

12.34 hrs.

**'MOTION' OF THANKS ON THE
PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS—contd.**

MR. SPEAKER: Mr. Mavalankar. You have taken enough of time already; almost double the time that was allowed. Kindly finish your speech in two or three minutes.

SHRI P. G. MAVALANKAR (Ahmedabad): Mr. Speaker, Sir, the President's Address, as I was saying yesterday, was inadequate in terms of what is happening in Ahmedabad and Gujarat in general. Enough of deception, destruction, death and disruption have already taken place and the people of Ahmedabad and Gujarat are no longer willing and ready to bear further damage to their lives and property.

Sir, throughout the last two months and odd days, the people of Ahmedabad and Gujarat have seen and experienced the atrocities of the police and other personnel to such an extent that more than 60 lives of innocent and young people have already been lost. I take this opportunity to pay my humble tribute to all those young students and fine boys. Some of them were very promising. They lost their lives while they were fighting against corruption, and they wanted more food which was their legitimate right. I have a photo here and with your permission I shall lay it on the Table of the House along with the statement of the father of the deceased. It is a photograph of a young boy of 21 years and he was shamelessly and mercilessly crushed under the police van. It happened on 7-2-74. He was offering *satyagraha*. His name was Rajinder Vyas and while he was underneath the police van, the police inspector said:

“बलाभो गाडी मार डालो इसको ।”

And the wheels of the police van overran the young student and he died on the spot. This young man died leaving behind an innocent young

widow of 19 years of age. I want to lay* all this on the Table of the House.

MR. SPEAKER: You can mention this in your speech.

SHRI P. G. MAVALANKAR: On the 27th of last month, another boy was killed, a boy of 17 years. Here is his photo; look at it, Mr. Speaker, Sir, No one, I am sure, will go without shedding tears when he sees this lovely youthful face. He too was shot and killed, and not during the curfew hours. I also want to place the photograph of that boy and the statement of that boy's father on the Table of the House, with your permission. I demand a judicial enquiry into all firings and other police atrocities that have taken place in Ahmedabad and in so many other places in Gujarat. I also demand that independent tribunal of judicial people, capable people should be set up to go into all charges of corruption levelled against people belonging to the ruling party in Gujarat, because corruption and other evils have played such an havoc on our people there. The demand for the dissolution of the suspended Gujarat Legislative Assembly is universal and genuine. It is not only from urban and semi-urban areas that this demand has come it is coming from all corners of Gujarat. We demand a fresh poll because we believe, rightly I say, in going back to the people where we have come and from whom we derive our legitimacy and authority. People are sovereign in a democracy. We want to give them an opportunity to throw out the corrupt people who have lost credibility so that a new set-up of honest, clean and dedicated people can be returned. The animated suspension of the State Assembly is constitutionally not valid and certainly it is morally untenable.

The Prime Minister, I am sorry to say, has been saying during her electioneering and poll campaigns in U.P. and Orissa that the movement in Gujarat was financed by rich people.

*The Speaker not having subsequently accorded the necessary permission the papers were not treated as laid on the Table.

[Shri P. G. Mavalankar]

I laugh at it. It is a travesty of the situation. It is the suffering people who are agitating. This type of statement by the Prime Minister adds insult to injury. Did not Gandhiji, Pandit Nehru and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel get the support and money of rich people were fighting for freedom. But in this present India's case, even without the support of rich people, they are fighting in Gujarat. It is a spontaneous fight. Rich persons are not financing it. The Centre is utterly uninformed and misinformed and sometimes only partially informed about the happenings in Ahmedabad and Gujarat. The youth, the teachers and the intelligentsia are all supporting this movement. I want to mention here one aspect of the situation. I want to pay a tribute to the Mazdur Mahajan of Ahmedabad. The Ahmedabad Textile Association, the Mazdur Mahajan as it is called, was founded by Gandhiji and it gave a call. I do not subscribe to the corruption of the Government of Chimanbai Patel, we are opposed to it, but we do not want to add fuel to fire let the poor lose wages and suffer and therefore we shall keep the mills going. May I say that it is only in Ahmedabad that this kind of thing can happen.

The Minister of Home Affairs has no time to go to Gujarat during this period of more than two months. He had all the time to go to U.P. and other places. He sent Shri K. C. Pant, the Minister of Irrigation and Power to Ahmedabad. Then came Mr. Gokhale. He did the magic apparently and the President's rule came. I want to ask the Centre whether they will continue to adopt this attitude of indifference towards Gujarat, an attitude which is worse than a step-motherly attitude. We have been watching it for years. In the case of Narmada waters also the same thing is happening. There is no justice or fairplay. When Shri P. A. Ahmed gave us appointment in Delhi earlier in the month, he kept me waiting for 45 minutes. I had to leave without meeting him. If this is the

treatment given to a Member of Parliament elected from Ahmedabad, I do not know what will be the treatment that will be given to others. A majority of the Congress MLAs are interested only in continuing in office when rotten rice and other foodgrains are being supplied to the people, a sample of which I have with me here.

Therefore, I would conclude by saying: do not take us for granted. I want to give a warning that what has happened in Gujarat is a tremendous lesson for the whole country. Corruption is not going to be tolerated, not only by the people of Gujarat but also by the people of India. This Demon of corruption must be demolished. I say: Centre, Beware! corrupt Governments must go the real question is: who should prevail—the people or the political party which should prevail—democracy or Congress? Let the will of the people prevail and let no further damage be done to Gujarat because by doing damage to Gujarat you will be doing damage to the whole of the country.

With these words, I appeal in all earnestness to the Prime Minister and the Government to act more effectively, realistically and in time so that much more damage and much more avoidable violence can be avoided.

MR. SPEAKER: Hon. Members should stick to the time allotted to them. The hon. Member took a lot of time yesterday also and he went on speaking today. I would request hon. Members to stick to the time limit so that more hon. Members can be accommodated.

SHRI NIMBALKAR (Kolhapur): Mr. Speaker, I rise to support the Motion of Thanks to the President for his Address. But I cannot help feeling that in his Address the President might have also mentioned in a more graphic manner the feeling of the poor people of our country who are facing difficulties. I feel that unless we do it at such times the poor might well feel that we do not know what is happening to them and

how they feel, their frustration and their feeling of helplessness.

The poor man today is in a strange position in our country. He sees another person owning a particular object, which say costs Rs. 100 or Rs. 200. The poor man says: I would also like to have that object. He decides that he must get a job, he must save money and then he can buy that object. What happens? While he is trying to get a job he finds that unless he has a grandfather as a Governor or a member of the Central Cabinet he has no chance of getting a job. If by some chance he does get a job, he starts saving money in order to buy that object. By the time he has put the first savings aside, what happens is that the prices have shot up so much that the same object goes completely beyond his dreams. Yet, the other person who was owning that object before, even though the cost of that object has gone up by 5, 6 or 10 time, he can still afford to buy that object.

The poor man asks himself why is it that this object is always running away with the prices, running away from him, but there are others who can always buy it, whatever its cost? This is the frustration which comes into him and he asks "how is this possible?" This is the feeling before the people today. While some people can afford anything at any time at any cost, the poor man has no hope of ever achieving that even in his dreams.

Sir, you might have notice that when the prices of petrol went up, for about 15 days in Bombay, you found that the traffic was not as dense as it usually used to be. But after 15 days, as if there was no price hike in petrol at all, the traffic become again dense in Bombay. One asks: How is it that however much prices rise through taxes or, any other reason, however much prices shoot up, there are certain people in our country who can always afford, whatever the cost it may be, to live their usual lives? What does then a poor man do in such a situation? Even if he

works hard and has a job, he cannot reach his dream. Therefore, he ultimately looks to the Government.

What is the situation? When he looks to the Government, he is not quite sure and he finds the Government faced with problems. What is even worse in the country today and which augments the dilemma and frustration of the poor people is, whereas they see that the Congress party has come into difficulties, they also see that the Opposition parties are able to do even less. Where is then the poor man to turn to? This is a dilemma before the people today. This dilemma has to be faced many times more severely by them than what we can imagine. That is why it is time we start thinking in terms of taking drastic steps in helping the poor people to come out of this dilemma and out of the difficulties they are facing. The reason why I say it in this manner is because I want the poor people to think that there are people in this House who know the frustrations they are facing, who feel the frustration they are facing and who are concerned and who want to remove their frustrations as early as possible.

Where then do we go from this point? I would like to say that we will have to take some drastic steps. I want to suggest 10 things which the Government should do immediately. They may sound very drastic and very revolutionary, but, I am afraid, there is no short cut to progress. There is no short cut in reaching a final goal. Firstly, I would like the Prime Minister to scrap the Planning Ministry. Secondly, in place of the Planning Ministry, there should be a Minister of Economics with all the economic Ministries under him, including Finance. Then, the powers of the present Planning Commission should be reduced. It should be merely a body of experts and these experts should be as an advisory body to the Minister of Economics.

Even though Mr. Nehru was proud in saying that ours was the first de-

[Shri Nimbalkar]

mocratic country to go in for Five Year Plans, the fact is that our experience has shown us that in a democratic country, it is not possible to function with Five Year Plans. If there were other democratic countries before us who did not take to these Five Year Plans, it is because they realised that in a democratic system, this planning system does not function. We have acted like children in this and we had to be burnt in order to understand that fire burns.

There can be only one Plan for our country in the present situation and that is a Plan of plenty through full employment. When we really are serious about the question *garibi hatao*, then surely it should occur to us that we should be able to give our people at least two meals a day. Leave alone clothes, leave alone shelter. Let us be able to give our people at least two meals a day. I do not think that is asking too much.

What does that amount to in economic language? It means that the purchasing capacity of every individual in this country must be at least so much that he can buy two meals a day.

We can do that only by ensuring full employment. So we must go in the direction of giving full employment today. This is only possible if we realise certain provisos and one is that this country must go in for massive production of such articles as are exportable and are also labour intensive—not only skilled labour but also unskilled labour intensive—as, for example, textiles, leather industries, ceramics and forest-based industries.

Coming to our procurement programme, the difficulty that we are having is this. Some say that we should give more money for wheat or grain, whatever we purchase; and the others say that we cannot give

them too much as otherwise we will have to put up the cost in the ration shops. The fact is that, if you expect from the farmers grains at particular prices then it is your duty surely to give the farmers inputs also at definite prices commensurate with the prices at which you are asking them to sell the grains to you. This means that the Government must give inputs to the farmers at reasonable prices if they expect the grains back for themselves for procurement at reasonable prices. I would, therefore, say that, even if that means giving heavy subsidies, you must give the farmers fertilisers, power and water at definite prices over a definite number of years. This policy must be followed if you want to bring down the prices or stabilise the prices of foodgrains. In our country stabilising prices means in fact stabilising the prices of foodgrains. This is the only way I can see at present to stabilise the prices of foodgrains in this country. Only then can you think in terms for instance, of freezing wages, or in terms of disallowing strikes for a certain number of years. People will be prepared to respond to you if you give them foodgrains at definite costs. Therefore, you have to work out a system by which you give them foodgrains at definite prices. And this is the system which I have suggested which, I think, is feasible.

I think, it is high time that we talked in terms not only of taking some steps against black money but of destroying black money. This is possible only through demonetisation and speedy monetary reforms. It will be too much if I were to go into that now, at this time, because to explain the whole system of monetary reforms would take me a long time.

Then I come to the next point. We must reform education. It must be reformed immediately and put into practice. I am very glad, Shri Subramaniam is here. I once went to his house and suggested how education

could be reformed in this country. He said that I had explained a modern system of education. I request him to take it up some time—modernise education in our country. Even students themselves in Bombay and Calcutta have come up with plans where they want education to be modernised. It is a great thing that in our country we have students who are themselves telling us what kind of education they want. They have made very sensible suggestions and I would like the Government to consider those suggestions seriously.

Then I would say this that, if any person in this country wants to put up a factory and with the aid of the output of that factory he is able to earn his imports through exports, then no hurdle should be put on his way in putting up the factory. If not anything else, surely this creates work for people. This is very important. It is without any cost to the Government as such. In fact, it is a help to the entire country.

Then, Sir, as the last thing I would say: take the decisions that are pending. You have kept too many decisions to-day pending. These decisions should have been taken a long time ago. Please take them immediately. For instance, the border issue between Maharashtra and Karnataka. This has been pending for too long. Recently, we have heard and seen atrocities against the Marathi-speaking people. We have had to face so many things in Belgaum which had their repercussions in other parts of the country also. I want to say that if people like Nixon and Mao can come together and solve their problems, if the Russians and the Americans can come together and solve their problems, I do not see how our border problems cannot be solved. Immediately some decision should be taken by the Prime Minister on this question and justice given to the people. After all, when you talk of socialism, one of the biggest parts of socialism is justice. You must give justice to the

people. Justice delayed is justice denied. Justice is something which should be given to the people quickly...

MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Minister's time is up. He would have heard the bell. It is not a hobby for me to ring the bell. It is just for inviting your attention.

SHRI NIMBALKAR: I am concluding.

I want to put certain figures before the House. I am glad Mr. Stephen is here. They say that we are treating South Indians very badly in Bombay and that the Shiva Sena is doing it and our Maharashtra Government is doing nothing about it. I want to place some figures before the House.

As far as Kannada-speaking people are concerned, in 1951 there were only 52,000 Kannadigas in Bombay. Now, in 1971, their population has gone up to 135,000. The Tamil-speaking population has increased from 59,000 in 1951 to 160,000 in 1971. Telugu-speaking population has increased from 78,000 in 1951 to 130,000 in 1971, Malayalam—from 32,000 in 1951 to 130,000 in 1971. Tulu—their population has increased from 9,000 to 10,000 in 1961 and the figure of 1971 is not available. With regard to the number of primary schools—Kannada, from 45 it has gone up to 58 in a period of ten years from 1961 to 1971. In the same period the primary schools for Tamil-speaking children has gone up from 39 to 45, Telugu—from 14 to 34 and Malayalam from 6 it has gone up to 16.

So, what I am trying to say is that they should not have a wrong impression that Maharashtra is doing nothing. Actually, Mr. Stephen, if you really think of the good of your people, then you should do something for the development of Bombay and try to get rid of the slums in Bombay. This is what you have to do....

SHRI C. H. MOHAMMED KOYA (Manjeri): Did not the South Indians

[Shri H. Mohammed Koya]

contribute to the development of Bombay?

SHRI NIMBALKAR: Of course, we are not denying it. We are not saying that they have to be kicked out, not in the least. What I am saying is: You should not criticise indiscriminately, for then we could also criticise you, for instance why do you not look after your people in your own State? Then they will not have to come to Bombay. All impression has been caused by your attitude that the Kerala people are doing nothing but running either to Bombay or running nuns to the Vatican or running maids to gulf area....

SHRI C. H. MOHAMMED KOYA: Is Maharashtra an independent State? Is it not a part of India?

SHRI NIMBALKAR: You should create more scope for employment in your own State. If that is done, these things will not happen. See now you don't like being criticised either!

SHRI C. M. STEPHEN (Muvattupuzha): We have no case that the Maharashtra Government is against us.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA (Alipore): They should not say things which will objectively help the Shiva Sena.

MR SPEAKER: I have not been able to follow such things. Let him go for lunch and think over it.

We now adjourn for lunch and re-assemble at 2 p.m.

13 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 PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS

श्री मधु लिम्बये : (बांका) अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं एक व्यवस्था का प्रश्न उठा

रहा हूँ। मैं अभी बोल नहीं रहा हूँ। मेरा एक व्यवस्था संबंधी प्रश्न है....

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: If it is a point of order, let me hear him.

श्री अकर बयाल सिंह (चतरा) : मुझे बुलाया गया है या उन्हें ।

श्री मधु लिम्बये : आप भाषण करेंगे । मेरा व्यवस्था का प्रश्न है ।

अध्यक्ष महोदय, आप जानते हैं कि इस वक्त गुजरात में राष्ट्रपति शासन है और विधान सभा के जितने अधिकार हैं वे सारे पार्लियामेंट को प्राप्त हो गए हैं। साथ साथ आप यह भी जानते हैं कि कांग्रेस प्रो के 16 सदस्यों ने... (श्वबधान)... यह बहुत ज़रूरी मामला है और इस के ऊपर आप को व्यवस्था देना है। यह मामला कोई एक मैकेड का मामला नहीं है।

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: It is important. But, what is the point of order? This thing you can mention in the speech on the President's Address.

श्री मधु लिम्बये . मैं तो बोल ही नहीं रहा हूँ। दण्डवत जी बोल रहे हैं। मैं पांच मिनट से ज्यादा समय नहीं लूंगा। यह व्यवस्था का कास्टीट्यूशनल प्रश्न है।

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: I have allowed you to raise a point of order. But, only the point of order and not to make a speech.

SHRI VASANT SATHE (Akola): He first makes a speech and then formulates his point of order.

श्री मधु लिम्बये : आप कौन बताने वाले होते हैं ? आप अपने ढंग से कहेंगे मैं अपने ढंग से कहूंगा ।

SHRI K. S. CHAVDA (Patan): You were not asking Mr. Sathe to speak.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Order please. I am on my legs, Kindly sit down. Mr. Limaye, you say you want five minutes on a point of order. Is that a point or is that a speech I would like to know?

श्री मधु लिमये : प्वाइंट ऑफ ऑर्डर पर आपने दो दिन बहस चलाई थी। आप ने सुखाड़िया के मामले पर दो दिन बहस चलाई थी। मुझे अपना प्वाइंट ऑफ ऑर्डर कहने कीजिए। मैं स्पीच नहीं करूंगा। प्वाइंट ऑफ ऑर्डर रखूंगा।

SHRI VASANT SATHE: He should not make a speech first and then formulate his point of order.

श्री मधु लिमये : आप मुझको मत सिखाइए। अध्यक्ष महोदय, आप इन को टोकिए। इन को मैंने गुरु नहीं बनाया है। मैं अपने ढंग से रखूंगा। आप नियमित कीजिए। मैं केवल पांच मिनट लूंगा।

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: How can you take five minutes for a point? It cannot be.

श्री मधु लिमये : पहले तो मैं तथ्य रखूंगा जिस के ऊपर मेरा व्यवस्था का प्रश्न है। उस के बिना कैसे होगा ?

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: All right. Let us hear. I have allowed you to raise a point of order only and not to make speech. You state the facts and then raise the point of order. The point of order must relate to the order in the House.

श्री मधु लिमये : मैंने बाकायदा नोटिस दिया है नियम 377 के तहत....

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: What does the rule say? You have to give notice for that.

श्री मधु लिमये : मैंने वह भी दिया है, नोटिस भी दिया है।

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MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Why do you want to abuse this opportunity?

श्री मधु लिमये : मैं कोई एव्यूज नहीं कर रहा हूँ।

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: You cannot raise a point of order under 377.

श्री मधु लिमये : मैंने 377 के तहत नोटिस भी दिया है और व्यवस्था का भी मेरा प्रश्न है ; दोनों बातें हैं।

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: If you have given a notice under 377 and if the Speaker has permitted you, you can raise it. But, you cannot raise a point of order under 377. You only raise the point of order.

श्री मधु लिमये : वह तो ठीक है।

अध्यक्ष महोदय, इस समय हम लोग राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण पर बहस कर रहे हैं। राष्ट्रपति के ग़ुज़े में आप स्वयं जानते हैं कि गुजरात की घटनाओं का उल्लेख है हम लोग किस के ऊपर बहस करने जा रहे हैं ? एक ऐसा संवैधानिक सकेत उभर हुआ है जिस में लोग सभा के स्पीकर का नाम लिया गया है— इस लिये मैं इस सवाल को यहाँ उठा रहा हूँ।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, 16 सदस्यों ने इस्तीफे दिये हैं...

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: What is the point of order?

श्री मधु लिमये : आप सुनेंगे नहीं, तो कैसे कहूंगा। (अवधान)... यह हुल्लड़-वाजी चलेगी तो बहस भी नहीं चलेगी, ये लोग मुझको ठोक रहे हैं।... आप मुझे सुनिये...

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: What is the point of order? He is a senior Member and an able parliamentarian. He is raising a point of order. What is his point of order

श्री मधु लिमये : इस में सीनियर जूनियर का क्या मतलब है

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: All right, there is no question of seniority or juniority. I would like to know what the point of order is which he is trying to raise.

श्री मधु लिमये : आप बोलने ही नहीं दे रहे हैं। जब तक बोलने नहीं देंगे प्वाइन्ट आफ़ आर्डर का कैसे पता चलेगा।

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: If he does not co-operate, I cannot help. Now, Shri Shankar Dayal Singh

श्री मधु लिमये : आप टोकेंगे तो प्वाइन्ट आफ़ आर्डर कैसे फार्मुलिट करूंगा।

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: He is making a speech.

श्री मधु लिमये : स्पीच कहाँ है? आप श्री पुरसे भादमी है—जब प्वाइन्ट आफ़ आर्डर उठाया जाता है तो क्या एक सेकेंड में कहा जाता है कि यह प्वाइन्ट आफ़ आर्डर है?

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: All right, he may raise the point of order.

SHRI VASANT SATHE: He must formulate it under rule 376 (3). He must specifically state which interpretation or enforcement of these rules or such articles of the Constitution as regulate the business of the House he is raising the question about. That has to be done under rule 376 (3) subject to the conditions referred to in sub-rules (1) and (2) under which, a Member may formulate a point of order and then the Speaker or the Chair shall decide whether it is a point of order or not. He must formulate it and say which article of the Constitution or which rule is being violated. That is how he must begin. He must not begin with a speech in the beginning.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: I know all this. All that I want Mr. Limaye to do is to mention what the point of order which he wants to raise is. He

cannot make a speech under the pretext of a point of order.

श्री मधु लिमये : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, इस तरह से इन की गुच्छई नहीं ज़लेगी। क्या मतलब है—वे बाव बाव में टोक रहे हैं। ये किस चीज़ पर खड़े हो गये हैं जब कि मैं प्वाइन्ट आफ़ आर्डर पर बोल रहा था।

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Now, Shri Shankar Dayal Singh.

श्री मधु लिमये : आप पहले मुझे बतलाइये प्वाइन्ट आफ़ आर्डर उठाने देंगे या नहीं?

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: I have allowed him, but he has not stated what his point of order is.

श्री मधु लिमये : आप मुझे बतलाइये कि प्वाइन्ट आफ़ आर्डर फार्मुलिट करने के लिये कितने मिनट देंगे। आप वह चेयरमैन है जिन्होंने मोहनलाल सुखाडिया पर उठाये गये प्वाइन्ट आफ़ आर्डर पर दो दिन बहस चलने दी, आज आप मुझे दो मिनट भी देने के लिये तैयार नहीं है। इस तरह से तो बहस नहीं चलेगी।

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: I shall give him exactly one minute to formulate his point of order. If he cannot do it within that time, I cannot help.

श्री मधु लिमये : एक मिनट में तो नहीं होगा।

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Then it cannot be done. Order, please. I am not hearing him any more.

श्री मधु लिमये : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, यह नहीं ही सकता।

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Order, please. Let Shri Shankar Dayal Singh continue his speech. If he does not speak, I shall call somebody else.

श्री शंकर बखाल सिंह (चतरा) :
उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, कई बार आप ने मेरा नाम पुकारा, लेकिन मुझे बड़े दुख के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि ये लोग चाहते हैं कि मैं न बोलूँ। फिर भी आप की आज्ञा का पालन करते हुये श्रीर लोक सभा की मर्यादा को ध्यान में रखते हुए—मैं आपकी आज्ञा मानने के लिये बाध्य हूँ.....

श्री मधु लिमये : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं जल्द से जल्द खत्म करने की कोशिश करूँगा। आप ने इतना समय बरबाद किया, इतने में तो मेरी बात पूरी हो जाती.....

श्री शंकर बखाल सिंह : इन्होंने कई बार प्वाइन्ट ऑफ ऑर्डर उठाया, लेकिन आप ने बराबर मेरा नाम पुकारा, इससे जाहिर है कि आपने मुझे बोलने का मौका दिया है, उन्हें, उन के प्वाइन्ट ऑफ ऑर्डर पर आप ने ध्यान नहीं दिया है,। लेकिन उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं चाहता हूँ कि जब मैं बोलूँ तो ये लोग बीच में बाधा उपस्थित न करे, क्योंकि जो बातें मैं कहने जा रहा हूँ, वे इन के भले की बातें हैं, देश की भले की बातें हैं..... (व्यवधान).....कुछ देर पहले इन्होंने कहा..... मैं गुजरात का चर्चा करने जा रहा हूँ। मैं इन से कहूँगा कि आप जरा राष्ट्रपति जी के अधिष्ठापण को देखें, उस में लिखा है कि इस सभ्यता के शुरु में गुजरात में राष्ट्रपति शासन लागू किया गया है। सभी नागरिकों की जिम्मेदारी है कि ऐसा वातावरण स्थापित करने में सन्नद करें जिस में संयम और सामुहिक प्रयासों को बढ़ावा मिले..... (व्यवधान)..... मैं राष्ट्रपति जी के अधिष्ठापण का हवाला देते हुये सदन से निवेदन करूँगा कि ऐसी व्यवस्था में सब को कोऑपरेट करना चाहिये, सहयोग देना चाहिये, जिस से कि देश में व्यवस्था कायम हो सके। वे लोग यहाँ जो व्यवस्था का प्रश्न उठाते हैं और पूरे देश में व्यवस्था फैलाने हैं।

मैं जानना चाहता हूँ..... (व्यवधान) जो बाहर व्यवस्था फैलाने उसे सदन में व्यवस्था का प्रश्न उठाने का हक नहीं होना चाहिये। इसलिये, मान्यवर चूंकि आप ने मेरा नाम पुकारा है, इसलिए मैं आप की आज्ञा से श्रीर सदन की मर्यादा को ध्यान में रखते हुए अपनी बात कह रहा हूँ।

यह बहुत नाजुक वक्त है, आप जानते हैं कि यह देश इस समय किन विषम परिस्थितियों से गुजर रहा है। बार बार हमारे विरोधी दलों के नेता, भाई और माननीय सदस्य यह कहते हैं कि देश में व्यवस्था है देश में कमियाँ हैं, देश में मूल्य वृद्धि है, जमा खोरी है, देश में अन्याय है। मैं तो चाहता हूँ कि इन चीजों को दूर करने में ये लोग सहयोग करें जिस से देश में से ये सार्वं चंजे हटाई जा सकें..... (व्यवधान)..... मान्यवर जब तक आप नहीं कहेंगे कि न बोलूँ, मैं बोलता रहूँगा, मैं इन लोगों की बात पर जरा भी ध्यान नहीं देता..... (व्यवधान)..... आपने मुझे आज्ञा दी है, इस लिये बोल रहा हूँ। मान्यवर, इतिहास अनुभूतियों का हुस्न करना है, सुख-दुख का हुस्न करतार है..... (व्यवधान)..... गरिमा का हुस्न करतार है। मैं, मान्यवर, यह जवाब चाहता हूँ कि आज जिस तरह का दुःख सदन के बाहर और सदन के अन्दर उपस्थित किया जाता है, क्या यह देश की गरिमा का इतिहास है; जिस तरह सभ्यता तरीके से विरोधी दल के जेबे आज इस अवतल पर हमला कर रहे हैं—क्या उसमें अवतल के लिये अंतरा श्रद्धा बनी हो गयी है? आज जब हम लोग अवतल की रक्षा के लिये देश के कई हिस्सों में युद्ध कर रहे हैं, देश के कई हिस्से अपने लिये कोट दे कर लड़कर लड़ने पर तैयार हैं, देश की जनता को शोक प्रिय है कि अवतल की रक्षा करने, देश को सहयोग देने, मान्यवर, मैं हमसे इस ध्यान को कटकर कहना चाहता हूँ कि जहाँ लोग अवतल पर

[श्री शंकर दयाल सिंह]

पर प्रहार कर रहे हैं, यदि हमने उन के प्रति इस लोक सभा में प्रहार नहीं किया तो हमारा जनतन्त्र कहा जायेगा। मैं आज राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण पर बोलते हुये कहना चाहता हूँ कि प्रतिदिन हम लोग लोक सभा में आते हैं..... (व्यवधान) जब हम केन्द्रीय कक्ष में प्रवेश करते हैं तो सेट्रल हाल पर लिखा हुआ है—

अथ निज. परोवेति गणना लघुचेत साम।

उदार चरिताना तु बमुधेव कुटुम्बकम् ॥

हम तो इस उसूल को लेकर चलते हैं। हम तो चाहते कि देश जनतन्त्र का पीदा इस तरह से लहनहाना रहे, लेकिन दूसरी ओर हमारे जो विरोधी दल के भाई हैं, जो भूल-भूक से चुन कर यहाँ आ गये हैं, उन से कहना चाहता हूँ कि आप इन उमूलों पर नहीं चलना चाहते हैं, जिम के कारण आज देश में अव्यवस्था पैदा हो गई है। उसकी पूरी जवाबदेही विरोधी दलों पर है। (व्यवधान) सरकार चाहती है कि जनतन्त्र को मजबूत बनाये, सरकार चाहती है कि जनतन्त्र के पीछे को हम सीधे, सरकार चाहती है कि जनता के दुख-दर्द को हम दूर करें लेकिन कुछ लोग यह चाहते हैं कि उनके दुख-दर्द बने रहें। इसके प्रमाण के लिए दूर जाने की आवश्यकता नहीं है, यहाँ पर 18 तारीख को जब राष्ट्रपति महोदय का अभिभाषण हुआ उस दिन पार्टी विशेष के कुछ लोगों ने जिस तरह का अश्रम प्रदर्शन किया उसको जनता ने हिंकारत की नजर से देखा। (व्यवधान) इसलिए मैं आपके माध्यम से राष्ट्रपति महोदय के अभिभाषण पर अन्वयवाद के प्रस्ताव के समर्थन में बोलते हुए कहना

चाहता हूँ कि इस तरह छटकी और दोटकी की यहाँ पर जो नौटंकी है उसको आप कभी एलाऊ न कीजिए। मैं आपसे अनुरोध करना चाहता हूँ कि इस तरह से सर्कस की जोकरी यहाँ पर बन्द की जाये। इससे जनतन्त्र के लिए खतरा है। हम नहीं चाहते इन्होंने जो कुछ बाहर किया है उसको इस सदन में भी दोहराये। यह दो एक लोग ही ऐसे हैं, बाकी उस पार्टी में भले लोग भी हैं लेकिन यह लोग उठकर के चाहते हैं हमको दवा देना, हमको डरा देना, हमको बहका देना लेकिन मैं इन बातों में डरने वाला नहीं हूँ। (व्यवधान) मैं जानता हूँ इस देश की 55 करोड़ जनता क्या चाहती है। मैं ने स्वयं आप से कहा है और मैं स्वयं भी इस बात को मानता हूँ कि देश में संकट है। मैं ने स्वयं इस बात को माना है कि देश में खाद्यान्न की कमी है, इस समय देश में अंधाधुंध कष्ट है। लेकिन इसके साथ साथ देश की 55 करोड़ जनता इस बात को भी जानती है कि अगर इस कष्ट को कोई दूर कर सकता है तो श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी ही दूर कर सकती है, दूसरा कोई भी नहीं कर सकता है। आज हम जिन विषयों पर चर्चा कर रहे हैं उस सम्बन्ध में मैं कुछ जरूरी बातें कहना चाहता हूँ। राष्ट्रपति महोदय के भाषण के सम्बन्ध में कल से कई माननीय सदस्यों ने अपने विचार यहाँ पर प्रकट किए हैं लेकिन मैं जानना चाहता हूँ उन माननीय सदस्यों से कि इस भाषण में क्या नहीं है? (व्यवधान)

श्री मधु लिवये : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, आप मुझे अव्यवस्था का प्रश्न उठाने दीजिए। (व्यवधान)

श्री शंकर दयाल सिंह : मैं बतायें कि इस भाषण में क्या नहीं है, उनको किस

बीज की कमी इसमें मालूम पड़ती है जिसको लेकर वे भ्रालोचना करते हैं ? इस भाषण में मूल्य-वृद्धि की चर्चा है, हड़ताल की चर्चा है, बन्द और असंतोष की चर्चा है, हिंसात्मक रूप जो देश के कई कोने में फैला हुआ है उसकी चर्चा है, सामाजिक तथा आर्थिक विकास धीम गति से होने की भी चर्चा है, निर्धनों को कष्ट है इस बात की भी चर्चा है, खाद्यान्न की कमी है इसकी भी चर्चा है, मुद्रास्फीति की भी चर्चा है, देश में जमा-खोरी है इसकी चर्चा है । (व्यवधान) देश के सामने यह प्रश्न उपस्थित हो गया है कि कुछ लोगों को इस तरह से देश में जनतन्त्र को बर्बाद करने दिया जाये या उनका सामना किया जाये । (व्यवधान) मैं मजबूर होकर बड़े अदब के साथ आपसे कहना चाहता हूँ कि इन गीदड़ भ्रमकियों से मैं डरने वाला नहीं हूँ । इनकी इन हिकारत भरी बातों की जनता भ्रालोचना करती है । (व्यवधान)

श्री मधु लिमये : पहली बार मुझे इस सदन में व्यवस्था का प्रश्न उठाने नहीं दिया जा रहा है । (व्यवधान)

श्री शंकर दयाल सिंह : जनता को जब पता चलेगा कि उपाध्यक्ष महोदय ने शंकर दयाल सिंह को बोलने के लिए पुकारा तो दूसरे दो माननीय सदस्यों श्री शमीम और श्री मधु लिमये खड़े हो गए ताकि मैं भाषण न दे पाऊँ (व्यवधान) आपने सोचा कि शंकर दयाल सिंह ही इन धोषी दलीलों का जवाब दे सकता है (व्यवधान) आज देश में यदि किसी बात की सबसे अधिक आवश्यकता है तो वह है देश में डिस्प्लिन कायम करने की, देश में अनुशासन लाने की । आज विरोधी दलों के लोग क्या कर रहे हैं ?

श्री मधु लिमये : सदन की कार्यवाही स्थगित होनी चाहिए । यह एक घंटा बोले उस पर हमारा कोई झगड़ा नहीं है । (व्यवधान)

श्री शंकर दयाल सिंह : सरकार कुछ और जो भी करे परन्तु देश में अनुशासन बनाये रहे । बहुत सारी बातें सामने आई हैं उन्हीं का हवाला देते हुए मैं आपसे अनुरोध करना चाहता हूँ कि जो हमारी उपलब्धियाँ हुई हैं उन पर किसी ने भी ध्यान नहीं दिया है (व्यवधान)

श्री एस० ए० शमीम (श्रीनगर) : 27 साल की आजादी में आपने देश में क्या किया है ? 27 साल तक लोगों की हत्या करते रहे । (व्यवधान)

श्री शंकर दयाल सिंह : सरकार ने देश में फैक्टरियाँ खड़ी की तो आपने उनमें तालाबन्दी करवाई । हमने इस देश को आगे ले चलने की कोशिश की तो आपने काम रोकने, हड़ताल करी, यह सब सिखाया । हमने चाहा कि शिक्षण संस्थाओं में ठीक से पढ़ाई हो, हमने चाहा कि जो हमारी युवा पीढ़ी है वह आगे बढ़े और देश में एक आचरण स्थापित करे तो आपने उनको गुमराह करने की कोशिश की । जब इस देश का इतिहास लिखा जायेगा तो उसमें ऐसे लोगों के नाम सब से पहले लिखे जायेंगे जो देश को गुमराह करते हैं । अभी कल ही आर्थिक समीक्षा की प्रति इस सदन की मेज पर रखी गई थी लेकिन उसको भी इन्होंने पढ़ने की कोई कोशिश नहीं की ।

श्री मधु लिमये : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मेरा व्यवस्था का सवाल है, एक बार भी आप नहीं सुन रहे हैं । आप किस नियम में चल रहे हैं और किस नियम में यह बहस हो रही है ? मैं फिर आपसे

[श्री मधु लिमये]

प्रार्थना करना चाहता हूँ कि मुझे व्यवस्था का सवाल उठाने दिया जाये। (व्यवधान)

श्री शंकर दयाल सिंह : मैं बड़े अदब के साथ कहना चाहता हूँ कि अगर इस देश में किसी चीज़ की सबसे अधिक आवश्यकता है तो वह अनुशासन रखने की है (व्यवधान)

श्री मधु लिमये : मैं घाघ घटे से घायसे प्रार्थना कर रहा हूँ।

श्री शंकर दयाल सिंह : सरकार ने चाहा कि इस देश में चोरबाजारी समाप्त हो लेकिन उसको प्रोत्साहन किसने दिया? एक दल विशेष के लोग, जिनके सदस्य ज्यादातर व्यापारी लोग हैं, वे चोरबाजारी को प्रोत्साहन दे रहे हैं। सरकार ने कहा कि गियों में तालाबन्दी न हो, उत्पादन बढ़ाया जाये लेकिन इन लोगों ने क्या किया? इन्होंने लोगों से कहा कि तालाबन्दी करो (व्यवधान)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: It is very unfortunate, that Members on this side were trying to draw my attention all the time, but the only order before the House was the speech of Mr. Shankar Dayal Singh. If there is any disorder at all, it is the interruption of his speech. I should like to draw the attention of Shri Madhu Limaye, who is a very knowledgeable Member—he may not like that—to rule 376 which relates to points of order under which, I suppose, he seeks to raise a point of order. The rule says very clearly: "A point of order shall relate to the interpretation of enforcement of these rules or such articles of the Constitution as regulate the business of the House and shall raise a question which is within the cognizance of the Speaker."

SHRI K. S. CHAVDA: What about me? When he was speaking, there was disorder. I raised a point under rule 377.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: There is only one order, that I am on my legs and you are interrupting me. Shri Madhu Limaye should cooperate. You cannot make a speech on the pretext of raising a point of order. If you try to pressurise the Chair to allow you to make a speech under the pretext of a point of order, then it becomes very difficult to conduct the proceedings. You may do it now and other members may do that tomorrow. Even so, I have said that I will give you one minute or, let us stretch it, two minutes to make a point of order. But if you say "I cannot do it within that time", then it is very plain that you are not very serious about the point of order. Now I would like you to cooperate and reciprocate. I will even go out of that way, now that Shri Shankar Dayal Singh has finished his speech

SHRI SHANKAR DAYAL SINGH: No, I have not finished my speech... (interruption)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Order, order. As I said at the beginning, the only order before the House is the speech of Shri Shankar Dayal Singh when there was interruption. I rang the bell and I thought he had finished his speech. If he has not finished his speech, let him finish it. Then I will come back to this point.

श्री मधु लिमये : पीइंट घाफ़ घाईर तो तुरन्त उठा सकते हैं। इनका भाषण शुरू भी नहीं हुआ।

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: No, Shri Madhu Limaye, I will come back to you.... (interruptions). Please do not pressurize the Chair beyond a certain limit. I am on my legs. I have called Shri Shankar Dayal Singh to speak. If he has not finished his speech let him finish his speech. Then, I will come back to Shri Madhu Limaye as a very special consideration, because I would like the cooperation

of every Member in this House. Now Shri Shankar Dayal Singh. I am not hearing any body else.

श्री शंकर दयाल सिंह : उपाध्यक्ष जी, मैं आपके सामने बड़े भ्रदब से यह कह रहा था कि देश में इस समय कठिन परिस्थिति है, देश में संकट है, मूल्य वृद्धि है, चीजों की कमी है, देश में हर तरह का इस समय संकट है। लेकिन उस संकट से उभरने का रास्ता कौन सा है, उन्हें पर विजय पाने का रास्ता कौन सा है यह भी हमें सोचना चाहिये। अगर हम केवल यह चिल्लाने रहें कि देश में मूल्य वृद्धि है, चीजों की कमी है, देश में अव्यवस्था है तो उसमें समस्या का समाधान नहीं होता। मैं इन बातों को जानते हुए भी इस बात की ओर ध्यान आकृष्ट करना चाहता हूँ कि देश की 55 करोड़ जनता जो अभावों के बीच, कष्टों के बीच, कमियों के बीच जिन्दगी गुजर बसर कर ही है, वह जनता इस बात को जानती है कि अगर इससे कोई हमको मुक्ति दिला सकता है तो श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी का नेतृत्व ही दिला सकता है।

मान्यवर, जब भी राष्ट्रपति के अभिषाषण पर ध्व्यवाद आपन के प्रस्ताव पर यहां भाषण होने हैं एक न की ओर बड़े जोर शोर से ध्यान आकृष्ट किया जाता है कि आजादी के 27 साल बाद देश ने क्या किया? देश ने क्या किया और क्या नहीं किया अगर खुली आँखों से कोई देखे तो बहुत कुछ देख सकता है। बहुत बड़ी पुस्तक पढ़ने की जरूरत नहीं है "इंडिया टुडे बैसिक फैक्ट्स" यह एक छोटी सी किताब सरकार ने प्रकाशित की है। यह किताब लोग अगर पढ़ ले तो मैं सपन्नता हूँ कि उनको उतना अधिक ज्ञान हो जाय जितना बड़ी पुस्तकों के पढ़ने से नहीं हो सकता। आजादी के पहले देश में छोटी सी मशीन का निर्माण नहीं होता था, लेकिन आज यहाँ छोटी से छोटी चीज से लेकर हवाई जहाज तक का निर्माण हो रहा है, इतने कल कारखाने, इतना उत्पादन हबि उत्पादन में बढ़ि आजादी के

बाद हुई है। इन सारी चीजों के बाद भी अगर कोई कहे कि देश में तरक्की नहीं हुई तो यह बात बेवुनियाद है।

मैं आंकड़ों के माया जाल में नहीं जाना चाहता, केवल एक छोटी सी बात है कि 25 साल पहले देश का कोई भी गांव गेमा नहीं था जहाँ एक, दो भी पक्के मकान हो। लेकिन आज आपको हर गांव में पचासो मकान पक्के मिलेंगे। शहरों में आप देखें कि जनसंख्या और मकानों की तादाद पहले से चार, पांच गुनी हो गई है। कैसे और कहाँ से हो गई। आखिर मकान बनाने के लिये सीमेंट मिला, लोहा मिला, पैसा कहीं से आया तभी तो निर्माण हुआ। जहाँ पर पहले (अ) (ब) (स) नाम की कोई चीज नहीं थी वहाँ आज उन क्षेत्रों में स्कूल, कालेज और विश्वविद्यालय हैं। जहाँ पहले दिया भी नहीं टिमटिमाना था, रोशनी नहीं जाती थी वहाँ आज बिजली की लान्गों वनिया जगमगा रही है।

यह ठीक है कि जो हमारे बीच अभाव है उस पर भी हम ध्यान दें। यह नहीं है कि हमें कह दें कि अभाव नहीं है। देश में किसी चीज का इस समय अगर आवश्यकता है तो मर्यादा की आवश्यकता है क्योंकि आज जो देश की तरक्की होगी, देश का जो मिलसिला होगा, जो एक डॉक्टर बनेगा कल वही भारत के निर्माण की कहानी होगी। आज में 50, 100 साल बाद जो देश का इतिहास लिखेगा वह किन चीजों की लेकर लिखेगा? केवल तिथियों से इतिहास नहीं लिखा जाता व्यक्तियों से लिखा जाता है। केवल स्वप्नों से नहीं सच्चाई से इतिहास लिखा जाता है। इसलिये जब देश का इतिहासकार इतिहास लिखेगा तो इस बात को जरूर कहेगा कि एक ओर कांग्रेस ऐसी संस्था जब देश में मर्यादा और आचरण पर जोर दे रही थी दूसरी ओर बहुत से लोगों के ऐसे लोग भी थे जो हिंसात्मक बानावरण पैदा कर रहे थे। इसलिये आज हर दृष्टि से

[श्री शंकर दयाल सिंह]

मर्यादा और आचरण और निष्ठा की जो कमी हो गई है उसको पूरा करना चाहिये और उसके लिये सरकार को दृढ़ रहना चाहिये और दृढ़तापूर्वक जो भारत की राष्ट्रीय एकता है उसे किसी तरह से भी खंडित नहीं होने देना चाहिये। इन्हीं बातों को मैं आपके सामने रखना चाहता था।

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Mr. Limaye. Be reasonable; don't abuse the opportunity. Make your point of order. Let us then get on with the business.

श्री गवु लिमये (बांका) . उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, आप इतने समय से मुझको देख रहे हैं एक बात को मैं कभी भी दोहराता नहीं हूँ। मैं अपनी बातें सिलसिले से कहता हूँ।

आज व्यवस्था का सवाल इसलिये उठा रहा हूँ कि यह बहस राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण पर हो रही है और चूँकि अभिभाषण प्रस्ताव पर बहस हो रही है इसलिये स्पीकर साहब ने यह निर्णय दिया कि हम स्थगन प्रस्ताव को नहीं लेंगे। अब राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण पर बहस तभी हो पायेगी जब गुजरात के बारे में इनके पैराग्राफ 20 की ओर आपका ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूँ, इसमें केवल एक वाक्य में गुजरात की स्थिति को राष्ट्रपतिजी ने खत्म किया है। मामला उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, यह है कि 16 विधान सभा के सदस्यों ने, संगठन कांग्रेस के, इस्तीफा दे दिया है, 55 सत्ता कांग्रेस के सदस्यों ने इस्तीफा दिया है, डिप्टी स्पीकर ने इस्तीफा दिया है। इस्तीफा लिखित दिया है, स्पीकर के सामने जा कर दिया है। उसका तत्काल स्वीकार करना चाहिये। आप संविधान की धारा 179 देखिये, आप गुजरात एसेम्बली के रूल 269 को देखिये स्पीकर को यह अधिकार नहीं है कि विधान सभा के सदस्यों द्वारा दिये गये इस्तीफे को स्वीकार न करे। आप गुजरात एसेम्बली की

नियमावली मगवा लीजिये उसके नियम 269 को देखें और अनुच्छेद 179 डिप्टी स्पीकर के बारे में है। जैसे ही डिप्टी स्पीकर लिखित रूप में इस्तीफा दे देने हैं वह तत्काल मजूर हो जाता है। विधान सभा के स्पीकर क्या कहने हैं? कहते हैं मैं लोक सभा के अध्यक्ष की राय लूंगा.....

श्री अरविन्द एम० पटेल (राजकोट) : मेरा प्वाइंट ऑफ आर्डर है। मामला मवजुदिस है और यहाँ उठ नहीं सकता है ...

श्री मधु लिमये : जब प्वाइंट ऑफ आर्डर चला रहा है तो दूसरा प्वाइंट ऑफ आर्डर नहीं उठ सकता है। 179 इस प्रकार है . . .

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: I know. I have read it.

श्री मधु लिमये . राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण पर बहस चल रही है। इस चर्चा को आगे चलाने के पहले कानून मंत्री या गृह मंत्री स्थिति को साफ करने वाला वक्तव्य दें। मैंने सुना है श्री मोरारजी भाई इस पर बोलने वाले हैं। पहले कानूनी स्थिति स्पष्ट होनी चाहिए और पता चलना चाहिये कि क्या ये इस्तीफे मजूर किए गए हैं, क्या डिप्टी स्पीकर का इस्तीफा मजूर हुआ है, क्या यह मामला लोक सभा के स्पीकर के विचाराधीन है? कैसे यह लोक सभा के स्पीकर के सामने आ सकता है, मेरी समझ में नहीं आता है। इसके बारे में एक वक्तव्य सरकार का आए और जब तक वह नहीं आता है तब तक के लिए इस बहस को स्थगित किया जाए। कानून मंत्री को सुन कर ही बाद में श्री मोरारजी देसाई तथा दूसरे कांग्रेस के सदस्यों

के भाषण हम मुनेगे । मैं यह व्यवस्था का प्रश्न इसलिए उठा रहा हूँ कि अभिभाषण पर जो चर्चा चल रही है उसका फिल्हल स्वगित किया जाए और सर्वधानिक स्थिति साफ हाने के बाद ही इस पर बहस चालू हो ।

Some hon. members rose—

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: He has raised a point of order. Let me give a ruling. Let me deal with it. I am not as intelligent as Mr. Limaye is or as knowledgeable as he is, but I really fail to understand how this constitutes a point of order. As far as I understand, your main point is that we cannot continue with this discussion unless these things are cleared first....

SHRI MADHU LIMAYE: You give your ruling on that.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: My ruling is that these very same things that you are submitting here are the very things that you can submit on this very discussion and it is for the Government to reply later on. How can it prevent a discussion? I do not understand. In the first place, we cannot, here, sit in judgement on what the Speaker of the Gujarat Assembly in his wisdom has done or has not done. We cannot sit in judgment. And that is no reasons why the discussion on this should be stopped. But these submissions which you are making, you may make on this very discussion; it is upto you. And it is for the Government to reply.

SHRI MADHU LIMAYE: I express no opinion. I want a clarification.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Kindly make it clear to me or explain to me how do these things stand in the way of discussion being continued.

श्री मधु लिमये : 356 को देखें । आप कहते हैं विधान सभा के मामले में हम नहीं पढ़ सकते हैं । इस में लिखा हुआ है :

"declare that powers of the Legislature of the State shall be exercisable by or under the authority of Parliament,"

यह प्रोक्लामेशन हो चुका है । अब विधान सभा के सारे अधिकार संसद के अधिकार हो गए हैं । इसलिए संसद में यह मामला उठ सकता है । मैं कोई राय नहीं दे रहा हूँ, कोई भाषण नहीं कर रहा हूँ । मैं केवल सर्वधानिक स्थिति की सफाई चाहता हूँ ।

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: It is clear now. Again I say that this is a submission. You are quite free to make this submission in the discussion. It is a part of the discussion. I do not see how it stands in the way of the discussion continuing. It is not a point of order. I rule it out...

SHRI P. G. MAVALANKAR: This matter is now before the Gujarat High Court....

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Mr. valankar, you have made your speech. Please sit down.

This does not, in any way, stand in the way of the discussion continuing.

Mr. H. M. Patel.

SHRI ANNASAHAB GOTKHINDE (Sangli): Sir, now that we have heard Mr. Limaye, would he please express regret for the aggressive posture with which he marched towards the seat of the Chair?

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Well, I do not know. We are here entering into very strange things.

I have called Mr. H. M. Patel. Now under the Rules if a Member is called and he does not speak, then, of course, it has to be seen. If every member says, 'I will speak tomorrow', it becomes very difficult.

Prof. Madhu Dandavate, would you like to speak?

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE (Rajapur): I would have preferred to speak tomorrow, but in all respect to you, I will speak now.

I have carefully gone through the President's Address. Since my Party had boycotted the Address, I could not listen to him but I went through it very carefully.

At the very outset, let me say that the President's Address gives no indication that the President of the country comprehends the hunger and the anger of the people. Unfortunately, the entire speech is couched in vague generalisations and does not take cognizance of the economic and social crises in the country.

There is so much talk about stability, stability of the Government and stability of democracy in the country. But in the new context of people's anger and people's agitation, the word 'stability' has lost its meaning and relevance. Even when there is a steam-roller majority for the ruling party, there is no guarantee that there will be a stable government at all. At times, the Government will be pulled down by the angry people's agitations and demonstrations outside or sometimes, the Government will fall under the gravity of internal dissensions and internal manipulations. That is how an old President is forced to shoulder the great responsibility of conducting the administration of so many States. Unfortunately, this is the tragedy of democracy in the country. They got the steam-roller majority. Even then, they could not manage the show and even in spite of having a massive mandate for *Garibi Hatao* and so many other programmes, they could not deliver the goods. As a result, there are people's agitations all over. There are agitations in Bihar, there are agitations in Bengal, in Gujarat, in Maharashtra and in every corner of the country there are people's agitations, agitations against hunger, agitations against poverty, agitations against inequality. A strange spectacle of our times is that when people's

agitations grown from the roots develop in the country, the Prime Minister of this country has the temerity to allege that some foreign agencies must be responsible for these agitations and she squarely threw the entire blame on the Opposition Parties. I am not at all on the defensive. While accepting this allegation of the Prime Minister, if she says that the Opposition Parties are responsible, I very much wish that the Opposition Parties should be responsible for agitations. Because, what is the task of the Opposition Parties? Not to deliver only speeches in the Parliament and State Legislatures, but their responsibility is to represent the anger and the hunger of the people outside and if the people are hungry, in that case, the Opposition Parties must be able to mobilise the people's discontent, of course, in peaceful and organized channels....

SHRI VASANT SATHE: Peaceful and organised underlined

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: You need not underline it I myself underline it because we belong to that organization which believes in a peaceful and democratic path. You must have forgotten the path of Mahatma Gandhi and accepted the path of another Gandhi. But Gandhi ji believed in the non-violence of the brave. He believed that whenever people are suffering and when people are suffering their agony, we must give expression to the discontent and people must fight. He did not believe in the non-violence of the coward. He believed in the non-violence of the brave and it is that non-violence that the Opposition Parties are seeking to follow.

When we are told that some foreign agencies are responsible for these agitations, I would like to know from the Prime Minister whether the hunger of the people, the poverty of the people of a country where 42 per cent of the population live below the poverty line as also the social and

economic inequalities, whether these are commodities imported from foreign countries or whether these are the indigenous commodities manufactured in the work-shop of Shrimati Indira Gandhi, who is solely responsible, her Government is solely responsible for these inequalities, this poverty and this hunger and anger of the people. You cannot describe the agitations as machinations of a particular person. Our economy is completely collapsing. The Government is collapsing; they do not know their own mind. The Government is rudderless; they have no sense of direction, at all. Even after four Five-year plans what is the position in the country? There was an occasion when I drew the attention of the House to the enormity of the deficit financing which has been exerting an inflationary pressure on our economy. I asked the Finance Minister whether in the first four years of the Fourth Plan the amount of deficit financing has gone beyond Rs. 1500 crores. I remember that the Finance Minister retorted that perhaps this was a figment of my imagination. And when I retorted by saying, let me have your imagination, he could not display any imagination and it was left to the imagination of the Planning Minister to provide the answer to my question. In reply to my question the Planning Minister has very clearly indicated that the deficit financing in the last four plans were of the following order: First plan, 260 crores; Second plan, 1,177 crores; Third Plan, 1,133 crores and in the first four years of the Fourth Plan Rs. 1,975 crores. When I described it as Rs. 1500 crores the Finance Minister said, it was figment of imagination. Now the Planning Minister himself admits that it is of the order of Rs. 1,975 crores.

Whenever we refer to people's agitations against rising prices the pet phrase used by the Prime Minister is that rising prices is a global pheno-

mena. But to overcome this phenomena to have rising income is also a global phenomena. Here I would like to quote certain figures. I quote them just to blow up the kind of arguments advanced by the Prime Minister and the Finance Minister. This is the information which I have collected regarding the rising prices and the rising wages. In Germany the rise in prices is 7 points and the rise in wages is 10.5. In France, the rise in prices is 8 points and the rise in wages is 14. In Great Britain it is 10.5 points and the rise in wages is 12. In Italy the rise in prices is 11 points and the rise in wages is 25.5. In Holland it is 6 points and 13 respectively. In Belgium it is 7 points and 15.5. In Denmark it is 11 points and 20. In Ireland it is 12.5 points and 20. When we talk of the global phenomena we must realise that even in some of the affluent countries and some of the less affluent countries whenever there are rise in prices they also generate the adequate income and they increase the real wages of the workers and the result has been that whatever rise in prices have been there, have been neutralised to a very great extent by the rise in wages. But here what do we find? Here the picture is dismal, to say the least. There is no use describing this situation as a global picture and take shelter behind the global situation, Sir.

Sir, there is another point to which I would like to make a reference. There is not only economic inequality but there is also social inequality. The social inequalities are becoming more glaring and the people who are suffering from these social inequalities are not prepared to keep quiet. I am making a reference to the harijans who are oppressed and suppressed for centuries. They are not going to keep quiet any more. Those people are telling the world that 'it might be in your interest to be our masters but how is it in our interests to be your slaves?' The harijans are suffering

[Prof. Madhu Dandavate]

everywhere in social inequalities. They are also rising in revolt?

Dr. Ambedkar, while delivering his last speech in the Constituent Assembly on the 25th November, 1949 said the following:

"How long shall we continue to deny equality in our social and economic life? If we continue to deny it for long, we will do so only by putting our political democracy in peril. We must remove this contradiction at the earliest possible moment or else those who suffer from inequality will blow up the structure of political democracy which this Constituent Assembly has so laboriously built up"

The President's Address is supposed to be the broad canvas for the policies of the Government. The Address has not taken note of these glaring social inequalities and the new revolt that is taking place among the Scheduled Castes and Schedule Tribes. Unless they are able to take note of this, they will not be able to solve the problems.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: You should conclude now.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: I shall take only a few minutes more. There are fratricidal war going on between the people of various States. As a socialist and as a democrat, I hang my head in shame. I have been fighting against the rise in prices. In Bombay, because of the economic inequalities, the people are forced to fight for their just demands. The sole responsibility for this falls on the shoulders of the Government. And in this very House I demanded a discussion on the pending border dispute between Karnataka and Maharashtra; with a sense of national perspective, however, I agreed to withdraw that motion in the hope that the Government will come forward with a solu-

tion to the problem so that the fratricidal war between the people of Mysore and the people of Karnataka can be ended. But, they are sitting on the fence; they are not solving the problem. As a result of that, more tensions are taking place.

Sir, as a socialist, I would condemn every atrocity committed anywhere. Atrocities are committed in the Mysore State on the linguistic minorities who are marathi-speaking minorities; also atrocities are committed against the non-marathi linguistic minorities in Maharashtra. Therefore, in that context, those of us who have the secular outlook and social outlook, should always condemn any atrocity committed against the linguistic minorities. But, unfortunately, nothing is being done to put an end to these atrocities and to put an end to the root cause of the border dispute. As a result of that, a lot of linguistic tensions are taking place. I shall take this opportunity to clarify one important aspect.

In the capital of Maharashtra, linguistic tensions have developed and some of us have made allegations that the problems of law and order are not being tackled by the Government in an adequate manner. We found that some of the hawkers in the city of Bombay who do not belong to the marathi-speaking area were being mercilessly beaten. Those who held demonstrations were mercilessly beaten by the police. Firstly we requested our State Government to institute an inquiry. The Chief Minister of the State refused to institute an inquiry. I demanded then that the Centre should intervene to the extent of appointing a Parliamentary Committee, to have a probe into the attitude of the police.

15 hrs.

This was misunderstood. And the prtagonists of Shiv Sena had carried a campaign. All of us had condemned the atrocities. They wanted separation of Bombay from Maharashtra.

I want to utilise this platform to make it clear that those who committed the atrocities on the linguistic minorities in Bombay are not the majority of the people. All of us including myself and my party never wanted Bombay to come under the Central regime. We have made it clear that the people of Maharashtra had fought for the creation of Samyukt Maharashtra with their sweat and blood and we will not allow any problem to create a barrier between Bombay and Maharashtra. We want Bombay to be a part of Maharashtra. It is not only my feeling, but even the Malayalam-speaking people in the city of Bombay have never demanded that Bombay should be separated from Maharashtra. The Malayalam-speaking people of Bombay had participated in the movement for the creation of Samyukt Maharashtra. They went with us to jail and they participated in the daily satyagraha and they participated in the demonstrations. Therefore, it is very futile and wrong to allege that the Malayalam-speaking people of Bombay want separation of Bombay from Maharashtra. They do not want it. But there are a few industrialists who want to take advantage of these tensions and demand that Bombay should be a Centrally administered area. I take this opportunity to demand that under no circumstances can Bombay be separated from Maharashtra. There was a leader in this country who said that so long as the sun and moon are there in the sky, Bombay will never be a part of Maharashtra. In the same tone, I want to say that so long as the moon and the sun are there, Bombay can never be separated from Maharashtra. But atrocities on minorities have to be checked, and I am very sorry to say that under this regime of the Congress Party, the rights and privileges of the minorities, whether they are communal or linguistic minorities, have not been protected and that is a challenge to secularism. I am sorry that the President has not taken any note of that in his Address.

SHRI K. K. SHETTY (Mangalore): The President's Address has realiti-

cally touched upon the main events that have taken place in our country and the world. It gives an objective assessment. The President has touched upon the important events, the challenges and the difficulties that the country and the world have been facing.

In the very first paragraph, he has expressed concern about the situation in the country and point by point he has dealt with all the questions facing the country. In the last or concluding paragraph, he has appealed to the nation to face the challenges. When the nation is facing a critical situation, it is the duty of every citizen and every party to co-operate together and try to avert the crisis. He has appealed to all parties. But I am surprised that some Members of the Opposition, especially professors and research scholars who are expected to be very much restrained in their expression and very much sober and balanced in their views, should have outright condemned the President's Address as dull, drab and so on. Especially my hon. friend Shri Mavalankar said that it was not worth reading.

DR. KAILAS (Bombay South): That is his characteristic. He always says like that, but he does not mean it.

SHRI K. K. SHETTY: I do not have much time, otherwise, I would have referred to all the points mentioned in the President's Address. Mr. Mavalankar claimed that Gandhiji was essentially a Gujarati, and Gujarat could claim him....

SHRI P. G. MAVALANKAR: I never said that. I never meant that, I never said that nor did I mean that.

SHRI K. K. SHETTY: Gandhiji belonged to the whole world.

SHRI P. G. MAVALANKAR: I said that he even belonged to eternity.

SHRI K. K. SHETTY: I had heard his speech....

SHRI P. G. MAVALANKAR: Let him read my speech again.

SHRI K. K. SHETTY: Of course, he belongs to the world and he belongs to the country, but essentially he belongs to Gujarat....

SHRI P. G. MAVALANKAR: He is putting into my mouth something which I had not said. He may criticise, but he should not put something into my mouth which I have not said.

SHRI K. K. SHETTY: It is the greatest blot on Gandhism and Gandhiji that Gujarat where he spent the most part of his life and where he started his *ashram* and carried on so many experiments on non-violence and *satyagraha* etc. should indulge in such violence, we find old leaders who were brought up and trained under Gandhiji keeping silent over all this. All of them including the respected old leader, Shri Morarji Desai I do not say Shri Mavalankar is an old leader. He is a youngster who has just come up. I am referring to the old leaders who had worked under Gandhiji. Shri Mavalankar was recently born; perhaps when we began our movement he was not born.

SHRI S. A. SHAMIM: That is not crime I was also not born then.

SHRI K. K. SHETTY: What I want to impress on the House is that none of these people went on a hunger strike or a fast unto death as Gandhiji used to do in such situations. Several old leaders including Sarvodaya leaders kept silent when violence took place.

Shri Mavalankar, I am sorry to say, spoke in hyperboles about police atrocities. Are the police drunken people let loose on the public? They are Gujaratis themselves; most of the police men are Gujaratis. Were there not responsible officers to give them directions? Will any policeman act unilaterally and harass people, oppress the people, beat them up or fire on

them without any not violence anywhere in the country?

SHRI P. G. MAVALANKAR: Have you gone and seen the problem?

SHRI K. K. SHETTY: We have read reports. Law and order should be maintained. This is the first duty of any government.

SHRI S. A. SHAMIM: It is not law and order; it is a food problem.

SHRI K. K. SHETTY: When there is burning of shops, buildings, houses, offices, university buildings, is the police to keep quiet? Should there not be law and order? That is what I want to stress.

There was not a single old Gandhian there, a State very famous for old Gandhians and Sarvodaya leaders, who intervened. They did not protest. They did not raise a little finger. They did not threaten to go on fast as Gandhiji would have done.

SHRI P. G. MAVALANKAR: We have been protesting loudly against many things. He is talking without information.

SHRI K. K. SHETTY: Being an old Gandhian, I did not interrupt him.

I am surprised, shocked, that there was no protest from them.

MR DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Did you hear the bell? You should conclude now. You have taken more than ten minutes.

SHRI K. K. SHETTY: I will conclude by this observation. From my point of view, the President's Address contains....

SHRI S. A. SHAMIM: Spelling mistakes.

SHRI K. K. SHETTY: This is a most disrespectful way of referring to the President's Address. This is something most irresponsible. They have

become used to it. This sort of irresponsible behaviour is most unparliamentary and unbecoming of a member. But he is indulging day in and day out in this sort of remarks and interruptions... (Interruptions). What does he mean by 'spelling mistakes?'. I was provoked by this remark of his.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Shrimati Krishna Kumari.

SHRI K. K. SHETTY: I shall finish in two minutes, Sir. There were interruptions and every uncharitable remarks by the young Members who ought to know better.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: You are feeding grist to their mill.

SHRI K. K. SHETTY: So, I say that the President's Address contains all the salient points and all the warnings. Mr. Dandavate criticised the Government for saying that it is a world trend. Today, anything happening in any part of the world will always have its reaction on any country. Therefore, in every way possible we are facing the crisis, the challenge, in the country and in the world. We have all to co-operate together and face the challenges and try to overcome the critical situation the country is confronted with.

It is right that in the last paragraph of his Address the President has appealed to all the parties, all the citizens of the country, to work together and co-operate and face the challenge and get over this difficult situation.

श्रीमती कृष्णा कुमारी (जोधपुर): माननीय उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, गान्धेय जी के अभिभाषण पर धन्यवाद के प्रस्ताव पर बोलते हुए मैं कुछ सुझाव देना चाहती हूँ जिन का उल्लेख मैं ने अपने संशोधनों में भी किया है।

आज हम कठिन परिस्थितियों से मुजर रहे हैं। तारो और अभाव, अकाल और

अशांति का बोलवाला है। आर्थिक संकट स्पष्ट रूप से दिखाई दे रहा है। जनता जिन कठिनाइयों का सामना कर रही है, वह साधारण नहीं है। जनता में अमन्तोष की लहर फैलती जा रही है। कहा जाता है कि बहुत सी कठिनाइयाँ लोगों की अपनी बनाई हुई हैं। उदाहरण के तौर पर जमाखोरी और मनाफाखोरी। लेकिन राजदण्ड सरकार के हाथ में। और ऐसे लोगों को दण्ड देना सरकार का काम है। इस लिए इस का उत्तरदायित्व सरकार पर आ जाता है। सरकार राष्ट्रीयकरण पर राष्ट्रीयकरण करती जा रही है, परन्तु उन्हें कार्यन्वित करने के लिये जब तक प्रशासन तंत्र में भ्रष्ट लोग होंगे, सरकार को सफ़लता कैसे मिल सकती है। सरकार अपने भ्रष्ट और अवसरवादी राजनैतियों को निकाल बाहर करने में विफल रही है।

आज से लगभग दो वर्ष पहले जनता ने सरकार को स्पष्ट बहुमत दिया था। यह हमारा दुर्भाग्य ही है कि सरकार इस अवसर का पूरा उपयोग न कर सकी और लोगों का जीवन स्तर जहाँ का तहाँ है और गरीबी दिन-प्रति-दिन बढ़ती जा रही है। आवश्यक वस्तुओं की कीमतें बढ़ती जा रही है और गरीब लोगों के लिए दोनों समय भोजन प्राप्त करना भी एक समस्या बन गई है। बेरोजगारी एक भयानक समस्या है और लोगों के मन में संदेह होना स्वाभाविक है कि क्या वर्तमान आर्थिक संकट में भारत में प्रजातंत्र रह पायेगा ?

गुजरात की घटनाओं से सरकार की आँखें खुल जानी चाहिये। यदि सरकार बढ़ती हुई कीमतों पर नियंत्रण न कर पाई

[श्रीमती कृष्णा कुमारी]

तो सारे देश में अशांति फैलने का भय है। जब लोगों को खाने के लिये रोटी न मिलेगी तो वे क्या करेंगे।

“भुखे भजन न होय गोपाला।” लोगों को भूख लगने पर रोटी की आवश्यकता होती है। केवल भाषण से लोगों के पेट नहीं भर सकते और न ही ऐसे वातावरण में “गरीबी हटाओ” के नारे का कुछ महत्व है। ये सब हमारे लिये चुनौतियाँ हैं, इन से सबक लेना हमारा काम है।

मैं आशा करती हूँ कि आने वाले वर्ष में भगवान हमारी सहायता करेगा और देश में अच्छी वर्षा और अच्छी उपज होगी। मेरा सरकार के सुझाव है—ऐसे समय में सरकार को कठिन समय के लिये अनाज का स्टॉक जमा करने का भरसक प्रयत्न करना चाहिये।

मेरा निर्वाचन क्षेत्र पश्चिमी राजस्थान में है। वहाँ के लोगों की हालत बड़ी ही निराशाजनक और गम्भीर है। इस लिए मेरा कर्तव्य है कि वहाँ के लोगों की मुसीबत को सदन के सामने रखूँ—

1. पिछले दिनों जब देश में कोयला का अभाव रहा, तो जोधपुर के लोगों पर शायद इसका सब से ज्यादा प्रभाव पड़ा, क्योंकि जोधपुर रेलवे लाइन के बिल्कुल अन्त में है। बहुत सी रेल गाड़ियाँ जोधपुर के लिये रुक कर बी गईं। इस कारण वहाँ पर कोयले का स्टॉक भी कम है।

2. जोधपुर में एक स्कुटर और एक ट्रैक्टर फँस गये। जिसका सरकार ने बहुत पहले आश्वासन दिया था, अभी

तक उनका अविश्वसनीय अभाव है। जिस समय राज्यों का विलय हुआ था, सरकार ने आश्वासन दिया था कि हर प्रदेश को समान रूप से प्रोत्साहन दिया जायगा। मेरा सुझाव है कि हमारी आयोजना क्षेत्रीय आधार पर बननी चाहिये और केन्द्र सरकार तथा राज्य सरकार में तालमेल रहना चाहिये।

3. इस राज्य में अक्सर वर्षा नहीं होती और कभी कभी किसानों को बिना किसी उपज के ही भूमि का लगान देना पड़ता है। किसानों को पूरे वर्ष का काम नहीं मिल पाता है। इसलिए मैं सरकार से अपील करती हूँ कि कुछ ऐसे कदम उठाये जाय जिससे इस प्रदेश में कुछ मौसमी रोजगार की क्षमता और सम्भावना पैदा हो सके और जनता भुखों मरने से बच सके। पूर्ण बेरोजगारी के साथ साथ, अर्ध बेरोजगारी तथा मौसमी बेरोजगारी की समस्याएँ भी बहुत गम्भीर हैं। रोजगार सुविधाओं के अभाव में मानवीय साधन व्यर्थ जा रहे हैं और दुर्भाग्यवश यह एक ऐसा साधन है जो देश में उपलब्ध है।

4. देश को आजाद हुये 26 वर्ष हो गये लेकिन बड़े खेद की बात है कि अभी भी राजस्थान में लोगों को पीने का पानी प्राप्त करने के लिये तपती धूप में 3-4 मील जाना पड़ता है। आज के वैज्ञानिक युग में तहरे और ट्यूब वेल इस प्रदेश में अवश्य लगाये जा सकते हैं।

5. गाँवों में कुटीर उद्योगों के लिये छोटे छोटे प्रशिक्षण केन्द्र स्थापित किये जाने चाहिये। आशवासनों को ऐसी कलाओं में प्रशिक्षण दिया जाना चाहिये जिनके लिये वहाँ संसाधन उपलब्ध हों, जैसे ऊनी कालीन, कम्बल, दरियाँ, बसीये, मिट्टी की बस्तुएँ, लकड़ी का सामान और खिलौने, मिट्टी के

बर्तन, चमड़े और जरी की कढ़ाई, कपड़ों की रंगाई व छपाई, शिला लेखन, आदि । अन्य उद्योगों के अतिरिक्त हमारा लीनर उद्योग भी समाप्त होता जा रहा है—सरकार को इस और विशेष ध्यान देना चाहिये ।

6. खाद्यान की देश में कमी है । कीमते बढ़ती जा रही है । राजस्थान में जहाँ पहले एक व्यक्ति को राशन में 8 किलो अनाज मिलता था अब केवल 3 किलो अनाज एक माह में मिलता है । बड़े दुख की बात है कि लोगों के अत्यन्त खाली मासुमी भी चोर बाजार में लेनी पड़ रही है ।

अन्त में मुझे केवल इतना ही कहना है कि मैंने सम्मेलनों के जो समाधान सुझाये हैं, पर जो सम्मेलनों में पेश की है वे निर्दलीय रूप में रखी है । मेरा संबंध किसी पार्टी विशेष के विचारों में नहीं है । मेरा उद्देश्य देश की चहुँपती विकास है जिस में देशवासियों के हित-दर-दूर हो सके और उनके लिये हम सबको आपसी झगड़ों को भुलाकर मिलकर काम करना होगा । यदि हर देश वामी चाहे वह किमान है मजदूर है या नेता है, अपना उत्तरदायित्व अपनी प्रणाली में निभाये तो देश की प्रगति सुनिश्चित है । मुझे यह है कि कहीं ऐसा न हो कि आने वाली पीढ़ी यह कहे कि हमने प्रजातन्त्र बचाने का प्रयत्न नहीं किया और हम देश के भविष्य के साथ खिलवाड़ कर रहे हैं । केवल एक दूसरे पर छीटाकसी करने से लोगों के पेट नहीं भर सकते । जब तक किसी भी क्षेत्र में लोगों में आपस में सद्भावना और सहयोग का अभाव रहेगा तब तक देश प्रगति कैसे कर सकता है । आज आवश्यकता है इस बात की है कि हर भारतवासी यह महसूस करे कि यह देश मेरा है, देश की प्रगति मेरी प्रगति है, तभी देश दिन रूनी रात चीगुनी प्रगति कर सकता है यदि देश के 55 करोड़ आदमी कंधे से कंधा मिलाकर पूर्ण रूपेण काम करें तभी हमारे सपने साकार हो सकते हैं और भारत हमारे सपनों का भारत बन सकता है ।

SHRI INDER J. MALHOTRA
(Jammu): Right at the beginning I should like to say that some of our colleagues, whether rightly or wrongly, have chosen to give certain strange adjectives to the President's Address. Some of them have termed it as inadequate. In my opinion if one is to make an objective analysis of the President's Address one will come to the conclusion that it was an honest and sincere attempt to analyse the problems which the nation faced today. It also gives an indication of the approach to be adopted by the people of this country irrespective of the strata of society to which they belong. to solve the problems, whether economic or political.

I would like to mention that a lot of time has been spent during this debate, analysing the causes and factors which have led us to this grave economic crisis today, and some suggestions have also been made as to what steps the Government should have taken to overcome this economic crisis. My only complaint is that very little has been said about the role that can be played by the individual to strengthen the hands of not only the Government but also the other agencies which contribute towards the increased production of various items in this country.

There has been a good deal of talk about the shortfall in foodgrains and the defects in the public distribution of foodgrains. There is no denying the fact that due to various factors there has been marginal shortfall in the production of foodgrains. Even though my colleagues from the opposition have referred to the artificial scarcity, the main factor responsible for defective or inadequate public distribution is the reduction in procurement. But here we have to remember that this is not a Government which is running a police State; this is a democratic government. So, it has to take steps, keeping in view the basic democratic principles. This Government, which is

[Shri Inder J. Malhotra]

dictated by the people, which is working for the people, cannot adopt those measures by which any producer, whether he is a farmer or a small factory owner or the producer of a consumer article, can be forced in a way which will go against the basic rights given to the citizen under the Constitution. So, there will naturally be a lot of difficulties in the way of procurement, whether it be foodgrains or other consumer goods.

It has also been asked whether it is not possible for the Government to nationalise all those units which produce consumer goods. I am one of those who has always been saying that the Government should take over all those units when the time is ripe, when the Government is in a position to take over and run those units. But before we nationalise any unit we must make it doubly sure that we have got the right type of properly trained personnel with us to run that particular unit to its fullest capacity and improve production.

Now I would like to turn to another field, about which very little has been said, and that is our achievement in the international relations. Apart from other factors durable peace in the Indian sub-continent is the most important thing for increasing production. It is quite clear that some of the problems which we are facing today are the outcome or the offshoot of the 1971 war which was forced on this country by Pakistan. While I would not like to repeat past events, all the same, I would like to say that the policy initiated by our Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, before the war, during the war and after the war to establish a durable peace in this sub-continent has paid its dividend. Only the other day Pakistan recognised Bangladesh, which is a matter for rejoicing. India was the first country, under the leadership of Shrimati Indira Gandhi, to recognise Bangladesh to point the path which this universe should take. As far as Bangladesh is concern-

ed, today it has proved right, with the recognition of it by Pakistan.

As has been mentioned in the President's Address, and also indicated by the Prime Minister of Pakistan during the last two or three days I hope that a tripartite conference of India, Bangladesh and Pakistan at some level will be held very soon to make a sincere effort to solve the problems which are being faced by the three countries today.

Now, it is quite indicative, coming to the policy which India has pursued during the last few years towards Pakistan and the efforts that we have made for a durable peace in this sub-continent, that much still depends upon the attitude and approach that the Prime Minister of Pakistan adopts. But I am quite confident that the atmosphere and the conditions prevailing in Pakistan and around Pakistan, the attitude of the Pakistani leadership, will be more positive, that they will be more responsive and they will adopt more constructive attitude to solve the problems which this sub-continent is facing today.

One of the offshoots of the last 1971 war with Pakistan is the question of the refugees of Chhamb area. Time and again, I have been trying to focus the attention of this august House about their problems. I want to draw the attention of the Government and urge upon the Government to take immediate steps for their proper rehabilitation. During the last war, the people of this area made the maximum sacrifice. When the line of actual control was drawn up and decided upon between the representatives of India and Pakistan, unfortunately, the area in which they were living before the last war was handed over to Pakistan. It is the entire, the sole, responsibility of the Central Government to make available all kinds of facilities for their proper rehabilitation.

I would also like to mention that during the last year or so the political atmosphere and other conditions in Jammu and Kashmir State have improved to a great extent. This has been possible by the dynamic leadership which the Chief Minister, Syed Mir Qasim, has provided to the State. Another happy factor is the role which Sheikh Abdullah has chosen to play now not only in the State but also in the rest of the country. I welcome the efforts which have been put forward by Sheikh Abdullah to strengthen the secular forces in this country, not only in the State of Jammu and Kashmir but in the rest of the country also.

Here, I would like to point out, let us not confuse the issues in the name of the change that has come about as far as the attitude of Sheikh Abdullah is concerned. I appreciate his efforts for strengthening the secular forces in this country. But when he says that more autonomy should be given to Jammu and Kashmir State, I think, he is trying to confuse the issue. The people of Jammu and Kashmir State want autonomy at the equal level, that is, the autonomy which is now being enjoyed by other provinces and States in the country.

SHRI S. A. SHAMIM: No.

SHRI INDER J. MALHOTRA: Your lone voice is not going to count. I represent the people of Jammu and Kashmir. (Interruptions). Howeversoever politically powerful he may think himself to be, this is not going to affect the attitude of the people of Jammu and Kashmir. The people of Jammu and Kashmir have sacrificed much to come into the main-stream of the nation. No individual can put back the clock. I want to make it absolutely clear.

SHRI S. A. SHAMIM: He can only make a speech in parliament, and not outside.

SHRI INDER J. MALHOTRA: I do not know whether he represents

the people or he represents Sheikh Abdullah. I know his past, I know his present, but I do not know his future.

SHRI S. A. SHAMIM: Then he must be a very wise man. He is the mid-wife in Jammu.

SHRI INDER J. MALHOTRA: In the end I would like to make a very sincere appeal that, in order to solve the problems, economic or political, which are being faced by the country today, every individual and every party should put his or its mite.

Sir, I support the motion of thanks.

SHRI MORARJI DESAI (Surat): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I am speaking after a silence of more than 27 months in this hon. House as I feel that the time has come when the political and economic scene has become so volcanic that one feels very anxious about the future and the days through which we shall have to pass. It is, therefore, necessary that I should point out what I think about it to the Government. Whether they attend to it or not is their look-out. But I must also appeal to the country through this hon. House, so that the country fights the anti-democratic forces and restores democracy to its real level. I am very much disturbed because I find that the values which the Congress had laid down and was observing, the democratic traditions, economic values and political integrity, have been cast to the winds by the ruling party and that too in the name of congress itself.

When the President addressed the two Houses, he mentioned that 'the times are very difficult'. I am glad that he has recognised it. It was not even recognised some time back. But he did not suggest any remedies for relief. Of course, I cannot find fault with the President because, while he has delivered the Address, it was prepared by the Cabinet. Therefore, it is the Cabinet to which I must address my remarks. The worst situation is happening in the economic

[Shri Morarji Desai]

field which touches the whole population and more particularly the 40 per cent of the people, an acknowledged even by the President, who live below the poverty-line in this country. Prices are rising so fast from year to year that it is difficult for the poor people to get even one meal a day. People who do not feel the pinch, certainly would not realise it. But I have seen people like that myself in the course of my travels through the country. Even during the election tour that I have had to undertake in UP I have seen abject poverty in several areas....

SHRI K. P. UNNIKRISHNAN (Badagara): You did not see it before.

SHRI MORARJI DESAI: Not as much as I see it now. There is no poverty for my friends who are sitting over there because they are making the most out of these chaotic conditions....

SHRI VASANT SATHE (Akola): It must be worse for you.

SHRI MORARJI DESAI: I was also not speaking in this hon. House for the last 27 months because I know the spirit in which my hon friends opposite take what is said by the Opposition. They specialise in disturbing people when they find something inconvenient. For them that is very democratic, but..

SHRI K. P. UNNIKRISHNAN: It may not be worthwhile to learn democracy from you.

SHRI MORARJI DESAI: I know what you will learn. You will learn soon at your cost. Events are fast moving and you will realise what you are getting. It is very easy to create a disturbance from a safe position of Government for the Opposition because it is weak....

AN HON. MEMBER: As in Gujarat.

SHRI MORARJI DESAI: In Gujarat

what is happening? If that does not teach a lesson to my friends, I do not know what will teach them. I will come to it later on.

The prices as they are rising for the last four years are phenomenal and one does not know where it will lead us to. And whose fault is it? When we say that it is the Government's wrong policies which are responsible for it, the Government say that all this is due to the fact that it is a world phenomenon. What is the world phenomenon? In the international world, in the well-to-do countries prices are rising, but they do not rise beyond 5 to 7 per cent in a year, while their annual incomes are rising by more than 10 per cent. How will, therefore, the price-rise, pinch them? But what happens here? Not only the prices are rising by more than 100 per cent but the incomes are not only not increasing for the bulk of our people but incomes are decreasing, specially for the people who are below the poverty line.

Unemployment is increasing even according to the Government's records and the Government's records themselves show that unemployment amongst the educated has increased by 75 per cent in the last two years. These are not my figures. And, when that happens, a callous attitude is taken towards them by saying that these are world phenomena. How is it a world phenomenon? When that does not catch, it was said that the year 1972 was the worst scarcity year during the last 100 years. This is also far from the truth, to say the least, if we look at the figures of production in 1972-73, that is, those two years and the previous years when there was greater scarcity. Take the years 1965-66. The production of food crops in 1965 was 72 million tonnes and in 1966 it was 74 million tonnes. On the whole, therefore, it was 146 million tonnes for two years. What was the production in these two years of 1972 and 1973? It is 200 crores and more. How can there be a comparison bet-

ween these two figures? And yet, what happened in 1965-68? Nobody got less than 8 kilos per day per month, in those two years. (*Interruptions*). These figures are in millions of tonnes. I hope they are agitated but they do not seem to have any feeling of agitation. There is so much callousness all around that even all this misery does not move them and they think that it is a time good enough for going at the opposition in such matters. They would certainly like to help, but how are they to help? You say, all suggestions given by them are really crude and are not acceptable at all. It is so difficult in a democracy when the ruling party does not show any courtesy to the opposition which is so fundamental in a democracy. I can quite understand that all suggestions of the opposition cannot be accepted by the Government and may not be accepted. Nobody will quarrel with it but at any rate courtesy and respect must be shown to what the opposition says. But instead of that everything is laid at the doors of the opposition. Even in the matter of prices the opposition is being blamed, that the opposition's agitation is responsible for it. How does the opposition raise the prices? I don't understand that. And, what is the opposition to do when the prices are rising; are we not to point it out? Then what are we for? Now, this is what is not realised by those who are in charge of the Government.

And, there is no chance of prices coming down as long as this Government is in office. I have no doubt about it in my mind, because their policies are such. Even the Economic Survey which has been laid on the Table of the House yesterday, shows no remedy, no hope for this year, no certainty for it. I do not understand why they are so helpless. The remedy is very clear, because, the causes are very clear for rising prices. In spite of there being enough food in this country there is scarcity felt every-

where. I say that there is enough foodgrain in the country. Why do I say that? Because, in 1965-68, in these two years, we had produced only 146 million tonnes of foodgrains and by importing only about 15 million tonnes in those two years, with 160 million tonnes, we could feed all the people without any difficulty and everybody getting not less than 8 kilos per month. What is the difficulty in giving full supply to everybody, more than even 8 kilos, when there has been more than 200 million tonnes produced in two years, and in the previous year, it was 108 million tonnes in one year? Therefore, it is mismanagement and wrong policies which are responsible, which have created an artificial scarcity. And it is this which the Government ought to take into account and correct and take corrective measures.

But instead of doing this, fault is found either with the season or with international conditions. And if nothing else is available then the opposition is a good peg to hang everything on! But even worse than that, the Government finds fault with the administration, saying, the administrative machinery is wrong or ineffective and therefore this is happening. Who is responsible for the administrative machinery? Is not the cabinet responsible for it? Under whose orders do they work? And if they are not efficient enough to manage their administrative machinery what business have they to run the Government? What business have they to remain in Government? If they are self-respecting they ought to go out and give place to other people who can manage it. Or, else, manage it all right. Who comes in their way in managing the administration? But, they don't want to do it.

Instead of that, they try to take action against the Judiciary and three seniormost judges are superseded in the Supreme Court, thereby

[Shri Morarji Desai]

trying to make them subservient to the Executive. Now, this is an assault on the Constitution itself and on Democracy. Production on all fronts is almost at a standstill or is very static. It is not increasing. That is why also things are less available. When money circulation goes up and up, prices are bound to go up. They can never come down. When deficit financing goes on increasing from year to year, what else will happen? There may have been deficit financing in the past but it was not of this order at all and nowhere near it. Now it is mounting by leaps and bounds. Therefore, money circulation has increased beyond limits. Whereas the money circulation was Rs. 5,000 crores by 1969, in the next four years, it has increased by about Rs. 4800 crores—in only four years. What will happen? The prices are bound to go up. The prices are shown to have risen by 22 per cent to 30 per cent in two years. But take the ordinary *sarsu* oil which is used by the Common man in UP. It used to be Rs. 4 a kilo in 1971 and now it is Rs. 13 per kilo. It has gone up by 300 per cent. When we come to *dal*, its prices too has gone up a great deal. The prices of vegetables are also increasing everyday or every week. Take tomatoes. They were available for Rs. 4 a kilo in Delhi or in Bombay. Their prices are rising like this every day. What can the people do? The only thing left to them is to die and to disappear. Instead of poverty disappearing, the poor people are disappearing. Well, if that is what the Government wants, I think it has achieved this very successfully;

Therefore, the Government has to do something about the inflation. This happens because deficit financing goes on increasing. Why cannot you give it up? It is said that because of defence, because of security, the expenses have to be incurred. The defence expenditure has to be incurred. At the same time, scarcity has also

got to be tackled. That money is misutilised and fifty per cent of it is swallowed by those who manage the scarcity operations. How can you have money for any other purpose? In the same way, in the matter of defence expenditure, nobody would say that the defence expenditure should be cut down so that the defence is weakened. But, there is great scope for economy even in defence expenditure. I have no doubt that Rs 200 crores can be economised even after strengthening the defence more than what it is to-day. Because, there is so much of corruption allround wherever you go, and if that corruption disappears, there will be a lot of economy achieved and the money circulation too will go down.

Government seems to be going fast towards increasing the money circulation from year to year. I do not know what picture will be presented this year in the budget after two days. I am quite sure that the deficit has mounted up much more than what was calculated. We read from the papers the other day that Rs. 1000 crores will be in deficit in the first nine months of the year. I do not know what the facts are because these are figures published in papers. It will be a terrific thing when we see the budget after two days. But, what is the remedy for it? The remedy is to give deficit financing and practise economy. Economy can be practised in several areas. I do not want to take much more time over it because I have little time at my disposal.

Unless incentives are given for production by allowing the initiative to those who produce, I do not think production can be increased. At the same time, the cost of production also must be decreased. Unless the costs of production are decreased, there can be no remedy for tackling the prices properly as it should be done.

Corruption is becoming the only commodity which is not scarce. Everything else is scarce but corruption is not scarce. It is getting more and more and more everyday. In all fields it is now encroaching, practically, if I may say so. Even on the political side, corruption is prevailing. The way the office of the Governor is utilised is something terrible. In Orissa, the Ministry disappeared, and the Opposition had a majority but they were not allowed to form government and President's rule was established. When they went to court, the High Court said that they had no jurisdiction in the matter but they did record a finding that it was misuse of his powers by the Governor for which the High Court had no remedy. If after such a distinct finding by the High Court, the Governor goes on merrily, whose fault is it? It is the fault of the people who appoint him and control him? But they are utilising him only as an instrument, and this is what is being done for the institution of Governors and even the President, if I may say so, because the President is made to say whatever he does not want to say.

The other day, the President said in a speech that food scarcity including the food problem was due to corrupt and inefficient method of distribution by Government. But he does not say that in the President's Address because he is not allowed to say so. But I do not know why he was allowed to say so before. I do not understand this kind of functioning of Government, which had never happened before, at any rate, in the past.

The corruption in the economic field is something terrible. It has left all limits. I had never seen this kind of corruption even in the British period. That is the kind of corruption which is going on everywhere. There is not one thing which can be done without paying money by the ordinary person, except of course by those who are connected with Minis-

ters or with Congress MPs who can get those things done easily as they want to be done. But all others have got just to pay money in order to get things done.

Railway travel has become difficult. The other day, a Sarvedaya worker said that he was coming from Kanpur and he could not get a ticket in third class with reservation unless he paid money and he had to pay money, he said. I am very sorry if he had paid money; he should not have travelled. Somebody at least should resist. But this is the state of the country in which people become weak. Whose fault is it? Is it not the duty of Government to reduce corruption? Is it not the duty of Government to see that corruption is reduced to a minimum? I can understand if corruption does not disappear completely, but it is bound to go down and down if constant efforts are made, then alone there will be integrity coming into the administration and also efficiency; otherwise, it cannot come. But instead of doing that, lakhs and lakhs of rupees amounting to crores are being collected by Ministers for party purposes, and if they are collected for party purposes and spent in elections as they have been spent, as they had never been spent in the past by the Congress at any time, and all this is done in the name of the Congress, corruption is made rampant. If this happens at the Ministerial level, how can the administration remain free from it? The administration will behave as the ministry will behave. Therefore, the whole disease lies at the root and this is what is required to be remedied.

I now come to the question of Gujarat which has been very casually mentioned in the President's Address, which also shows what indifference is there in the Government to what is happening in Gujarat.—Only one line is mentioned there that President's rule has been established in Gujarat. But why was it established? What is happening? That is not men-

[Shri Morarji Desai]

tioned at all. I am very sorry that violence has sprung up also in Gujarat where it was the least expected. But what is the cause of that violence? Violence did not take place in the beginning. It was a spontaneous movement by the students and the young people, joined later on by all other sections of the people against corruption and against non-availability of foodgrains. If only two kilos per head per month are given in ration shops, what are the people to do from day to day? This is what has created a revolt in Gujarat, because the Gujarat people had never seen such corruption before the ruling party came into power in Gujarat. That is why this is happening (*Laughter*). They can laugh at themselves. It is they whom I am referring to because all of them are not free from it. They can laugh it out. They are bound to because that is the only way left to laugh it out. But please remember, he laughs best who laughs last. I am quite sure the time would soon come when they will not be able to show their faces to their own people, to their own constituents. I have no doubt about it.

This is what is happening in Gujarat. This is what I am worried about. I do not like it. I have gone there and I have spoken against violence. I have said that there should be no violence because violence is not the remedy for it. But when people see that they have either got to put up with that Government or take to a remedy which is available to them, and when the Government goes on committing atrocities on harmless people, what else can happen? I have gone there and seen things for myself. I have made enquiries and I found that out of 54 people who have been shot down, not less than 30 people have been completely innocent who had nothing to do with any movement or anything. They have been shot down in cold blood. The police have gone into the houses of people (*Interruptions*).

SHRI VASANT SATHE: Why were 105 people shot down in Bombay? What was that? Mercy killing?

SHRI MORARJI DESAI: I will tell you about that.

SHRI VASANT SATHE: It is very easy to talk like this now.

SHRI MORARJI DESAI: I have said that not one innocent man had died amongst those 105 in Bombay. They were all people who were killed by bullets when they were actually looting or killing people, not otherwise. Also let them remember that whatever I did, the whole violence disappeared in two and a half days. But what are they doing? They are killing people and violence has gone on for the last six weeks. They are not even efficient in doing what they should do.

I know that Government has to govern. I would support a Government which shoots down people who loot or commit dacoities or murders. Let them be shot down. I will support them for it. But what is the meaning of shooting down people who are on the street trying to buy something? One man was flying a kite on a roof. He was shot down in the inside street. I have seen all that.

SHRI S. A. SHAMIM: Why should he fly a kite?

SHRI MORARJI DESAI: Flying kite is a crime! I have gone there, seen it and verified it. He was killed in such a manner that his skull was broken and stuck at the wall and some hair is still sticking there. I have seen it there.

This is how atrocities are committed. Policemen have gone into the houses of people on the second floor, taken people out of their beds and beaten them. A women's procession which was completely non-violent and peaceful, was broken up by dragging women by their hair. When this thing happens, what else is going to happen?

Therefore, now the whole people of Gujarat are in revolt. What is one to do about it? One does not see when this Government is going to wake up. President's rule has been established. The Assembly has not been broken up, not been dissolved, and elections are not ordered. The demand of the people is that such a corrupt Government and such a corrupt party cannot be allowed to run the government any longer; therefore, let the Assembly be dissolved and let there be fresh elections. If you do that, there will immediately be quiet in Gujarat, absolutely. I have no doubt about it. That can happen without anybody's doing anything. There will be complete peace there, provided this is done. But they will have to do it. I have no doubt about it. The sooner they do it, the better it is for them. If they do not do it, then they will have to disappear themselves. I have no doubt about that.

I do not want to take up any further time from you.

16 hrs.

THE MINISTER OF HEALTH AND FAMILY PLANNING (DR. KARAN SINGH): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I have listened yesterday and today with very keen interest to the speeches that have been made from the Opposition Benches. Many of them have been critical; many of them have been hypercritical; and many of them, I am afraid, have verged on the hypocritical. But the point is that the crisis through which the nation today is passing is really too deep a crisis simply to be looked upon as another forum for making a debating point or for trying to take off a certain point or to make a point against the Government. There is no doubt that what the nation today is looking for in this House is a new lead. This House is not only a debating society; it has to focus all the aspirations of the people of India, who have elected all of us who are here, and therefore, it is incumbent upon us to give a new lead to this nation at this time.

16.01 hrs.

[SHRI DINESH CHANDRA GOSWAMI in the Chair].

Sir, the crisis through which we have seen—and I do not only refer to the economic crisis—is in fact international. The whole world today is in the midst of a major crisis. To name just three countries: China, for example, is on the verge of another cultural revolution. The United States has reached a situation where the political system seems to be on the verge of a total collapse. Great Britain, the Mother of Parliaments, is in a situation today where they are down to a three-day week and there is a crisis.

The point I am making is that India certainly is going through a crisis. It is a crisis of many dimensions. There is the economic aspect. Certainly nobody can deny it, and I would say that not only do we not deny it but we have very clearly posed the situation in the *Economic Survey* that has been placed on the Table of the House. I strongly repudiate the suggestion that Government is either calous or is in anyway unresponsive to the people. We are aware of the grave economic crisis that we are facing.

But, Sir, it is also true, despite what the Opposition people may say, that to a large extent the factors behind the economic crisis have been totally outside our control. It is not necessary for me to go into this at length. I am sure there will be other occasions; apart from the President's Address, there will be the budget; there will be a debate on the Plan, but may I point out that over the last two or three years, as the President has mentioned, there have been unprecedented and unpredictable developments. Drought, for example. May I say with due respect to Shri Morarji Desai who is a very senior Member and who entered politics long before I was born—I should give him the courtesy and consideration that he quite rightly demanded—even if he had been the Finance Minister, I do not think he could have prevented

[Dr. Karan Singh]

the drought. Even if he had been the Finance Minister, when one crore of refugees came to this country, would he have turned round and said that we want to save money and we will not feed them? Even if he had been the Finance Minister, do you think that, when the war came and we had to spend crores upon crores of rupees to safeguard our integrity, he would not have spent it? (Interruptions) We have listened to him with great respect. The point I am making is that many of the factors that are responsible for the economic crisis today are beyond our control.

There was mention of international prices. The hon. House knows how the increase in oil prices or the increase in the price of other commodities has totally upset our fifth five year plan calculations. So, the point that I am making is that we are fully aware of this crisis. We are facing it. This is not a party matter. This is a national issue, and this is an issue upon which all of us combined have to meet and have to seek a solution. It is no use simply trying to put the blame upon the Government. This is a national matter. But, I will say this, bandhs, gheraos, strikes, lock-outs and sabotage—do we not realise that all this sort of activities will bring to a total standstill the economic mechanism in this country? Who is going to really bear the brunt of this? It is not the affluent section of society which is going to suffer. It is really the poorer sections of society. Whereas we can welcome constructive criticism and cooperation on the economic front, I would urge that the question of increased production and smooth movement and rational distribution of goods are no longer a party matter; it is a national matter and we have got to work together in this. Even with regard to this problem of economic crisis or the political crisis, I should say that it is something even deeper. I feel that really in a way it is a moral and spiritual crisis.

My charge against the Opposition is not so much that they are trying to discredit the Congress. The Congress party is much more powerful than all these people put together and will remain so. In the last 90 years the Congress party has been through many ups and downs, and after every crisis it has emerged stronger than before. We are not worried about the criticisms of the Congress party, because we know that with all its failings and weaknesses the Congress party is much more deeply rooted to the soil than the other parties. My charge against them is also not for the unedifying attacks, personal attacks that have been made upon the Prime Minister if not in the House, elsewhere. What the Prime Minister has been able to achieve by her leadership in 1969 and 1971 has assured her a honoured place in the history of the nation and none of them will be able to change that. We are also confident that she will continue and she is the only person who can rise to the occasion and again give a new lead to this country. That is not our problem. My charge is not this.

My charge is this. There has been a concerted attempt by the Opposition parties to sedulously propagate defeatism, doubt and despair for petty political purposes. In the final analysis it does not really make much difference which party wins the election. Once again I am sure we are going to win and you will see when the results start coming out. Somebody may win here and somebody may lose there, but the only point is what happens to the people of India? Are we going to destroy the fabric of national unity? Are we going to destroy those principles of secularism, socialism and democracy that are enshrined in our Constitution? If these foundations are weakened, I submit that India gets weakened. It is not a question of one party or the other party, it is the question of fundamental basis upon which this nation is built.

I listened with great attention to the speech made by Prof. Mavalankar. He is an intellectual and a political scientist. I am also a student of politics to some extent. He has mentioned the terrible events that have taken place in Gujarat. There is no doubt that what happened in Gujarat is a national tragedy. It does not concern the people of Gujarat alone. It is a matter of concern for every Indian regardless of where he comes from, whether from Kashmir or from Kerala.

SHRI PILOO MODY (Godhra): Why has not Mr. Dikshit or the Prime Minister gone there?

DR. KARAN SINGH: I am not arguing about the question of dissolution and so on. I am sure the Prime Minister will take the correct decision at the correct time and she will in her reply deal with this matter. I was only submitting the broader implications of this matter. Are we suggesting that the parliamentary norms and parliamentary institutions in this country have become irrelevant?

SHRI S. A. SHAMIM: Yes.

DR. KARAN SINGH: If we suggest that, as Mr. Shamim very facetly said, we will have to think of the consequences. Do you realise that once you accept a situation in which parliamentary norms and parliamentary institutions no longer have any

relevance, you are creating conditions in the country where the very foundations, upon which the Constitution is based, by which we are all sitting in this House, are weakened and destroyed. Sir, a totalitarian government may be more efficient in shooting down people; I accept that. But the point is this: is that the sort of situation that we want to develop in this country? I would very deeply urge my friends on the other side to please consider this matter. Where will political legitimacy come from in this

country, if it does not come from the people? What are those modes through which political legitimacy would come? Are we going to accept a situation in which a situation can immediately be created in any State where the whole political and parliamentary process becomes irrelevant. This, I feel, is not a party matter. This is a matter over which everybody sitting in this House will have to ponder, because when we came into this House we have taken a pledge on the Constitution, and so we must ponder over where the situation is leading us.

The youth in this country is certainly restive. There is a credibility gap. I am not sure how many of the hon. Members, particularly of the older generation, are aware of the terrible credibility gap that is developing between the youth and other sections of the community. It is a terrifying phenomena. The young people in this country are beginning to lose any interest in the whole system of parliamentary democracy; they are beginning to get alienated. Again, it is not a question of fault finding. I am trying to bring to your notice this phenomenon which is getting more and more deep-rooted. If that happens, if the whole generation gets alienated from its roots, the situation is going to be extremely difficult.

The younger generations are sound at heart. I have absolutely no doubt about it. I would like to narrate an incident which took place only the other day, about two days ago. As you know, some young doctors are fasting in front of my house. When I left my house in the morning I went

up to them and asked "how is it that you come to my house only during a birthday? Last time you came to me when it was the birthday of one of my children, a boy. Today happens to be the birthday of my daughter." Then I went out. When I returned in the afternoon, I had a message from them

[Dr. Karan Singh]

that they want to come and give a birthday card to my daughter.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Will you kindly mention the date so that we could also make a note of it?

DR. KARAN SINGH: I invited them in. They all come in. There was a birthday cake and we distributed it among those who were present. Of course, the hunger-strikers did not eat anything; let me put it clear on record!

So, the point I am making is this. If there is a proper approach to the youth, they will respond. There may be differences of opinion; that is a different matter. I am not worried about the difference of opinion. In any democracy there are bound to be differences of opinion. But if there is total alienation between the generations, then it is something which is very serious.

I find that my good friend, Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu, is not present in the House. What sort of example are we setting to the youth when the hon. Members of this House gherao the President when he comes to address the Members of Parliament? If you in that way display lack of faith in parliamentary institutions, what can you expect from the youth? The point is this.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA (Begusarai): We cannot defend that. But what business had your partymen to act as the policemen or security officers?

DR. KARAN SINGH: If the hon. Members sitting on the other side try to come to this side and approach the Prime Minister in that way, are we not going to defend her?

SHRI PILOO MODY: Prime Minister 'yes'; but not the President.

DR. KARAN SINGH: My point is this. What I am trying to say is that there must certainly be a change. There must be a fundamental structural change in the system. The administrative system, to which Shri Morarji Desai has referred, has to be changed; I am quite clear in my mind. We cannot get the sort of results that we want with the out-moded and rigid system of bureaucracy. In the whole economic field there has to be change. As far as politics is concerned, it has got to be purged of corruption. I entirely agree with everybody who has said that. But I think this attempt to put his label only on one side is entirely wrong. Corruption is a thing which is eating into the vitals of this nation. If this corruption is not got rid of, I may tell you that the whole process of parliamentary government in this country will stand totally discredited. We are second to none in our determination to root out corruption from this country. We are sure that the Prime Minister is going to take a major lead in this matter and try and see that the situation is improved.

This is not the only change needed. What is needed, if I may submit, is even deeper than that; it is a change in the value system that we have adopted. The re-introduction of certain spiritual values, if I may use the term, not in a denominational sense, into this country is essential if India is to become great. Here are the Ashoka Lions under which you, Sir, sit. Why was Ashoka great? Because he introduced the spiritual values of the Buddha into the country. Why was Gandhiji great? How was that frail man able to shake the British Empire? Because he was based upon certain spiritual values. It is, therefore, essential that these spiritual values of which we are proud have got to be re-introduced into the body politic of this nation.

These are our concepts which we have given to the entire world. We do not want to import alien ideologies

from abroad. These are our concepts which are able to give the lead to the entire nation. This is what is needed. It is not encouraging violence; it is not encouraging lawlessness; it is not encouraging chaos. What is required is the re-introduction of Indian values, spiritual values, not violence, lawlessness and chaos. It is from chaos that the enemies of India are going to succeed.

May I say with all the emphasis at my command that the enemies of India are not sitting silent. We do not have any enmity against any country. But there are countries which look upon us with enmity. I do not want to go into all that. I have myself lived on the mouth of the volcano all my life. I know what the situation is. I know there are powerful forces. They have got tremendous resources. They are now making provocative speeches. They are plotting against India.

May I submit again with all the emphasis at my command that this is the time when we require to stand united. Our brave armed forces are on the borders of this country. We have total faith in them. But I would repeat with all the emphasis and power at my command that the armed forces by themselves cannot defend the country unless we in this country are united.

Let us not forget the history of India down through the centuries. Let us not forget that when we try to spread an atmosphere of weakness, of depression, of fissiparous tendencies, in this country, that is the time when the enemy abroad becomes strong. Let us not forget that. Therefore, I would submit that despite the prophets of doom who have spoken, we have faith in our people. We have got to have faith in the people of India. They are the people who through thick and thin down through the centuries have always sustained the nation. If the

leadership has failed, it is the people of this country in whom we must have full faith, who have sustained the nation.

We are now going through a situation in which the whole nation is called upon to make up a vast co-operative effort. We have got to have confidence in our principles; we have got to have confidence in ourselves and, ultimately, we have got to have confidence in the destiny of our great nation.

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी (स्वालिदर) :
सभापति जी, कुछ जूनियर डाक्टर्स के बारे में भी कहें, उन के लिए इन के मन में बड़ी सहानुभूति है।

डा० कर्ण सिंह : अटल जी, आप के इलाज का प्रबन्ध हमने कर रखा है। बाकी जब डिबेट होगी, तब बोलूंगा।

*SHRI A. DURAIRASU (Perambalur): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I am grateful to you for giving me an opportunity to participate in the discussion on the Motion of Thanks to the President's Address, on behalf of my party, the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam.

At the very outset, I would like to say that the President's Address to a joint session of both the Houses of Parliament has become a monotonous annual ritual without any form or content. Many hon. Members who preceded me referred to the inexorable facts of daily worsening economic situation and the spiralling prices of essential commodities going beyond the reach of the common people. When the people of the country ask for food, this Government has not been able to meet their primary demand. This Government does not stop there. A recent example of this Government's attitude to the demand of the people for adequate supply of food-

*The original speech was delivered in Tamil.

[Shri A. Durairasu]

grains at fair prices is well known to all of us in this House. When the people of a State wanted adequate supply of foodgrains at fair prices, when the people of the State rose as one man against the impotent and inefficient State Government, the Central Government imposed the President's rule over the State, but did not improve the foodgrains supply situation. I would like to say with all the force at my command that a solution to the difficult problem faced by the people of the country does not lie in more assurance and hopes thrown about in a speech. We also see the sorry spectacle of such assurances given by the President year after year in his Address not being implemented by the Central Government. The Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam Members of Parliament did not participate in the President's Address mainly because of the reasons I have just now enumerated.

After the assumption of Office in Tamil Nadu, the D.M.K. Government have successfully brought about Green Revolution. By adopting modern scientific methods of agriculture and also with the help of improved varieties of high-yielding seeds, the Tamil Nadu has not only achieved self-sufficiency but also surplus in foodgrains production. The Tamil Nadu Government have supplied foodgrains to many other States at their hour of need. The President in his address has pointed out that the scarcity of essential commodities and interruptions in production and supply have been caused by strikes, bundhs and unrest. I would point out here that the ruling party at the Centre has unashamedly joined hands in one particular State with one political party which spear-heads such violent agitations.

श्री सुकान्त बाल कल्याण (मरेला) : सभा-पति जी, सदन में कोरम नहीं है। सम्प्रति के अभिभाषण पर चर्चा कर रहे हैं और सरकार

इतना बहुमत लेकर आती है लेकिन 50 लोग भी यहाँ पर नहीं रह सकते हैं।

MR. CHAIRMAN: The quorum bell is being rung.

Now there is quorum. The hon. Member may continue.

SHRI A. DURAIRASU: The President in his Address has stated that the State Governments should realise the importance of achieving procurement targets. The Central Government could distribute only as much quantity as the State Governments procured and made available to it. On February 9, 1974, while inaugurating a two-day Seminar on "Strategies for rural development", our Hon. President stated that despite a bumper year, hopes of improved procurement have not been fulfilled, on the contrary, there were complaints of large-scale withholding of stocks and hoarding. I do not know, Sir, whether you will be able to appreciate the difference in approach adopted by the President in a public platform and in his address to the joint session of both the Houses of Parliament. During 1973-74, the number of educated unemployed youngmen was of the order of 40 lakhs. The production has not increased in any sector including Agriculture. When the President says that the Centre could distribute only what the States procured, I would like to remind you, Sir, that the power of distribution of essential commodities is in the hands of the Central Government and that power is not being used justly and properly. I would give you one example. In Tamil Nadu there are several spinning mills producing yarn. Cotton is also cultivated on a large scale in Tamil Nadu. I am sorry to say that the distribution of yarn produced in Tamil Nadu from the cotton produced in Tamil Nadu is in the hands of the Central Government. Lakhs and lakhs of handloom weavers in Tamil Nadu are being deprived of their livelihood. To tell the naked truth, they are on the streets now. The

State Government can only remain a silent spectator of the woes of millions of handloom weavers in the State because they do not have the power of distribution of yarn produced in the State. The Opposition Party Members in this House, particularly the Members belonging to the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam, have repeatedly brought to the notice of the Central Government the pitiable plight of lakhs of handloom weavers in the State. But, all their pleadings have fallen on deaf ears. The distribution of essential commodities continues to be with the Central Government. The Tamil Nadu State Ministers have personally contacted the Central Ministers in this regard. But, till now no concrete steps have been taken by the Central Government to find a solution to the hardships of lakhs and lakhs of handloom weavers in Tamil Nadu. In the case of sugar, cement, yarn produce in Tamil Nadu the requirements of the people of Tamil Nadu cannot be met by the State Government because it has no power of distribution. When the State Government demands more powers to find solutions to the hardships and the problems of the people, to give food and cloth to the people, to reduce the rigours of unemployment in the State, to alleviate the miseries of millions of people, it is given a different colour by the Central Government. All kinds of unwarranted motives are attributed to the genuine demand of State autonomy by the Tamil Nadu Government. It is said that the State autonomy is nothing different from separatism. Such an unreasonable and unjust argument is advanced by the people at the Centre when the State Governments demands more powers in the interests and welfare of the people of the State. I would like to say that the demand for State autonomy is just the demand for powers to be vested in the State Government so that the State Government will be in a position to help the people in meeting their primary requirements of life.

During 1973-74, the deficit financing resorted to by the Central Govern-

ment has come to Rs. 1000 crores. In addition, currency notes to the extent of Rs. 10,000 crores had been printed by the Central Government. Besides, it is accepted by all that the circulation of black money in the country would be of the order of Rs. 5,000 crores at the minimum. With the steep increase in money supply and with the downward trend in production, it is normal under the economic laws for the prices to go up steeply. The inflation has enveloped the entire country due to the unimaginative economic policies and bad financial management of the Central Government. In my humble opinion, the prices will go down only when the production picks up and when the money supply in the form of printing of notes is reduced. But, when one looks at the present economic situation prevailing in the country, I wonder whether the Central Government is capable of controlling the inflation in the country. In spite of the fact that the Central Government have got all legislative powers and more than enough administrative institutions, the tax evasion goes on merrily, the black money is flourishing, the inflation continues unabated. The burden of direct and indirect taxes has broken the will of the people to survive. The people of the country are at the end of their tether.

Sir, recently there was an agreement signed between our Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi and the Prime Minister of Sri Lanka, Shrimati Bandaranaike about the stateless citizens of Sri Lanka. Sir, I want to bring to your notice that the stateless citizens of Sri Lanka have no other alternative except to opt for Tamil Nadu because they are all Tamilians. Besides, in Tamil Nadu they have got now a Government devoted to the welfare of the Tamil people. But there is also a limit for the State of Tamil Nadu to bear the additional burden of having people from Sri Lanka. When this problem is so intimately connected with Tamil Nadu, the Central Govern-

[Shri A. Durairasu]

ment led by Shrimati Indira Gandhi did not think it proper to have consultations with the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu and the Council of Ministers of Tamil Nadu before this agreement was negotiated with the Prime Minister of Sri Lanka. In a democratic set-up the State Government has its rightful place and in matters affecting the state, it is just and proper that the Chief Minister of the State should be consulted before agreement affecting the State are negotiated. This is not just the view of the Tamil Nadu State Government. I would like to say that the entire public opinion in the State holds this view.

Our late-lamented Chief Minister, Arignar Anna and our excellent and ever-active present Chief Minister, Dr. Kalaignar Karunanidhi have paved the way for Tamil Nadu becoming the surplus State in foodgrains. The people of Tamil Nadu and the Government of Tamil Nadu are eager to produce more and more of foodgrains. But their efforts are halted because of the paucity of fertilisers. The State Government cannot also get fertilisers from other sources.

श्री हुकम चन्द कछवाय गणतंत्रि जी,
सदन में कौरम नहीं है।

MR CHAIRMAN: The quorum bell rung. Now there is quorum. The hon. Member may continue.

SHRI A. DURAIRASU: The factories for producing the fertilisers are also not there in Tamil Nadu. The State Government has got no powers to import fertilisers from Russia or from Japan. The power of setting up factories for producing fertilisers is also with the Central Government. The State Government wants such powers to establish factories so that they can fulfil the aspirations of the people. The demand of the State Government of Tamil Nadu for autonomy is just; powers, which are now

concentrated in the hands of the Central Government, to be vested with the State Government so that the Government at the State level will be able to implement the assurances for the general welfare of the common people.

Even after 25 years of independence untouchability has not yet been abolished in the country. The dream of the father of our Nation, Mahatma Gandhi, has not yet become a reality. This becomes more poignant when you find that the Central Government has got all administrative and legislative powers to abolish untouchability in the country. When China committed aggression on our country, when Pakistan committed aggression on our territory, our country, with all its cultural diversities and different languages, stood against the aggressors like one man. For the entire world, India was in fact a beacon light. The national unity exhibited at the time of external danger, by the people of the country was unprecedented anywhere in any democratic country of the world. But what do we see now? The untouchability is being perpetuated with the support of political forces in the country. Regional feelings and parochialism are in the forefront. I am sure, Sir, you know the atrocities committed by the Shiv Sena on the minority population from the South living in Bombay. In Maharashtra, the Congress Party of Shrimati Indira Gandhi is in power. The Malayalam and Tamil speaking people living in Bombay have no protection for their life and property. On the other hand, you will find that in Southern States, more particularly in cities like Madras, people from different parts of the country are living in amity and peace. When the nation's unity is being threatened, I cannot appreciate that the President should speak of foreign policy achievements of his Government in great detail. This national unity fostered by Mahatma Gandhi got the independence from the British. The very same national unity

nurtured by leaders like Jawaharlal Nehru and others has permitted democracy to get established in the country. But, now the fabric of national unity is being torn as under by regional fanaticism which we noticed in Bombay recently. The Central Government continues to be a silent witness of this social injustice. But the moment the people in Tamil Nadu talk about Hindi imperialism, the people here get angry. They are not angry at the atrocities being perpetrated on the minorities in Bombay—the Malayalam and Tamil speaking people. The Central Government should take immediate steps to control this situation. It will not be in the interest of the entire nation to allow these things to continue any longer.

Before I conclude, I would just refer to the unbearable burden of direct and indirect taxes imposed by the Government. In the year 1960-61, the amount of direct taxes was Rs. 420 crores and indirect taxes Rs. 1040 crores. In the year 1971-72, the amount of direct taxes was Rs. 1238 crores and indirect taxes Rs. 4511 crores. There is no doubt that the tax burden would have gone up still further in the later years. With such heavy taxation and with prices going up every day, how do you expect the people of the country to make their both ends meet? Instead of removing poverty from the country, the Central Government may help in the removal of poor people from the country. I hope it will not be wrong for me to say that it is due mainly to the wrong economic policies and bad financial management on the part of the Central Government that the people of the country are facing untold miseries and hardships. The Central Government must act expeditiously in finding out the basic reasons for all the economic ills and take energetic steps to resolve them. Every year the President gives his address to the Parliament, raising the hopes and aspirations of the people. Then a thorough debate takes place in this

House. After this ritual, the problems of the people continue to remain and in fact their problems get multiplied year after year. I would also say that the Central Government must act impartially in the interest of the unity of the country in putting down such atrocities as we witnessed in Bombay recently.

With these words, I thank you for giving me an opportunity to say a few words on the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address.

SHRI A. K. M. ISHAQUE (Basirhat): I associate myself with the vote of thanks proposed by Shri B. K. Daschowdhury to the President for his Address. I was listening to the speech of Shri Morarji Desai with rapt attention. I thank him for breaking his silence after 27 months and contributed something to the debate for which he was elected, though during this period he, for reasons best known to himself, kept himself away from the service of this House. I only expected that Morarjibhai would at least condemn the method of the street which was introduced into the Central Hall by the Marxist Communist Party this year when the President came to address the two Houses assembled together. Unfortunately, he failed me as he failed many persons in the country. He did not have a word to condemn this method of the street introduced into the Central Hall for the first time in our parliamentary history. Even though Morarjibhai did not condemn this, I on behalf of the nation and of myself condemn this action of the Marxist Communist Party and say that this extra-constitutional method would not do. Whenever the Marxist Communist Party came into power, they tried to take advantage of the Constitution to wreck it from within. We have seen an example of it in West Bengal. People have given them the right reply they deserved. Morarjibhai has committed the greatest blunder of 1974 in not condemning this extra-constitutional method adopted by the Marxist Communist Party.

[Shri A. K. M. Ishaque]

When I participate in this debate, I feel through what critical stage we are passing. Our Prime Minister has very correctly been warning the nation throughout the year that we are facing a conspiracy hatched against India. Only a year ago, we heard that Iran was being armed to the teeth, the sole purpose of it being to strengthen or safeguard the interests of the Gulf States. Against whom, nobody knows. Only two weeks back, we heard that the Anglo-American powers have been setting up a naval base in Diego Garcia. Only the other day I was in Orissa and I found that Shri Biju Patnaik had given a call of total secession from India.

These divisive forces are at work in the country in the name of regional autonomy. This portends a dangerous trend in the country. This is the background in which democracy is functioning in India. I had expected Shri Morarji Desai to refer to this and to give a proper warning to the country and to suggest what methods we ought to adopt. But nothing came from him.

I shall start with the opening sentence of the President where he very rightly said:

"You reassemble at a time of difficulty and trial". As you know, all politics in India is concentrated round food and other essential commodities. We have seen that when food was left to private traders and to open market there was one phenomenon throughout the ages. At the harvest time, prices of foodgrains went down even below economic levels. When they went out of the farmers hands and into those of the hoarders, the prices were going up. We have been seeing this for the last 200 years. During the lean months prices go up as much as 200 or even 250 per cent over the prices ruling at the harvest time.

The people of the country never knew as to what could have been the prices of foodstuffs. There was so much uncertainty in the price of foodgrains. Therefore, a decision was taken that at least a fixed price for foodgrains should be ensured, and if we are to do any good to the poor of the country, this must be ensured to the people. Therefore, a decision was taken to take over the foodgrains trade. It would not only ensure a fixed price throughout the year but it was the first and foremost necessity for the country. It would also save the small farmers from being exploited and ruined by the exploiters and by the hoarders. The Opposition parties throughout the country only saw to it that this policy which is meant for the amelioration of the poor people does not succeed. The Communist (Marxist) Party who otherwise always advocated even State trading in foodgrains carried on a campaign against the procurement in West Bengal in close collaboration with other parties throughout India to see that this policy fails.

SHRI SAMAR MUKHERJEE (Howrah): Slander.

SHRI A. K. M. ISHAQUE: This is how the Opposition behaves in the country. Now, our purpose is to go in for State trading in foodgrains; but it requires a tremendous machinery if we start from Delhi and reach the remotest parts of India. Therefore, one cannot jump to State trading overnight. One has to pass through several phases and this taking over of foodgrains trade was one of the measures.

श्री सालकी माई (उदयपुर) : सभापति महोदय, यवस्था का प्रश्न है। सदन में गणपूर्ति नहीं है।

MR. CHAIRMAN: Let the bell be rung.—Now, there is quorum. The hon. Member may continue.

SHRI A. K. M. ISHAQUE: Sir, the law of the market is that the supply

and demand determine the price. The peculiar feature in foodgrains nowadays in India is that that law of supply and demand alone does not determine the price. I will give you one example. Only in May, 1973, when a call for the bandh was given in West Bengal, and only 10 days before that call was given, rice was selling at Rs. 2.10 a kilo. Just one day before the day of the bandh, the price of rice went as high as Rs. 3 a kilo. Then, immediately when the bandh was over, the price of rice was again coming down. Then there was an announcement that the Centre would not be in a position to supply all the food required for West Bengal. Immediately on the announcement of this, the price of rice was again going up.

Again the price rose to Rs. 2.50 per kilo. That is why the market is behaving like that. Opposition parties are forcing an abnormal phenomenon to appear in the present situation. They will go to the people and ask them to vote and they will ask them to extract as much profit as possible out of the difficult situation. This is the opposition we have in the country. They alone are responsible for all these troubles that we are passing through. The Prime Minister and the President immediately after our war with Pakistan was over gave a call to have a moratorium upon bundhs, lock-outs and strikes. The need of the hour is production. If we can produce then and then alone the problems could be solved, but then all attempts are made to hinder production. I suggest a way must be found. The organised sector has got the bargaining power, but the bargaining power must not be used as a licence; it should not be misused. They cannot be allowed to hold the country to ransom. We do not have any difference between the private sector and the public sector undertakings. One can understand a strike or hartal in a private firm, but we cannot understand this type of hartal or strike in

the public sector undertakings. After all it is not only the duty of the country to feed the labour; the labour has also got a duty towards the country. Public undertakings do not belong to any capitalist or private individual. In my opinion a code of conduct has to be formulated and the labour force of the country should be told that the right of bargaining will be thus far in the public sector undertakings. They should be told that their rights in public sector undertakings are limited. They should also be told to contribute to the national wealth. It is a good feature that from this year we will be having some profits in the public sector undertakings. This has to be consolidated. The labour must be enthused to consolidate it.

I shall make one suggestion for utilising the labour force as effectively as possible in this country. In our country the man at the top draws 20 times more than the man at the bottom. That is itself disincentive. I suggest that in public sector the ratio should not be more than 5:1. Incentives must be introduced for the public sector undertakings so that we can have full utilisation of the labour force. If we do this then and then only the production will look up and the problem will be solved by itself.

17.00 hrs.

SHRI C. H. MOHAMED KOYA (Manjeri): Mr. Chairman, the members of the smaller parties are at a handicap, because the time at their disposal is short and they cannot speak on general subjects. But we have got a point of view to represent. Even though a small number in this House, we represent a chunk of the population outside, and there are some problems which we alone will be able to raise in this House. So, I shall confine myself to the points raised by me in my amendments:

17.51 hrs.

[SHRI VARAN SARKIS is the Chair.]

My first point is about the political pension to the patriots who had taken part in the Mopallah Rebellion, which was part of the Khilafat Movement, started by Gandhiji. Even though the Kerala Government, in which the Congress is also a partner, had given them pension, the Central Government have so far refused to give them pension. I am surprised to find that Shri Dikshit takes his lessons in history from the British imperialists and the Jan Sangh people. There is the history written by Congressmen which they can read. There is one history book "Kerala and Congress" written by Barrister A. K. Pillai and other history books written by various authors which state that this was part of the Khilafat Movement started by Gandhiji. Of course, there were some communal incidents in the end, but what was the cause of all those agitations and struggles started by the Congress? There were instances of violence, murder and similar things. But, simply because of that, the patriots who participated in those struggles were not denied political pension. For six months there was no British rule in the Mopallah area because they gave a brave fight to the Britishers. If you cannot give them the pension, do not give them, but please do not humiliate them by saying that they were not taking part in the struggle for freedom. I am very sorry to say that Shri Dikshit has taken this stand, the stand which has been taken by the Jan Sangh on this issue. I hope that at least the Prime Minister would take some interest in this and see that those brave patriots are not denied the pension which they are, of course, getting from the State Government. Now the Central Government is following the line of the Jan Sangh on this issue. I do not know from where Shri Dikshit learnt his history. We must have read the history books written by British reactionaries and

imperialists. I hope he will at least read the history written by the Congress, the KPCC leaders.

Then I come to the Aligarh Muslim University, which was established with the sweat and toil of the Muslim community. It has now lost its minority character because Professor Nurul Hasan has with indecent haste introduced and passed the Aligarh Muslim University Amendment Act. Even though on the eve of the UP elections the statutes were amended, the community will not be satisfied unless the Act itself is amended. I believe that the Prime Minister in one of her speeches in Agra or Aligarh gave an assurance to the people that this will be considered. It is high time that the sentiments of this community is respected.

SHRI C. M. STEPHEN (Mavattupuzha): No such news-item has appeared in the press.

SHRI C. H. MOHAMED KOYA: You do not read the newspaper because you are busy with the elections.

Since the Aligarh Muslim University is the only institution of the Muslim minority community, its minority character must be respected by amending the Act.

Then, there is the question of the Urdu language. Even though it has been promised on the eve of the elections in UP, I think steps will have to be taken to declare Urdu as the second language, at least in those States where it is spoken. Even before independence, Mahatma Gandhi took the view that the national language of the country will be Hindustani, written both in Devnagari and Persian script. But, for historical reasons this was not implemented.

SHRI S. A. KADAR (Bombay—South-Central): You opposed it.

SHRI C. H. MOHAMED KOYA: Yes, you are right. We opposed it. We never opposed the introduction

of Hindustani. We only wanted Urdu to be the second language. That is the demand not only of our party but of the community as a whole. Not only our community but even the Congressmen have demanded that Urdu should be the second language....

SHRI S. A. KADER: They demanded not Urdu as the language but they said that Urdu is the language of the Muslims.

SHRI C. H. MOHAMED KOYA: We never said that. Even at that time the President of the *Anjuman Tarquie Urdu* was Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru. Pro-Hindu Mahasabha and Jana Sangh papers published from Delhi, *Pratap* and *Milap* are in Urdu.

SHRI S. A. KADER: There is the Muslim League Resolution on Urdu that it is the language of the Muslims.

SHRI C. H. MOHAMED KOYA: You read the Resolution of the Muslim League carefully. Our view is that it is not the language of the Muslims. I am a Muslim but I do not speak Urdu.

SHRI S. A. KADER: So am I. I do not speak Urdu.

SHRI C. H. MOHAMED KOYA: Urdu is not the language of the Muslims.

SHRI S. A. KADER: It is the language of India.

SHRI C. H. MOHAMED KOYA: But that is forgotten.

MR. CHAIRMAN: If both of you agree, then it is not the language of the Muslims.

SHRI C. H. MOHAMED KOYA: It is the language spoken by a large chunk of population in Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Rajasthan, etc. It is being neglected. There is no doubt about it.

Then, there is the question of representation for the community in the services. Will the Prime Minister and

the Government take care to see the statistics as to what is the representation of Muslims in the services? What is the representation of Muslim community in the nationalised Banks? What are you going to do about that? They say, it is on merit. Did not this community have any merit before Independence? How suddenly they lost their merit? If they lost their merit after Independence, it is your fault.

Is it a question of merit alone? I do not think it is a question of merit alone. It was said by the Railway Minister, Shri L. N. Mishra, in this House that there was a discrimination in the Railway services. What qualification you want for porters in the Railways? What qualification you want for postmen? It is not a question of merit. It is a question of discrimination. Something will have to be done. Otherwise, it will be really an injustice done to the minority community.

I know, the Prime Minister has said that this is, in a sense, a Muslim country. We are not a negligible minority community. Barring Bangladesh and Indonesia, we have the biggest population of Muslims in this country.

One more point and I have done. The Government had given some assistance to the Burma refugees during the war time and the Government has decided to take it back. These poor people are suffering. I would like the Government to issue an order that the loan given to them is written off as they have done in the case of goldsmiths.

श्री प्रस्ताव सिंह नेवी (गढ़वाल) :
सभापति महोदय, मैं राष्ट्रपति जी के अभि-
भाषण पर रखे गये अल्पवाद के प्रस्ताव का
समर्थन करने के लिये खड़ा हुआ हूँ। सन
1920 से लेकर आज तक मुझे स्वाधीनता
संघाम में भाग लेने का अवसर मिला लेकिन
सौभाग्य से आज ही पहला मौका मुझे मिला

[श्री प्रताप सिंह नेत्री]

जब मैंने श्री मोरारजी भाई का भाषण सुना । मोरारजी भाई के भाषण को सुन कर मैं यह सोच रहा हूँ कि उन्होंने इस भाषण में कौन सा नया सन्देश दिया है । उन्होंने अपने भाषण में कहीं रोना रोया कि भ्रष्टाचार है, अभाव है, गरीबी है, भुखमरी है, बेरोजगारी है लेकिन इन का निदान क्या है, इन को किस तरह से दूर किया जाय इस सम्बन्ध में मोरारजी भाई ने एक शब्द नहीं कहा । बल्कि उन्होंने कहा कि इस का एक मात्र इलाज यह है कि चूँकि यह शासनतन्त्र जो आज सरकार में है सरकार नहीं चला सकता है इसलिये इस को हट जाना चाहिये । मुझे उस वक्त यह याद आया कि शायद मोरारजी भाई यह सोच रहे हैं—25 सालों तक चूँकि वे गद्दी पर बैठे रहे, शासनतन्त्र चलाते रहे उन को अपनी गद्दी छूट जाने की याद आ रही है अगर समझते हैं कि मेरे कहने से ये लोग गद्दी छोड़ दें तो शायद मैं उस कुर्सी पर बैठ जाऊँ—मुझे तो यही चीज उन के भाषण में नजर आई बरना उन के भाषण में मैंने कोई तथ्य नहीं पाया, कोई ऐसी चीज नहीं पाई जिस में उन्होंने कोई सुझाव दिया हो कि हमें देश को बनाने के लिये क्या करना चाहिये ।

राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण को यदि आधोपान्त पढ़ा जाय तो उस के एक एक वाक्य में आप देखेंगे—देश के सारे चित्र को प्रस्तुत किया है, देश में इस समय क्या हालत है, हम को किस तरह से इस गरीबी को, इस भुखमरी को, इस बेकारी को दूर करना है, किस तरह से इस समस्या के साथ जूझना है । अगर हम लोग वास्तव में यह चाहते हैं कि देश का कल्याण हो, हम अपने देश के विकास को आगे बढ़ा सकें, हमारे देश की बहुबुद्धी हो सके तो उस के लिये आवश्यक है कि हम अपने देश के अन्दर साधारण जनता में बेचैनी पैदा करने के बजाय ठीक रास्ते पर हमें किस तरह से काम करना

है एक जुट हो कर किस तरह से हम देश का विकास कर सकते हैं, इस तरह से देश का और जनता का ध्यान खींचना चाहिये, जनता को इस तरह रूज करना चाहिये । लेकिन आख होता यह है कि हमारे विरोधी भाई राष्ट्रपति जी का बेराब कर रहे थे उन लोगों में विधीनबेता भी थे प्रोफेसर भी थे और दूसरे लोग भी थे जो कह रहे थे कि हम राष्ट्रपति का भाषण नहीं सुनेंगे । जब आप राष्ट्रपति जी का भाषण हं नहीं सुनना चाहते, राष्ट्रपति जी के भाषण से आप को भय महसूस होता है तो फिर आप क्यों कह रहे हैं कि राष्ट्रपति जी के भाषण में यह नहीं है वह नहीं है । मैं तो यह कहता हूँ कि राष्ट्रपति जी के भाषण में सब कुछ था । मैं तो यहाँ तक कहता हूँ कि हमारी सरकार जिस की बागडोर आज इन्दिरा जी के हाथों में है अगर यह सरकार न होती तो सन 1971 में जो दुःख हमारे देश के अन्दर शुरू हुआ था उस में हम विनाश की ओर चले जाते । लेकिन मैं इन्दिरा जी को धन्यवाद देना चाहता हूँ—उन्होंने बहुत होशियारी से, खूबी से देश की बागडोर को सम्भाला और उस मौके पर जनता की अदालत में जाकर कहा कि मैं देश के अन्दर समाजवाद लाना चाहती हूँ, मैं देश के अन्दर राजाओं के प्रीवीपर्स को समाप्त करना चाहती हूँ, उन के विशेषाधिकारों को समाप्त करना चाहती हूँ, इस के अलावा जो बड़े बड़े बैंक हैं, जिन के जरिये बड़े बड़े पूँजीपतियों को दौलत मिल जाती है, कर्जा मिल जाता है, लेकिन निर्धन गरीब और ग्रामीण लोगों को नहीं मिल पाता है, उन को यह लाभ पहुंचाने के लिये इन का राष्ट्रीयकरण करना चाहती हूँ । जनता मुझे धौका दे कि मैं अपनी सरकार बनाऊँ और जनता ने उन को मौका दिया । आख मेरे भाई कहते हैं कि अभी तक गरीबी नहीं हटी है, बल्कि गरीब मारा जा रहा है । हम यह कहते हैं कि गरीब को सरकार की तरफ से नहीं मारा जा रहा है, कांग्रेस की तरफ से नहीं मारा जा रहा है, गरीबों

को मारने के लिये ये लोग ही सारे उपाय करते हैं। संसार भर में महंगाई बढ़ी है, यहां भी महंगाई है, लेकिन हमारे यहां महंगाई चरमसीमा तक क्यों पहुंच गई। यदि हम इस पर विचार करें तो हमें पता लगेगा कि जमाखोरी को ये लोग ही प्रोत्साहन देते हैं। आज यदि हमारे यहां किसी चीज की कमी होती है, कोयले की कमी होती है तो उस के पीछे कौन हैं? ये लोग कोयला खानों में हड़ताल करवाते हैं। मैं ऐसे इलाके का रहनेवाला हूँ जहां न चीनी पैदा होती है न गुड़, न अन्न पैदा होता है न नमक, सारी चीजें बाहर से मंगानी पड़ती हैं। लेकिन हमारे यहां बेचैनी कब पैदा होती है जब ये चीजें नहीं पहुंचती और कब नहीं पहुंचती—जब रेलों में हड़ताल कर दी जाती है रेल के डिब्बे तैयार खड़े हैं रेल जाने के लिये तैयार है लेकिन ये लोग हड़ताल कर देते हैं, हमारे ये विरोधी भाई ही हड़ताल करवाते हैं।

एक तरफ जनता को खाने को न मिले, पहनने को न मिले, अभाव बना रहे तो स्वाभाविक है कि जनता में बेचैनी होगी और शायद ये विरोधी लोग सोचते हैं कि इस तरह की स्थिति पैदा कर के हम सरकार को उलट देंगे—यह इन का लक्ष्य है—लेकिन आप का यह लक्ष्य कभी पूरा नहीं होगा। जनता आप के बहकावे में आनेवाली नहीं है।

मोरारजी भाई ने अपने भाषण में गुजरात का उल्लेख किया गुजरात में गोबी चलाई गई लोगों को मारा गया, लेकिन उन्होंने अपने भाषण में यह नहीं कहा कि बीड़ ने उन अधिकारियों पर जो अमन कायम करना चाहते थे उस पर डण्डे बरसाये, पत्थर फेंके, जिस के फलस्वरूप उन्हें अपनी आत्म रक्षा में गोली चलानी पड़ी।

इन सारी बातों को देखते हुए मैं तो यह समझता हूँ और विरोधी भाइयों से दरखवास्त करता हूँ कि यह मौका है, देश इस समय कठिन परिस्थितियों से गुजर रहा है, इसलिये उन को हमारे साथ सहयोग देना चाहिये और ऐसे सुझाव देते चाहिये—हम भी गलती कर सकते हैं, भुल कर सकते हैं, हमें सुझाव दें कि इस तरह से यह काम नहीं होगा, यदि हम इस तरह से करें तो यह काम हो सकता है, तब हमारे देश का कल्याण हो सकता है।

इन्हीं शब्दों के साथ मैं राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण पर रखे गये प्रस्ताव का समर्थन करता हूँ।

SHRI RANABAHADUR SINGH (Sidhi): We have been discussing the President's Address, and, as far as I am concerned, listening to all the view-points that have been aired here, I think that all along we have not discussed the root causes of the illness that is facing our polity to-day. The time to ponder to-day is not what is wrong, but it is more fitting that we should think about what can be done. And I would like to place before you a few thoughts that are quite thought of as lost so far in the discussion in this House.

I respectfully would say that in our present context of things, our whole arrangement or set-up on the out-moded concepts of the Greeco-Roman political thought is not suited to us and it is an anathema to the genius of this country. With all due respect to the noble men that helped to give us the frame-work of the Constitution that we have to-day, I would say that this country has had a greater past than the political thoughts on which the present constitutional frame-work has been set up. So it is time that apart from looking to and remedying all other situations that have arisen in this country we should also give thought to whether the Greek or

[Shri Ranabhadur Singh]

Roman political thought is the end of all political thinking. I think that other ideologies and thoughts too have started to evolve. If we take capitalism that too has started to be socialistic since the New Deal came up in America. And when we look at Socialism, the Sovietized Socialism, that too has started to be diffused when Prof. Liberman came into the field in Soviet Russia. Obviously when two parallel lines start to converge sometime in the future they are going to meet. What is that point?

PROF. MADHU DANAVATE: Infinity.

SHRI RANABHADUR SINGH: Sir, the learned professor missed the point when I said they start to converge. As a growing nation, Sir, can we close our eyes to that future point where these two lines can possibly meet? If we do, Sir, then, it is at our Peril. Obviously, Sir, this future point, where these two ideologies are going to meet, will carry the good points of both. Because, that is a part of the inherited experience of mankind. We have always benefited by the past mistakes. But I would respectfully say that that point where these lines might converge is not nationalisation. It has to go beyond nationalisation. It shall go so far beyond nationalisation that when we nationalise an industry we shall not at that conceptual State put career bureaucrats after the nationalisation. We will put there the people and it shall also go beyond capitalism. Because, whenever go beyond capitalism the motive of profit too can be sublimated into trusteeship.

This is not an idealistic exercise. It holds out an immediate solution to our problems today.

Sir, Foodgrain trade take-over would have been a different proposition if the whole operation had been carried out with the people as equal partners with the officials. I say 'as

equal partners'. I lay the stress there. I cannot go into the details of the whole thing because my time is limited.

If we take Coal Nationalisation, it would again have been a meaningful thing if the workers were involved in that nationalisation as equals and not as slaves with a new set of masters.

We have to move from Nationalisation to what I would wishfully call, Populization, for that, I would respectfully hope, is the point where these two lines converge.

I say this not by way of offering cut and dry solution, but I say this, only to invite the thought of all our well-meaning people inside this House and outside to give thought to this.

Populization, as I look at it, is more vigilant than the vigilante forces of the capitalism. At the same time it is more social than the People's Courts of China. It goes beyond all these concepts, for, it is sparked by the most ancient truth that was acquired by mind of this country, who had lost their last infirmity,—in the words of Milton—which happens to be the frailty of all noble minds. Milton said:

"Frame is the spur that the clear spirit doth raise

That last infirmity of noble mind."

PROF. MADHU DANAVATE: It is the nobility of all noble minds.

SHRI RANABHADUR SINGH: So, Sir, may I respectfully invite all of you honourable Members and through you all our countrymen to take up this challenge of this new concept and give our country a new lease of life—so that posterity may say that this was our finest hour?

श्री रानाबादुर साहूजी (बंगाल) :
 भारतीय समापति महोदय, हमारे सभी
 की ओर से राष्ट्रपति महोदय के अभिवादन
 पर जो धन्यवाद का प्रस्ताव रखा गया है

उसका मैं समर्थन करने के लिए खड़ा हुआ हूँ। मुझे खेद के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि जब से हमारी प्रधान मन्त्री जी ने समाजवाद और देश में गरीबी हटाने का नारा लगाया, देश में समानता लाने की बात कही तो कुछ मास्त्राज्यवादी शक्तियों और प्रतिक्रियावादी शक्तियों ने एक योजनाबद्ध तरीके से षडयन्त्र करके उनकी नीतियों को असफल बनाने को हमला बोल दिया। मैं बाहर था लेकिन मैंने सुना है कि मोरारजी भाई ने कहा कि भ्रष्टाचार है, महंगाई है आदि आदि है। वे कहते हैं कि इस सरकार को हटाओ लेकिन वे यह बात क्यों भूल जाते हैं कि अधो में जो काना होता है वही नेतृत्व करता है। मैं तो कहता हूँ आप अधे हैं और हम काने हैं। दूसरी बात यह है कि अगर कभी अधो का राज हो गया तो अधे पीसेंगे और कुत्ते खायेगे। मैं आपसे कहता हूँ कि हम यह मानकर चलते हैं कि हमारे अन्दर कमिया है और इमीलिए हम काना कहते हैं। साथ ही मैं प्रधान मन्त्री जी से कहना चाहता हूँ कि यह बात तो माननी पड़ेगी कि आज जो देश में व्यवस्था है, जो वितरण प्रणाली है वह सतोषजनक नहीं है और उसी के फलस्वरूप हमारी सरकार को लोग कोसते हैं और नौकरशाही का ताल-मेल ठीक नहीं है। मैं प्रधान मन्त्री जी से निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि जिस तरह ऊट की नाक में नकेल डाल कर रखा जाता है उसी तरह से नौकरशाही पर भी वे अकुश रखे बरना सामने वाले हमको जीने नहीं देंगे।

मैं अधिक न कहकर यही कहना चाहूँगा कि आपने लेवी लगाई और किसानों ने उसको दिया लेकिन आज हालत यह हो रही है कि जो गेहूँ हमने 75 या 80 रुपए क्वींटल दिया वह आज 150 रुपए क्वींटल में भी नहीं मिल रहा है। हमारा इलाका यद्यपि कृषि प्रधान है परन्तु वहाँ पर उर्बरक नहीं मिल रहा है, सीमेन्ट नहीं मिल रही है। इन चीजों की व्यवस्था भी सरकार को वहाँ पर करनी

चाहिए। दूसरी बात यह है कि हमारा क्षेत्र औद्योगिक दृष्टि से पिछड़ा हुआ है लेकिन राजस्थान सरकार ने उसको आज तक भी औद्योगिक दृष्टि से पिछड़ा क्षेत्र नहीं माना है। हमारे बीकानेर डिवीजन में एक भी उद्योग नहीं है। मैं आप से प्रार्थना करता हूँ कि पिछले 23 सालों से मैं गीत गाता रहा हूँ, आगे भी गाता रहूँगा, अन्त में आपका समर्थन किया है और आगे भी समर्थन करना रहूँगा लेकिन हमारे इलाके में जो अभाव की स्थिति है उसके लिए कुछ न कुछ तो होना ही चाहिए। कोयले की कमी के कारण मैं आपको बनाना चाहता हूँ कि हमारे राजस्थान में जो अधिकतर मजदूर श्रेणी के लोग हैं जो भट्टों में ईंटें बनाने, उसको पकाने का सारा काम करते हैं उसमें कोयला और वँगन न मिलने से रुकावट आती है। इसी तरह से राजस्थान नहर का जो काम है उसको जल्दी से जल्दी पूरा कराने का यत्न होना चाहिए।

साथ ही मैं कुछ बात सुरक्षा की दृष्टि से भी कहना चाहता हूँ हालांकि रेलवे बजट के समय ही, उसको कहना चाहिए था। मेरा निवेदन है कि जम्मू तबी से डेरा बाबा नानक तक जो छोटी मा टुकड़ा है तथा खेमकरण से हुसे वाला एवरी चादनवाला से हिन्दूमलकोट तक जो मार्ग है—इन टुकड़ों को यदि रेल से मिला दें तो डेढ़ सौ मील का फर्क पड़ सकता है और सुरक्षा की दृष्टि से उसका बड़ा महत्व हो जायेगा। इसी प्रकार से बोकारनेर डिवीजन में श्री कोलैतजी से फडौदी तक भी रेलवे लाइन बना दी जाये तो सुरक्षा की दृष्टि से बहुत उत्तम रहेगा।

जहाँ तक खादी तथा ग्रामोद्योग का सम्बन्ध है, हमारे राष्ट्रपिता महात्मा गांधी जी ने कहा था कि इनको गांव गांव तक पहुंचाया जाये परन्तु आज खादी संस्थाओं

[श्री पन्ना लाल बारूपाल]

के द्वारा बुनकरों का शोषण किया जा रहा है। और जब हम खादी बुनते हैं तो हम से सीधा लाभ लेना चाहिये। लेकिन ऐसा नहीं है। जिस प्रकार भंभेजों ने राजाओं के ऊपर एजेन्सी रखी थी वैसे ही खादी कमीशन ने बुनकरों पर एजेन्ट्स रखे हुए हैं जो उन का शोषण करते हैं। जब कि होना यह चाहिये कि उन बुनकरों की सहकारी संस्थाओं को प्रमाणपत्र दे दें।

जहां तक हरिजनों का सवाल है मैं आप के सामने एक उदाहरण रखना चाहता हूँ। अभी तक उन लोगों के साथ इम्साफ़ नहीं होता है। मेरे पास एक चिट्ठी आयी है जो मैं प्रधान मंत्री को दूंगा उस को देखने से पता चलेगा कि एक हरिजन ने 1966 में परीक्षा दी और एक ब्राह्मण लड़के ने दी, तो ब्राह्मण लड़के को 37 नम्बर मिले और हरिजन लड़के को 38। इसी प्रकार 1967 की परीक्षा में ब्राह्मण लड़के का 23 और हरिजन को 38 नम्बर मिले और 1969 में ब्राह्मण को 34 और हरिजन को 35 नम्बर मिले। लेकिन उस हरिजन के साथ भदभाव कर के उस को आगे नहीं बढ़ने दिया गया और उस उच्च जाति के लड़के को अफसर बना दिया गया। यह राजस्थान सरकार का नमूना है। आप को उन के कान खींचने चाहिये कि ऐसा क्यों किया जाता है। 25 वर्ष का एक युग होता है सूटेबिल हरिजन कैडीडेट होते हुए भी उन लोगों को अच्छी नौकरी नहीं मिलती है और जानबूझ कर उन की आइल खराब की जाती है। मैं मानता हूँ कि हरिजनों के प्रति आप ने उदारता बरती है लेकिन आप के जो नीचे के अधिकारी हैं वे उस नीति को अमल में नहीं लाते। मैं तो चाहता हूँ कि किसी भी जाति का कोई क्यों न हो, सभी का उत्थान होना चाहिये क्योंकि सभी देश का उत्थान भी होगा लेकिन जो यह लोग बैठे हुए हैं यह

रोड़े भटकाते हैं। हम कहते हैं कि "इन्दिरा गांधी देश में समाजवाद लावे ओ, प्रतिक्रियावादी यह रोड़ा भटकावे ओ जनसंघ, स्वतंत्र, सिडिकेट, बी०के०डी० और टोला ओ, प्रतिक्रियावादी लोग हो गया भेला ओ"। इन से बचने के लिये आप को ठोस कदम उठाने पड़ेंगे। कभी मुस्लिम लीग, जनसंघ और स्वतंत्र और साम्यवाद पार्टी में समझौता हुआ ? मैं तो कहता हूँ कि जनसंघ राज्य करने लायक ही नहीं है। इन का काम है लड़ाना। यह लोगों में असंतोष पैदा करते हैं। तोड़-फोड़ आदि में विश्वास रखते हैं।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं इस प्रस्ताव का समर्थन करता हूँ।

ड० कंलास (बम्बई दक्षिण) : माननीय सभापति जी मैं राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण पर प्रस्तुत धन्यवाद प्रस्ताव का समर्थन करने के लिए खड़ा हुआ हूँ। पिछले दो दिन से लोक सभा में हम राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण पर चर्चा कर रहे हैं। उस पर हो रहे विरोधी दलों के माननीय सदस्यों के भाषण सुन रहा था और यह जानने की कोशिश कर रहा था कि क्या कोई भी एक सदस्य राष्ट्र के ऊपर जो कठिनाई आयी है आर्थिक, राजनीतिक या सामाजिक उन पर कोई सक्रिय सहायक विचार भी देता है या नहीं। मुझे कहने में दुःख होता है कि सिर्फ राजनीतिक दृष्टिकोण से राष्ट्रपति जी ने क्या नहीं कहा और क्या कहा उस को कह कर ही अपने भाषण को राजनीतिक मोड़ दे कर इस सदन में आकर जो उन्हें कार्य करना चाहिए या बह नहीं कर पाये हैं हमें सचना है कि जब कीमतें बढ़ी हैं अन्न का अभाव शायद सत्य नहीं है। फिर लोगों को अन्न क्यों नहीं, वस्तुओं के दाम कम क्यों नहीं होते। हो सकता है कि राज्य सरकारों में कुछ कमजोरी रही हो। हो सकता है कि केन्द्र सरकार में कुछ दोष रहे हों लेकिन जब तक विरोधी

पक्ष के नेता जो यहाँ चुन कर आये हैं, जनता के वे लाडले और प्यारे हैं, वे इस प्रकार की भाषा बोलना बन्द नहीं करेंगे कि आप ने अगर उत्पादन अपने कारखानों में किया है, या खेतों में उत्पादन किया है तो उसे जनता तक तो पहुँचायें। न कि उन्हें बाजार तथा मंडियों से आने से रोकें।

बम्बई की मैं बात कह सकता हूँ कि वह 3,800 फ़ेयर प्राइस शोप्स हैं। वितरण के ऊपर अगर हम यह कहें कि वितरण की वहाँ समस्या है, मैं नहीं मानता। लेकिन ज्यादातर दुकानों में या तो शक्कर नहीं है या गेहूँ नहीं है या चावल, ज्वार नहीं। यह सब वगैरें हुआ है जबकि हरियाणा से हमारे पास गेहूँ पहुँचा, मध्य प्रदेश से 400 ट्रक्स चावल पहुँचा। मेरे साथियों ने कहा कि गेहूँ पंजाब ने वहाँ पर भेजा। तो वह कहाँ चला गया? इस का अर्थ यही हो जाता है कि हमारे पास भंडार होते हुए भी दुकानों पर नहीं पहुँच पाता है। इस में कहीं बीच में कमी है और उस कमी को दूर करने की जिम्मेदारी राज्य सरकार की है। राज्य सरकार अगर इस प्रकार के प्रबन्ध करे कि जो भी माल पंजाब से, हरियाणा से मध्य प्रदेश से निकल कर आया है वह वहाँ पर पहुँचा सके। गोडाउन्स में और वहाँ से फ़ेयर प्राइस शोप्स पर पहुँच सके तो वह बहुत ही अच्छा हो सकता है। लेकिन राजनीतिक कुछ पार्टियों ने उस में बन्धन डालने की कोशिश की रेलों को रोक कर और गोडाउन्स से फ़ेयर प्राइस शोप्स तक जाने के लिए ट्रक्स की रोक की।

कपड़े की समस्या देखें बम्बई में हमारी सरकार ने इंडिया यूनाइटेड मिल और दूसरी मिलों को ले कर अपने हाथ में इस प्रकार के कपड़े बनाये जो गरीबों के काम में आयें लेकिन वहाँ पर हड़ताल करवाना और उत्पादन में कमी करवाना यह काम हमारी विरोधी पार्टियों ने किया। जो माल खेतों

में पैदा हुआ है उस को न आने देना, जहाँ पर उत्पादन बढ़ा है तो चीजों की दर कम हो सकती है और उस को लोगों तक पहुँचा सकते हैं उस को रोकने की जो कोशिश हमारे विरोधी दलों ने राजनीतिक दृष्टिकोण से की है उस पर हमें दुख होता है। उन को हक है सरकार को हटाने का और अपने पक्ष को राज्य पर लाने का। लेकिन जनता से खिलवाड़ कर के इस प्रकार के काम करना यह विरोधी दलों को शोभा नहीं देता। मैं मानता हूँ कि 25 वर्ष देश में लोकतन्त्र को हो गये लेकिन वह मैजोरिटी राजनीतिक पार्टियों में नहीं आयी कि किस प्रकार सत्ता धारी पार्टी को हटाया जाय। जनता को दुख दे कर शासन में आने का प्रयास करना सर्वथा अनुचित है। आप देखिए इंजीनियर्स क्या कर रहे हैं। श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी ने जब आह्वान किया था कि हम चाहते हैं कि जो देश के अन्दर समाजवाद लाना चाहते हैं, जाति-पति को खत्म करना चाहते हैं वह आयें। लेकिन हमारे इंटेलिक्चुअल्स अपने स्वार्थ के लिए जनता को दुख पहुँचाते हैं। मैं नहीं चाहता कि इंजीनियर्स और डाक्टर्स को कम तनख्वाह मिले, लेकिन जब उन की तनख्वाह बढ़ा दी गई है हमारे मंत्री जी उन को राय दे रहे हैं, प्रार्थना कर रहे हैं, उन का आह्वान कर रहे हैं कि आप काम पर आइये फिर जितने भी आप के प्रश्न हैं वे सुलझाये जायेंगे। राष्ट्र के ऊपर जो कष्ट है, जो विपत्तियाँ आई हैं उन के संदर्भ में हमें अपने प्रश्नों को देखना और उनको हल करना चाहिए।

डाक्टरों की मांगों पर विचार करने के लिए करतार सिंह कमेटी बनी थी। उसकी रिपोर्ट आने में देर हुई। डेमोक्रेसी में किसी चीज को करने में देर लगती ही है। लेकिन सभा मनों को कुछ लोग जो जान बूझ कर देरी करते हैं उन्हें क्षमा नहीं करना चाहिए। सेक्रेटरी साहब ने कई हफ्तों तक करतार सिंह कमेटी की बैठक बुलाने की कृपा नहीं की। बैठक बुलाने के बाद जिस प्रकार की सिफारिशें

[भा० सौदास]

हुई वे डैमोक्रेसी में तथा उस समय में जब चीजों के दाम इतने बढ़ रहे हैं। उचित नहीं ठहराया जा सकता है। मैं मंत्री महोदय को धन्यवाद देना चाहता हूँ कि उन्होंने करतार सिंह कमेटी की रिपोर्ट से भी आगे जा कर कई तरह से उनकी मांगों को पूरा करने की कोशिश की है। अब तो डिक्लेशन की बात आ गई है। नवयुवकों में, इटेलकचुअल्स में वह किस प्रकार दबाव का भावना आई है? हमारे विरोधी पक्ष के लोग रक्त क्रान्ति कराना चाहते हैं और उस रक्त क्रान्ति का नजारा हम गुजरात में हो रही घटनाओं में देख रहे हैं। श्री मोरारजी देसाई बोलने वाले थे, तब मैं डा० कर्ण सिंह के पास जा कर बैठा था और उन से मैंने प्रार्थना की थी कि इनके बाद चूँकि आप बोलने वाले हैं इस वास्ते आप कृपा करके इनके प्वाइंट नोट करते जाएँ और अपने जवाब में उन प्वाइंट का उत्तर दें। वैसे तो प्रधान मंत्री जी इस बहस का उत्तर देगी लेकिन शायद कुछ प्रश्न ऐसे भी हों जिन पर आप भी कुछ प्रकाश डाल सकें। उन्होंने मुझे कहा कि तुम भी मुझे और तुम भी जवाब देना और विचार करके उन पर तुम भी प्रकाश डालना। हमारा दुर्भाग्य है कि श्री मोरारजी देसाई जो हमारे नेता रहे हैं उनके भाषण को सुन कर मुझे बड़ा आघात पहुँचा है। उन्होंने आह्वान किया और कहा है कि देश में खून खराबा होने वाला है उन्होंने आतंकवाद फैलाने की कोशिश की है, भ्रम फैलाने की कोशिश की है, भयवाद फैलाने की कोशिश की है। हमने कभी भी समाचार-पत्रों में उनका इस प्रकार का वक्तव्य नहीं पढ़ा है कि खून खराबा नहीं होना चाहिए, बायोलेस को मैं पसन्द नहीं करता, गुजरात में उनके रहते गोली नहीं चलनी चाहिए, लोगों को इसकी नौबत नहीं आने देनी चाहिए। हमारे एक साथी ने ठीक कहा कि गोली क्यों चली? कई बार गोली चलानी पड़ जाती है क्योंकि गुजरात में पुलिसमैन के ऊपर, सब-

इस्येक्टर्स के ऊपर पत्थर फेंके गए, खोडा वाटर की बाटखन फकी गई और जब स्थिति काबू के बाहर हो गई तो मजबूर हो कर पुलिस को आत्म रक्षा के लिए गोली चलाने पर मजबूर होना पड़ा। जब लोगों की दूकानें जलाई जा रही थी, लूटी जा रही थी उस वक्त पुलिस क्या कर सकती थी। जो जैसे वहाँ गई उसके लिए दो सदन का प्रत्येक व्यक्ति दुखी है। एक भी अगर जान जाती है तो उसका हमें दुख है। लेकिन जब आतंकवाद फैल जाता है, अव्यवस्था फैल जाती है उनको रोकने के लिए कभी कभी गोली न मारना भी लेना पड़ता है। लेकिन हम में कोई शक नहीं है कि 26 गाल तक हमें पुलिस को इस प्रकार की ट्रेनिंग नहीं दी है जिससे कि वह जो कुछ भी उस पर बीत रहा हो उसमें बचने के लिए कोई और उपाय काम में लाएँ और गोली न चनाएँ, बिना लोगों को जान में मारे हुए शान्ति स्थापित करें। यह काम वहाँ सेना वालों ने कर दिखाया है। इसके लिए सेना वालों को हार मिले और लोगों ने उनका स्वागत किया। गोली मारने का भी एक तरीका होता है। हवा में गोली चलाई जा सकती है, बीनो दी बैल्ट गोली मारी जा सकती है, लोगों को डराया जा सकता है। लेकिन इस प्रकार की जो ट्रेनिंग है यह शायद हमारी पुलिस को नहीं मिली है। जो कुछ भी वहाँ हुआ है उसके लिए हम दुखी हैं। जिस प्रकार का बातावरण फैलाने की श्री मोरारजी देसाई ने कोशिश की है उस की हम उन से आशा नहीं करते थे। हम उन से आशा करते थे कि वह जो हिमा फैलाई जा रही है उसकी निन्दा करेंगे। ऐसा उन्होंने नहीं किया है और इससे मुझे बड़ा दुख हुआ है।

जहाँ तक शिव सेना का सम्बन्ध है, सचमुच मैं और बम्बई महाराष्ट्र के ऊपर उसने कुछ ऐसी छाप डालनी शुरू की है कि जैसे वह राज्य चला रही है। नायक साहब क्या

कर रहे हैं, किस प्रकार से उन से झूझना चाहते हैं वह मैं आपको बताना चाहता हूँ। शिव सेना ने जिस प्रकार काम करना शुरू किया है और जैसे कर रही है उसे हमें चलने नहीं देना चाहिए। नायक साहब को पूरी तरह से बन्दोबस्त करना पड़ेगा जिससे बाल ठाकरे साहब यह कहने की हिम्मत न करें कि गुजरात से जो लोग आ रहे हैं अहमदाबाद से आ रहे हैं उनको हम यहाँ पर गुजरात या अहमदाबाद बनाने नहीं देंगे। बम्बई या महाराष्ट्र की जिम्मेदारी आज बाल ठाकरे साहब की नहीं है, वह जिम्मेदारी वी० पी० नायक की है। उन्होंने विधान सभा में स्पष्ट कहा है कि मेरी सरकार की आर मेरी जिम्मेदारी है। जितने भी मराठी न बोलने वाले लोग वहाँ हैं, माडनों-रिट्टीज हैं लेकिन जो वहाँ रहने हैं वे सब महाराष्ट्रिय हैं। मैं भी महाराष्ट्रिय हूँ। हर को बचाने की उनकी जिम्मेदारी है, उनका धर्म है, जिसके हाथ में सत्ता होनी है उसको देखना पड़ता है कि किस प्रकार वह राज करे। वह नहीं चाहते हैं कि गिर सेना के कुछ भाइयों को, नौजवानों को तिनको गत रात पर ले जाया जा रहा है गोली मार कर जान से मार दिया जाए। वह एक गंभीर तरीका अपना रहे हैं जिससे शिव सेना की जा ताकत है और जो गोली चलाने से और भी ज्यादा बढ़ सकती है उसको खत्म किया जा सके। वह अपने तरीके से इस काम को कर रहे हैं। महाराष्ट्र तथा बम्बई में खाम तौर पर कहीं इस प्रकार का वातावरण दिखाई नहीं देता है कि माइनारिटीज चाहें वे केवल कां हो, आन्ध्र की हों, तमिलनाडु की हों, उनका संरक्षण नहीं हो रहा है। उनकी पूरी हिफाजत हो रही है। हाँ सफ़त है कि आवेश

में कुछ कर दिया गया हो। जो कुछ बेलगांव में हुआ, शोलापुर में भी हो गया और जब प्रतिक्रियास्वरूप कोई चीज है उस वक्त—मनुष्य मनुष्य नहीं रहता, राक्षस बन जाता है। हिंसक कार्रवाइयों को रोकने की वहाँ कोशिश की गई है।

अन्त में मैं इतना ही कहना चाहता हूँ कि गण्डूपति जी ने अपने अभिभाषण में देश में जो हालात हैं उनका सही चित्रण किया है और बताया है कि कैसे हम ऊंचे उठ सकते हैं, किन चीजों को हम को नहीं करना है और किन को करना है। उनके अभिभाषण का जो आखिरी वाक्य है उसको हमें हमेशा पढ़ना चाहिए। राजनीतिक लड़ाइयाँ हमारी होनी रहेंगी, चुनावों के आसपास हाथी रहेंगी लेकिन देश को आगे बढ़ाने के लिए विरोधी पक्ष तथा कांग्रेस दोनों को मिल कर काम करना होगा और चठिदाइयों पर विजय पानी हागी। उन्होंने इसके लिए सारे देशवासियों का आह्वान किया है और कहा है कि वे करा करके इन तकलीफों को थोड़े दिन सहन करें। इसमें कोई शक नहीं कि श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी के नेतृत्व में हमारा देश आगे बढ़ेगा और कठिनाइयों पर विजय प्राप्त करेगा। उसका श्रीमती गांधी को खुद बड़ी तकलीफ है। लेकिन देश प्रवश्य आगे जाएगा और जो सपना हम कई दिनों से देख रहे हैं वह अवश्य पूरा होगा।

17.48 hrs.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Wednesday, February 27, 1974/Phalgun 8, 1895 (Saka).