

[Shri Samar Guha.]

Abdul Ghaffar Khan and of the people of Paktoomstan. By strengthening the arms might of India or Pakistan you will not be able to ensure peace and progress of the sub-continent. It is only by having a Confederation of India, Pakistan and Bangladesh that you will be able to bring about peace, progress and prosperity in the whole sub-continent.

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी (राजस्थान):

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, 3 4 और 5 मार्च को भारतीय जन सभ का अखिल भारतीय अधिवेशन हो रहा है। उस के लिए हम ने फुटबाल स्टेडियम की इजाजत मांगी थी। पहले वह इजाजत दे दी गई थी और 15 फरवरी को हमें एक पत्र मिला कि आप फुटबाल स्टेडियम का उपयोग कर सकते हैं, मगर 22 तारीख को बिंदु समझी कि यह परमीशन वापस ले ली गई है। कहा जाता है कि लैफ्टीनेंट गवर्नर के आदेश ने ऐसा किया गया है। फुटबाल स्टेडियम में प्रधान मंत्री जन सभा कर चुकी है और इण्डियन फुडग्रेम मर्वेन्ट्स एसोसियेशन का अधिवेशन हो चुका है। वहां कुछ दिन पहले जैन सम्मेलन भी हुआ था। तो कोई कारण दिखाई नहीं देता कि भारतीय जन सभ को उस से वंचित रखा जाए। यह मंत्री लैफ्टीनेंट गवर्नर को कहे कि वे अपना आदेश वापस ले, नहीं तो हम इस का विरोध करेंगे और अपना अधिवेशन वहां करेंगे।

श्री मधु लियये (बंगाल): इस पर बिल्कुल चर्चा होनी चाहिए। अटल जी ने जा कहा है उस का मैं समर्थन करता हूँ। बहुत मनमाने ढंग से काम किया जा रहा है। सरकार से बयान दिलाइये... (शब्दबन्धन)

श्री जनेश्वर मिश्र (इलाहाबाद):

पहले इन को पर्मिट किया गया था और इन्होंने पोस्टर्स भी छपवा लिये हैं। इसलिए इन को वहां पर अधिवेशन करने की इजाजत मिलनी चाहिए।

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Shri Shankar Dayal Singh not here. Who will speak from his party Shri Ram Singh Bhai Verma.

14.38 hrs

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

श्री राम सिंह भाई (हैदराबाद): उपाध्यक्ष महोदय मैंने राष्ट्रपति के भाषण पर जो धन्यवाद का प्रस्ताव रखा है उस का समर्थन करने के लिए खड़ा हुआ हूँ।

श्रीमन् मैंने राष्ट्रपति का भाषण बड़े ध्यान से सुना है। अपने भाषण में राष्ट्रपति जी ने जो कुछ कहा है वह वस्तु-स्थिति है। आज देश में जो स्थिति है उस का मही चित्रण राष्ट्रपति ने बड़ी नम्रता के साथ दोनों सदनों के सामने रखा है। अपने भाषण में राष्ट्रपति जी ने देश के विकास और जनता के कल्याण के लिए माननीय सदस्यों से एक हो कर कार्य करने की अपील की है। माननीय सदस्य इस का पालन कितना करने हैं यह तो भाग्य देखने की बात है लेकिन श्रीमन् मैं यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि पिछले वर्ष भी राष्ट्रपति महोदय ने दोनों सदनों के सामने बड़ी बेदना के साथ अपील की थी कि देश की हलात बहुत खराब है। इसलिए आन्दोलन, तोड़फोड़, हिंसा, हड़ताल आदि का रस्ता छोड़ उत्पादन बढ़ाने तथा देश के विकास काम में सहयोग करना चाहिये। पिछले वर्ष ऐसा लगता था कि दरअसल मैं हमारी स्थिति क्या होगी और अगले साल क्या होगी। 1972 से लगातार चीजों के भाव बढ़ते आ रहे थे। भाव ही नहीं बढ़ रहे थे। लेकिन चीजें भी गायब रही, अपायी हुई।

अमाखोरी मिलावट, मुनाफ़ाखोरी, तस्करी आदि को बल मिलता रहा। 1974 में आम नागरिक बहुत ही कठिनाई में फंसा रहा और उसका जीवन बहुत ही दूरभर हो गया, जोखिम में पड़ गया। लगता था कि इस स्थिति के ऊपर काबू नहीं पाया जा सकेगा। राष्ट्रपति जी की अपील के बावजूद भी हमने देखा कि शहर बन्दी, नगर बन्दी, गांव बन्दी, हड़तालें, बेराब, भागजनी, तोड़फोड़ और खून खराबा होता रहा। चुनाव के दिनों में राजनीतिक दल क्या करते और कहते हैं उसमें मैं नहीं जाता हूँ। लेकिन जिसके लिये सभी पार्टियाँ चितित थी और कहती हैं कि फूड प्राबलैम पर बहस होनी चाहिये। तरी पर करिये, खून खराबे पर करिये और इन सब पर चर्चा भी हुई। किन्तु मैंने इन सभी पार्टियों को देखा है और देखकर मुझे तो बहुत ही बुरा लगा है, दुःख हुआ। वैसे तो इस में आपस में ही मागर जितना मतभेद है लेकिन खुराफाते करने के लिए ये सब एक है। जो बड़ी बेदना की बात है। जब गवर्नमेंट से कहते हैं कि यह हो रहा है और यह नहीं हो रहा है, यह करना चाहिये और यह नहीं करना चाहिये—दरअसल में हर किसी को इस बात को कहने का अधिकार है—नेकिन जिस चीज को हम दूसरों से कराना चाहते हैं तो उस में हम भी तो अपना हिस्सा भदा करे, यह हमारा फर्ज होता है या नहीं? अपने फर्ज को इन्होंने भदा किया हो, यह मैंने नहीं देखा। मैंने एक चीज जरूर देखी अपने जीवन में और इस राजनीति में। अहमदाबाद में आई एन टी यू सी ने मजदूर महाजन को खत्म कर जमना चाहते हैं और आई एन टी यू सी की मदद वहा का शासन बराबर करता रहा है, केन्द्रीय शासन भी कर रहा है और वहा आदोलन हड़ताल भी होनी रही है सब कुछ होता रहा है लेकिन मजदूर महाजन कहता है कि नहीं, शासन में हमारा कोई भी विरोध हो, आई एन टी यू सी से हारा कोई

भी विरोध हो, लेकिन देश के विकास में हमारा सहयोग बराबर बना रहेगा क्योंकि हमें यही महात्मा गांधी ने सिखाया है और इस पर हम चलते रहेंगे। कर्पूर के दिनों में भी उन्होंने अपने कारखाने चानू रखे। डेढ़ सौ के करीब विद्यार्थी कालेजों के, मजदूर महाजन के दफ्तर के सामने आकर उन्होंने धरना दिया, अनशन पर बैठ गए। इस पर वहा के जो सैक्रेटरी मि० बुच थे उन्होंने जब देखा कि डेढ़ सौ विद्यार्थी अनशन कर रहे हैं तो उनसे कहा कि अगर हम आप की बात मान लेते हैं अप तो डेढ़ सौ ही अनशन कर रहे हैं नेकिन मजदूरों से हड़ताल कराने पर डेढ़ लाख मजदूर परिवारों को अनशन करना पड़ेगा तब क्या होगा, हम डेढ़ सौ की बात पर ध्यान दे या डेढ़ लाख परिवारों के ऊपर ध्यान दें। विरोध के लिए जब विरोध होता है, किन्तु जब देश का सत्यानाश करने पर कोई तुला होता है, जनता की हालत खराब करने पर जब कोई उतारू होता है तो उसके साथ सहयोग नहीं हो सकता। पिछला साल देश के लिए बहुत ही बुरा गया है। सभी पार्टियाँ न मिल कर देश का अर्थ व्यवस्था को तहस नहस करने की भरसक कोशिश की है। खाने पीने का आवश्यक माल एक जगह से दूसरी जगह लाने से जाने में बिषम डाले हैं। किस बात में उन्होंने सहयोग दिया है? आम जनता और मजदूरों ने अवश्य इसी लिये राष्ट्रपति जी ने आपराध में जनता और मजदूरों को मुबारकवाद दी, यह वस्तु स्थिति की परिचायक है, ऐसा करके उन्होंने बहुत सही कदम उठाया है। कारखाने अवश्य बन्द हुए हैं। लेकिन मजदूरों ने स्वेच्छा से नहीं किए। विरोधी फाटक पर जा कर लेट जाते। मैं कहूँगा कि आज भी थोड़ा अश गरीब लोगों में दया का शेष है। बड़े लोगों में यह भले ही न हो लेकिन गरीब लोगों में अवश्य है। कारखाने बन्द रहे तो इसका नतीजा भी

[श्री राम सिंह भाई]

मजदूरो को ही भोगना पड़ा। हम विकास की बात कर रहे हैं लेकिन देश की अर्थ व्यवस्था को तहस नहस करने में विरोधी पार्टी के लोगो ने कितना योगदान दिया है इसको ही मैं आपके सामने रखना चाहता हूँ।

1971 में जो हड़तालें हुई और मजदूरो को घर बैठना पड़ा उस से 1 करोड़ 60 लाख 50 हजार काम के दिनों का नुकसान हुआ। 1972 में यह संख्या 2 करोड़ 50 लाख हो गई। 1973 में 2 करोड़ 6 लाख 26 हजार 253 काम के दिन उन्होंने खोये। 1974 में 3 करोड़ 12 लाख 70 हजार 487 काम के दिन खोए मजदूरो के। लेकिन आज मजदूरो को उतना भी नहीं मिलता है जिससे उनका पेट भर सके। इस हालत में 3 करोड़ से ज्यादा काम के दिन खो देना क्या सही था, मजदूरो का कितना नुकसान आपने किया, कितना उनका आपने सत्यानाश किया, क्या इस पर आपको मांछना और विचारना नहीं चाहिये? हड़तालें, खन खराबा, घेराव, शहर बन्दी, आगजनी आदि मैंने होने दृष्टि देखी है, अपनी आँखों से देखी है। मैं उन लोगों में से नहीं कि चाहे जहा कुछ भी होता रहे और मैं चुप बैठा रहूँ। मैं चुप नहीं बैठता। जब कभी मुझे इस तरह की बातों का पता चलता है मैं बहा जाता हूँ, मैं मज में आ जाता हूँ। मैं गवर्नमेंट की मदद करने के लिए जेलों में भी गया हूँ। हाँ कांग्रेस के राज में जेल में गया हूँ। कुछ मंजूर करने के लिए नहीं गया। मैंने अपने लिए गवर्नमेंट से अपने जीवन में कभी कुछ नहीं मांगा। मैंने गवर्नमेंट की मदद ही की है। लेकिन मदद करने के बावजूद भी मैं जेल गया हूँ। कारखानों के मजदूरो ने ये काम के दिन खोए ही लेकिन शहरी लोगों को इससे कितना नुकसान पहुँचा वह भी आपको देखना चाहिये।

जो धन्यवाद का प्रस्ताव रखा गया है उसका तो मैं समर्थन करता हूँ और राष्ट्रपति

जी को उनके भाषण के लिए धन्यवाद भी देता हूँ लेकिन उसके साथ साथ गवर्नमेंट को भी मैं मुबारकवाद देता हूँ कि खुराफाती लोगों की खुराफातो के बावजूद भी वह देश की कुछ सुधार की ओर ले जा रही है। ऐसी बात नहीं है कि सुधार हो गया है। सुधार होने में तो बरस लगेंगे, इसके लिए हमें खून पसीना एक करना होगा। निज सुई की नोक के बराबर भी हम आगे बढ़ते हैं हमारा ड्रेड किछर है, उसको जब मैं देखता हूँ तो मुझे बड़ा आनन्द होता है। जब शासन ने देखा कि उनको विरोधी दलों का सहयोग नहीं बल्कि असहयोग ही मिल रहा है, देश की हालत ये तहस नहस करना चाहते हैं तो उसने कुछ सख्त कदम उठाए और मैं समझता हूँ कि उनको और तेज करने की जरूरत है। एक ही मछन कदम उठा कर अगर हम वहीं खड़े रह गए तो आगे प्रगति नहीं हो सकेगी। कदम पर कदम आपको उठाने जाना है। और फिर चाट राने में खाई आए, खदर आए, मांगर आए उसको पच करने हुए आगे ही आगे बढ़ते चलना है। इसका परिणाम भी हमने देखा है। मित्रवर महीने में हमारे कदमों का असर प्राइसिस पर देखने को मिला है। मि. म्यूर में होल्सेल प्राइस इंडेक्स 328 था। अक्टूबर में यह 324.8 हो गया। पहले तो हाल यह था कि हर महीने 10, 15 पायट बढ़ते जा रहे थे। लेकिन अक्टूबर में 4 पायट की गिरावट आई। सितम्बर में 328 था, अक्टूबर में 324 हुआ, नवम्बर में 320 हुआ और दिसम्बर में 316 हो गया। यह अच्छी तरक्की है। इस में कोई शक नहीं गवर्नमेंट ने जो कदम उठाये, जो प्रयत्न किये, उन का फायदा देश को और हमें मिला। लेकिन हमें फायदा केवल शासन और शासकीय पार्टी के प्रयत्न से ही हुआ है, विरोधी पार्टियों का उम में कोई योगदान नहीं है। बल्कि उन का तो यही प्रयत्न रहा कि जो तरक्की हो रही है, वह न हो और उस में किसी तरह में रुकावट पड़े।

कनज्यूमर प्राइस इन्डेक्स पर भी असर पड़ा है, लेकिन मे निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि जो धमर होलसेल प्राइस इन्डेक्स पर पड़ा है, उस के अनुसार कनज्यूमर प्राइस इन्डेक्स पर भी पड़े इस तरफ भी ज्यादा ध्यान देना चाहिए। यह ठीक है कि होलसेल प्राइस इन्डेक्स कम हो रहा है ऐ०। तो नहीं किमानी से सन्ने मे खरीद कर अपने पाम भर लिया, लेकिन खाने वालों के पाम किस भाव पर जाता है यह भी देखना चाहिए। मिल मानिक अपने एजेंटों की कारखाने का माल सस्ते दाम पर दे सकते हैं, और उस में मुनाफा-खोरी कर सकते हैं, कारखाना भले ही जहन्नुम में जायें। क्योंकि यह सरकार बड़ाई कारखाने का राष्ट्रीयकरण करने के लिए तैयार है। मेरा कहना यह है कि कनज्यूमर प्राइस इन्डेक्स को कम करने की तरफ भी ध्यान दिया जाना चाहिए।

कुछ समय पहले हमारे देश में कुछ ऐसे लोग थे, जो अगर अपनी कार से एक्सिडेंट भी कर देते थे तो उन के विरुद्ध कोई कार्यवाही नहीं की जाती थी। अगर वे खून भी कर डाले, तो केन्द्रीय सरकार में इजाजत लये 'बना न्यायानय में उन पर खून का मुकदमा नहीं चलाया जा सकता था। उन लोगों को कई प्रकार की सुविधायें और विशेषाधिकार, प्रीवीपर्स मिले हुए थे आज उन लोगों के महलों की तलाशी ली जा रही है। इस लिए आज का दिन हमारे लिए सोभाग्य का है। जिन के सामने हम मिर झुकाने थे, उन के गलत कामों के लिए आज उन के विरुद्ध कार्यवाही की जा रही है। किन्तु विरोधी सदस्य मौन है ?

इस सदन में विरोधियों द्वारा मारुति और सजय की बार-बार चर्चा की जाती रही है, लेकिन कोई भी यह सिद्ध नहीं कर पाया है कि कोई बेईमानी की गई है या कानून के विरुद्ध कोई काम किया गया है। प्राइम मिनिस्टर हो, मिनिस्टर हो, या राष्ट्रपति हो, क्या उस का लडका भूखो मरेगा ? क्या वह

कोई धंधा नहीं कर पायेगा ? हर एक नागरिक धंधा कर सकता है। अगर उस ने बेइमानी की हो, 420 की हो, तो उस को पकड़ो। जब पुलिस मौजूद है, तो पार्लियामेंट के सदस्य पुलिस या मैजिस्ट्रेट का काम नहीं कर सकते। वे अपना काम करें। उन को वह अधिहार है कि क्या विधान बनाना है और उस में क्या तर्जमा करना है। लेकिन क्या वे हथकड़ी लेकर किसी को लगाने जायेंगे ? यह कितनी बड़ी और अच्छा बात है कि पुलिस की महायता से कन्स्टम विभाग एक विरोधी पार्टी के पार्लियामेंट के मेम्बर के घर की तलाशी ले रहा है। माननीय सदस्यों को इस का अविमान क्यों नहीं होता है ? वास्तव में यही स्थिति होनी चाहिये कि किसी भी पक्ष का व्यक्ति हो, लेकिन शका होने पर देश के हित में, देश के भले के लिए, आवश्यक कार्यवाही की जाये।

एक दिन मुझे बहुत आश्चर्य हुआ, और दुःख भी हुआ, कि श्री श्यामनन्दन मिश्र ने इस हाउस में कहा कि विहार में जो घटनायें घटी हैं उन को देख कर मुझे ऐसा लगा कि श्री जयप्रकाश नारायण के रूप में गांधी जी जैसे हैं। जय बाबू के लिए मेरे मद में बहुत आदर है। मैं आज से नहीं 1930 में पहले से उन को जानना हूँ मगर वह भी मुझे अच्छी तरह जानते हैं वे गांधी वादी नहीं हैं। किन्तु जय बाबू किसी को धोखा नहीं दे सकते। जय बाबू को लोग धोखा दे सकते हैं और दे रहे हैं।

हम ने मुना और पढ़ा है कि पहले जमाने में जब डाकू लोक डाका डालने जाते थे, ऊट की सवारी करते थे। जय बाबू को उन लोगों ने ऊट बनाया है, और उन की सवारी कर के डाका डाल रहे हैं। (व्यवधान)। इन्होंने तो मुझे कह दिया है कि हम ने जो खाय़ा है, वह हम उगल नहीं सकते। एक दिन आयेंगा कि वे उगलेंगे ही नहीं, उस के साथ साथ पिघले में भी।

एक बार श्री जयप्रकाश नारायण इन्दौर आये। विरोधी लोग लाये।

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: You have taken twenty minutes; kindly conclude.

श्री राम सिंह भाई : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, अभी मुझे कुछ और निवेदन करना है।

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: You can do so only at the expense of your colleagues in the party, other. Bill have to be left out

श्री राम सिंह भाई : मैं दूसरे गेज सुबह जा कर उन से मिला। मैं ने कहा कि जय बाबू, आप कहा ठहरे है और यह खेती किस ने दी है? यह उन की दमानदारी है कि उन्होंने कहा कि राम सिंह भाई, मेरे साथ बड़ा धोखा हुआ है।

मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हू कि ये जो लोग जय प्रकाश बाबू को घेरे फिरने है, किसी दिन उन्हें अगूठा बताने वाले है। अभी देखिये कि शेख अबदुल्ला साहब को जय प्रकाश बाबू ने अ भनन्दन भेजा है, और श्री वाजपेयी कहते है कि हम काश्मीर के मामले पर हडताल करायेंगे, आन्दोलन करेंगे। जो लोग स्वयं अपने परो पर खड़े हैं वही कोई काम कर सके हैं दूसरे की सवारी कर के वे सफल नहीं हो सकते। आज ही पेपर्स में पढ़ने को मिला कि उत्तर प्रदेश कि ऐसेम्बली में उपाध्यक्ष के चुनाव में ये दोनो विरोधी पार्टिया आपस में ही टकरा गई।

श्री पीलू मोदी (गाधगा) बिल्कुल नहीं।

श्री राम सिंह भाई : इन की पार्टी और सोशलिस्ट पार्टी आपस में ही टकरा गये। जब भी सदन में कोई बात इनके द्वारा होती है, तो ये कहने हैं कि यह पेपर देखिये। क्या मैं भी आपको पेपर ला कर दिखाऊँ? इन का सिक्र जुबान ही चलती है, हाथ-पैर नहीं चलते है। जब इन के हाथ पैर चलेगे, तो हम इन के गले से फूलों का हार डालेंगे।

आप ने दूसरे की बात खारि है, खुद की बेहमत का नहीं खाया है। क्या बात कर रहे हैं?

श्री पीलू मोदी : किस की खारि है, बताइए।

श्री राम सिंह भाई : मैं एक निवेदन मजदूरो के बारे में और कह दू ...

15 hrs.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Kindly conclude How long will you take? Here I have a request from your Minister to give each Congress Member only ten minutes. You have taken 21 minutes. How long more do you want

श्री राम सिंह भाई मेरे अपने ही विषय की एक बात मुझे और कर लेने दीजिए। अभी तो मैं ने इन की बात बनाई है।

1972 में आप ने ग्रेज्युटी कानून बनाया ग्रेज्युटी कानून के अनुसार प्रति वर्ष 15 दिन का पैसा हिसाब में में काटा जा रहा है। मिल मालिक उस पैस का उपयोग कर रहे है। कुछ कारखाने बन्द हो गए। उन्हें वह ग्रेज्युटी का पैसा नहीं मिल रहा है। कुछ मालिकों ने उस पैसे को खर्च कर दिया है। किमी किमी कारखाने के तो करोडों रुपये है। प्रति वर्ष करोडों रुपये मजदूरों की ग्रेज्युटी : के जमा होने है। मंग शासन में निवेदन है कि जिस तरह आप ने प्राविडेंट फंड ट्रस्ट बनाया है इसी तरह से ग्रेज्युटी ट्रस्ट भी बनाइ ताकि मजदूरों की जो रकम है वह सेफ रहे।

दूसरी बात यह है कि जो इ एस आई कानून है उस के अन्दर 500 की वेतन लिमिट है। 500 से ज्यादा उस की तनज्वाह होने पर वह पैसा नहीं काटा जाता है और उन्हें स्कीम का फायदा नहीं होता। कारखाने के अन्दर अगर ऐक्सीडेंट हो जायगा, कोई मर जायगा तो उसका बड़ा होगा उसे मुआवजा कहा से मिलेगा। क्या कि वह उस ऐक्ट से कवर नहीं होता है। इनके ऊपर भी शासन ध्यान दे और कानून में संशोधन करे?

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA (Alipore): This Address by the President shows as much seriousness about the situation facing the country as is displayed by the attitude of the senior members of this Government towards the present debate. They could not care less. Maybe they had their lunch and they are comfortably sleeping in their homes, and this is a futile exercise which this House has to go through.

The President's Address is, I find, extremely half-hearted, confused and lacking in any kind of forthright statement regarding the serious crisis which this country is facing. I am surprised—this matter has been commented on elsewhere also, but I must mention it—that there is not even a passing reference in the Address to the fact that a senior member of this Government, a Cabinet Minister, met his death, violent death in a bomb outrage only a few weeks ago. There is not even a passing reference to it, which will allow friends like Mr. Mody to say that they are happy about it. It is for the Government to say, not for me, but I would think that even as a matter of form, it is not a very happy thing that there is not even a passing reference.

Mr. Samar Guha just now drew the attention of the House to the fact that news has just come over the teleprinter to the effect that the Government of the USA has formally informed our Government that the ten-year old embargo on the supply of arms to Pakistan is being lifted.

SHRI PILOO MODY: It is in the paper this morning.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: It has been in the paper for several days, but the formal announcement has come now. The question I wish to raise is: just at this time when the American Government in a very cold and calculated manner has decided to re-arm Pakistan, just at the moment when

they are showing much more increased military activity in this area, building bases in the Indian Ocean, openly talking about the United States right to intervene for purposes of de-stabilisation in any country which they may choose to select as their target, just at the moment when they are threatening the oil-producing countries that is the United States feels that it is being strangled, then it has the right to intervene militarily—all these things have been said publicly by responsible people of the United States Government,—in other words just when supreme vigilance and preparedness is needed to defend our country's security and independence against any sort of danger coming from outside, why is it that Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan has decided to call upon the army and the police to disobey orders which they consider to be against the interests of the people or the country? I am posing this question and I want all members of this House to ponder about it. I want Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan's friends in this House to say something about it when they speak. I do not want them to keep quiet on this issue because otherwise the worst suspicions of everybody will be corroborated. They should speak out and say whether they support this sort of thing or disapprove of it. It is said that Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan has only asked the armed forces to disobey orders which are anti-people and not against the Constitution. Somebody made a statement like that the other day. I would like to remind the House that under article 53 of the Constitution, the supreme command of the armed forces in this country is vested in the President. That is the position under the Constitution, to which the armed forces have taken the oath of allegiance.

I do not think it is a coincidence at all—Mr. Bhutto speaking the same language from across the border about the settlement in Kashmir and our friends of the Jan Sangh speaking from within our country. Just at this moment Mr. Bhutto is calling for a

[Shri Indrajit Gupta]

hartal against this settlement and the Jan Sangh is also calling for a movement—I do not know what form it is going to take—against this settlement. I suggest that this is a very conscious, planned pincer movement where seeming opposites meet together, where Mr. Bhutto on next Friday when he has threatened to call a strike will be able to say that considerable sections of people in India also are opposing this agreement, meaning thereby the Jan Sangh. Also at a time when the United States is threatening again to stoke the fires of war on the sub-continent, Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan asks the army not to obey orders which it considers to be not in the interests of the people or the country. Is this the time for anybody to tamper with the loyalty of the army and to try to sow doubts and discussions among the jawans? If a member of the Communist Party had spoken like this in a meeting, what would you have done? You would have howled for our blood and called us traitors from morning till night. But now there seems to be some kind of silent conspiracy between both Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan's friends and our friends on the other side.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE (Betul): No, no.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: Let them speak out.

SHRI PILOO MODY: Do not interrupt your masters.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: I want to know what they have to say about this. I want to know what the Defence Minister or the Prime Minister has to say about this. I do not know if the Rashtrapati, who is the Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces...

SHRI PILOO MODY: God forbid.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: ...is thinking of this problem or not, but certainly we in this House would very

much like to know what is in the minds of the people both on this side and that side.

I would just point out that even a paper like *The Statesman*, which is generally very well disposed towards Shri Jayaprakash Narayan—and it is not surprising also, because we know whose paper this is—is highly embarrassed by what Shri Jayaprakash Narayan has said. In its editorial of the 21st of February it says:

"Policemen and jawans who were invited to examine the orders they receive and to accept only those which they believe to be moral are in effect being encouraged to destroy the structure on which the society wholly depends. This structure springs from the Constitution, loyalty to which Mr. Narayan has unconditionally recommended."

So, even *The Statesman* is a bit embarrassed about this kind of open appeal being made.

Incidentally, I do not know in which country, certainly not in a country whose regime is claimed to be fascist or semi-fascist,—it is permitted to go about freely and publicly making appeals of this type to the army. I would like to know where it is permitted.

Though it may be a bit out of place, I would like to remind this House that the Indian army and armed forces, for which we have the highest regard in this House and to which we have paid tributes times without number, used to be at one time a mercenary army, utilized by the British rulers for various colonial and imperial wars abroad. But, since independence, this army has a proud and patriotic record. And despite the fact that in the earlier years they were unprepared in terms of modern arms or training, or modern techniques of warfare, our armed forces did bravely defend the country's borders against external aggression, in 1947 on the very eve of independence, the dawn of independence, in 1962, 1965 and 1971. And in 1971 this army performed a new role,

which it had never performed before, and that is going to the help of the liberation fighters of our neighbouring country, Bangladesh, where they shed their blood for the freedom of a brother people. It is a secular army, it is a patriotic army. It is an army which has also done a lot of humanitarian work, in coming to the aid of people who are affected by natural calamities in our country. Above all, it has preserved up to now its historical tradition of being above politics.

Now Shri Jayaorakash Narayan is trying to change this. He is calling upon this army, whose tradition is non-political, apolitical, to become political, to become involved in this movement. He is trying to sow the seed of disruption and disunity in their ranks, creating disharmony among them in the context of this new threat from the United States and Pakistan, about which he is conspicuously silent; he has not said a word about it. I am sure, in this connection, that the patriotic and democratic-minded jawans and officers of our armed forces will refuse to fall....

SHRI P. K. DEO (Kalahandi): Democratic?

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: Yes, up till now; I am sure they will refuse to fall into this dangerous anti-national trap. Now I am only waiting to hear my hon. friends speak on this particular point when they get their turn.

It is not surprising at all because Shri Jayaprakash Narayan's line is daily becoming clearer and clearer. He is now entirely and openly depending for his movement on certain rightist parties. He is not prepared to give up the Jan Sangh or the Cong. (O) for the sake of the CPM. He has said so openly in his speech on the 18th—three days ago—in Patna. He has said in his speech:—

“Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan bluntly told CPM leaders that he was not prepared to accept their ‘Isbels’

for the Jana Sangh and the Old Congress and jettison these parties from the movement.

They could not be asked to quit. It was unthinkable.

If the CPM leaders think that these parties (Jana Sangh and Cong. O) were ‘small’ they would do well to realise that they were”, that is, the CPM—

“a more constituent of the nine-party front created in West Bengal” and he asked the CP-M leaders to “finalise their attitude towards the movement without delay.”

Why do I say this? Because a theory is being mooted about that it is possible to detach Jaya Prakash Narayan from these rightist parties; it is possible to wean him away; he is a good man fallen into bad company. That is not what I am saying; I am quoting what other people are saying. I have my own views; we know him for many, many years.

SHRI PILLO MODY: What are your views about him?

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE: (Gwalior): We are more interested in hearing your views about him.

SHRI PILLO MODY: Why do you hide your own views?

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: He has made it quite clear that he is determined to align and be more closely involved with parties like the Jan Sangh and the Cong (O); that he is not prepared to radicalise the movement by breaking with them as some people in this country perhaps hope.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE: What about the BLD?

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: That is the reason why he cannot speak openly about United States arms and bases; he has not uttered a single word. This is why he has to abuse the USSR and has to praise Mao as his guru.

SHRI PILOO MODY: Cardinal sin of this world!

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: This is why he has to remain mum on landlords' atrocities on poor peasants and harijans. Has he said a word about them? That is why the exploitation of the working class by big monopolists in this country does not find any echo in any of his speeches or statements. This is his political philosophy.....

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE: Why do you not join the movement and radicalise it?

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: ..end not the big leaf of partyless democracy: that is only a big leaf. His total revolution means nothing else than total counter-revolution.

Now, I think, everybody here agrees that recently we had an example of how fascism came to power through military coup in a Latin American country called Chile

SHRI PILOO MODY: What about Bangla Desh? No mention of Bangla Desh!

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: Just for your information and interest. I would like to read to you a small passage from the speech made at the recent Congress of our party held in Vijayawada by the delegate who came there from the Communist Party of Chile. Orlando Milas, member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Chile said in his speech—I just quote a passage—

"We know how fascism is born. We have ourselves experienced it.

Fascists masked themselves when they were in the opposition. They wore suits of democrats, of people's friends, presented themselves as honest men, as enemies of corruption. They took advantage from revanchism, from petty-bourgeois desperation, from primitive sectarianism, from blind dogma-

tism and from irresponsible ultra-leftist opportunism. They used meaningless slogans, shouting for total or integral revolutions. Supplied with funds by the monopolists raised in blackmarketing and speculation, they demagogically utilised people's sufferings, even organising women marches where empty pots were beaten.

And, above all, their favourite weapons were anticommunism and antisovietism."

SHRI PILOO MODY: What is wrong with anti-communism? It is the most respected thing in the world.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: So, I would appeal to all friends, who are indulging in pipe dreams of having a dialogue with Jaya Prakash Narayan with the object of linking him from Shri Vajpayee and Shri Piloo Mody.... (Interruptions).

SHRI PILOO MODY: Don't misquote yourself.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA:... because his links with them are getting stronger and stronger every day. So, the champions of dialogue, the anti-CPI crusaders, the ex-party card-holders of the PSP.... (Interruptions): The expression ex-party card-holders' is supposed to have a very sinister meaning. Now, we see a new category which has emerged, the ex-party card-holders of the PSP.....

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE: It is only the Communist Party which has card system.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: They were members without cards so that they could not be identified. Whenever it was convenient, they could say they were members or not members. So, these people, these musketeers....

SHRI PILOO MODY: Name them.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: They must tell us exactly where they stand

vis-a-vis these questions. I want a clear answer from them. This kind of hoodwinking and evasion cannot go on. Let them speak up regarding JP's call to army regarding JP's relations with Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee.....

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE: I can tell you.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: Regarding JP's relations with people, like, Goankas and Tatas. Because they are big guns, these so-called anti-monopoly fighters do not say a word about these things. They want to wean away JP. But JP says, "I will not be weaned away. I am going to remain with these people, the Jana Sangh and the Cong. (O). Therefore, I want to know from Mr. Mohan Dharma, Mr. Chandra-shekhar and Mr. Krishna Kant and from other people of the same category what they have to say about this.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE (Rajapur): Mr. Krishna Kant is not in this House. How can he reply to that? (*Interruptions*).

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: Please don't interrupt me. You will also have your chance. I know I am provoking my friends here. Some unpleasant things are being said.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE: We are only amused.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: Now, we are accused sometimes of trying to divide the ruling party in order to get into power as if nobody else is concerned with getting into power and that we are only concerned with it..

SHRI PILOO MODY: You are welcome to do it.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: JP himself sometime ago made an open statement saying, "I would ask my friends in the Congress not to come

out of the Congress but to remain inside the Congress." What was that? Was he not trying to divide the Congress? What about some papers, like, the *Statesman* which in the same editorial that I quoted a little earlier said. It says:

"Mr. Dharma's 'utterances' tend to 'undermine the prestige of the Congress' will be widely applauded both inside and outside the party. It is to date the only slender evidence that all hopes of a revived Congress have not evaporated; and it is also the only possible answer by independent-minded Congressmen to their party's official line."

Is this not an attempt to divide the ruling party? Why does not anybody talk about that?

SHRI PILOO MODY: What is wrong with it. By all means, divide the ruling party. All strength to my elbow. If I can do anything for you, let me know.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: A new axis!

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE: Piloo Mody-Indrajit Gupta.

SHRI PILOO MODY: I would prefer him as the Prime Minister of this country.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: I would repeat again that the present offensive of reactionary and rightist forces, pro-American and pro-imperialist forces, anti-democratic forces, pro-landlord and pro-monopoly forces in this country, cannot be repulsed simply by clinging to the position of *status quo*. I say that to my friends in the ruling party that by clinging to the *status quo*, you will never be able to repel the attack which is coming and which has already been launched. For that, it is necessary to not only talk about radical programmes for democratic change, for economic and social reforms, but to implement and to carry them out seriously, a matter in which

[Shri Indrajit Gupta.]

the ruling party has failed completely but I say that all those people whether they are there or some of them may be here also—I do not doubt—who stand for such programmes, for such reforms, should cooperate with each other in this struggle. We shall continue to say this, whether anybody mis-interprets it or distorts it to mean that we are trying to divide anybody. We say that there is no hope for this country, there is no hope of staying off this attack which has come and which is coming, unless the people who stand for radical and democratic reforms, economic, political and social, get together and cooperate with each other in advancing a movement on that basis to defeat reaction and to take the country forward. And it is in this sense that our Party has projected the perspective of forming governments of left and democratic unity. It means Governments in which pro-imperialist, pro-landlord and pro-monopolist forces are either isolated or have been purged . . .

श्री अनेश्वर मिश्र (इलाहाबाद) :
हम चाहते हैं कि यह सरकार जाये ।

श्री इन्द्रजीत गुप्त : आप भी चाहते
हैं तो हम बोलने में क्या गलती कर रहे हैं ?

When we say this, those three ex-PSP musketeers are conjuring up visions in their statements of a horrible spectre, a fantastic, frightening spectre of the Red flag flying in the place of the Tri-colour; they are trying to put the Red flag in place of the Tri-colour; but they do not mind if the Jana Sangh flag goes in flying more and more demonstrably in the rallies and movements of Mr. Jayaprakash; they do not mind that....

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE:
No flag at all.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: They are talking about the Red flag replacing the Tri-colour. They should not give us too much credit. We are a very small party. What we have said, we

have said openly and we go on repeating. We have never said that the Kerala-type coalition should be repeated in all States. We have never said that. Nowhere in our documents, nowhere in our party resolutions will you find this phrase 'Kerala-type coalition' used at all. This is a phrase manufactured by the press outside and used in order to confuse the people and to create some anti-Communist feelings among some people. We have nowhere said this. We have said that we want that the democratic forces and the leftist forces in this country should work together for replacing—I make it quite clear—the present governments by governments of broad leftist and democratic unity.....

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: Is Kerala-type different from the Vijayawada pattern?

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: I do not know. But it is certainly very different to other Ministries. You explain to me.—Please try to think about it: do not make cheap jibes—how is it that governments with such huge and massive majorities, overwhelming majorities, are not able to carry on. They break down frequently, they cannot manage to carry on, due to various factors....

AN HON. MEMBER: No, no.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: What 'no, no'? What has happened in many States? And how is it that, despite everything, despite all these difficulties and limitations, the Kerala Ministry with a small majority of only four or five, I think, in the House has, after all, managed to carry on for five years? No other Ministry is able to do it in today's conditions....

AN HON. MEMBER: Arresting workers under MISA.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: And doing many other things also—giving land to the agricultural labourers, nationalising forests without compensation and doing so many other things also.

Nobody says that it is a perfect Government. It cannot be within this framework. It has to work with certain limitations. But the question you have to reply is this. Is there no MISA used, in your view, by the Congress Governments? You are missing my point altogether. With massive majorities, with majorities which you cannot alter at all, so many governments have broken down. They cannot carry on. I do not know why you are defending them. (*Interruptions*). The real danger which is feeding this reactionary movement and the reactionary forces is the Government's negative and anti-people policies. It is that which is bringing grist to the mill of the reactionary forces. That has to be understood. I have no time now and no desire to go into the details. But we all know some of the main things which, I say, this President's Address completely evades and glosses over. Take the question of procurement. What is the use of saying that we are likely to have a good crop this year also?....

SHRI PILOO MODY: It is his prediction.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: A good crop standing in the fields, as know from bitter experience, does not necessarily mean plentiful food for the people at reasonable prices. The two do not go together necessarily. In between something-else is required. A proper procurement is required. A proper distribution machinery is required, but it says nothing about that. So, we continue to depend upon the weather Gods and on imported food-grains, but not a word is said here about the miserable failure of procurement by most of the State Governments and the total refusal, in spite of some talk now and again thrown out in the press, to set up a really viable distribution machinery which will be able to provide people not only with foodgrains but with other essential commodities also at reasonable prices.....

SHRI PILOO MODY: And party funds.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: Mr. Mohan Dharla, I believe, was made the Chairman of a Committee which went into this question of public distribution system and they are supposed to have submitted a report while he was still the Minister in the Planning Ministry. What has happened to that? Why does not Mr. Mohan Dharla start a crusade about that? His own report, his own recommendation—what has happened to that? Why did he not bother about that? Why did he not start a big hullabaloo and a crusade about getting implementation of that recommendation about the public distribution system? He does not seem to be interested any more once he left the Planning Ministry. He now only sees the visions of the red flag flying over the Red Fort. Idiotic persons they are.

Then, my friend, Shri Ram Singh Bhai has also indicated it. I will say that in the last one year, 1974-75 and I regret to say that, the labour policy of this Government, instead of moving forward a more progressive manner, is going backward. A more retrograde labour policy has been introduced over the last 12 or 14 months. There are no signs of that long-promised Industrial Relations Bill. A wage freeze has been introduced. Strikes are sought to be suppressed by repression...

SHRI PILOO MODY: Only 31 million man-hours.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: About the working class, the President here in his Address offered his congratulations for the hard work they are doing and so on. It sounds like a cruel joke when the workers to-day are being put to the greatest difficulties imaginable in the face of the rising prices on the one hand and their wage freeze on the other.

[Shri Indrajit Gupta.]

Another thing is this/projected sell-out of the public sector.... (Interruptions) I would like to know about this. Mr. Salve's Party allowed Mr. Subramaniam sometime ago to get away with a statement assuring all private sector people that there would be no more talk of nationalisation. All right, no more nationalisation. From that, this Government has gone one step further and said now, 'We will put the shares of the public sector on sale.' There is a difference between no more nationalisation and selling out the public sector....

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE (Betul): It will be sold to the employees.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: We know how much capacity the employees have got to buy up the shares in the great public sector concerns. This is exactly what the Tata memorandum has very clearly demanded in 1972. This is clearly what Mr. Birlas recent memorandum has demanded....

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: I never mind what the Communists have to say. But would you have any objection to it?

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: The Tata's and the Birla's memoranda are now bearing their poisonous fruit. And Mr. T. A. Pai has the gumption to go round the country hawking this new idea of selling out the share of the public sector which goes directly against the Industrial Policy Resolution which was approved and accepted by the Parliament.

Then, as far as the drive against the smugglers and black money goes, at least we had welcomed it very much when it was launched and I think it did have some salutary effect to begin with. But there seems to be a perceptible slackening of it. Why? We want to know. What is the reason

for it? Some of my friends here would like to say that it is because the elections are coming. On the other hand, these same friends did not like strong steps to be taken against these smugglers and black money operators. So they are a bit quiet on the question just now; but what has the Government to say? Therefore I say, unless these issues and many other issues, the question of land reforms, the question of actually distributing the surplus land, the actual question of giving homestead rights guaranteed to landless peasants and agricultural labourers, if these things are not tackled, if you have not got the will and the determination to go about doing these things, then you can only take resort to these dreams of flirting with Jayaprakash, having dialogues with Jayaprakash for weaning him away somehow or other from Mr. Atal Bihari Vajpayee's clutches or something like that. And, he goes on saying, and he is more emboldened now to the stage where he is making open calls to the army to disobey orders. I was surprised to read in today's papers that Mr. Jagjiwan Ram was asked somewhere; How long will you allow anybody to make calls of this type to the army? And, Mr. Jagjiwan Ram is reported to have said in today's papers, perhaps he said it jokingly, I don't know, 'so long as his appeals do not produce results. Sir, what does it mean? —That is, only after the appeal begins to produce results and here and there when orders begin to be disobeyed by the army, only then, according to Babu Jagjiwan Ram who is a former Defence Minister, I say, only then, he will be worried about this tinkering with the army. I don't understand this kind of namby-pamby, milk and water, defensive, vacillating, half-hearted, confused attitude on behalf of the Government.

Therefore, Sir, I will end by saying that on all such vital issues, the President's Address is absolutely a masterpiece of half-heartedness and evasion. And Mr. Stephen, who was put up as

the opening speaker here to propose this Motion of Thanks to my surprise said a few things,—not the usual sort of thing we expect from him—I am very glad for that change. But one thing he did say and that was that the present capitalist system which is ridden in crisis today in all capitalist countries by inflation, by growing unemployment, by various types of financial crisis and so on, this capitalist system this capitalist path with which our economy is intimately linked, cannot solve the people's problems, this crisis will go on being aggravated, and if, in our country, we refuse to take even the elementary steps towards some radical changes, some radical economic reforms, giving relief to the people, then that same crisis-ridden, inflation-ridden, unemployment-ridden, capitalist path will spell doom for our country too. Therefore, Sir, I would end by saying that it is high time people woke up to the danger, to the menace of this danger, and not to be taken away by the face-tiousness of my friends here; it is all right to be always a clown and a joker. But there are certain forces which are there working behind them and also goading them on. There are some lessons which we have to learn from the pages of history so that we can save the country before it is too late and I will end by saying, by requesting, by reminding my friends here and there also that when they speak kindly let them say something either in favour or against, either yes or no, about what they think about JP's appeal to the army. Don't try to cover up, don't try to soft pedal, don't try to hide it. Please say something and by what you say you will be judged by the people of this country. And say something also about Jayaprakash Ji's repeated insistence that he is going to refuse to be weaned away from the parties of the right. He says, he will depend upon them, he will remain with them, whatever others might say, and he says, I am not going to leave that, it is unthinkable, I will remain with them'. There-

fore, now please check up your position *viz-a-vis* this movement, and tell us what you propose to do and then only it would have been worthwhile to some extent, in my opinion, to have this debate.

SHRI MALLIKARJUN (Medak):
Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I convey my thanks for the speech made by the President.

15.40 hrs.

[SHRI DINESH CHANDRA GOSWAMI in
the Chair]

He made a mention about the future programmes that are going to be undertaken by this Government. I express my concern for the rising prices, persistent inflation and corruption prevailing in this country and, at the same time, I also appreciate the measures adopted by the Government to solve all these things. However, it has become a fashion for the Opposition to make constant allegations emphasising on the failures on the part of the Government of India to meet the needs of the people of this country.

Sir, it is their duty to accuse the Government but, at the same time, they are also shirking their own responsibility to the people and to what extent they are responsible as Opposition Party. In a Parliamentary Democracy the responsibility of the Opposition is also to see that the interests of the people are protected. However, Sir, my hon. friend, Shri Mavalankar quoted in the last session certain Sanskrit quotations inscribed in the various doors of the Parliament House, but he has forgotten unfortunately to mention the Sanskrit quotation that is written in one of the doors of this House. I shall quote what has been written in this door.

It is as follows:—

कमप्येवाधिकारस्ते मा फलेषु कदाचन

To-day my government is performing its duty and now it is up to the people

[Shri Mallikarjun.]

of this country to appreciate it. It is for the people of this country, the Members belonging to this side as well as Members of the Opposition and whose responsibility it is, to see that various policies evolved for the welfare of the people of this country by Shrimati Indira Gandhi are fully implemented with a cooperative spirit so that they can result in the betterment of the common men in this country.

Of course, there are lapses on the part of the citizens of this country who belong to four categories—one may be the common people, the other may be the ruling party and the third may be the Opposition party and the fourth may be the bureaucracy. I want to emphasise on one vital point which the people of this country believe is that there is a national economic and political crisis. The Opposition too says that there is a national and economic crisis. I believe that this national and economic crisis and political crisis can be saved only by one citizen, that is, by Shrimati Indira Gandhi, the Prime Minister of this country and by nobody else. However stalwart a person like Shri Jayaprakash Narayan Ji in North and Shri Kamaraj in the South and in between Shri Morarji Desai may be, they cannot help in safeguarding the interests of this country. They are making provocative speeches which are highly destructive. They have forgotten that in this country the result of Shri Jayaprakash Narayan Ji is nothing but violence, arson, looting and lawlessness even though I have great regard for Shri Jayaprakash Narayan Ji who is the follower of Mahatma Gandhi. Mahatma Gandhi fought against Imperialism and the weapon he used against Imperialism was truth and non-violence. But before resorting to such an agitation this stage, what Mr. Jayaprakash was doing fifteen years ago?

Sir, their main object is to see that disruption takes place. They have

completely forgotten the spirit of service to the nation. This country which has acquired name in securing perfect democracy, secularism and socialism, the people of this country must not become prey to the misleading of the Opposition whose actions are fully based on mala fide intentions. Except accusing the Government they have no other duty to perform.

I can also reveal in this House the efforts on the part of Government of India to eliminate poverty, ignorance and to providing shelter to the common peasants are really praiseworthy. Additional investment in agricultural production, irrigation, power, fertiliser and now in oil exploration is very helpful to achieve the objective of the people. Our monetary and fiscal policies are quite helpful at this juncture to check inflation and corruption. Mr. Pai is here in the House. If his policy of public distribution essential commodities is adopted, the same will result in eliminating some of the problems.

Sir, we have to appreciate the withdrawal of the railway strike, underground nuclear explosion and other steps taken by our Government. Even though some of the great countries of the world have not liked our underground nuclear explosion yet I am of the view that nuclear explosion is absolutely indispensable for the defence of our country as well as for peaceful construction of various projects in this country.

Sir, after the visit of Dr. Kissinger and the constitution of Indo-U.S. Joint Commission, it is painful that America has resumed supply of arms to Pakistan. The resumption of such arms aid may result in aggression but I am fully confident the people of this country will face the aggression under any circumstances with a spirit of sacrifice as was established in the past Indo-Pakistan war for Bangladesh.

Lastly, as we know, the policy of Panchsheel and non-alignment enunciated by Nehru is being observed by us in our international affairs. India's relations with other countries are all right. We expect that relations with China will also be normalised and finally we will work with a united spirit for the development and progress and prosperity of this country. Sir, lastly, I would appeal to the Prime Minister that she must adhere firmly to the policies laid down by her. People of this country are behind her and they are not going to be deceived by the Opposition whose constant aim is to blame the Government and to frame allegations against the Ministers in Government. They have forgotten their basic duty as the representatives of the people.

Sir, I would also emphasise this point and I expect that Government will work towards creating more employment potential which is the most important factor today and which has resulted in frustration and restlessness among young men. At the same time, I also expect that Government will bring forward the urban ceiling law. I have every confidence that the Government will stand by the firm policies that have been enunciated without being worried about what the Opposition says. I am also confident that the Government will work for the unity and prosperity of this great country.

SHRI P. K. DEO (Kalahandi): Sir, like old wine in a new bottle, the President's address is a repetition of an annual ritual, praising the activities of the Government and it is a futile exercise, without taking into cognisance the serious and burning problems of the day, without giving any new directive or projecting any dimension to tackle the problems like corruption, unemployment, abnormal price rise, economic bankruptcy, inflation and electoral reforms.

Sir, the President has failed to see the writing on the wall. He has failed to realise the anti-people policies of his Government which have been outright rejected by the people at large. This has been manifested in the by-elections held in Jabalpur, Govindpura and in Haryana. Sir, they must not gloat over the result of Barpeta. They should realise that their margin has been reduced from a lakh and thirty six thousand to only twenty eight thousand in spite of the President visiting that area. Sir, the President has also failed to appreciate the spontaneous popular upsurge under the Gandhian leader, Shri Jayaprakash Narayan, who has the determination to fight the anti-people policies of the Government till the end.

Sir, the President has not admitted his Government's failure to tackle these various maladies which is the result of the persistent pursuit of the same dogmatic policies and priorities, without taking into consideration the pragmatism. This has brought this country to this mess.

Sir, Japan and West Germany, defeated and humiliated nations in the Second World War have re-built their economy, like phoenix arising from the ashes. Now, they are among the top-most economic powers of the world. Even China has made tremendous progress. The growth rate of China in steel, coal, foodgrains, crude oil and foreign trade is fantastic. It is an oil exporting nation today because it has taken to pragmatism, because the peasants after working in the communes are permitted to cultivate in private plots and priorities, and incentives are given in the industrial sector to skill. Sir, ideology is secondary there. They have realised that economic incentives are more effective than dogmatic expositions.

Sir, in this country, the creative genius of man, the creative genius of the individual has been curbed by

permits licences and quotas which have opened the flood-gates of corruption. It has impeded the growth of the nation.

The President speaks of economic stability. In 1964-65, real national income was estimated to have increased by Rs. 4,160 crores. In the same period, money supply expanded by Rs. 6,741 crores. This imbalance is the main reason for the economic crisis. The imbalance has further worsened since 1971-72. The real national income rose by Rs. 1,348 crores and money supply by Rs. 3,860 crores. That means that the national income rose by 7 per cent and money supply by 54 per cent.

What is its effect on prices? The index price of food articles (Base 1961-62: 100) has reached 360. The purchasing power of the rupee has gone down to 25P in terms of its value in 1949-50. There has been complicity in the President's Address on the seasonal decline of prices, because there has been a good harvest this year. I submit this is a temporary phase. The price of rice which is the staple food in eastern India has gone up to 400 per cent which is beyond the purchasing power of the common man. The situation has been further worsened by the bungling of the FCI and the State Government's arbitrary imposition of levy for procurement of paddy at unremunerative prices. If it is anti-hoarding, I fully support it, but we find that resistance is coming from the youth of the area. They want the surplus grain to be stored in their panchayats so that it could be distributed in the lean months among the villagers. But Government's policy is that the surplus paddy should go to the millowners who have been given the benefit of exporting 25 per cent and selling at any price in the market.

Thus there has been a clash. Firing has taken place in two places in Sambalpur, in Chattisgarh in Raipur district and in Balaghat.

I condemn in the strongest terms violence which is a part of our life today, which has been injected into the body-politic of the country, and I condemn Government's failure to curb it. Government has not yet unfold the mystery of the death of a Cabinet Minister, Shri Lalit Narayan Mishra. There is the case of Shri Parsuram Satpathi, a budding journalist and BLD worker of Bolangir, who was crushed to death under the wheels of a Congress jeep on 29-11-74.

MR. CHAIRMAN: The hon. member might continue later. We interrupt the debate now to enable the hon. Prime Minister to make a statement on Jammu and Kashmir.

16.40 hrs.

STATEMENT RE. JAMMU AND KASHMIR

THE PRIME MINISTER, MINISTER OF ATOMIC ENERGY, MINISTER OF ELECTRONICS, MINISTER OF PLANNING AND MINISTER OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY (SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI): In pursuance of Government's policy to secure the active cooperation and involvement of all democratic, secular and progressive forces in the country it was considered desirable to have a dialogue with Sheikh Mohammed Abdullah. Hon'ble Members are aware that Sheikh Abdullah had played a notable part in the freedom struggle and in the accession of the State of Jammu and Kashmir to the Indian Union. He formed and headed the Government of the State for a number of years after Independence. Despite the differences which led to the subsequent estrangement it seemed clear from the public statements made by Sheikh Abdullah as well as personal talks with him that his commitment to basic national ideals and objectives had remained unchang-