very important subject because this is not a time for gimmicks and for irresponsible

utterances. The Opposition has a sacred duty to perform. It is their duty to bring out the points which the nation should listen to. I am sure, if Mr. Samar Mukherjee had spoken, something to which a reply should have been given could have been brought out by him. This is all I have got to say with respect of what Mr. Jyotirmoy Bosu has said in the course of his rambling speech.

Going through the Amendments which have been moved by the C.P.M. party, there is one very funny Amendment which they have moved. It reads:

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

"but regret that the Address has failed to take note of the destruction of norms and forms of parliamentary democracy in the country by the ruling party for narrow, partisan and factional interests."

After the incident that took place during the President's Address to both the Houses of Parliament in the Central Hall, for the C.P.M., of all the parties, to bring forth this Amendment is the biggest joke of the century. They speak about parliamentary democracy. They charge the President for not mentioning in the Address the destruction of norms and forms of parliamentary democracy in the country by anybody after having indulged in the most atrocious, ugly and irresponsible sort of demonstration that has tried to tear to pieces every norm of parliamentary democracy and parliamentary conventions.

When the Head of the State reports to the nation on the conditions of the Union, it is the responsibility of every elected member to listen to what the President is reporting and either assent to or dissent from that. But his party used force to gherao the President and to make it impossible for the President to discharge a Constitutional function vested in him. This was a repetition of what they did in the Kerala Assembly—the same thing. There, the Governor was gheraoed and the Watch and Ward staff had to come. But here



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the Marxist Communist Party had some other experience. That experience is well known. They had no escape at all. I heard somebody commenting subsequently, one of them wailing, that some Congressmen manhandled them. After having indulged in this great, tremendous adventure of physical force, is it not cowardice and shameful on their part to make a complaint of the fact that somebody opposed them and they had a brashing at the hands of somebody? That is the sort of democracy that we have seen at their hands. Knowing as we do the Marxist Communist party who swear against democracy, nothing better need, and could, be expected.

Coming on to the President's speech, I support the Resolution because according to me, as submitted by my friend, Mr. Daschowdhury, it has very clearly and truthfully presented the condition in which the country is. There are four parts to the speech. One is the dark aspect of the condition in which we are—the spiralling prices, the scarcity of essential commodities, the international difficulties, the inflation abroad and at home, which make the future rather depressing. And he warns the nation that it is not going to be easy. It is a very clear and truthful statement of where we are. Secondly, he has tried to analyse, how this has taken place. He has not minced words about it. He has pinpointed the failings of the Government, the failings of the people, the failings of the Opposition parties, the failings of everybody. About profiteers, he has mentioned; about interruptions in production, he has mentioned; about the failing in the matter of procurement, although inevitable, he has mentioned; the human factor which has contributed to the aggravation of the situation, he has truthfully reported to the nation. And he has, as he should, emphasized the sunny side of the picture, too, why we need not be pessimistic, why we can be confident of the nation tiding over the crisis; because the infra-structure of the economy is absolutely sound; on the agricultural front it is sound on the industrial front it is sound.

And he has emphasized the picture of the public sector which, after the initial difficulties spread over a few years, is now emerging from out of its infancy and is able to start walking on its own strength. That is a point which has got to be emphasized and he has emphasized it completely and truly. There, he has also emphasized that, in spite of trials and tribulations, the development programmes are not being given up. That is a major aspect of which any patriotic Indian must be proud. All these aspects, he has spelt out, and he has told us what the challenges are before us. And as the Head of the nation he has called upon the people to gird their loins and face up to the challenges. He has said that we have attained the take-off stage with the basic self-sufficiency in different areas in spite of the difficulties we are facing and if there is sufficient determination, cohesion and united pull, this nation can survive any challenge. Therefore, the challenge also has been put forth. After going through this Address, how can any one say that this is not a truthful statement of the affairs of this country? It is a truthful statement of the affairs of this country. That is why I submit that it behoves this House to pass this resolution unanimously because he has done his constitutional duty truthfully and faithfully.

The major aspect on which the Government is being attacked is the price rise and failure in procurement and the non-availability of foodgrains. Of course, the conditions are bad enough. Nobody denies it. But, has anybody put forth a solution to the whole position? Is anybody able to say 'If we were in the gadi things would have been better? Look at the whole picture. 1966 is the year when we had a drought last time. 1970, 1971 and 1972 is the period when we were having a drought next. Now, in 1970-71 there was a drought and two questions came up before the Government. One on the economic side—whether we must go to the aid of the drought-affected people and whether we must pump in money for



better agricultural production on a crash basis. That is one aspect of it. Connected with that, there is another aspect. If we are to come to the aid of and support a large number of people who are drought-affected—it is not a small number, 200 million people were affected and 230 districts were affected—if this vast area had to be sustained in order that they may escape starvation, we had to pump in large amounts of money. Connected with that question is the execution of the development projects. If large sums of money had to be diverted for drought-relief, naturally the development projects would suffer. But could we avoid spending money merely because the development projects would be scuttled? So, if both the things had to be met, the inevitable position from which there can be no escape is deficit financing. Deficit financing was undertaken for the purpose of meeting an emergency and for the purpose of simultaneously carrying ahead with our development projects. That deficit finance is inevitable. The position that was facing the Government was: were we to give up our obligations to the starving people or were we to give up our obligation to the posterity, namely, to carry on the development projects. The Government went ahead on both the fronts. Secondly, on the food front when it was clear that the anticipated production of 115 million tonnes of foodgrains would not be achieved, there were only two alternatives before us: (1) import and (2) collect up whatever was available. The Government decided that there should be no import at all come what may. We must go ahead with what we have in this country. That was the decision the Government took. The opposition parties will have to tell us whether the Government had erred in taking this policy decision.

16 hours

In 1966 the imports were to the tune of 14 million tons costing Rs. 532 crores. It gradually came down and today as against the 118 million tonnes that was produced in 1970-71, although the avail-

ability has come down to 100 million tonnes overall, the net quantum of import was reduced to barely one million tonnes. If the import was to be reduced, then how to ensure food to the areas which are drought-affected? The only method is to take over the whole-sale transactions in foodgrains. The Government proceeded to that. Now, it is stated that the Government failed in achieving the targets or making it a success. There are two divisions of opinion in the Opposition. I have got with me the Jana Sangh's amendment saying :

“but regret that there is no mention in the Address of doing away with the nationalisation of whole-sale trade in wheat in view of its failure.”

They want to condemn the Government for not giving up the foodgrains take-over. That is their amendment. On the other side, there is an amendment that it has not been successful because of pro-landlordish, pro-monopolistic and pro-capitalistic proclivities of the Government. That is the stricture that comes out from the other side of the opposition. I dispute their contention that procurement was a failure. In 1966 or in the previous year there was no fanfare of opposition to procurement in this country; nobody made a determined effort to defeat the procurement drive; whatever resistance there was was sporadic resistance by individual agriculturists. In this year when the nation was facing difficulties, when there was drought, which was not made by the Government, but which just came in the way, when effort to step up the entire production was made by the Government, there were concerted strong organised resistance indulged in by responsible political parties. Morchas were taken out, they came with provocation, challenging the Government, agriculturists were summoned and told not to give their foodgrains, to hold back the foodgrains from the market and so on. Against this, what has been the actual achievement. I want to give certain figures. In 1966-67

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from out of the public distribution system 12 million tonnes of foodgrains were lifted and along with that 14 million tonnes of foodgrains were imported. In 1971-72, from out of the public distribution system 10 million tonnes were lifted as against the import of just one million tonnes of foodgrains. We have been in a better position with our own procurement, with our own efforts considering the difficult situation. We have done this without drawing on the foreign exchange which is scarce for our country. This is what happened. As against 1970-71 when 108 million tonnes was the production and the procurement was 8.8 million tonnes, in this drought year what happened? With production coming down to 90 million tonnes, the procurement was to the tune of 7.2 million tonnes. That is to say, 8.8 million as against 108 million; and again 7.2 million as against 90 million. Formerly there was no resistance. That we must remember. This time this is being achieved in spite of the organised political resistance. That is the picture and I certainly feel that the Government could legitimately take pride on the achievements made in this regard. Nevertheless there was price rise. There has been deficit financing. No doubt there were a good number of other reasons given out by my hon. friends on this side. Since I do not have much time at my disposal I do not want to repeat those points.

This Government is committed to the programme of the socialist transformation of society. I believe that the democratic system which we have in this country is an effective enough instrument for social and economic transformation which we want to bring in. Difference of opinion can be there. No socio-economic transformation slogan can be there with the Jan Sangh or the Swatantra party. But the CPM and the CPI say that slogan, they say, they want social transformation. But this democracy,—dynamic democracy that it is,—can certainly reflect the will of the people and the determination of the people and through the instrumentality of this democratic and political machinery we

can certainly achieve this much needed socio-economic transformation. We have done quite a lot. Some of my CPI friends in their amendments suggest something to say that we are on the capitalist path. I refute their contention, Sir. I beg to differ. Look at the vast vista of our public sector undertakings like transport, shipping, communication, core industries, heavy electricals, power etc.

Take the vast area of the public sector. May I ask, in all humility, this exercise of this Government and this exercise of the nation is to expand the realm of the public sector into the core industries and the core areas of the production spheres are they not steps in the socialist direction? Are they still on the capitalist path? Was this thing achieved in Soviet Russia overnight or step by step? Do we not know what happened between 1917 and 1930? There were two steps forward and one step backward. I claim that in this country we had one step forward and no step backward by only another step forward. That is the way we have gone so far and the result is the vast panorama of our public sector. What has happened within the small compass of the last three years? What has happened? The public sector has spread to the areas of banking, insurance, coal, iron and steel, oil and different areas. We have now, by taking over the wholesale trade in wheat, carried the public sector to the area of domestic trade also. When this basic private structure is shaken and you seek to substitute in its place the socialist structure against conditions which are adverse—internationally or nationally—it is inevitable that there would be certain dislocations and these dislocations we shall have to face; and this party must have the courage, according to me, to tell the people that this is the price that you will have to pay for the social transformation if it has got to be brought about in a democratic set-up. This is an inevitable position and we are going ahead with that.

Now, having accomplished so far and having again made an attempt to go further with other socialistic steps, the question now arises what exactly has the Opposition done to assist the Government in this

task. Do you or do you not accept the Indian National Congress and the Government led by Shrimati Indira Gandhi may not be as a socialist party or as a socialist Government, but at least as the leader of socialist movement of this country? If you do not, then there is no meaning in the C.P.I.'s saying that they are supporting us. They are not supporting us to any extent at all. Let me be candid about it. To speak of support without subscribing to this basic position is to indulge in opportunistic gimmick.

I have now gone through the amendments. What are the things they have said. They say that this is a capitalist path; they say that in this Government, there are landlordish and monopolistic elements; they say that this Government is carrying on monopolistic landlordish policies. They say that this Government does not have the socialist programme.

Having said that, they also say that they are with us all along. The C.P.I. finds the Congress very progressive in Kerala. The Congress is very progressive in certain States but reactionary in some constituencies in the same State. C.P.I. finds that the cleft off party, the DMK with its celluloid halo is extremely progressive in Tamil Nadu. But there the Indian National Congress is reactionary. This is the sort of opportunist stance which the C.P.I. has taken. I can understand the CPM when it says broadly that they do not accept us as a socialist force at all. I can understand them when they say that this Government cannot carry out the socialist transformation and that they won't accept the progressive policies of this Government. I can understand that stand of theirs. But, they stand completely isolated from the national scene, isolated from the socialistic movement and also from the progressive movements of the world. For their existence and survival they feel constrained to join hands with the reactionaries in this country whether it be in Kerala or elsewhere had they go on carrying on that sort of thing. Having got stuck in a corner in

their blindness they are incapable of seeing the realities of the situation. But, on the other hand. . .

MR. CHAIRMAN: Already you have taken five minutes more. The time is exhausted. With one sentence you can conclude.

SHRI C. M. STEPHEN: I am concluding. Now, Sir, this is the point I just want to know. Everywhere, when these difficulties are arising, naturally there will be impatience among the people. The question is: What is the duty of political leadership to whichever party they may belong? If we agree that the tensions and the difficulties which the nation is facing are the inevitable result of the events which have taken place in the course of the three years, whether it be the Indo-Pak war or whether it be drought or the international developments or soil scarcity or the inflation abroad and the inflation here, then taking the socio-economic structure as it is—it may be that according to my hon. friends opposite, it can be improved—if we concede that this situation is inevitable, the question arises what exactly is their duty when the people are facing the consequent trials. Their duty is to support the people and tell the people what exactly are the realities of the situation. Without doing that, if anyone is organising *bandhs* or creating violence or creating a difficult situation, to that extent, he is assisting the monopolists and the landlords and the reactionary elements. In that scene they are diverting the attention of Government from their one-track attack against the fortresses of reaction. That is what they are doing everywhere, whether it be the textile strike in Bombay or the jute strike in Calcutta. They have contrived the strike and brought about stoppage of mills and created a shortage in textiles. And what have they got for the workers? They have got them just Rs. 4 per head. For Rs. 4 per head, what have they done? The question was what was in the national interest. . .

**SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA :** As a trade unionist, he is very happy?

**SHRI C. M. STEPHEN :** Nobody accepts that the worker has got what he must really get. It is only an arrangement step by step. I am a leader of the cashew workers, and I know what a cashew worker is getting. I know what a coir worker is getting. The textile worker is in a higher position and he gets something higher; similarly, a worker in some other sector is getting something else. Yet nobody can contend that he is getting adequate enough. But the point is that when an agreement has been arrived at, they have called the workers to go on strike and the strike has gone on for days on end, and crores of rupees worth of production was jeopardised. And what did they get ultimately? Was that prolonged strike for this period worth these Rs. 4 per head only? Was this sum of Rs. 4 per head worth that much of strike? Except that it helped the political purpose in the Bombay bye-election which was to take place, the strike was of no use at all. Again, in the jute strike in Calcutta, what has the worker got? He has got only a small advance. I am pointing out all this because when the country is facing a crisis, when the difficulties are mounting . . . .

**PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE (Rajapur):** On a point of information. The strike notice was given three months in advance.

**SHRI C. M. STEPHEN :** A reply can be given to this point, but I do not have the time for it now.

My submission is that here is the picture of a country and its people determined to proceed to the goal of economic and social transformation, determined to evolve a socialist economy, and committed to that position, this party is leading the Government and the people step by step and taking steps which are definitely socialistic. Anybody who says that this expansion of the public sector and this control on the monopoly area which we

are effectuating is still proceeding on the capitalist path is just repeating a doctrinaire thesis which has absolutely no relevance to the situation which is obtaining in this country today. Every party today must be tested by the measure or extent to which it is standing by the people and explaining to them the realities of the situation so that the difficulties may not be aggravated but could be lessened and a better future could be evolved under the democratic framework which we have given to ourselves.

As this Address has given a lead to the nation with a special emphasis on the challenges after delineating the realities that are obtaining in this country in no mincing words, I do support this Motion of Thanks on the Address which the President has been pleased to deliver to us.

**SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA (Alipore):** The time at my disposal is somewhat limited, because I wish to leave some time for my new colleague Mrs. Roza Deshpande to speak in this debate later on.

**SHRI S. M. BANERJEE :** (Kanpur) : She will get her own time.

**SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA :** Therefore, I shall have to resist the temptation of crossing swords with my hon. friend Mr. Stephen who has tried to provoke us on so many points. Even then, I feel that brief reference must be made to one or two points which he has made.

First of all, we are in favour of the public sector because we believe that it has certain possibility and potential for being developed in a socialist direction. But we do not believe that the mere fact of a public sector being there by itself is equal to socialism.

**SHRI C. M. STEPHEN :** Would you agree that it is a first step towards socialism?

**SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA :** May be, may not be; it may also be used for helping capitalism. Mr. Bhutto in Pakistan has

recently nationalised banks, including foreign banks which was never done here. But nobody will claim that Pakistan is taking steps in a socialist direction.

Secondly, the CPI does support certain elements, certain principles, which have been declared by the Congress Party as part of its programme, part of its pledges to the country. There is no doubt about it that we support that programme to the extent that it pledges to take certain steps against the monopolists, against hoarders, profiteers and speculators, to carry out land reform, to build self-reliance, to prevent foreign imperialists from making inroads into our economy. But if you do not carry them out, if you fail to implement them, if you slide back from that direction, we are going to fight you tooth and nail and we will see that you are forced to implement that programme. We do not support you in the air, in a vacuum: we support you concretely on certain things that have been committed to the public, to the people of this country. Those things are not socialist measures; they are broad measures of democratic reform, measures which many respectable capitalist countries have carried out. They are not socialist measures, but they are very necessary.

As for the jute strike in Calcutta and the textile strike in Bombay, all I have to say is that I want to counter Shri Stephen by another question: Why throughout these 41 days in Bombay and 33 days in Calcutta did the Central Government—which claims to be concerned about foreign exchange earnings, exports and all that—sit absolutely tight and refuse to make any attempt to bring about a settlement of the strike?

**SHRI C. M. STEPHEN :** When there was a conclusive agreement, how could Government come in?

**SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA :** I did not keep on interrupting him.

**SHRI C. M. STEPHEN :** You asked a question and I replied.

**SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA :** I will tell him what we got out of the Jute strike in Calcutta.

It is true that we did not measure our achievement in rupees, annas and pies. There was a principle being fought against—that the Government could pick up any union which is not even a recognised union, conclude a backdoor agreement with it and tell all the other unions, 'whether you like it or not, you have got to accept this agreement; we will not talk you; we will force this down your throat'. It was against this principle that we fought for 33 days, and in the end, we compelled the Government to sit with us, talk to us again and modify that agreement. That was what we got out of it, which was much more than rupees, annas, pies.

**SHRI C. M. STEPHEN :** No modification.

**SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA :** I will educate him sometime about it. I do not think he knows the facts.

I have a complaint to make against the President's Address. Why did they not at least claim credit for three new records which they have broken? They should have been stated here. The first record broken is that there has been a price rise in one year of 26 per cent, 40 points in the wholesale cost of living index. For the weeks ended 19th January 1974, 26th January 1974 and for the week ended 2nd February 1974, figures show that there has been an increase going on—262.8, 265.9, 269.4 and so on—of more than 40 points in the wholesale cost of living index. It is unprecedented, a new record which should have been mentioned here and taken credit for.

The second record set up is Rs. 1,000 cross of deficit finance in a single year. The assurance given was that deficit financing would be there, but would be round

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about Rs. 100 crores, not more than that. The figure has gone up to over Rs. 1,000 crores. It is a new record.

The third record is that there are over Rs. 10,000 crores of rupees in circulation in this one year. On 28th December 1973, the figure stood at Rs. 10,094 crores, which means an increase of 19 per cent in one year of money in circulation. That was the money in circulation. The bank credit target which was fixed by the Reserve Bank of India for the entire busy season, that is, from October to April was Rs. 650 crores; and already, by the 28th December, this bank credit had gone up to Rs. 620 crores. What is the policy of the bank credit, I would like to know, towards contributing to this inflation. In 1972-73, while bank credit to the Government rose by 21 per cent, it rose by 28 per cent to the commercial sector. I can understand credit to the Government going up, but this is the first time—I forgot to mention that this is also a record—that this bank credit in one year has risen by 28 per cent to the commercial sector.

I do not wish to go into the phenomenon of price rise and all that. Mr. Jyotirmoy Bosu has dealt with that sufficiently in detail. But what is the net result? The Indira wave of two years ago has been replaced by a new wave, that is a wave, an unprecedented wave. That is the wave of demonstrations, of strikes, of bandhs, gheraos and so on. The people's anger and suffering have burst out and are sometimes taking very explosive forms, no doubt, but what is the root cause and the basic cause of it? That is the reality. Why is it taking place? Please try to think.

It is true, I admit, that sometimes these outbursts may be sought to be exploited by reactionary forces by divisive forces, by separatist forces, communal forces pro-imperialist forces—we are aware of it—trying to use them for their own ends. But the point is that if these reactionary forces are getting such opportunities, it is precisely due to the Govern-

ments utter failure and bankruptcy. *(Interruption)*. Would you be proud of your people if in a situation like this, where prices have gone up by 26 per cent in one year, registered unemployment—registered unemployment only—has gone up in one year by 43 per cent, the national income has gone up by 0.7 per cent and *per capita* income has gone down for the second year to below Rs. 347 per year, where deficit financing has gone up to over Rs. 1,000 crores, where there has been a total fiasco—I differ from Mr. Stephen and say that there has been a total fiasco in rice procurement and the main resistance to it has come from within the ruling party itself and not from other parties—

AN HON MEMBER : No. no.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : Where the total assets in one year of 101 industrial giants has gone up by 77 per cent, where corruption and ostentatious flaunting of wealth has reached a new high, in such a situation, in this background, would you be proud of your people if they just sat down quietly and meekly and said, "No, we would not protest; we would not say anything"? My friend, Mr. Nahata, began his speech by saying :

“आक्रोश प्रकट करने का जो अधिकार राजा हम परगस्थिति में उस को भी पवित्र समझता है” ।

He spoke from that side, seconding the motion, that the right of the people in such a situation to give vent to their protest is something which he considers as sacred. I would not be proud of my people if they submitted to this like a flock of sheep. People want to live. That is the crime that they are committing and they are fighting for the right to live. If you refuse to admit this and if you attribute these upheavals only to disruptive conspiracies of the opposition parties and nothing else—this is what they say, that certain opposition parties are creating some disruptive mischief and that is why all this trouble is taking place and there is nothing else behind this—and then if you seek to suppress them by police or



the military or something, then I am afraid this is going to give a handle, and is giving a handle, to these really reactionary forces which should be fought.

There is much talk of democracy in danger because of these upheavals. The lessons of Gujarat are that elected majorities in this country are ceasing to have any political relevance. It has happened before this in Andhra Pradesh and then again in U.P., where they had huge elected majorities. It is now happening in Gujarat. What is the meaning? You win majorities in elections. They cease to have any political relevance if you cannot control this menace of price inflation shortages and food scarcities. It has been proved that people's anger can sweep away the elected Governments which have forfeited their confidence and betrayed their pledges. I would ask this House to take serious note of, disquieting factors according to me which have emerged; they should take note of the fact that when the Army went to Ahmedabad it was greeted for the first time in the history of our country after Independence by the people with garlands. Lakhs of people come out on the streets and greeted them with garlands and photographs have been published of Army officers surrounded by people wearing garlands, because the SRP and the Police have been running amuck shooting people right and left and when the Army went there, the Army did not shoot. During the whole of its stay in the State it fired only one round—that too in the air. Under the supervision of the Army certain food shops and grain shops which had been closed were opened and the commodities were sold at proper rates to the people. What is the reaction in the minds of the people going to be? I am asking everybody on all sides of this House, what is going to be the reaction of the Jawan who was always called out when there was a communal disturbance; he is familiar with that set-up. He is now called upon to control the situation where people are fighting under different circumstances. He expects that he might have to shoot them down, but they come out on the streets and welcome him with garlands. Do you

think that it is going to create a healthy psychological impact on the armed forces.

On the 17th of this month Field Marshal Manekshaw made a speech, reported in the *Indian Express*, at the Rotary Club of Bombay in which he has clearly said that a new leadership with professional competence was required to save this country from the ruin to which it was being led by what he called political yes-men sitting at the helm of the Government. I am not exaggerating or saying that something is going to happen tomorrow like that. See in which way this situation can go. Do not think that democracy is menaced only because some opposition parties are trying to make capital out of people's discontent. It is a factor in some cases, I do not deny it. But you should find out the basic cause and see what way they will go if it is not checked.

I do not wish to go into the strikes. There are huge strikes, whether we like it or not. Two lakhs of textile workers were on strike in Bombay. Two and a half lakhs of jute workers were on strike in Calcutta. One lakh of textile workers in Tamil Nadu are on strike. Doctors and Engineers are on strike. Is this whole thing to be dismissed as a conspiracy of the Jan Sangh and CPM? Is it as simple as that?

Can you say that we will adopt a tough labour policy and teach them a lesson and the whole thing will be set right? We are not at that stage now.

Here is the report on Currency and Finance issued by the Reserve Bank of India for the year 1972-73. It is the R. B. I. and not the C. P. I.

It says :

"A situation has been created where the decline in production gets immediately reflected in a rise in prices, but the increase in production does not result in commensurate benefit to the consumer. In some of the key commodities—foodgrains, edible oil

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and oil seeds, there has been a good deal of speculative hoarding which is reflected in lower market arrivals than is warranted by the output. The holding power of the richer sections of the farming community has increased as a result of larger incomes accruing to them against their market products during the last few years. Many of their inputs like fertilisers, seeds, electricity and water are available at highly subsidised prices".

There are the forces which are working to hinder production and sabotage procurement.

Incidentally I may say that in West Bengal, my friends on that side of the House also know it very well, a major crisis in industrial production today is caused by a terrible power famine such as we have never seen before. This is responsible for crippling the industry. Secondly, the Government of West Bengal's labour department has itself admitted that much more than strikes, there have been lock-out deliberately imposed by the employers. Thirdly, no less a person than the Chief Minister has admitted that due to the infight between the unions led by different factions of the Congress party no less than Rs. 37 crores of production has been lost in the last one and a half years. I do not want to rub this in, but may I say : please be a little self-critical.

Paragraph 7 of the President's Address, I am sorry to say, insults the people. It insults the people by equating these agitations of the people with the hoarders and speculators. They are all lumped together in one paragraph. An omnibus pronouncement is made that hoarding, profiteering, speculating and misguided agitation will all be put down. Is this the way to look at the problem ? What is worse is that the rising prices are providing fuel

to all sorts of separatist and divisive forces. Sometimes they are using the slogan of autonomy in some parts of the country; at other times they are like the Shiva sena preaching crude regional chauvinism slogans which are the very antithesis of national unity and national integration and also adopting methods which are fascist-violent attacks, vandalism and humiliation of the minorities. I am sorry to say that some Congress leaders, in order to promote their petty party ends and their own political ambitions are prepared to get the help of such anti-national forces. Today I was not surprised to read in the paper that the Shiva Sena has come to the rescue of Mr. Naik by saying that Shive Sena was not going to import the Gujarat style of movement into Maharashtra. Since when have they begun to get worried about this matter the question is whether all progressive forces and all democratic forces in this country are going to stand up against this kind of pressure.

I will end by saying that there is talk of relaxing controls. They want to scuttle all talk of curbing monopoly and all talk of developing self-reliance weeding out black money and resisting neo-colonialist intrusions into our economy by developing production, by securing the cooperation of the organised working class. These are the programmes which we want. You carry out these programmes, we will support you; But you are going back on all these things. For example there is news that large business houses are going to be allowed to expand their sugar units in the name of exports, in the name of what is called economies of scale. Why not nationalise them and then expand them ? Everybody demanded it. The Congress party itself demanded it in U. P. It has become a popular demand for years now. If you want to strengthen and expand the sugar sector you should take it over and do it. Why allow the large business houses to expand ? They are to be allowed expansion in textiles also on the



same argument. Naturally the mill-owners in their turn are demanding, as a condition for producing standard cloth, controlled variety of cheap cloth, hundred per cent hike in price on the plea that the cost of production has gone up. These are recent events. Ambassador Kaul is not the only one who is working over-time canvassing for United States private collaboration in offshore drilling, fertilisers, chemical, etc. These big United States private multi-national companies will not come here without dictating their own terms and conditions. There is already a move afoot to try to get two million tonnes of grain from the United States to cover up the failure on the procurement front. All this is now being tom-tommed in the name of mutual interest of India and the United States. I do not know what is the mutual interest, but I should like to know what is the increased price which they estimate we will have to pay in terms of defence expenditure for guarding our security against Diego Garcia. The same gentlemen for whose mutuality of interests we are so much concerned are building their base at Diego Garcia. But we seem to be blind to all these things.

Then, some advice has been given by the National Committee on Science and Technology, a report, to the Government on the question of foreign collaboration and import of foreign technology, on what terms and conditions, on what safeguards, it should be allowed. I charge the Government with suppressing that report. They set up such a high apex body, the N. C. S. T. The top scientists have made most valuable suggestions and warned the country against the dangers of our random sort of indiscriminatory import of foreign technology and all that. What is the Government doing about it? They seem to have shelved it. They are going ahead on the old path.

The headquarters, the central high command, of big business in this country, the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry, is publishing so many brochures, booklets and pamphlets. You please read them. What are they demand-

ing? They have taken this line because they know that the Government is weak, that the Government is compromising and that the Government is not prepared to take a bold stand. They are putting forward their demands. Their first demand is, the de-nationalisation of coal-mines. The production has gone up after nationalisation. But there is a total mess over the distribution where it is being sabotaged. They want de-nationalisation of coal-mines.

Then, their other demands are: higher procurement prices, no credit squeeze—what kind of credit squeeze is there I showed you earlier—scrap the public distribution system, that is, the people should be made to rely on the open market and get soft loans from Western agencies.

This is the line which the FICCI is taking. You please read their publications. They are emboldened to take this line because they know that the Government is weak and will surrender on many points. This adds up to more profiteering and more accumulation of black money. I want to know what is the Government's reaction. Why is no action taken even now for demonetisation which is the only way out as far as black money is concerned? The bulk of black money can be squeezed out.

Why is there no democratic industrial relations policy being worked out? It is being talked about for the last two years. You want cooperation of the organised working class. Let us have a democratic industrial relations policy. Let not Mr. Stephen's organisation stand in the way every time.

Finally, I would say that the President's Address is an abuse by the Government of the high moral authority of the President by putting into his mouth many things which do not conform to what the President himself has been publicly saying on many occasions, specially regarding black-marketeers, hoarders, prices and corruption. So, I say, it is better to give

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up this meaningless ritual, year after year. This is not necessary. We have inherited it from the old days. Let us give up this meaningless ritual. It is a hypocritical thing. Let us face the grim realities which the Government's bankrupt and spineless policies have brought about. Let us mobilise the democratic forces to fight and reverse them in the direction in which the country was assured that they will be implemented.

श्री राम सिंह भाई (इंदौर) : सभापति महोदय राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण पर जो धन्यवाद का प्रस्ताव रखा गया है, मैं उस का समर्थन करने के लिये खड़ा हुमा हूँ। अभिभाषण में लगभग सभी समस्याओं पर प्रकाश डाला गया है और उन का विश्लेषण एवं पथ-प्रदर्शन भी किया गया है तथा रचनात्मक सहयोग भी मांगा गया है।

अभिभाषण में भी कहा गया है और इस बात में कोई भी शंका नहीं है कि जो आवश्यकता की बीजें हैं उन की आज देश में बहुत कमी महसूस हो रही है। भाव भी अनापशनाप बढ़ रहे हैं। बीजों में मिलावट से भी लोग परेशान हैं। अष्टाचार भी बढ़ रहा है। ये जो सब बातें हैं इन से इनकार नहीं किया जा सकता है। कदम-कदम पर ये पाई जाती हैं। ये जो बातें हैं इनका समाधान क्या होना चाहिये? दो बातें हैं। पहली बात यह है कि 1971 के युद्ध के कारण हमारे देश के उत्पादन और अर्थ पर बहुत भार पड़ा है। साथ साथ शरणाधियों की समस्या भी रही है। बड़ा भयंकर सूखा पड़ने से फसलों को भी भारी नुकसान हुआ है जितना उत्पादन होना चाहिये या नहीं हो पाया। पिछले डेढ़ साल से हड़तालों का भी तांता लगा हुआ है। उसके कारण भी हमारी अर्थ व्यवस्था और उत्पादन को बड़ा भारी नुकसान पहुंचा है। जमाखोरी और मुनाफाखोरी भी इन दिनों में बेहद बढ़ी हैं। इन सारी बातों का लाभ उठाने के लिए उन्होंने भी अपनी खूनी पंजा फैलाया है। मेरा निवेदन है कि इन सभी समस्याओं को

हल करने के लिए हम सब को एक ही प्रयत्न करना चाहिये। ये समस्याएँ राष्ट्रीय हैं व्यक्ति नहीं, एक वर्ग या पार्टी की नहीं। जिस तरह से युद्ध के समय सारा राष्ट्र एक हो कर उसका मुकाबला करता है आज देश में पैदा हुई हालत हालत का भी यही तकाजा है कि सभी पार्टियों और दलों को एक हो कर इन समस्याओं का हल खोजना है। आज हम सब का यही फर्ज है कि गरीब जनता और देश जब संकट में हैं तो हम सब मिल कर इसका हल निकालें। लेकिन हो क्या रहा है? मैं बंगाल में गया, गुजरात, महाराष्ट्र और उत्तर प्रदेश में भी गया। मैंने देखा है कि हमारी राजनीतिक पार्टियों ने जो देश में फिजा बना रही है उससे मुनाफाखोर, जमाखोर और अष्टाचारियों को संरक्षण मिल रहा है और वे मालामाल हो रहे हैं और गरीब लोग मेहंगाई की चक्की में पिस रहे हैं। जो आन्दोलन हो रहे हैं वे बड़े-बड़े शहरों में केवल मुनाफाखोरों और जमाखोरों के बचाव के लिये हो रहे हैं। ग्रहमदाबाद कलकत्ता और बम्बई जैसे खुशहाल शहर ही हिन्दुस्तान नहीं है। हिन्दुस्तान एक विशाल देश है जिस का क्षेत्रफल लगभग 32 लाख वर्ग किलोमीटर से अधिक है जिसकी आज 57 करोड़ की आबादी है। इस में शहर करीब दो हजार नौसौ इक्कीस हैं और गांव छः लाख। बाईस हजार हैं। गांवों में अस्सी परसेंट आबादी गरीब किसानों की है जबकि शहरों की आबादी केवल बीस परसेंट है जबकि देश की कुल आबादी का 21 प्रतिशत से अधिक तो हरिजन और आदिवासी है पहाड़ों और जंगलों में रहते हैं। आन्दोलन कौन कर और करा रहे हैं और कहां किस के लिए हो रहे हैं? शहरों में हो रहे हैं जहां सब कुछ मिल रहा है जहां ज्यादा से ज्यादा सहुलियतें हासिल है। वहीं आन्दोलन हो रहे हैं। बेचारे जो पहाड़ी क्षेत्रों में आदिवासी रहते हैं या देहातों में जो हरिजन गरीब किसान रहते हैं और जहां की आबादी देश की टोटल आबादी की अस्सी परसेंट है, उनकी हालत की तरफ कोई ध्यान नहीं, मैं निवेदन करता चाहता हूँ कि शहरों में आपकी राशन की बूकानें भी हैं बीजें खुनी भी मिलती हैं। लेकिन जिस जंगल में, पहाड़ी क्षेत्र में रास्ता

नहीं है, ट्रॉफोट का कोई समझ नहीं है, कोई उद्योग नहीं है, जहाँ बेटी होती नहीं है उस जंगल के प्राविवासी कैसे जी रहे हैं, क्या किसी ने इसके बारे में सोचा है, विचार किया है? वहाँ का कोई देखते, विचार करने वाला नहीं है क्योंकि राजनीति पार्टियाँ राष्ट्रीय समस्याओं को हल करना तो चाहती नहीं है गरीबों को फायदा दिलाना तो चाहती नहीं है, केवल अपनी पार्टी के हित के वास्ते जैसे भी हो सके समस्याएँ पैदा कर फायदा उठाना चाहती है। फिर भले ही जो पूंजीपति हैं फायदा उठा वे और भी बड़े पूंजीपति ही रूपों में बन जाएँ। रेलों को रोकना, रेलों में हड़ताल कराना बसो को जलाना बसों की तोड़फोड़ करना, यह जनता के वास्ते सस्ता भ्रनाज सस्ती चीजें उपलब्ध करने और भाव बटाने का तरीका है? बसों में भ्रग लगाने तोड़फोड़ करने से क्या भ्रनाज पैदा हो जाएगा? राजनीतिक पार्टियाँ जो सत्ता हथियाने की हविष रखती है। उन्हें जलती हुई बिता पर रोटी नहीं सेंकनी चाहिये। जलती हुई बिता पर रोटी सेंकने का काम भ्रज ये राजनीतिक पार्टियाँ कर रही है।

16.44 hrs.

[DR. HENRY AUSTIN in the Chair]

अब आप देखें कि हड़तालें कहां हो रही हैं? वहाँ जहाँ बहुत ज्यादा बेतन मिल रहा है। एयरलाइज में हड़ताल उन इंजीनियरों ने की जो भासिका पांच हजार से भी ज्यादा पाते हैं देहात में रहने वाले को एक रुपया रोख भी नहीं मिल पा रहा है वे नहीं कर रहे हैं। आप उन तक पहुँचे क्या? उनकी हालत को जा कर आपने क्या किया? नहीं। इलेक्ट्रिसिटी के इंजीनियर हड़ताल कर रहे हैं। रेलों में हड़ताल कराई जा रही है बसों की तोड़ फोड़ की जा रही है। बिजली बन्द की जा रही है। सूखे के कारण पावर तो बैसे ही पैदा नहीं हो रही है। जो मिल भी रही है उसको भी बन्द करा कर उत्पादन को रूक करना यह समस्या का हल नहीं है।

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मैं पश्चिमी बंगाल को लेता हूँ। 1971 के अन्दर वहाँ 1 करोड़ 10 लाख 50 हजार काम के दिन हड़ताल से खोए गए। वह बरस युद्ध का था और देश के ऊपर संकट आया हुआ था। इतने काम के दिन बंगाल ने इससे पहले नहीं खोए। 1972 में पार्टियों में नाजायज राजनीतिक फायदा उठाने के लिए 2 करोड़ 50 हजार काम के दिन खोए बंगाल में श्रमिकों को सिबाय खाने के क्या मिला! एक तरफ चीजों की कमी है, भाव बढ़ रहे हैं इसका कोई विचार नहीं किया गया।

आप कोई भी आन्दोलन करे लेकिन एक बात का आप ध्यान रखें। आप क्यों और किस के लिए आन्दोलन कर रहे हैं। आपकी पार्टी को भी राज करने की हविष है। उस में मुझे कोई आपत्ति नहीं है। लेकिन इस बात का तो आप ध्यान रखें कि राष्ट्रीय उत्पादन को तो क्षति न पहुँचे, आन्दोलन से उसको आप बचाए रखें, उससे उत्पादन को भ्रलग रखें। और कोई राष्ट्रीय क्षति न होने दें भ्रग न छपाएँ, लूटपाट न करे तोड़फोड़ न करें। आप बैसा न करके यह कर रहे हैं जिस से जो गरीब है वह और भी ज्यादा गरीब और दुखी बने। बम्बई में 41 दिन हड़ताल हुई अभी गुप्त जी ने बंगाल के बारे में बम्बई के बारे में कहा कि हमने वहाँ क्या पाया? मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि आपने वहाँ बहुत कुछ पाया। मजदूरों ने नहीं पाया, खोया देश ने नहीं पाया, खोया इस में कोई शक नहीं है। लेकिन आपने ज़रूर बहुत कुछ पाया है। बम्बई में प्रतिनिधि यूनियन ने समझौता किया कि मंहगाई भत्ते और बेतन के ऊपर 8 परसेंट बढ़ा कर बेतन दिया जाएगा और जनवरी 1975 से 4 रुपये प्रति माह और बढ़ा कर इधर सरकारी जोटक्सटाइल मिलें वहीं उन के श्रमिकों का समझौता न होने से उन्होंने हड़ताल की दूसरे रोख बम्बई बन्द का सबाल आया। हमारे कम्युनिस्ट भाईयों ने सोचा कि बहुत ही गंगा में सोता भूँदू, जो। उन्होंने भी टैक्सटाइल में हड़ताल करवा दी। वह 41 दिन चली और बाद में समझौता हुआ। समझौते में था कि 1975 से बढ़ाकर 4 रुपये और दिए जाएँगे वे 1975 के बजट 1974 के

[श्री रामसिंह भाई]

चार रुपये दिए जाएंगे। सरकार ने उसको मान लिया। मजदूरों को चार रुपये 1975 के बजाय 1974 के मिले। लेकिन प्रत्येक मजदूर ने 41 दिन की मजदूरी छोड़ी जो औसतन 600 रुपये होती है। 600 रुपये को कर 4 रुपये पाए बोनस व प्रोवीडेंटफंड खोया तो भ्रम। गुप्त जी ने कहा कि हमने क्या पाया? मैं बताता हूँ कि आपने क्या पाया। डाने जी की सुपुत्री को आपने लाकर यहाँ लोक सभा से बिठा दिया। न हड़ताल होती न वह चुन कर आती। मान्यता प्राप्त यूनियन ने समझौता किया। आपका तो यह सिद्धान्त रहा है कि मान्यता-मान्यता की कोई बात नहीं, सभी यूनियनों को मान्यता है। इसका मतलब यह हुआ कि मान्यता प्राप्त यूनियन ने जो समझौता किया वह तो एक तरफ रह गया और आपने बिना मान्यता समझौता कर लिया यानी जो बहुत कुछ पालिया मूल उद्देश्य जो आपका था उसको आपने हासिल कर लिया। बड़ी सफलता प्राप्त की। लेकिन देश और श्रमिकों को कितनी क्षति हुई?

जूट बर्कज की जो हड़ताल 33 दिवस चली, उस में उन लोगों ने 400 रुपये खोये और केवल 55 रुपये बोनस के पाये। मजदूरों को कुछ मिला नहीं आप को बहुत कुछ मिला। देश को कुछ नहीं मिला, बल्कि उम को बड़ी भारी क्षति हुई। लेकिन श्री इन्द्रजीत गुप्त को काफी मिल गया—जहाँ उन के लिए बैठने की जगह नहीं थी वहाँ मान्यता वाली यूनियन को छोड़ उन के साथ समझौता हुआ। उन्होंने तो अपना उद्देश्य पूरा कर लिया उनकी जीत हुई लेकिन देश को, श्रमिकों को कितनी क्षति हुई।

इस मौके पर मैं आप के द्वारा गुजरात और अहमदाबाद के मजदूरों को मुबारकबाद देना चाहता हूँ कि वहाँ इतनी ज्यादा गड़बड़ी, धांगझनी, जूटपाट तोड़फोड़, हुई, गोली चली, मारपीट हुई, लेकिन वहाँ के श्रमिकों ने हड़ताल नहीं की। वहाँ की एक यूनियन मजदूर महाजन कांग्रेस या इनटक से एफिलिएटिड नहीं है, बल्कि वह इन्डक

और क्लिंग पार्टी के बिरुद्ध रही है। उस यूनियन ने निष्पक्षता और मजबूती राष्ट्रीयता दिखाई। करफ्यू के समय काम पर जाते हुए लोग उन को रोकते थे, उन्हें मारते थे—पुलिस भी उन्हें मारती थी और आन्दोलनकारी भी मारते थे। लगभग दो हजार श्रमिक घायल हुए, लेकिन फिर भी उन लोगों ने काम बन्द नहीं किया। उन्होंने बराबर काम चालू रखा। अहमदाबाद मजदूर महाजन सच के मुखपत्र “मजदूर संदेश” में प्रकाशित एक समाचार है कि 29 जनवरी को मजदूर सच ने मेजर-जेनेरल आनन्द और सिग्रेडियर कौल को अपनी सभा में बुला कर उन का स्वागत किया।

उन लोगों ने मिलिटरी आफिसरों से कहा कि जब हमारे श्रमिक मिलो में काम करने जाते हैं, तब हम आप का संरक्षण चाहते हैं, ताकि उस समय पुलिस या आन्दोलनकारी श्रमिकों से छेड़-छाड़ न करें। उन मिलिटरी आफिसरों ने उम भ्रमण पर सावधान्य देते हुए कहा—यह गुजराती मे है। कि जब विदेशी देश पर आक्रमण करते हैं, तो उस वक़्त हमारा काम देश की रक्षा करना होता है, विदेशियों में लड़ना होता है। इस वक़्त हम आप की मदद करने के लिए आये हैं। जो भी मजदूर काम पर जाता है और उम के हाथ से पाम या टिफिन-बाकम होगा, तो हम उम को नहीं रोकेगे वह शान्ति से काम पर जाये। उन्होंने कहा कि हम उसी को पकड़ेंगे, जिस के हाथ में पत्थर होगा। कोई दूसरे का सिर फोड़ना चाहे या जान लेना चाहे, और मिलिटरी वाले कायर की तरह चुपचाप देखते रहें, यह कैसे हो सकता है? उन्होंने कहा कि हम आप की सभा में आये हैं, लेकिन आप देख लीजिए कि हमारे रिबाल्वर के कबरे में रिबाल्वर नहीं है, वह खाली है। उन्होंने बताया कि हम जनता की मदद करना चाहते हैं।

श्री ज्योतिर्मय बसु ने कहा कि वहाँ इतनी जानें मई, यह हुआ वह हुआ, आदि। लेकिन जनता ने तो मिलिटरी आफिसरों को बुला कर कहा कि हमारी रक्षा के लिए पुलिस और मिलिटरी की जरूरत है। अगर कुछ सिरफिरे लोग किसी की

जानी माल को नुकसान पहुंचाये, या सार्वजनिक सम्पत्ति को धाय चगाये, तो उन्हें इस बात की छूट नहीं दी जा सकती है।

मैं राजनैतिक पार्टियों से निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि प्रजातंत्र में आन्दोलन करने की छूट है, लेकिन राष्ट्रीय सम्पत्ति या जान-माल को हानि पहुंचाने की छूट नहीं दी जा सकती है। इस लिये उन्हें आन्दोलन के द्वारा उत्पादन को क्षति नहीं पहुंचानी चाहिए और राष्ट्रीय सम्पत्ति की रक्षा होनी चाहिए।

गवर्नमेन्ट की भी यह नीति हो गई है कि जो लोग आन्दोलन करते हैं और उत्पादन को हानि पहुंचाते हैं, वह उन को तो सख्त देखती है और जो लोग जनहित में काम करते हैं, वह उन की उपेक्षा करती है। मैं दो यूनियनों का प्रैजिडेंट हूँ एक तो नेगानगर में न्यूजप्रिंट के कारखाने की यूनियन का और दूसरे होशंगबाद में नोट छपने का कारखाने के कारखाने की यूनियन का। मेरे प्रैजिडेंट बनने में पहले नेपा मिल में प्रति-मास तीन हजार टन कागज का उत्पादन होता था, लेकिन मैंने प्रैजिडेंट बनने के बाद दशमिको को समझाया और आज उस का उत्पादन पांच हजार टन प्रति-मास है। लेकिन हमने देखा कि मिल ने जो 32 परसेंट प्राइव्जेशन बोनस देने का फैसला किया, वह चपरासी से लेकर मैनेजिंग डायरेक्टर तक, जिस का वेतन तीन हजार रुपये है, सब को बराबर मिलता है। यह गलत तरीका है। होशंगबाद के कारखाने में पहले छापने के कागज का उत्पादन चार टन-प्रति-दिन था, जबकि अब वह नौ टन प्रति-दिन है। के लेकिन वहाँ के मजदूरों को भी उसी प्रकार दिया जा रहा है।

हम देखते हैं कि जो श्रमिक राष्ट्रहित में काम करते हैं, उन को गवर्नमेन्ट के द्वारा जो लाभ पहुंचाया जाना चाहिए, वह नहीं पहुंचाया जाता है और जो आन्दोलनकारी नुकसान पहुंचाते हैं,

उन को हर तरह की सहूलियतें दी जाती हैं मैं विरोधी पार्टियों से निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि वे आन्दोलन करें, लेकिन वे इस बात का ध्यान रखें कि उत्पादन और राष्ट्रीय सम्पत्ति को हानि न पहुंचे।

#### SHRI SYED AHMED AGA (Baramula):

Mr. Chairman, Sir, the President's Address mentions most of the problems that confront us. The demonstration that was done on the day when the President addressed both Houses was unfortunate. Notwithstanding, we heard the Address with interest. We find that he did mention most of the problems that we are facing. For example, he did mention prominently the rise in price; there is scarcity. The black-marketeers are there; the hoarders are there. We have to find a solution. We are not only to talk about it in the air. The solution is that the production should increase and, more particularly, the production of essentials. I would suggest that the Government, in this respect, should also try to see that the production of essentials must receive proper and more attention. For example, let me cite the case of standard cloth. If there are persons who do not want to produce more standard cloth and they are dictating terms with regard to the standard cloth, why cannot the Government take over the sick mills and produce the standard cloth itself? At the same time, we must see that essentials which are needed by the common men and by the lowest strata of the society, should have it through the public distribution system. I am not recommending public distribution system for all items, but I am only suggesting that there must be public distribution system for all these items which are needed by the poorer men and by the people in the lower income group.

17.00 hrs.

I cannot also understand the procurement methods that are being adopted now.

[Shri Syed Ahmed Aga]

17.00 Hrs.

I do not think that procurement through middlemen can be successful. The procurement that is being done now is through middlemen and through the millers. That is not the right way to procure. We must procure from the producer himself. I am talking about food at the moment. We must procure directly from the grower. I cannot understand why we cannot go to the producer direct and what is preventing us from doing so and what difficulties are in the way. Why can we not have monopoly procurement and take the marketable surplus directly from the growers?

While I am on this subject, I would also like to mention what is actually a fact, namely that it is the richer classes of peasants and those who have more lands who can have more grains. Since land reforms have not been implemented, the poorer sections, especially those who have uneconomic holdings do not produce in order to self. So, we must see that land reforms take place. We must see the land ceiling laws are implemented by all the States, and the surplus lands should go to the poorer sections so that they can grow more food and if more food is grown, it will be available to the people in greater measure. At the moment, the richer peasants have got the holding back power and therefore they do not part with all the marketable surplus and they get credit also for this holding back purpose. Secondly, whatever marketable surplus goes to the millers they hand over only a portion of it to the Government for distribution and keep the balance with themselves. Therefore, the method of procurement needs a little more re-thinking to be put on proper lines so that the foodgrains really reach the people.

Again, why should coarse grain also not come more and more under the control of Government? I would like to make one small suggestion in this respect; I do not know to what extent it can be implemented; anyhow, it is for Government

to think over this. Government are today not finding it easy to procure grains from the growers because of many hurdles. So, why can they not think of a levy in which they will take total marketable surplus themselves and at the same time prohibit the growers from selling the grains to anybody except the Government?

Having said so much in regard to rise in prices and scarcity, I now come to the question of strikes and lock-outs which are hampering production. These will not increase production, and if production does not increase, how can we have lesser prices? Strikes are becoming too much these days. I can understand strikes by labour and working class people, but we are having even strike by doctors. This has affected mainly the lower strata of population. I could understand their strike for a few days as a symbolic or token strike just to draw the attention of the Government to their demands so that they may receive attention at the hands of Government. But the strike of the doctors now has gone on for too long and it has gone too far. It is the poorer sections who are affected by it, and these doctors are holding the entire section of these people to ransom. I know that Dr. Karan Singh has been trying to accommodate them, and in fact, he has gone a few steps ahead, and if the doctors would only start a dialogue with Dr. Karan Singh, perhaps they may receive more sympathetic consideration. But I do not understand their continued strike and their remaining adamant on the strike. I would advise them to come back to their jobs and serve the people for whom they are meant. There is one of the noblest professions, and therefore, they must not think of money; they must come back and work and serve the people. I would appeal to Dr. Karan Singh also to be more sympathetic and try to accommodate them wherever their demands are just so that they do not persist in their strike.

As regards the violence that we see these days, I would say that it is perhaps because of right reaction not only within

but from outside the country also. They are trying to attack us. They have seen India emerging as a power in the world. India counts after Indiraji has led us from one success to another. Therefore, the reactionaries outside the country are trying to weaken her and trying to instigate so many things here. They have perhaps even been trying to help certain reactionary parties in the elections. They have been trying to do so many things here. I feel that the country must be on guard against these forces. It must see through this game and remain united and see that the leadership that is taking them from one success to another is strengthened more and more.

I would like to recite a verse here :

प्रगमे महकम हो तो होती है बलागे पम्पा ।  
कितने तूफा पलट देता है माहिल ननका ॥

عزم محکم ہو نو ہوتی ہیں بلائیں پسپا  
کتنے طوفان بلٹ دےا ہے ساحل ننہا

I feel confident that the India Government will face all these troubles and will emerge successfully and lead the nation from success to success.

I have one or two more points to make. At the moment, there is much anxiety caused because of the oil crisis. We have to see that we depend less and less on imported oil. We must also tap hydro-electric power and other sources of energy of our own.

In this connection, I have a suggestion to make in regard to the northern region, more particularly my State. They have been talking about the Salal and Kistwar Hydroelectric projects. This has been going on for decades, but nothing is happening. They should go about it quickly. We are more adversely affected by the oil crisis, because we have to carry our goods

over a long distance in petrol vehicles in these days of petrol scarcity. Therefore, our transport has become more difficult.

Now I would like to say one thing about the Islamic Summit at Lahore. I think it has a great achievement to its credit in that it has been able to enable Bangladesh to attend it. This will mean normalisation of relations between Bangladesh and Pakistan and in the sub-continent. But I have one fear and I would like to draw the attention of the House to it. If this Islamic Summit was meant to extend support to the Arabs in West Asia, I can understand it. It is a very good thing. If it is a fight for the Palestinian people to enable them to go back to their own areas, I think it serves a good cause. We have already been extending our support to that. India has been in the forefront in that respect. But if this Summit is also meant to procure oil for their war machinery, I think we should be alert and careful. I hope I am wrong, but I express my fear on this score. At the time West Asia was fighting Israel, Pakistan did not go to their help. Pakistan went to Iran. At that time, we did much more to assist the Arabs. Anyway, I voice my fear on this account and would like to caution the House not to be complacent about this.

The US and UK are establishing a base in the Indian Ocean. This has come particularly at a time when there was a declaration that there is no big power rivalry. So far as the USSR is concerned in the Indian Ocean, the USSR has no base in this area and it does not want to have one; it wants peace in this area because peace helps its development. It is only the imperialist countries which want base in this area. Therefore, we will have to pay a little more attention to this. A mere protest will not do. We will have to take some more concrete steps by which we can try to see that the Indian Ocean remains an ocean of peace. The United Kingdom says our plea is unrealistic, but I think we should not go by what the United Kingdom says, or by what the United States says, that they have



[Shri Syed Ahmed Aga]

a right to enter the seas because they do not have a land route. But that is all for talk; we know their intention is to dominate the countries that surround the Indian Ocean and therefore they are coming here.

Therefore, I would say, why we cannot take steps towards this Asian collective security, an idea which was thrown up by Mr. Brezhnev when he was here and earlier also? That would help us to see that the Indian Ocean also becomes an ocean of peace. We see at the same time that the United States and the United Kingdom have a large number of bases all over in Asia while the USSR has none. We must see that the concept of Asian collective security receives more attention than at present.

With these words, I support the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address that was given in the Central Hall.

SHRI P G MAVATANKAR (Ahmedabad) : Mr Chairman, Sir, when I am rising to participate in this debate on the Motion of Thanks to the President's Address, my heart is full with sorrow and anguish. Equally I am agitated over a number of issues, problems and challenges with which the entire Indian people all over the country are confronted.

Sir, it is from this angle that I feel terribly disappointed when I look at the Address, read it and re-read it,—not that it is worth reading again—because it is very dull, it is very disappointing. It is a drab Address and a dull Address. I am sorry that this is a dull and drab Address whereas a lot of energy and a lot of research and an intelligent planning have to go into the President's Address, because we know who drafts it and who reads it. It is, therefore all the more distressing to see that the President, the highest man in the land, should have been asked to utter so many meaningless and dull words signifying almost nothing.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I know that the time at my disposal is very, very limited, and therefore, I shall not dwell at length, not even in a cursory manner, on a variety of topics mentioned in the President's Address. May I say that I have already moved as many as 46 amendments to the Motion of Thanks thereby trying to reflect what I feel on the various aspects of the issues and problems before us in this august House.

Sir, I was telling you that this Address is dull and drab because it does not reflect truly and fully the state of the Union. The state of the Union today is terribly disturbed and is in great agony. Every Indian and India as a whole, to a man, is in great anguish, in great difficulty and in great distress. But nowhere in this Address do we find this distress, these difficulties reflected in a true and meaningful style.

Sir, the Address is depressingly prosaic in its style; it hardly tells anything in terms of what the Government actually wants to do. It only narrates in a very ordinary, descriptive style, what the Prime Minister has done by visiting this country or that country or discussing with this man or that man, however dignified that individual may be. But it does not touch the basic issues, and it is surprising just as it is angering to see that the Address of the President refers in greater details to the various aspects of foreign policy rather than to the several important aspects of domestic policy. No country's foreign policy can ever succeed if that country's domestic policy is in terrible disarray in terrible disturbance and in terrible doldrums.

One should see what is happening in the country as a whole and then compare the President's Address. Here is the President's Address, telling us in unnecessary detail, in as many as 18 paragraphs, what the Prime Minister did or what the President did, whom they met and so on. Ordinary, common man in this country is not interested in what the President or the Prime Minister did abroad; he is more interested in what is happening to him, to his problems here and now at home. From



these angles, I feel that the President's Address is no worth considering as inspiring or even challenging.

Let me now go into some details of the situation that is prevailing in my State and city, Gujarat and Ahmedabad. I feel terribly upset and even angered and humiliated when I find that the President has only four lines to say about this in his long Address. What is happening in Gujarat is not street violence. There may be some street violence but by and large it has been the reaction of a desperate and tortured people against police atrocities, local police, State reserve police and Central Reserve Police and Border Security Force, against countless citizens of Ahmedabad and Gujarat. In all humility I can say that the people of Gujarat are known for their understanding, reasonableness and for their understanding, reasonableness and not given to street violence. That is why I am sorry to find in fact I feel humiliated that there is no mention of the historic events that have happened in Gujarat during the last two months. Why this complacency and indifferent attitude to a section of the people of India who are doing certain things which touch the very foundations of democracy? There was a popular upsurge; it was unguided; it was spontaneous. No party is involved in it in the sense of initiating the movement. But it is true that all parties are now involved, though they played only a secondary role. The students, the social workers, teachers and professors, engineers and doctors, bank employees and sarvodaya workers, practically every section of the community, all of them were there. It will be surprising if political parties in any democracy did not fish in such troubled waters. But who created these troubled waters? Who is responsible for this atmosphere of corruption, of debasing democratic values and principles? I feel that this Address is incomplete because it hardly mentions the historic events that we witnessed in Ahmedabad and Gujarat.

I may again say in all humility that we in Ahmedabad and Gujarat feel, and perhaps rightly so, that we belong in a special sense to the land of Mahatma Gandhi. Of course Gandhi belongs to the

whole country, may to the whole world and to eternity too, in a sense. Yet, in a special sense, we belong to the land of Mahatma Gandhi and we have therefore a special responsibility. It was a popular movement against corruption and rising prices and police atrocities and all kinds of torture let loose by the State machinery, police machinery. We have to see to it that it is done in a non-violent, non-partisan decent, democratic and civil manner.

We have been trying to do it and we are sure, in the end we will succeed in doing it. I do not want to take the time of the House, nor have I enough time at my disposal to go into the various details.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Hon. Member can speak up to 5.30 p.m. when the Half an Hour Discussion will be taken up.

SHRI P. G. MAVALANKAR : I hope will be given a few minutes more, if I cannot finish by 5.30 p.m. Sir, you know that normally I do not speak at length on various matters. But it is a serious matter.

Today I want to speak on this gram crisis in Ahmedabad and Gujarat because I want this august House to know in a realistic manner as to what has been happening there. Newspapers are not being able to report adequately and fully what is happening in Ahmedabad and Gujarat. It is not properly and adequately relayed on the All India Radio. In fact, during the thick of the movement the press and the radio were also strangled by the then Ministry to see to it that the peoples' anger and peoples' movement were not properly reflected in the columns of the newspapers, and broadcasts on the wireless of the All India Radio.

As I was saying, this movement which started on the 10th of January was spontaneous. It was basically against corruption. It was also against the high-rising prices but it was mostly against corruption, because the people of Ahmedabad and Gujarat know that rising prices in a way is a national phenomenon. In fact, several friends on the government side always say that it is an international phenomenon. Anyway, the people of Gujarat discovered

[Shri P. G. Mavalankar].

that the phenomenon of rising prices is there because it is product of the corruption of the Ministry.

We in Gujarat have been claiming for many years that on the whole we are a clear State, that we have no corruption, no bribery, no nepotism by and large in our administration, in our Ministry. Even against the previous Ministries there were charges but they were of other types. There were no charges of financial corruption against the previous Ministries. For the first time in Ahmedabad and Gujarat when we found that corruption, a thing which we hardly knew, had become rampant, so much so that it led to tremendous rise in prices of all foodstuffs, of wheat, bajra, rice, coarse grains, edible oils, kerosene, in fact every conceivable commodity of daily consumption, the students revolted. May I say as a professor that I feel extremely proud of the fact that the students and professors of this country—because Gujarat is a part and parcel of India—the intellectuals and intelligentsia came out in the open before it was too late to lead a popular movement against the corrupt and discredited Government. They have been demanding on behalf of the entire people of this country that governments and leaders must get rid of corruption, get rid of nepotism, bad government, immoral rule, unethical principles, which have been practised so long, shamelessly and nakedly, without any parallel in the political life of our state. So, the agitation was against the highly corrupt and almost totally discredited government, headed by Shri Chimanbhai Patel. When this Ministry came to power, some of us had gone to the Governor, Shri Vishwanathan in a walking march in Ahmedabad. In fact, I had the privilege of leading this procession of 3,000 to 4,000 people—and told the Governor at that time that we wanted this Government to go, because we felt that the ruling Congress had lost the confidence of the people. We said this because when we were in difficulties, in a period of drought, they were shamelessly fighting against each other among themselves, for their narrow

political ends as to who will be the Chief Minister and who will be in Chief Minister's team. People were watching this dramatic scene, this grotesque scene, this shameless scene, this disgusting scene. The people of my State had to wait until the sins of the Government, the sins of the Ministry, the sins of the Ruling Congress had been full to the last point. When the pot was full it erupted. It is no use saying that when it started there was violence. The basic and root cause of it was that the corrupt ruling Congress party and government had played havoc with the lives of the people of Ahmedabad and Gujarat.

The most tragic point is the way the Government used the State machinery at its disposal against political opponents. In no State which talks of a democratic government have we seen the Government mercilessly dealing with the people with all kinds of violence that is available at the disposal of the State. Moreover, the Maintenance of Internal Security Act was used ruthlessly against all sorts of people.

It was a twisting of MISA. It was the maintenance of the Congress rule rather than the maintenance of internal security! Professors were arrested; students were arrested. They did not arrest hoarders and black-marketeers. They did not arrest the people who were unsocial. They arrested the people who were preaching resistance in the open: Fight this corrupt Government, discredited Government.

It was for the first time that the entire State machinery was used and pitted against political opponents . . .

MR. CHAIRMAN: You try to conclude by 5.30. There is the Half-an-Hour Discussion at 5.30.

SHRI P. G. MAVALANKAR: Let me continue tomorrow.

MR. CHAIRMAN: It is very difficult. There is a tight schedule. I have already given you 15 minutes. You try to finish

SHRI P. G. MAVALANKAR: The police atrocities were unprecedented. Not even in the worst British days, the police had acted in a manner in which they acted in Ahme-

January and February The police broke and went into hundreds of homes of countless innocent people, opened up bolted doors with bayonets and mercilessly tortured the people, even old people, women and children The police did not spare anyone.

Then, the army came When the army came, the people of Ahmedabad had a unique sense and also, in a sense, it is a point worth-noting in terms of anxious implications it has got The people of Ahmedabad disarmed the army! The army was garlanded by hundreds of citizens Not only that An Arti was performed by young girls and women wherever the army went I want this House to know one interesting thing As soon as the army was called in the people of Ahmedabad gave a new slogan and wrote it on the walls of Ahmedabad They said We do not want to fight with you It is the State police which was fighting against us We are not against you We want food Instead of food, we are being given bullets We are being tortured, we are being tear-gassed, we are being lathi-charged, we are being mercilessly beaten"

This was the slogan

"भगर हमारा जवान हमका गाली मारेगा तो  
तो हमारा लहू बहेगा'  
मगर हमारा जवान हमका राटी देगा तो हमारा  
लहू बनेगा ।"

If meant "If you shoot us, our blood will go into the streets But if you give us roti, you will become our blood brother" So, the army said, "We have nothing against you" This is how the army was completely disarmed This is what happened

As I was saying earlier, enough of destruction was done Nearly hundred innocent people have died There has been such debasing of democratic values, principles and practices There has been a complete deterioration in political and parliamentary way of life The Chaitanbhai Patel Ministry was born in sin and was thriving on sin. It has ultimately gone the

way the sinners go! We are very happy that it has gone We do not want to step there. We feel that the entire Assembly of 160 MLAs and more particularly the ruling 140 MLAs have lost their creditability in the eyes of the people of Ahmedabad and of other places in Gujarat.

MR CHAIRMAN. You may continue tomorrow

We now take up the Half-An-Hour Discussion Shri Vayalar Ravi

17 29 hrs

# HAIF AN-HOUR DISCUSSION

ELECTRIFICATION OF ERNAKULAM TRIVANDRUM RAILWAY LINE

SHRI VAYALAR RAVI (Chirayinkil):  
Chairman Sir I have taken the floor of this House to draw the attention of the Government to the necessity of electrifying the Ernakulam-Trivandrum railway line and even upto Mangalore line

In reply to my Question, the hon Minister, Mr Qureshi, has been forced to sign an answer which is usually given by the Master, the so-called Railway Board, in an evasive way

He says

'Due to low density of traffic and the heavy capital investment required, the electrification of Ernakulam-Trivandrum section is not considered economically justified in preference to trunk routes"

I do not know wherefrom the Minister got the information Of course, his officials sitting in the Railway Board might have supplied him or he may have taken out from some kind of a report from somewhere In this connection I would like to mention, before coming to the subject, how they answer questions, how they mislead Parliament, how they evade and give untrue answers to the House I shall give one example about which I have talked to him