

1970, in excess of the amounts granted for those services and for that year, be taken into consideration."

MR. SPEAKER : The question is :

"That the Bill to provide for the authorisation of appropriation of moneys out of the Consolidated Fund of India to meet the amounts spent on certain services for the purposes of Railways during the financial year ended on the 31st day of March, 1970, in excess of the amounts granted for those services and for that year, be taken into consideration."

*The motion was adopted.*

MR. SPEAKER : The question is :

"That clauses 2 and 3, the Schedule, clause 1, the Enacting Formula and the Title stand part of the Bill."

*The motion was adopted*

*Clauses 2 and 3, the Schedule, clause 1, the Enacting Formula and the Title were added to the Bill*

SHRI MOHD. SHAFI QURESHI : I beg to move :

"That the Bill be passed."

MR. SPEAKER : The question is :

"That the Bill be passed"

*The motion was adopted.*

MR. SPEAKER : We have taken ten minutes extra. If you want to take more time for the President's Address, we shall adjourn the House to re-assemble at 2 p. m.

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

13.11 hrs.

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

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

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

MOTION OF THANKS ON PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS—contd.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : The House will now resume further discussion on the following Motion on Thanks on the President's Address moved by Shri Alagesan on the 15th March, 1972, namely ;—

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

"That the Members of Lok Sabha assembled in this Session are deeply grateful to the President for the Address which he has been pleased to deliver to both Houses of Parliament assembled together on the 13th March, 1972".

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE (Kanpur) : On a point of order. There is no Minister present in the House. So, how can we resume discussion ?

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : I shall have it conveyed to the Ministers. Now, Shri E. R. Krishnan.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE : I rise on a point of order. Without any Minister being present in the House, how can he speak ? There is no Minister in the House. After all, somebody should take notes. Who should take notes ? Should I take ?

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : I shall have it conveyed to the Ministers. Meanwhile, the hon. Member may begin his speech.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE : Let some Minister come. We shall wait.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : How can we wait ?

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE : Let it be known that the Ministers have become utterly irresponsible. This is the height of irresponsibility.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : We shall give them five minutes. Meanwhile, the hon. Member may start. We cannot just sit in the House not doing anything.

SHRI G. VISWANATHAN : (Wandi Wash) : But who will hear his speech ?

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE : You may send for the Ministers.

SHRI G. VISWANATHAN : You may please send for the Ministers, and let them come here.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE : You should send for them and you should pull them up. Let it be known to the country that after they have secured a huge majority, they have become irresponsible ; after all, they should become more responsible now.

MR DEPUTY-SPEAKER : I agree that it is most unfortunate that not a single Minister is present in the House.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE : It is not unfortunate, but it is deliberate. Let the hon. Ministers apologise to the House.

AN HON. MEMBER : The Deputy Minister of Parliamentary Affairs is here, Sir.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : The Deputy Chief Whip may convey that at least one of the Ministers is present in the Treasury Benches. There is no Minister present in the House....

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE DEPARTMENT OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRI KEDAR NATH SINGH) : I am sorry. I am very sorry.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : This is unfortunate. Now, let the hon. Member Shri E. R. Krishnan begin his speech.

SHRI PILOO MODY (Godhra) : No, he should not speak now. This is not a joke. It is not necessary that he should speak now when there is no Minister.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Unless the hon. Members want to do business, I shall have to adjourn the House.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE : Then; adjourn the House.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : If Shri E. R.

Krishnan does not speak, I shall call somebody else.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE : I rise on a point of order. After the quorum bell rang, the minimum quorum came, and the Deputy Chief Whip came, but unfortunately, in the quorum we did not find any Minister. You said, Sir, that it was unfortunate. Is it open to the House and is it proper for a Member to speak on a particular Demand for Grant or any other item where no Minister is present ? I want a ruling from you on this point.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : I shall give my ruling. I am only concerned with whether the House has been properly summoned and whether it has properly met. I am guided by the Rules of the House Under rule 11 :

"A sitting of the House is duly constituted when it is presided over by the Speaker or any other member competent to preside over a sitting of the House under the Constitution or these rules."

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE : Why do you get angry with me, Sir?

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : He wanted my ruling and I am giving it.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE : You are not at fault, Sir. Kindly hear my point of order. I have not yet finished it.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : I have listened to the hon. Member. He has made his submission. Now, the hon. Member should show me the courtesy of listening to me. Under the rules, when the requisite number of members is present and the person competent to preside is in the Chair, the House is properly constituted and we can transact business, I have said it is unfortunate that no Minister is present in the Treasury Benches, but that does not mean that we cannot transact business.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE : On a point of clarification. Is the House properly constituted with no member of the Council of Ministers present?

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Under the rules, it can be, although it is unfortunate that no Minister is present.

SHRI G. VISWANATHAN: We must amend the rules.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: I am guided by the rules as they are. Shri Krishnan.

SHRI PILOO MODY: Is there no other provision of the rule?

\*SHRI E. R. KRISHNAN (Salem): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I am grateful to you for giving me an opportunity to say a few words on the President's Address on behalf of Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam to to which I have the honour to belong.

The President in his Address has referred to the efforts of his Government in the matter of providing protected water supply to rural areas dotted with lakhs of villages and also in the matter of electrifying almost all the village throughout the length and breadth of the country. He has also talked about the provision of a sum of Rs. 40 crores for the purpose of constructing tenements for slum dwellers in big urban centres like Calcutta, Bombay, etc.

But, what do we find actually? On March 1, 1972, 25 long years after independence, Shri Uma Shankar Dixit, the Union Minister of Health took credit for formulating a 5-year rural water supply scheme at a cost of Rs. 110 crores and referring it to the Planning Commission. You will be surprised to know, Sir, that 9,20,000 villages in our country do not have basic amenities within a radius of one mile. 56,000 villages do not get protected drinking water.

In a seminar held in New Delhi on February 21, 1972, the State Governments' officials and the Central officials unanimously came to the conclusion that the crash programme for creating additional rural employment has thoroughly failed. But, when we read what the President has to say in his Address about this, we begin to feel whether he is indulging in some fancies. This is what he says:

"Special measures for the creation of additional employment in rural areas... have made some progress."

The President has referred to the provision of Rs. 40 crores for slum clearance work. But, in Tamil Nadu the Government of Tamil Nadu have planned to construct by

the end of 1972-73 17,000 tenements for the slum-dwellers and have allocated a sum of Rs. 8 crores for this purpose. They have also set up separately a Slum Clearance Board so that concerted efforts can be made to achieve this noble objective. When one of the Central Ministers recently visited Madras, he unreservedly lauded the approach of the State Government to this problem and openly said that in no other State in the country there is such an organisation like the Tamil Nadu Slum Clearance Board. When Tamil Nadu has done pioneering work, it is regrettable that the President in his speech has not referred to it. With a view to giving to all the villages in Tamil Nadu protected drinking water through covered wells and taps, the Tamil Nadu Government have formulated schemes costing Rs. 40 crores. We have planned to give electricity to 50,900 villages in Tamil Nadu by the end of 1972-73. We have more or less achieved self-sufficiency in foodgrains. To implement such gigantic public welfare schemes, naturally the Tamil Nadu Government have had to spend more money than what has been allocated in the Fourth Five Year Plan, the consequence of which is that Tamil Nadu's overdraft account with the Reserve Bank has gone upto Rs. 66.33 crores. In the year 1971-72, the plan allocation was only Rs. 80.20 crores, but the Government of Tamil Nadu spent Rs. 114.98 crores. In 1970-71 also the Government spent Rs. 97.45 crores though the allocation was only 79.30 crores. The President has suggested that the tendency of the States to resort to overdrafts should be curbed. But how can a State Government implement public welfare schemes without adequate resources? For example, the allocation in the Fourth Five Year Plan for Tamil Nadu was 2500 crores, but the Central Planning Commission reduced it to Rs. 202 crores. To meet this shortfall of Rs. 48 crores, the Government of Tamil Nadu are left with no alternative except to take overdraft from the Reserve Bank of India, which has come now to Rs. 66.33 crores. You will appreciate Sir, that the State Government is the nearest organisation for the people to realise their hopes and aspirations. I would appeal to the Central Government that the interest rate on the overdraft should be reduced. The repayment schedule should also be modified by increasing the number of instalments within which this amount is to be repaid.

\*The original speech was delivered in Tamil.

[Shri E. R. Krishnan]

In the *Economic Times* of July last year, it was mentioned that 335 industries, particularly those producing steel and machinery, are working only to 60% of the installed capacity. A decade ago the rate of industrial growth was going up by 9%. But during the past two years, the growth in industrial production has gone down from 6% to 2%. Similarly, the wagon manufacturers reached their capacity of producing 40,000 wagons a year, to meet the increased demands of their only consumer, the Railways. But, the Railways cut down their requirement from 26,000 wagons to 10,000 wagons. You can well imagine the plight of wagon manufacturers. In 1965-66, in the national income the capital formation was of the order of 13.2%. But in 1970-71, it has come down to 9.6%. The export performance also paints a bleak picture. The President himself has said: "Slow progress in the industrial sector, however, has been causing concern." I would like to know what steps have been taken by the Government to remedy the situation.

The Department of Commercial Intelligence and Statistics in Calcutta came out with the information that in the years 1971-72 and in 1970-71 our exports had gone up by 8.6% and 8.3% respectively. But the Reserve Bank has refuted this and furnished a different set of figures. I would like to know who is correct and who is wrong, which figure is correct and which figure is wrong.

The President has given a clarion call for a moratorium on strikes and lock-outs to ensure that industrial unrest does not slow down industrial progress. On December 6 last year, the Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi appealed to both the Trade Union Leaders and the Industrialists that if the country is to become self-reliant and self-sufficient in essential commodities industrial peace should be ensured for three years and there should be no strikes and lock-outs during this period. She also appealed to all the leaders of different political parties that they should extend their helping hands in this gigantic task. The President has reflected the same feelings in his speech. But what do we find in actual practice? Three months before, in Madras there was a strike in the mammoth Simpson organisation employing 15,000 workers. Bearing in mind the foremost importance of maintaining industrial

peace during this critical period, our Chief Minister, Dr. C. C. Jeyarajalingam, our Industries Minister, Shri Madhavan, our Labour Welfare Minister, Shri N. V. Natarajan were exploring all possibilities to settle the disputes amicably. At this crucial stage, a responsible Cabinet Minister in the Union Government, Shri Mohan Kumaramangalam visited Madras. Without even observing the elementary courtesy of consulting our Chief Minister, our Industries Minister and our Labour Minister about the reasons for this strike, he addressed a meeting of workers numbering 1500 wherein he proclaimed that he was not talking in his capacity as a Central Minister but only as a labour leader who had advocated the cause of labour for his life. He stated that there was too much interference of the Government of Tamil Nadu in this labour dispute. He also said that by exerting its governmental authority, a particular labour leader has been elected to some office. I am sure, Sir, you will agree with me that there is some inherent contradiction in the approach of high dignitaries to the grave problems faced by the country.

While describing the unsavoury role of a Union Minister, I would refer also to the constructive approach of another Central Minister. Ten days back, the Union Labour Minister, Shri Khadiilkar, visited Madras. Immediately on his arrival, he had a meeting with our Chief Minister, the Industries Minister and ascertained authentically the course of events leading to this dispute. After that he met the Trade Union Leaders and tried to sort out the problem. He rightly felt that only after having mutual discussions some solution can be found to this dispute. If Shri Mohan Kumaramangalam had adopted this attitude of Shri Khadiilkar, the situation would not have worsened and a solution to the mutual satisfaction of all involved could have been found.

I will narrate another regretful incident. There was a sympathetic strike in Avadi Tank Factory in relation to Simpson strike. Many untoward things happened here. Industrial peace was greatly upset and there was no law and order at all. Many people were severely injured and admitted into the hospital. They were undergoing treatment there. At that time Shri K. R. Ganesh, the Union Minister happened to visit Madras. I need not say



here that he is a responsible Minister in the Central Government. What did he do at Madras? He went straight to the hospital where an accused, who had committed certain offences leading to breach of industrial peace, was undergoing treatment and met him. Before he met the accused in the hospital he did not inform either the Chief Minister or the Industries Minister or the Labour Welfare Minister of his intentions. I do subscribe to the view that the sense of humanity is common to all and nobody can be an exception to that. But, is the attitude of a Central Minister, is his approach to the problem conducive to the smooth working of democratic institutions in our country? Is it not highly improper for him to go straight to the accused in the hospital?

In the year 1968-69, the Tamil Nadu Government wanted 1,15,000 tonnes of iron and steel for the industries in Tamil Nadu, but only 3136 tonnes were allocated. In 1971-72, only 37,284 tonnes were allocated to Tamil Nadu, while the demand was 2,10,000 tonnes. To the detriment of industrial growth in the States, the raw materials are exported. Naturally there will be no industrial growth in the States.

I would like to take this opportunity to say that the work on the Salem Steel Plant should be expedited. The President has expressed his hope that many steel plants are likely to be established in the country. At this juncture, it is necessary to point that the work already taken up on Salem Steel Plant should be completed quickly. Similarly, the Tamil Nadu Government has repeatedly written to the Centre regarding the proposal for establishing a petro-chemical complex in Manali in the joint sector with an investment of Rs. 90 crores. I would request the concerned Minister to initiate the process of implementing this proposal. The implementation of Second Phase of Neiveli Lignite Project has been long delayed. I would urge upon the Centre that the work on the Second Phase should be started immediately.

In Madras City, a vast area covering hundreds of acres, known as the Island Grounds, occupies a pride of place, it is really the heart of the city of Madras. With the increasing air pollution from the Oil Refinery, if this open area is also used for

the construction of a building complex for Defence Department then naturally it will be affecting the public health. The Madras Government of Tamil Nadu as also the Corporation of Madras have objected to the proposal of having buildings in the Island Grounds. Many eminent political leaders of Tamil Nadu are also strongly of this view. I would request the Centre to stop this construction activity forthwith if they do not want to endanger public health in Madras.

The Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu, Dr. Kalaignar Karunanidhi, has written personal letters to the Prime Minister requesting her to locate the small car project in Tamil Nadu. I would like to stress that Tamil Nadu is ideally suited for this project and it should be established there.

While initiating the discussion on the President's Address, Shri O. V. Alagesan stated that in the developing situation throughout the country the regional parties have no future at all. He cited, to substantiate his theory, Ariankuppam bye-election in which the Congress Party won the Assembly seat. I would like to remind him of what has happened in the recent elections. In Meghalaya, Manipur and Goa, only the regional parties have come to power, and not the all-India party, i. e. the Congress Party which could not get majority. Just because a regional party contested a seat in a remote corner of the Union Territory of Pondicherry and lost the seat, it does not behove of a leader like Shri O. V. Alagesan to prophesy about the dark future of regional parties, especially in view of what has happened in other Union Territories.

The Government of India chose for the chairmanship of the Fifth Finance Commission Shri P. V. Rajamannar, the former Chief Justice Madras High Court. He along with his two colleagues submitted the Report to the Government of India which has accepted all the recommendations of the Commission unanimously. It was felt that the Report especially in regard to devolution of finances was objective and fair. The Tamil Nadu Government requested him to head a Committee for the purpose of going into the important question of Centre-State relations agitating the minds of one and all in the State. The Tamil Nadu Government did not want to be carried away by the urgency and

[Shri E. R. Krishnan]

the necessity for more powers to the State if worthwhile public welfare schemes were to be implemented successfully. They wanted an impartial body to go into this question. This Committee's report was circulated to all the political parties in the country, to all the leaders of State Governments and it was also sent to the Centre. But to our dismay we find that the Centre is sitting pretty over it. I begin to doubt whether the Central Government has lost its faith in Rajamannar whom they chose to head the Fifth Finance Commission. Do they think that he has become a Member of the D. M. K. just because he agreed to head Committee to consider the question of Centre-State relations? Has he become a suspect in the eyes of Central Government just because he expressed his considered views that all the powers are concentrated in the hands of the Centre and the States are deprived of their legitimate powers. Without the necessary powers the States are unable to do anything worthwhile for the welfare of the people. Mahatma Gandhi used to speak quite often about the establishment of Gram Raj in the country. The President has also referred to this in his speech. How can real Gram Raj be established in the country if all the powers are concentrated in the hands of the Centre. If the villages are to become vital centres of activity, then the Centre should divest itself of the oppressive burden of all powers. The States should get greater powers so that the rural areas need not look to the far away Delhi for any minor activity in the interest of the people.

Sir, the moment we talk about the autonomy of States, we are branded as secessionists. But the real position is, the D. M. K. in many of its regional conferences has made unequivocally clear and also has passed unanimous resolutions to the effect that it does not want secession. It wants a strong and unified Centre. The national integration should become the inseparable way of life in the country. This can be achieved only when there is autonomy for the States and the States can function effectively for the upliftment of the people exercising their legitimate powers which are now concentrated in the hands of the Centre. The respected leader of the country Shri Jayprakash Narayan has demanded greater powers for the States. Shri Virendra Patil, the erstwhile Chief Minister of Mysore State belonging to Syndicate Congress, wanted greater autonomy for the States.

The former Chief Minister of Punjab, Sardar Gurnam Singh, urged upon the necessity for the Centre to shed its powers in favour of the States. Shri C. Rajagopalachari, who had held the highest positions in the Government of India, as Minister and who was the first Indian Governor-General of India, repeatedly stresses the need of the States for greater powers. Shri George Fernandez, the leader of the Socialist Party, wants greater powers for the States. In the recent elections, almost all the political parties in their election manifesto demanded greater powers and autonomy for the States. Can you in one stroke call all these people and the political parties as secessionists? I would only say that those who do not want greater powers for the States are the secessionists. They do not have the good of the country in their hearts. To call the demand for autonomy as the demand for secession is highly irregular and it is certainly a wrong propaganda. I want to repeat that the D. M. K. stands for a strong centre and it has adopted as its cardinal principle national integration. But, in order to establish Gram Raj in the country, in order to achieve self-sufficiency in foodgrains, in order to become self-reliant, in order to ensure industrial growth, in order to have the Central-State relations on a sound footing, the powers which are now concentrated in the hands of the Centre must be shared with the States. The States should be given greater autonomy for meaningful and purposeful functioning. If democracy has to take deep roots in the country, if social justice is to become the order of the day, if 55 crores of people are to march on an even keel of industrial progress, if possibilities for progress are to be created throughout the country, then the States should have greater powers and autonomy.

Though we have established Monopolies Commission to curb the growth of monopolies in the country, we find that the Tatas, Birlas and others of their ilk get maximum number of licences leading to further growth of monopolies. I would urge upon the Government to arrest this kind of growth in monopolies.

I would also refer to the problem of Ceylon refugees. It is regrettable that the Centre has not come to their help in a big way. The Centre should take greater interest in the rehabilitation of these refugees. Slowly

and steadily the Ceylon Tamils are losing their moorings. Their Tamil culture has been corroded sufficiently. They are forgetting Tamil language. The Central Government should establish contacts with the Ceylon Government in the matter of giving protection to the Tamils settled in Ceylon for centuries.

There is gradual decrease every year in the matter of southern representation in Indian Administrative Service. I would request that the Government should go into this question thoroughly and see that there is proper representation in I.A.S. from southern States. Though the final report of Bhagwati Committee on Unemployment has not yet been prepared, I would like to know what action has been taken on the interim Report. I would like also to know the employment opportunities generated so far in the Fourth Five Year Plan. During the past couple of years, we are all deafened by the Garibi Hatao slogan in every nook and corner of the country. Even the Prime Minister frequently talks about this Garibi Hatao. I want to know what constructive action has been taken by the Centre to drive away the poverty. Instead of getting narrowed, the gap between the haves and have-nots is widening alarmingly. Social justice continues to be as elusive as it was 25 years ago.

Before I conclude, I would appeal to the Centre which has secured the massive majority and the unanimous verdict of the people of the country that it should leave its step-motherly attitude towards the States and share its powers with the States so that the people of the country can progress. Whatever industries are to be established in Tamil Nadu, especially those industries which have been on the card for long should be set up forthwith. The demand for autonomy of the State should not be misconstrued as the demand for secession and real autonomy should be given to the States.

**श्री जगन्नाथ मिश्र (मधुबनी).** उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, इस महान देश के महान राष्ट्रपति के अनुरूप ही हमारे महान राष्ट्रपति ने अपने अभिभाषण में सरकार की नीति और कार्यक्रम पर बहूँ प्रकाश डाला है। उन्होंने कहा है कि सरकार की नीति जहाँ तक उसके आर्थिक, राजनीतिक और सामाजिक कार्यक्रमों का है, वह

बिनाकुन देश के अनुरूप है और देश को मही दिशा देने में सरकार का नानि बिनाकुन सफल रही है। गन वर्ष का जा कार्यवाहिया हुई है उनमें यह बात बिनाकुन सुस्पष्ट है। साथ ही उन्होंने अपने अभिभाषण में यह स्पष्ट किया है कि देश अपने पैरों पर खड़े हों और अपने मामलों में हमारे के हस्तक्षेप का किसी भी तरह बर्दाश्त करने के लिए तयार नहीं है। उनके अभिभाषण में यह स्पष्ट देखने को मिलता है। वगना देश की मुक्ति तथा पाकिस्तानी आक्रमण का मामला इन देशों को जनता ने जिम्मेदारता और माहम का परिचय दिया है उसका भा उनके अभिभाषण में प्रशंसा की गई है।

**श्री हुकम चन्द कछवाय (मुरेना)**  
उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, व्यक्तियों का प्रश्न है, मदन में गणपूर्ति नहीं है।

MR DIPUJIY-SPIAKER The hon Member may resume his seat. The bell is being rung. Now there is quorum. He may continue his speech.

**श्री जगन्नाथ मिश्र** इसमें मना कतीना अगों के प्रति आभार प्रकट किया गया है और यह भा रहा गया है कि हम यद्यपि आत्म-विश्वास के साथ आगे बढ़ रहे हैं फिर भी राष्ट्रपति ने देश का स्मरण दिलाया है कि हमारी सीमाओं पर अभी भी खतरा वर्तमान है, हम उनके प्रति सतर्क और जागरूक रहना है और हमें एकता से काम लेना है ताकि जैसा हमने माहम और बहादुरी से कर दिखाया है, वक्त का तराजा आने पर हम वैसा ही कर सकें। उन्होंने कृषि की चर्चा की है और यह सतोष व्यक्त किया है कि कृषि के मामले में हम आत्म-सम्भर हुए हैं, और निर्यात को बढ़ावा मिल रहा है। सिंचाई, पानी और ऋण आदि के लिये सरकार की ओर से पर्याप्त व्यवस्था है।

उन्होंने इस बात को स्वीकार किया है कि औद्योगिक क्षेत्र में हमारी प्रगति धीमी रही है, किन्तु उन्होंने इसे भी स्पष्ट किया है कि इसका

[श्री जगन्नाथ मिश्र]

कारण औद्योगिक क्षेत्र की अशान्ति है। मैं यहां पर किसी पार्टी का नाम लेना उचित नहीं समझता, लेकिन यह कहने से परहेज भी नहीं कर सकता कि एक पार्टी विशेष की गलत कार्यवाहियों के कारण औद्योगिक क्षेत्रों में अशान्ति रहो है और उत्पादन में बाधा आई है। इसलिये उनका यह सुझाव है कि अगर उत्पादन के क्षेत्र में शान्ति कायम रहे, उत्पादन को बढ़ावा दिया जाय तो उससे देश का आर्थिक क्षेत्र विकसित करेगा और इसका फल सबको मिलेगा। इसीलिये उनका यह तर्क-संगत सुझाव है कि पाटिया तथा मजदूर इस क्षेत्र में थोड़ा समय में काम लें, उत्पादन में वृद्धि होने दे, जिसका फल देश को मिल सके।

उन्होंने हमारी वैदेशिक नीति की भी सराहना की और कहा है कि हम किसी से झगड़ना नहीं चाहते। लेकिन जब हम पर युद्ध थोप दिया जाता है तो हम उसमें मुक्त हो नहीं सकते हैं। इसका उदाहरण देते हुए उन्होंने कहा है कि जब पाकिस्तान ने युद्ध थोप दिया तो हमें उसका सामना करना पड़ा, लेकिन जब जरूरत हुई तो हमने युद्ध विराम का प्रस्ताव भी पाकिस्तान से किया। हमारी सरकार का यह भी नीति है कि जब बंगला देश के प्रसंग में अमरीकी रुख हमारे अनुकूल नहीं रहा, तो भी हमने कहा कि अगर अमरीका अपने रुख में परिवर्तन लाये तो हमारे और उसके बीच में दोस्ती का मार्ग प्रशस्त हो सकता है।

राष्ट्रपति जी ने स्पष्ट कहा है कि हम किसी पर आधिपत्य स्थापित नहीं करना चाहते, लेकिन हम अपने ऊपर भी किसी तरह का आधिपत्य बर्दाश्त नहीं कर सकते। इर्ष्या प्रसंग में उन्होंने अमरीका और चीन के वक्तव्य में काश्मीर के प्रसंग के उल्लेख पर आपत्ति की है।

अर्ध, देश में आम चुनाव हुए, प्रान्तों से नई सरकारों का संगठन हो रहा है। उनको

आशा ही नहीं, अपितु विश्वास है और यह सही बात है कि अब जो सरकारें प्रान्तों में बनेंगी, वे प्रगतिशील सरकारें होंगी। हमारी प्रधान मंत्री जी का जैसा विश्वास था, उनकी जैसी आशा और आकांक्षा थी कि देश के विकास के लिये प्रान्तों में अच्छी सरकारों का संगठन हो, प्रगतिशील सरकारों का संगठन हो, जो प्रान्तों के विकास के लिये काम करें, आम जनता के आर्थिक विकास में रुचि लें, अब ऐसा लगता है कि हर प्रान्त में उसी प्रकार की सरकारें बन सकेंगी और उनकी आकांक्षा के अनुरूप प्रान्तों में काम होगा और हमारे देश का नक्शा सुधरेगा।

उन्होंने यह भी कहा कि युद्ध के समय में देश की सभी पार्टियों ने एकता और निष्ठा का परिचय दिया। फलतः हम युद्ध में सफल हुए लेकिन अभी हम एक युद्ध में सफल हुए हैं, अभी एक और युद्ध बाकी है और वह है गरीबी हटाओ का युद्ध, आर्थिक क्रान्ति और देश के नव-निर्माण का युद्ध (व्यवधान) ...

अगर कछवाय जी ध्यान से सुनें और टोका-टाकी बन्द करें, जैसाकि वह सदन के बाहर भी किया करते हैं, तो उनके और उनके दल के लिये भी एक स्वाम सन्देश हमारे राष्ट्रपति जी ने दिया है और वह यह है कि युद्ध के समय उनके नेता ने, जिनके प्रति हमारे दिलों में बहुत मद्भावना और सम्मान है, हमारी प्रधान मन्त्री जी की बहुत उत्तम शब्दों में और सम्मान सराहना की थी और कहा था कि युद्ध में हमारे देश ने जो कर दिखाया, उसका सारा श्रेय अगर किसी को है तो श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी जी को है। जनसंघ पार्टी, जिसके कि श्री कछवाय सदस्य हैं, वह इस चीज से सीख लें, यह उन्हीं के बेना का कथन था। आज वक्त का तकाजा है कि वह थोड़ा संयम और विवेक से काम लें, और इन्दिरा जी ने जो आवाहन देश के निर्माण का, देश को बनाने का, आर्थिक स्थिति को सुधारने का दिया है, उसमें वे भी एकता और निष्ठा के साथ

सरकार का सहयोग करें। उसमें हाथ बंटाने के लिये आगे आवें।

राष्ट्रपति जी ने कहा है—अगर देश इस मीके पर ऐसा कर दिखाता है, जैसा उनको विश्वास है, तो फिर देश से गरीबी अवश्य दूर होगी और इन्दिरा जी का जो व्यापक नारा है कि गरीबी हटाओ, समाजवाद लाओ, वह भी संभव होगा। मैं यह भी कहूंगा कि उसके बिना देश का नव-निर्माण सम्भव नहीं है। देश के नव-निर्माण में हमें रुचि लेनी है तो हमें आगे आना होगा, इन्दिरा जी के कार्यक्रमों में हमें सहयोग देना होगा खुले दिल से, बिना किसी हिचक के।

इस अभिभाषण में यदि एक-दो बातें और होतीं तो हमें और ज्यादा खुशी होती। मैं इस अवसर पर विशेष रूप से गरीब बिहार का उल्लेख करना चाहता हूँ। राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने अभिभाषण में एक स्थान विशेष के विकास की चर्चा की है और उसमें सरकार के योगदान का भी उल्लेख किया है। जैसा कि सबको जाहिर है बिहार बिलकुल पिछड़ा हुआ प्रान्त है, वहाँ की आर्थिक स्थिति बड़ी विकट है। उद्योग तो हैं, लेकिन बिहार के लिये नहीं। रोजगार बहा भिन्नता है, लेकिन बिहारियों के लिये नहीं। इसलिये अगर बिहार के उत्पादन के लिये, बिहार के विकास के लिये भी हममें चर्चा रहती तो मैं समझता हूँ कि बिहार का बहुत बड़ा उपकार होता।

दूसरी बात मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि शिक्षा किसी भी राष्ट्र की रीढ़ होती है। आज की शिक्षा, वह चाहे जैसी भी रही हो, लेकिन उससे बैसे नागरिक नहीं निकलते जिनमें देश के नव-निर्माण में किसी तरह से फायदा हो। इसलिये ऐसी राष्ट्रीयव्यापक शिक्षा का निर्माण किया जाता तथा उसकी हम अभिभाषण में चर्चा होती, तथा उसका देश में प्रचार होता तो उससे देश को फायदा हो सकता था। मैं तो इस विचार को मान कर चलाता हूँ कि शिक्षा स्टेट-सब्जेक्ट होने के कारण आज तक

उसकी अवहेलना होती रही है। इसलिये उसको स्टेट-सब्जेक्ट न मान कर, नेशनल सब-जैक्ट मान लिया जाता और उसमें सुधार का प्रयत्न किया जाता तो देश को उसका लाभ होता।

अन्न में, मैं राष्ट्रपति जी के इस महान भाषण के लिये जिनमें देश के विकास की चर्चा की गई है और भविष्य के लिये देश के विकास की आकांक्षा व्यक्त की गई है, देश के नव-निर्माण का प्रतिबिम्ब जिनमें स्पष्ट दिखाई देता है, ऐसा मान कर अभिभाषण के लिये जो धन्यवाद प्रस्ताव आया है, उसका समर्थन करता हूँ।

PROF. MADHU DHANAVATE (Rajpur): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, while participating in the debate on the Motion of Thanks to the President even in this hour of reverses of my party in the elections, I would not like to lose the sense of national perspective in a mood of desperation and frustration . . . (Interruption) It is not because of you hon. Members from the treasury benches. But it is because of our convictions. We are socialists who have faith in socialism and democracy. That is why we speak that way. So, in a mood of frustration and desperation I would not like to lose the sense of national perspective.

The President has rightly said, in his Address, that two important events of the last year were the victory of India in Bangladesh and the elections to the State legislature. I must admit that one of the greatest events in this country during the last year was the victory of the Indian armed forces, the victory in Bangla Desh, the victory in Indo-Pak war. I must admit, on behalf of my party, that this victory has not been merely a victory on the battle-field but it is a victory of ideals. For the first time, the image of India in the comity of nations has been sharpened, it has been refined and it has become luminous. And even the so-called Great Powers will have to take cognizance of the fact that India is a force to be reckoned with and that is the greatest achievement of the country in the course of the last one year. And to this the President has rightly referred.

[Shri Madhu Dhandavate]

There is another important event, and that is the results of the recent elections. These elections and the emerging pattern are also important events in our political life. No doubt the President has referred to elections and said that the elections were most peaceful. But, to my mind, the President has miserably failed to draw the attention of the Parliament and the entire nation to the most tragic fact of our political life the imbalance in legislatures. Parliamentary democracy consists of two major levers: one lever is the treasury benches, the ruling party, and the other equally significant lever of Parliamentary democracy is a virile, democratic and dynamic opposition. I do not want to give any apology, we do not want to beg of the treasury benches that we want their help to build our opposition. Far from that. But the President has failed to stress the fact that it is the tragedy of our Parliamentary life that imbalance has been created in the Legislatures and that the Parliamentary life has become lopsided. That is bad even for the treasury benches. (*Interruption*) Have a little more patience. You have enough of majority; just tolerate the opposition a little and have a little more accommodation so that you will be able to understand the value of democratic life. (*Interruptions*)

No doubt the Indo-Pak war has brought forward, on the one hand, the lofty and noble heights to which the united endeavour of the nation has been, but at the same time, on the other hand, it has also brought forward the degrading and miserable depths to which the country has sunk in utilising the noble and great victory of a nation in war for purposes of paltry electoral gains. That is the tragedy of our country.

I do not want to make unfounded allegations. Here, have with me a copy of the *Times of India* dated 9th March 1972—I am referring to the Bombay edition of the *Times of India*. On page 9, here, we have got the picture of three Service Chiefs. It is the replica of a postcard that was posted by candidates of Congress (R). On the back side of the card is the slogan 'Vote Congress'. On one side is the picture of the victors of war and on the other side is the slogan 'Vote Congress'. The slogan on the postcard was not that these three Chiefs were responsible for making the image of India luminous; the

slogan was 'Vote Congress'. That is how they try to utilise the gains of the way for paltry electoral gains. No doubt, earlier, in a subtle manner they tried to utilise the victory by timing the elections in a particular way. But the candidates were more crude and they perhaps utilised such literature as Service Chiefs' names, portraits and pictures in order to gain votes. That was what was happening.

I want to say something about the imbalance in the legislatures. I would like to make it very clear that, while pointing out to the imbalance created in the Legislatures, the socialist party would never beg of the ruling party to help us in building the opposition. The opposition will be built up on the basis of its constructive work and combative activities, and if we failed in that, we might fail to gain the strength, but in times to come we will be able to make up the lapses. Unfortunately the treasury benches have engaged themselves not only in building up their own power but they also want to make a choice of their favourite party in the opposition. To give a concrete instance, in a province like Bihar, knowing full well that it is the socialist party that is the largest non-Congress party—they were frightened at the prospect of this party coming up as the largest opposition. They had an alliance with the Communist Party of India; they wanted Her Majesty's opposition and, therefore, had an alliance with the Communist Party. Even with this alliance Communists were able to secure only 35 seats whereas the socialist party was able to secure 33 seats. With the help of their allies they have propped up an opposition party so that in the Legislature there will be Queen's Government the "Queen's opposition". That is how they want to be gainers on both the sides.

As far as the recent elections are concerned I must candidly admit that it is not merely the malpractices that have created the election results. In most of the States it is the climate generated by the war that is responsible for giving the massive and sweeping victory to the Congress. We, on the opposition side, must sportingly accept this fact that it is the victory in the war that has given the massive majority to the ruling Party.

But, at the same time, there have been States like Bengal, Bihar and Kashmir



where a lot of mal-practices have taken place. To make a concrete reference to Bihar, I would have very much liked the President also to say something about the irregularities in elections that have taken place in such States. With a full sense of responsibility let me state on the floor of the House that I have met certain Members of this very House belonging to different Parties—not only the Congress Party—they themselves have told me that in the past elections as also in the recent elections they and their Party have been responsible for the capture of booths. Sir, I would demand during this debate : let the Election Commission set up an impartial machinery to find out whether in Bihar the capture of booths has taken place. These allegations are there not merely against the ruling Party. Some non-Congress Parties, especially in Bihar, are also responsible for the capture of booths. They utilised the caste basis of various villages and that, combined with the capture of booths has given a sharper edge to a political party in a particular constituency. I think these things must be investigated.

As far as Bengal is concerned, Comrade Gopalan said a lot about fair and free elections and about violence and non-violence. Here, I must humbly submit : who are the people who are responsible for violence there ? Many on the opposition side sitting over here, have our comrades murdered in Bengal. During the CPM regime an atmosphere of violence was generated and the same atmosphere of violence is recoiling on them also. Therefore they cannot also escape the responsibility. But, at the same time, let me point out that there were adventurist Naxalites who were born out of the womb of the CPM, but now they have been adopted by the Congress (R) . . . .

THE MINISTER OF COMMUNICATIONS (SHRI H. N. BAHUGUNA) : Question. . . . (*Interruptions*) No.

PROF. MADHU DHANDAVATE : You may say, 'No'. I would demand, let there be an impartial investigation and let an inquiry committee of Parliament be set up to go into this question. I am not at all happy to make such an allegation. I am not at all happy to make such an allegation that booths have been tampered with, voters have been attacked and booths have been attacked. Whoever does it, I am very unhappy. I say it, not in anger, but in anguish. Even if my party does it, I

won't condone it. I don't want parliamentary democracy in this country to be destroyed. But only if people have faith in parliamentary democracy, we can function in the Parliament. So, I would demand—appoint an investigating machinery. So, Let them go to Kashmir, let them go to Bengal, Bihar and let them find out whether the people did attack the booths.

I don't say that it has happened all over. In the State of Maharashtra from where I come, we never heard of capture of booths and I would not level single allegation against the ruling Party that any single booth has been captured. But I make these allegations in relation to Bihar, in relation to Bengal and in relation to Kashmir. I do it with a full sense of responsibility. In Bihar, it is not the Congress Party alone but many other Parties have been indulging in this. Therefore, this has to be stopped.

In this debate, I would like to make one thing very clear, that if the Government machinery is not available in the next elections to protect the booths and to protect parliamentary democracy, Parties like the Socialist Party will evolve their own machinery to see that the booths are protected and ultimately parliamentary democracy is protected, because if the booths are captured, it is not merely the booths that are destroyed, but it is parliamentary democracy that is destroyed, and if parliamentary democracy in this country is affected and people feel that there will be no more fair and free elections in such a climate, then it is not the democrats like us who will flourish but it is those elements who have a vested interest in anarchy in the country and who are adventurists, it is those who have extra-territorial loyalties—it is these elements who will gain. Therefore, I demand that these anti-social elements will have to be curbed and these mal-practices will have to be put an end to.

15.00 hrs.

There is only a little and a passing reference to land reforms and other reforms. But, what has happened about the implementation of GARIBI HATAO programmes? What has happened about the programmes for providing more job opportunities? Whatever amount was sanctioned in the last budget for creating job

[Shri Madhu Dhandavate]

opportunities, for urban employment, etc.. out of that, a major portion of that particular quantum, has remained completely unused. I am stating the facts. Before the elections we were told that if necessary even an ordinance will be promulgated for lowering down of the land ceilings and that the legislation will be implemented with retrospective effect. We were told before the election that there will be ceiling on urban property. We were told before the election that there would be taxation on the rural rich. But all of a sudden, a number of Chief Ministers came forward with a pronouncement that all these reforms have been shelved they will be taken up after the election, because, obviously, they knew it fully well that it is the rural rich and the urban rich from whom they had to create their election funds. That is why a number of industrial houses have been approached, and I say this with a full sense of responsibility after contacting the trade unions of the industrial concerns and industrial houses. I want to tell you that including the Prime Minister may have brought pressure on the industrial houses to get the donations to the tune of Rs. 20.00 to Rs. 25.00 lakhs. Huge amounts were collected from the big industrial houses in order to create the so-called socialist pattern of society. Let there be an inquiry into it. Let there be such an inquiry immediately. Let us try to find how many industrial houses have given black money to the Election fund. Let us know the truth....

SHRI H. N. BAHUGUNA: It is not a fact. Your truth has no legs.

PROF. MADHU DHANDAVATE: There are legs, but you should have the vision to see the legs. Unfortunately you lack that vision in you.

SHRI H. N. BAHUGUNA: I cannot conjure.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: I would make another demand. Try to investigate and let there be an impartial machinery to find out why on the eve of the elections the prices of sugar were increased. Let that be done. Why were the sugar magnates allowed to increase the prices? It would be really interesting to find out why large amounts were actually given by the sugar magnates to the ruling party for the

election funds. All these things must be investigated....

AN HON. MEMBER: His party has also got.

PROF. MADHU DHANDAVATE: If they had given to Socialist party or Communist party, let the facts come before the nation and the nation will be able to know about that.

AN HON. MEMBER: The Jan Sangh has also got.

श्री हुकमचन्द कछवाय: जांच करवाइये तो पता चले। हम तैयार हैं जांच करवाने के लिये। तभी पता लगेगा कि किसने लिया है।

PROF. MADHU DHANDAVATE: I have not said that the sugar magnates have given money only to the ruling party. Let an investigating machinery be set up to find out how much amount was given to the ruling party, how much was given to the Jan Sangh, how much to the Swatantra party, how much was given to the Socialist party and the Communist party. That can be investigated and facts might be placed before this House.

श्री हुकमचन्द कछवाय: उनमें हिम्मत नहीं है जांच करवाने की।

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE: It can be handed over to the C. P. I. for investigation.

PROF. MADHU DHANDAVATE: There is one more point to which I would like to make a reference.

So far as the political life of the country is concerned, both before the election and also after the election, there is a high degree of centralisation and monopolisation of power in the country in the hands of the ruling party. We have two Gandhis we had Mahatma Gandhi and today we have Mrs. Indira Gandhi. Mahatma Gandhi stressed decentralisation and devolution of power and Mrs. Indira Gandhi stresses centralisation, concentration, and monopolisation of power. She cannot be blamed because her weak and submissive supporters themselves have decided to surrender their authority and initiative. So we find another



Gandhi of our time is talking in terms of centralisation of power not devolution of power, but concentration of power.

**SHRI H. N. BAHUGUNA :** She has never talked like that.

**PROF. MADHU DHANAVATE :** I do not blame the Prime Minister. For, what can she do, when her supporters themselves have decided like that? She is not required to murder their initiative and freedom when her supporters themselves meekly and weakly have decided to surrender themselves at the altar of Delhi's power. She cannot be blamed for it. I would only blame those who are functioning at the State level. I have never heard of a democratic country where the State Legislatures do not take the decision as to who their leader will be, but it is to be decided by the Prime Minister. The State Legislatures will not decide what the composition of a State Cabinet should be, but it will be decided by the Prime Minister. It is not the Prime Minister who has asked for more power, but it is these people who are meekly submitting to the power and therefore there is more centralisation. (*Interruptions*). My hon. friends may heckle me, but this is the voice of reality.

**AN HON. MEMBER :** She is the leader of the nation.

**PROF. MADHU DHANAVATE :** I shall end my speech with a few remarks. Next year, on the day of Mahatma Gandhi's death anniversary, when the victors of the elections go to the Gandhi samadhi, I am sure they will instinctively say: "Mahatma Gandhi, the vibrant symbol of decentralisation and devolution of power is dead; but long live Shrimati Indira Gandhi, the living symbol of centralisation, monopolisation and concentration of power."

**SHRI S. M. BANERJEE :** why has he forgotten Shri Feroze Gandhi?

**SHRI B. R. SHUKLA (Bahraich) :** Before I express my views on the Address by the President, I would like to voice my concern over the unseemly behaviour of a certain section of this House which was staged on that momentous day when the President delivered his address to the Members of both Houses assembled together in a joint session. It was an exercise in patience and tolerance on the part of the

Members of this House that such an unseemly conduct was allowed to prevail simultaneously when the President was addressing the Members of the Houses assembled together. We are grateful to Prof. Madhu Dhandavate that after he has taken over the reins of the Socialist Party, his lieutenant Shri Raj Narain and another colleague of his who had indulged in such a behaviour last year were not allowed to repeat that scene this year, but that role has been taken over by the Marxist friends who are the Members of this House. I think that expeditious decision should be taken in this matter and the Members who are responsible for having marred the solemnity and dignity of the occasion should not be allowed to repeat this hereafter because it is quite conceivable that these Marxist friends who always believe in the cult of violence and who always pin their faith in the Mao doctrine that a revolution has to come out of the barrel of a gun and not out of the decisions of the ballot-box might repeat that scene again and again.

Last year, when our country was facing the twin dangers, the dangers coming from Right reaction and the dangers coming from Left adventurism, when we went to the polls in the 1971 Parliamentary elections, the Right reactionaries were routed and the relics of feudalism were beaten in their own dens, and the Marxists were also, if not quite routed, at least mauled and mutilated to such an extent that they were reduced to the position of a very negligible minority and they had only to play their noisy role in this House.

There is no single year in the history of any nation in the world, which has been packed with such important events, as the year 1971 in our country. In 1971, the country gave a massive majority to the Ruling Congress under the leadership of our present Prime Minister. Soon thereafter, when we had assembled in this House to chalk out a programme for the eradication of poverty and for a social transformation where by the poor could have their bread and a firmer roof over his head and some insurance against diseases, we were overtaken by an unprecedented tragedy in the shape of the march of one crore of refugees from the neighbouring country which is now the full-fledged Bangla Desh.

Voices were raised in this House that the Prime Minister's leadership was on trial, the

[Shri B R Shukla]

country was on trial. Even the friends of the reactionary group in this House, the American Government began to meddle in an undignified manner in the tragedy which was a human tragedy on an unprecedented scale.

Then pressures were brought to bear on the Prime Minister and her party to accord recognition to Bangla Desh very early. But she kept quiet. She measured her steps. She calculated all *pros* and *cons*. The decision to recognise Bangla Desh was taken only when Bangla Desh became a reality with the collaboration and co-operation of our armed forces with the Mukti Bahini in Bangla Desh. Had the decision to recognise Bangla Desh been taken at an earlier stage as demanded by the Opposition parties, perhaps we would not have come out so victorious as we did in December 1971.

In this very House Shri A B Vajpayee said that we were friendless because we had not entered into military pact with any power in the world. This was during the debate on foreign affairs in this House.

The conclusion of the Indo-Soviet Treaty is another landmark in the history of our country. A friend in need is a friend indeed. I regret to say that in the recent elections certain parties went out of their way and lost all sense of national perspective when they denigrated and defamed the conclusion of the Treaty which has gone a long way in making us victorious in the recent Indo-Pakistan war.

We also made certain promises to the electorate in the mid-term poll last year. One was that poverty would be abolished from the country. The opposition parties were completely routed in the parliamentary elections. They had a second inning in the election to the State legislatures when they were completely demolished.

Now my friend, Prof Dhandavate, says that centralisation of power has taken place because we in this part of the House have surrendered our democratic rights and vigilance and that whatever was conceived and dreamt of by the Father of the Nation has been given a go-by by the present Prime Minister. He also said that for this the Prime Minister was not to be blamed but that the members of her party were. I would ask him:

has he considered the question of implementation of land reforms? In the State legislatures the landed aristocracy was strongly entrenched whether in the shape of the Congress Government or Coalition Government. They were so firmly entrenched there that no progressive land reforms were possible. Now the subject is being included in the Concurrent list because there should be one policy throughout the country on land reforms. There should be one policy about ceiling, land distribution and industrialisation. We cannot solve the problem of lack of industrialisation, rural or urban unemployment by the pursuit of different policies in the country in these matters.

PROF MADHU DHANDAVATE: One question is the appointment of Chief Ministers as a Central subject?

SHRI B R SHUKLA: That is our domestic concern. You are not to be bothered about it. For instance, there are points of difference between you and Mr Raj Narain which are purely your concern, and we never cared to bother about them. The elected leaders have an overwhelming majority in the legislature want to be guided in the appointment of a Chief Minister, by our Prime Minister. You do not accept it and that is your allegation. But even for the sake of argument that is the state of affairs, then it is a tribute to the leadership of our Prime Minister and the faith in her leadership that has been demonstrated by the entire nation.

The President in his Address, has touched the point of poverty. He has said that the war has been won but the war on poverty, the war on squalor, the war against ignorance has to be fought in the same way. But, as you know, the military campaigns are managed by trained army personnel but the war against poverty is to be fought not by disciplined soldiers but by persons who have got political affiliations, who have their own pulls and pressures, and therefore, it is more difficult and more onerous to wage a war against poverty. Therefore as war against Pakistan was fought successfully under the leadership of our President who is Supreme Commander of all the armed forces of our country, similarly the war against poverty has to be fought under his supreme Commandership, and under the leadership of Shrimati Indira Gandhi, the Prime Minister and Leader of this House. (Interruption)

AN HON. MEMBER : Field-Marshal.

SHRI B. R. SHUKLA . 'Field Marshal' is a term which is inferior to that of Supreme Commander. Therefore, we do not want to accept your adjective.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : It came from the Treasury Benches.

SHRI B. R. SHUKLA : What is the danger which is facing us ? So far as the people are concerned, in spite of their illiteracy, in spite of their mass poverty, in spite of their traditional beliefs and their adherence to old faiths, they have shown complete maturity and political sense in returning us, for which even my hon. friend, in spite of his reverses and frustration, has paid an eloquent tribute.

Now, the masses want that there should be some sense of purpose. They were tired of the climate of political uncertainty, political instability, and they were also tired of coalitions, defections and all sorts of undesirable things. Therefore, they have given a complete and massive verdict to us. And even if there is no opposition in this House, I want to submit that there are voices amongst ourselves who are conscious of this responsibility. that the country should reconstituted on socialist lines. I invite my socialist friends to abandon their seats there and come and occupy the benches here, and their voice, even of dissent, even of differences, shall be equally respected, we have collaboration; we have alliances, we have sympathies, not with individuals or parties but we have sympathies and collaboration with policy and the ideology which they adopt and which they practise. We extended our help and co-operation and we made alliances at some places with the members of the CPI because they believe in the same destiny, in the same line of thinking in which we believe, you believe, but your Raj Narain makes alliance with those who are reactionaries out and out who take contributions in the same way, as you allege, we take contributions, which fact is stoutly refuted by us. Why did you not succeed in getting donations ? Because you have lost your market value. People know that you can not succeed. My DMK friend has just stood up ; he has got his own Government and probably that Government is doing well in Tamil Nadu and therefore his market value has not diminished so much as the value of the persons who constituted the coalition Government in Bihar

and Bengal and other places. We have got a leader, in whom people have got faith. Democracy cannot be run without money. Even in bigger democracies like America and England, donations are coming forth. We do not beg for donations but if people give donations they are welcome. We did not go with a begging bowl to the United States for helping the refugees, but if help was coming forth without strings, certainly we do not like to spurn it. It is in this context that you should view the contributions or donations, if given at all, to the ruling party.

The President has in his Address spoken about the creation of a task force. Certainly progressive policies enunciated by the Central Government get bogged down at the State level and the bureaucratic empires created by the erstwhile public servants coming down from the British days had not changed ; their outlook is mostly outdated. Therefore, the creation of a task force is necessary for the implementation and enforcement of the socialist policies.

We are now complete masters in this House as well as the State legislatures. Posterity will not excuse us—nor would there be any alibi—if we do not swiftly utilise the power which people have unmistakably given to us in elections, both in 1972 and in 1971. We have to bear in mind constantly these ringing words of an English poet : "We have promises to keep and miles and miles to go before we sleep." We have faith in ourselves and in our leadership. If we give her unstinted support, it should not worry you. You should be worried only when there is failure on our part to keep the promises which we have made.

SHRI N. SREEKANTAN NAIR (Quilon) : Sir, I have already moved the following Amendments :

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

"but regret that no effective steps have been proposed to eradicate poverty."

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

"but regret that no weightage is given to the State of Kerala which had been badly neglected in the successive Plans in the matter of Central investment in the

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Public Sector and in railway lines and workshops”

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

“but regret that the Union Government has taken no effective steps to revitalize the traditional industries of Kerala, like coir, cashewnut and handloom”

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

“but regret that the fall in the prices of coconut, pepper and other products of Kerala is not countered by effective steps by the Central Government”

My effort will be to throw light on the grievances of my State because to indulge in mere abstract political discussions is I think, of no value. Let me point out that except for a passing reference to Arthik Swaraj, this Address as a statement of policy is the baldest and the barest made by President before any Parliament. There has been so much stress and strain in the States that the Government could not finalise their time-bound programmes and policies for the next year. I can understand that. If they admit it I can appreciate it. But if they think only of their landslide victories and forget their promise to the people of this country, then the astounding majority that they have got and the astounding support that they have got may turn out to be dangerous for them.

The slogan of *garibi hatao*, which has been picked up by the teeming millions, is not being implemented with seriousness. The present mass upsurge may take a disastrous turn in future if their aspirations are belied. If the Government does not utilise the 25th and 26th Amendments of the Constitution and does not bring forward progressive legislation to see that unemployment and poverty are, as far as possible, countered, if the Government does not give food, work and shelter, of some sort, to the teeming millions of India, the future of this country will be very bleak.

I must also add that whoever might have been responsible for it in the beginning, goonda raj is not something healthy for a democratic life, and the goonda raj in West

Bengal is going once again to recoil on its patrons. Therefore, in the interests of democracy, those who have come out successful in the elections must see that goonda raj is put down in West Bengal once and for all. If not, they will be digging their own graves.

Now, I come to local problems, the solution of which alone will ultimately solve the problems of this country. Kerala is the one State which has been discriminated against most ever since independence in this country. I am listing some of the the discriminations.

Kerala is the one State in India which has no basic or heavy industry either in the private or the public sector.

Kerala is the one State in India where there is not a single armament factory or ammunition factory or ordnance factory or a single unit of defence production.

Kerala is the one State in India where no public sector undertaking worth the name has been set up since independence.

Kerala is the one State in India where there is no Central University or no Central Technological or Research Institute.

Kerala is the one State in India where the rail route-mile per lakh of the population is only one-third of the all-India average and where is not a single railway product or unit or even a single railway workshop.

Kerala is education and the highest percentage of education and the lowest percentage of employment.

Kerala is the one State in India which provides the highest percentage of foreign exchange and gets back the lowest percentage in the quota of imports for industrial development.

Yet, the Government of India has now rejected the claims of Kerala for setting up the Cross-bar Switching Equipment Unit, through the technical experts had approved our claims, and given it to a State which has already two telephone units. After selecting Kerala for the establishment of a Precision Instruments Unit, after the State Government had acquired the land and made all the prelimi-

nary arrangements, after the foundation stone was laid by an eminent personality, the unit was unceremoniously set up in Kota. We were promised a second unit, but we understand that the Kota unit has advanced its claim for further development. They want pneumatic instruments also to be produced there. Therefore, even if Kerala gets a second unit, it will be uneconomic. So, their love towards Kerala is quite patent.

The Geological Survey of India was asked to conduct a survey of the iron ore mines of Kerala. The survey has been going on for the last five years and is not complete. The survey of places like Calicut which are very rich in iron ore is not completed because they do not want to give Kerala a part-based steel plant.

As I have pointed out, Kerala is a backward State in industrial development. The State has today 52 applications for industrial licences from both the private sector and the public sector. But they have not been considered till now.

The basic industry of Kerala, which is almost a cottage industry, which provides for lakhs of people is the cashew industry. The Central Government stepped in and we welcomed it in channelising the import of raw nuts. But the Cashew Corporation of India has been handed over to a set of bureaucrats who do not understand the A, B, C, of the industry. Fortunately, because the State Government, the workers and everybody cooperated with it, the CCI could make its first year almost a success. But towards the end of the first year, they did not buy sufficient raw nuts from foreign countries at reasonable prices and supply it to the processors, so that all the industrial units including the State Development Corporation had to close down for more than 1½ months. Then, the workers had to start an agitation. Thousands of workers—men and women—had to demonstrate before the Kerala Secretariat and the office of the CCI at Ernakulam. They had to be arrested and removed by the Kerala police. All this happened because the CCI set up by the Government of India is not doing its job properly.

The coir industry has been our traditional industry. It supports 2 lakhs of families. The whole family—father, mother and children—sit together and do it on a cottage industry

basis. The industry has been in ruins. A major scheme for its survival has been submitted to the Government of India. Technical experts scrutinised it and at last the scheme costing Rs. 6.99 crores had been accepted. But the Government of India does not say what portion of it is prepared to advance and how the finances are to be found. As a result, the crisis in the coir industry continues and two lakh families are starving. Coming to the newly started master-plan for the development of fisheries in Kerala, Kerala went far ahead without any help from the Centre. But the Centre stepped in and started giving licences to big people. Birlas, Tatas and monopoly vested interests applied and got special licences for trawlers to be imported, so that the small entrepreneurs in Kerala could be smothered.

Kerala, as you know, Sir, is deficit in foodgrains. We have 7 irrigation projects and every year we are given Rs. 1 or 2 crores, which would not suffice to meet the overall expenditure of the establishment. We have applied for more money, but the Centre is not giving it. If about Rs. 15 crores are provided through institutional finances for the next few years, we can tide over our deficit and become a surplus State. But the Centre is not herding to this demand. They talk of socialism; they talk of parity and equality between regions but in effect, in actual practice, they ignore the small fries who have no influence with the Centre, who are far away from the Centre.

Much has been said in the President's Address about land reforms. There is so much of talk about the wonderful and model land reform legislation of Kerala. But the Land Reform Act of Kerala is being threatened in the Supreme Court. If this legislation is smashed by the judiciary, if the Supreme Court takes the decision that this legislation is null and void then one and a half lakhs of families would be thrown out. We wanted this legislation to be given shelter in the Ninth Schedule. Though the Government of India agreed to it in principle, they have not come forward to implement it. If tomorrow the Supreme Court says that this Act is null and void, then one and a half lakhs families would be thrown out. Then it will become a battle between the police and land owners on one side and the landless people on the other with the Government of Kerala watching the whole thing as a helpless spectator.

[Shri N Sreekantan Nair]

Then, we do not have any major aerodromes. Even though an aerodrome has been promised to us years ago we do not have even proper scheduled air services now. Then I want to mention another very important point, namely, houses for the poor. The Central Government prepared a scheme and earmarked a sum of Rs 4 crores for that. Except Kerala no other State came forward with a detailed scheme for housing the poor. The foundation stone for that scheme is being laid on the 1st of May. Now the Centre take the stand, you are the only State which has prepared a scheme, if we give you money then the other States will also come forward with schemes and ask for money. Does it mean that they want to allow the money to lapse, rather giving it to Kerala? Why do they not give this money this year to Kerala and next year to another State which has prepared a scheme? The secularist-oriented and socialism-propagating government should come forward with money for such schemes. Otherwise my friends from Kerala including myself and the Congress members who are associated with this scheme will not be able to move about in Kerala. They will be gheraoed by the common people. The common people will ask what has happened to our housing programme.

I do not want to refer to how the policy on coconut, pepper and other cash crops of Kerala are determined by Fatas and other big industrial magnates from Bombay.

Finally, the hon Prime Minister has reached such dizzy heights. If there is any fall from that height it would be disastrous. Therefore, I want the hon Prime Minister and the Government to try to fulfil the promises they have made from time to time and satisfy the aspirations of the common people so that dire poverty, unemployment and the problem of housing may, at least to a certain extent, be mitigated.

SHRI DINESH CHANDRA GOSWAMI (Gauhati) Mr Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I take stand here to support Motion of Thanks on the President's Address. We are about to complete one year since we met after the last mid-term poll and when I look back to this year my heart is filled with a sense of pride, pride for the achievements of this country both in the international field. No reference to achievements of last year can be made

without a reference to Bangladesh and so it is in the fitness of things that the address of the President starts with a reference to Bangladesh. We are proud not only because we have won a war against Pakistan, because many a country has won a war in the past but we are proud of the fact that we fought a war not for the conventional reasons but for reasons which have no parallel in the human history. We fought a war to help the people of another country to achieve the ideals of democracy and for the defence of human freedom and I do not think there is any parallel in human history when a country fought war for achieving democratic ideals by the people of another country.

15.40 hrs

[SHRI N. K. P. SAIVU in the Chair]

After the war we did not govern the country, we left the Government to its own people and we have withdrawn the army within the shortest possible time—another feature which has no parallel in human history. Therefore when we look back upon the last year we have got every reasons to feel proud about it.

We are now fighting a war on another front—the war against poverty, a war which it is much more difficult to win. It is the slogan of *garibi hatao* that has appealed to the masses and it is because of the pledge that the people in the entire country have rallied behind the Prime Minister. We have made pledges to the people and we must be able to fulfil them; we must make all efforts to fulfil them because if we fail to fulfil them we will betray the confidence and trust reposed by the people in us.

In the last year, because of unforeseen circumstances, much development could not be made in many fields, yet in the constitutional field we had made to very important amendments—the Twenty-fifth and the Twenty-Sixth Constitution Amendments. By the Twenty-sixth Amendment we have done away with privy purses and by the Twenty-fifth Amendment the Government has taken upon itself the power to take over property for the furtherance of the Directive Principles laid down in article 39 (b) and (c) without payment of market price or compensation.

But if anyone feels that these two constitutional amendments by themselves will lead to socialism and equality, I think, he has reasons to feel frustrated. They may lead to national equality but they will not lead to equality unless they are followed up by follow-up measures.

Therefore, it is necessary that we take important measures on the economic front. One weapon which is essential in that field is the weapon of self-reliance. The last war has taught us a lesson, the lesson of how dangerous it is to rely upon foreign economic aid. Therefore, we must cultivate the habit of self-reliance and we must make a careful husbanding of country's external accounts. It is the leadership of Gandhiji and his ideal of swadeshi that gave us political freedom, let us hope that it is the leadership of Prime Minister Gandhi and her new slogan of swadeshi in a different context, which will help in the achievement of economic independence of this country.

The President has taken satisfaction in the fact that there has been improvement in the agricultural field and there has been a rise of production to 108 million tonnes of foodgrains. Obviously, there has been improvement in this field, but we must take note of the fact that the improvement has not been uniform throughout the country. The improvement has been only in some States. I come from the State of Assam which has all the potentialities of agricultural development, but I feel sorry at the fact that there has not been any improvement in the agricultural field worth the name in this region. The land reforms programmes only on paper. There has been no proper implementation of them. There has been no implementation of the irrigation facilities or of rural electrification programmes. I feel that there should be uniform improvement in these directions throughout the country. Improvement only in one particular area will not help this country in tiding over the difficulties in the economic field.

There should also be reappraisal of the price policy. Undoubtedly, the price structure was kept under a certain amount of check, yet we found, so far as some basic commodities were concerned, that there was an abnormal price; in fact, this House had debated more than once the rise in the price

of sugar. I feel the Government should take immediate steps to see that so far as the basic commodities are concerned there is no price rise or, if there is a rise in prices, it can be checked and there is a certain balance.

In the industrial field it is unfortunate that the development is not at all encouraging. The recent *Economic Survey* shows that the industrial development has fallen from 7.1 per cent in 1969 to 4.8 per cent in 1971. The President has called for a moratorium on strikes and lock-outs—undoubtedly, a very lofty ideal—and let me hope that all parties and labour leaders will try to achieve it. But, at the same time, we must be able to generate a climate in the country so that the development in the industrial field does not help a few monopolists or few industrialists but that development goes for the benefit of the people of the entire country. It is on the generation of this climate that we can expect a development in the industrial field; otherwise, I feel even a call for a moratorium on strikes and lock-outs will not be of much help.

I am grateful to the President for making a reference about the north-eastern region. You are aware, Sir, the entire north-eastern region is very complex and sensitive region.

The region is composed of people of different races. The people speak different dialects and languages. The people are very sensitive. It is one of the most backward areas. Unfortunately, the development in this region has not been to the desired extent. We are grateful to the President for making a reference to the north-eastern region and we are earnestly looking forward to the development works in this region.

Now, the optimism that was generated by the President's Address by his reference to the north-eastern region, to a great extent, has been diluted by the Railway Budget which followed the Address. In the Railway Budget, we do not find any mention of the north-eastern region. The hon. Railway Minister promised to us the extension of broad-gauge line in this region. But there is no mention whatever about it in the Railway Budget. Let me hope this reference in the President's Address about north-eastern region will not be



[Shri Dinesh Chandra Goswami]

a mere reference but that immediate follow-up measures will be taken for the improvement of this region. After all, the emergence of a free Bangladesh has changed the political, economic and social complexion of the north-eastern region. Therefore, the Government should in the fitness of things give adequate attention to this region.

Shri Madhu Dandavate made a reference to the imbalance of legislatures. He mentioned that there has been a total eclipse of opposition both in this House and in State legislatures. It is a fact. As a person who is wedded to democracy, I feel, there should be healthy Opposition. But for the eclipse of Opposition he cannot blame us. He should search his own heart to find out why there has been an eclipse of Opposition.

He talked about convictions. I ask him: Did his party for all these years act upon convictions? Is it not that his party which talks about socialism joined hands with reactionaries in the last Mid-term poll? Is it not that in the last elections his party tried to raise a communal bogey of Bihari Muslim? After all, the common mass of people, crores of people, which means our motherland India, have attained sufficient political maturity. They can not only look to the pledges made but can also try to ascertain the intentions of the parties who make them. The common mass of people may be illiterate but they have sufficient political acumen in them. (Interruption) May I tell Mr. Jyotirmoy Basu that after 25 years of Congress rule, the people have reposed confidence in us and after 5 years of Marxist rule in West Bengal the people have rejected them? Therefore, it is for my friends like Mr. Jyotirmoy Basu to try to search their hearts and find out what has led to their eclipse. As a person who has firm faith in democracy, I feel, there should be Opposition. But the Opposition must be healthy. If the health has to be generated, it is for them to drive out the germs of ill-health.

In the last war, it is the combined effort not only of us but of the Opposition and the people of the entire country that helped us to win the war. As I have said, we are now engaged in another war against poverty. Let us hope that the combined effort of all of us, the ruling party which has got majority both in Parliament and in State legislatures

and the Opposition will help us to fight war against poverty, so much so that when the President will deliver his Address next year, there will be significant features of achievements on the battle-field against war on poverty.

With these words, I support the Motion of Thanks.

**श्रीमती सावित्री इयाम (आवना)** सभापति महोदय, मैं राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण का हार्दिक स्वागत करती हूँ। उनका यह अभिभाषण विश्वासो, आशाओं और इरादों का स्रोतक है। ये इरादे, ये विश्वास उन चुनौतियों से उत्पन्न हुए हैं, जिनका पिछले तीन-चार महीनों में हमने सामना किया है। ये विश्वास उन संघर्षों से उत्पन्न हुए हैं, जिनके बीच मैं मैं हारर हम गुजरे हैं। हमें गर्व है अपनी सेनाओं पर। अपने सेनापतियों पर आज हमारे सेनापतियों और जवानों को वागता और शौर्य की कहानियाँ जन-जन के हृदय में अंकित हैं। हमें गर्व है भारतवर्ष के लोगों की एकता पर, उनकी बुद्धि की परिपक्वता पर कि बस एक दीवार की तरह एक सीक की तरह भारत की प्रधान मंत्री श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी के पाँछे खड़े हो गये। हमें गर्व है कि इस देश की प्रधान मंत्री पर जिन्होंने

**श्री हुकम चन्द कछवाय** सभापति महोदय, मैं आप की व्यवस्था चाहता हूँ। सदन में कोरम नहीं है।

**सभापति महोदय** माननीय सदस्या स्थान ग्रहण करें। घंटी बजाई जा रही है। कोरम हो गया है, माननीय सदस्या अपना भाषण जारी करें।

**श्रीमती सावित्री इयाम :** हमें गर्व है भारत की प्रधान मंत्री पर जिन्होंने सारे देश का आह्वान किया कि हम शान से जियें और शान से लड़ें। मुझे याद है जब इस सदन में वह प्रस्ताव आया कि मुक्ति वाहिनी को सहायता दी जाये और बंगला देश की आजादी की लड़ाई



लड़ी जाये तो कछवाय साहब के लीडर श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेई ने यह कहा था कि श्रीमती गांधी शक्ति है। मुझे वे शब्द याद रहे अभी चुनावों के समय मेरे भी क्षेत्र में एक चुनाव था और वहा उस शब्द को मैंने दोहराया। निस्संदेह आज श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी शक्ति के रूप में अवतरित हुई है, जिन्होंने फ्लोरेंस नाइटिंगेल की तरह हाथ में टार्च लेकर सारे विश्व के लोगों को एक रास्ता दिखाया जो कि आज रेगियल डिप्लोमैटिक्स में दबे है, जो बड़ा बड़ा ताकतों के मेटेलाइट बने हुए है और जो गरीबी से दबे है। उन सभी को उन्होंने एक रास्ता दिखाया है। आज सारा विश्व हिन्दुस्तान की तरह देख रहा है।

सभापति महोदय, हममें कोई संदेह नहीं कि देश में बहुत गरीबी है, देश में बहुत मुनाफाखोरी है, देश में बहुत रिश्वतखारी है पर हम लड़ाई को उसी इरादे से लड़ना होगा जिस इरादे के साथ बंगला देश की लड़ाई लड़ी गई। मुझे इस बात का दुख है कि बावजूद इस बात के कि सारा देश समाजवाद के पीछे पीछे है, सारा देश आज समाजवादी अर्थव्यवस्था को चाहता है लेकिन हमारी आज की अर्थव्यवस्था कुछ लोगों के हाथ में ही है और वह पूँजीवादी अर्थव्यवस्था है। पूँजीवादी अर्थव्यवस्था में श्रम का कोई स्थान नहीं है। यदि कुछ है भी तो बहुत थोड़ा सा है। पूँजीवादी अर्थव्यवस्था में उत्पादन के सभी साधनों पर पूँजीपतियों का अधिकार है जबकि श्रम को केवल अपनी मेहनत पर अधिकार है। इसलिए जब तक यह पूँजीवादी अर्थव्यवस्था बदली नहीं जायेगी तब तक समाजवाद का नाम बहुत दूर रहेगा चाहे कितना ही उसके लिए प्रयास किया जाये। हमारे देश की जनता बर्खाई की पात्र है कि जब 1971 से पहले उन्होंने देखा कि बहुत सी रिएक्शनरी फोर्सेज, प्रतिक्रियावादी शक्तियाँ देश में काम कर रही हैं जो कि प्रगति के रास्ते में रुकावट हैं तो उन्होंने लोकसभा में कांग्रेस की दो तिहाई मत दिया और वह इसलिए दिया कि सरकार आसानी से संविधान को बदल सके, इसलिए दिया कि प्रगतिशील

रास्ते से सारी रुकावटों और अडचनों को दूर कर सके। उसी प्रकार जब हम राज्यों में चुनाव के लिए गए तब भी जनता ने एकमत होकर एक शक्ति के साथ सारे राज्यों में हमें बहुमत प्रदान किया। हमारी कांग्रेस पार्टी बहुमत में आई। और वह इसलिए कि केन्द्र में और राज्यों में एकरूपता हो सके, कोऑर्डिनेशन हो सके। आज सभी जगह जनता का समाजवाद का अन्दर विश्वास है, प्रजातन्त्रवाद के अंदर विश्वास है और वह नहीं चाहती कि जिस तरह का डिमान्स्ट्रेशन सी० पी० एम० ने राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण के समय किया उसको दोहराया जाये। अब सी० पी० एम० वाले दोबारा चुनाव में आकर देखें कि उनका क्या हाल होता है? जितनी सीटें अभी आ गईं वह भी अब आने वाली नहीं है। यह बात अवश्य है कि हमें एक मौका मिला है जिसका हमें चूकना नहीं चाहिए। यदि हमने इस अवसर को खो दिया तो निस्संदेह इतिहास हमें माफ करने वाला नहीं है, जनरेशन हमें माफ करने वाली नहीं है और जनता हमें माफ करने वाली नहीं है। इस बात की फिक्र हमको जरूर है और हमारी सरकार को भी है कि हमारा प्रोडक्शन बढ़े परन्तु मुझे प्रोडक्शन की उतनी चिन्ता नहीं है जितना चिन्ता इस बात की है कि इस प्रोडक्शन के बढ़ने के साथ साथ जो डिस्पैरिटी और असमानता पैदा हो रही है उसको किस तरह से कम किया जाये। हमने अपनी पंचवर्षीय योजनाओं में देखा कि हमने लक्ष्य रखा कि 57 परसेन्ट प्रोडक्शन बढ़ेगा लेकिन वह नहीं बढ़ा। हमने देखा कि हमारी नेशनल इनकम बढ़ी, हमारी राष्ट्रीय आमदनी बढ़ी, हमारी परकैपिटल इनकम बढ़ी (व्यवधान) सारे देश में (व्यवधान)

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU (Diamond Harbour) : Lowest in the world-73 dollars . (Interruptions)

SHRIMATI SAVITRI SHYAM : I am ready to argue ..

MR CHAIRMAN : This is not the place to argue. Kindly address the Chair.

SHRIMATI SAVITRI SHYAM : I say that the national income has increased. If he contradicts me and says that the national I come has not increased, I am prepared to argue.

तो सभापति महोदय, हमारे देश में अन्न के क्षेत्र में बहुत काम हुआ। औद्योगिक क्षेत्र में काम कम हुआ परन्तु अन्नोत्पादन में बहुत बढ़ोत्तरी हुई और उससे हमारी राष्ट्रीय आमदनी बढ़ी, पर-कैपिटल इनकम बढ़ी। लेकिन इसके साथ साथ मैं कह सकती हूँ कि आमदनी बढ़ने के साथ साथ हमारे देश में डिस्पैरिटी भी बढ़ी, असमानता भी बढ़ी और कर्षण भी बढ़ा। आज हमारे देश में जब सर्वे कराया जाता है तो उसमें इस बात का अन्दाजा तो लगाया जा सकता है कि कितने लोग बेकार हैं पर इस बात का कोई अन्दाजा हमारे पास नहीं है कि राष्ट्रीय पैमाने पर हमारे देश में अमीर और गरीब की खाई कितनी है, डिस्पैरिटी कितनी है, प्राइमरी स्कूलों के बच्चों में और कान्वेन्ट के स्कूलों के बच्चों में भिन्नता कितनी है। इस बात का कोई वैज्ञानिक अनुसंधान या वैज्ञानिक अन्दाजा हमारे पास नहीं होता... (व्यवधान)...

आज आवश्यकता इस बात की है कि कांग्रेस पार्टी को एक बार नहीं दो बार जो जनता का मेंडेट मिला है उससे सतर्क होकर हमें काम करना है। मैं सरकार से निवेदन करना चाहती हूँ कि वह उपभोक्ता उद्योगों में कदम बढ़ाये। सरकार कंज्यूमर गुड्स में अपने क्षेत्र को बढ़ाये क्योंकि इन चीजों की देश में कमी है और उसके कारण मंहगाई है। कुछ ही लोग उनको खरीद सकते हैं। इस क्षेत्र में सरकार का जाना बहुत ही आवश्यक है चाहे उसकी कितनी ही आलोचना क्यों न हो। इसका परिणाम यह होगा कि लोगों को सामान मिलेगा और कम कीमत पर मिल सकेगा और उससे जो लाभ होगा वह कुछ लोगों के पास न जाकर सरकार के पास आयेगा जिससे वह दूसरे क्षेत्रों में भी काम कर सकेगी। सरकार की चाहे कितनी मुशालिफत क्यों न हो उसे इस क्षेत्र में तेजी से कदम बढ़ाने चाहिए और इस तरह से समाजवादी कदमों को तेजी से आगे ले जाना चाहिए। यदि देश बढ़े

हैं तो वह बढ़े हैं टेकनालोजी से, विज्ञान से। लेकिन हमारे देश में वैज्ञानिकों और साइंटिस्ट्स का स्थान पहला नहीं, दूसरा है। हमारे यहां ऐडमिनिस्ट्रेटिव सर्विसेज की जो धूम धाम है, रौनक है, रोब है, वह किसी दूसरे मुल्क में नहीं मिलती। मैंने समाजवादी देश भी देखे हैं और साम्राज्यवादी देश भी देखे हैं, हर जगह साइंटिस्ट्स और टेकनालाजिस्ट्स का अपर हैंड देखा। कार्य की सारी जिम्मेदारी उनके ऊपर है, ऐडमिनिस्ट्रेटिव सर्विसेज के ऊपर नहीं। लेकिन अभी हमने अखबारों में देखा कि आई० ए० एस० ऐसोसियेशन की मांग निकली थी। उस मांग के पीछे हमारी सरकार झुक जाती है क्योंकि उन्हीं को वह सब चीजों के लिये रामबाण समझती है। मैं उनके खिलाफ नहीं हूँ, लेकिन मैं चाहती हूँ कि इस देश में वैज्ञानिक और टेकनालाजिस्ट्स को इस दृष्टि से देखना चाहिये कि उनको प्रथम स्थान दिया जाये। इसी से देश की बढ़ोत्तरी हो सकती है, चाहे उद्योगों में हो, चाहे मशीनरी में हो, चाहे कल कारखानों में हो वा फिर चाहे खेती में हो। इसके बिना हमारा काम चलने वाला नहीं है।

16 hrs.

केन्द्रीय सरकार ने तीन सर्विसेज पैदा की थीं आल इंडिया सर्विसेज में। फारेस्ट और पुलिस सर्विस तो पहले से चल रही हैं, लेकिन उसमें भी असमानता दिखलाई देती है। मैं पूछना चाहती हूँ कि आखिर आल इंडिया सर्विसेज रखने के माने क्या हैं। इसमें पैरिटी, एक-रूपता लानी चाहिये। ऐसा करना बहुत आवश्यक है।

अभी अभी अमरीका के प्रेजिडेंट चाइबा गये थे। हमें बहुत खुशी हुई उनके इस नये रोल को देख कर क्योंकि हिन्दुस्तान हमेशा से हामी रहा है यू०एन०ओ० में चीन के प्रवेश का। यू० एन० ओ० में बैठ कर उसने हमेशा चाइना को स्थान दिलाने की बकालत की है। लेकिन जो संयुक्त विज्ञापित निकली है, ज्वारेंट कम्यूनिक निकली है उसको देख कर हमको बड़ी निराशा

हुई। मैं नहीं समझ पाई कि उसका क्या कारण था। ऐसा लगता है कि अमरीका ने पाकिस्तान की हार को एशिया में अपनी हार माना है। ऐसा लगता है कि चीन ने भारत को ऐसा समझा है कि वह दबे हुए लोगों का अगुआ, स्वतंत्रता संग्राम में संलग्न लोगों का अगुआ बनने जा रहा है और इससे उसको दुःख हुआ है। साथ ही रूस और हिन्दुस्तान की जो मैत्री हुई है उससे भी उसको बड़ी निराशा हुई है। निस्संदेह हम रूस के बड़े आभारी हैं कि समय पर उमने हमारा साथ दिया। लेकिन मित्रता हम सब लोगों से करना चाहते हैं। रूस से ही नहीं दूसरे देशों से भी हम मित्रता रखना चाहते हैं। हर क्षेत्र में हम उनसे मैत्री रखना चाहते हैं। हमें अपने उद्योग धन्धों और व्यापार में भी दूसरे देशों से मैत्री रखनी चाहिये।

अन्त में मैं एक शब्द कहना चाहती हूँ। राज्यों के अन्दर और केन्द्र में एक दल की ही सरकारें हैं। उनमें कम्प्लीट कोऑर्डिनेशन होना चाहिये। तीसरी पंच-वर्षीय योजना में हमने देखा कि राज्यों से सड़कों का रुपया लौट कर आया। जगह जगह सड़कों का माग है, कोने कोने से उसकी माग हो रही है। तब फिर सड़कों का रुपया लौट कर क्यों आया? और राज्यों का तो मैं क्या कहूँ, स्वयं यू०पी० में यह रुपया लौटा है। सरकार को यह देखना चाहिये कि जिस काम के लिये रुपया रकवा जाये वह पूरा किया जाये, रुपया लौट कर न आये। एक तरफ तो हम देखते हैं कि सरकारें ओवर-ड्राफ्ट करती हैं और दूसरी तरफ कुछ सरकारें रुपया लौटा देती हैं। ऐसा नहीं होना चाहिये।

**श्री मूलचन्द्र डागा (पाली) :** सभापति महोदय, लोकतन्त्र और समाजवाद के लिये कुछ खतरे हैं। पहला खतरा निहित स्वार्थ है, दूसरा खतरा है उग्रवादी वामपन्थी तथा दक्षिणपन्थी प्रतिक्रियावादी ताकतें और तीसरा खतरा है क्षेत्रीयता और साम्प्रदायिकता। हिन्दुस्तान में लोकतन्त्र पनपा है और काफ़ी मजबूती में साथ पनपा है। लोगों ने हममें विश्वास किया है और हम पर शिम्शेचारी डाली है। मैं मानता हूँ कि

राजनीति सेवा और नज़रता का विषय है। लेकिन एक बात भूलनी नहीं चाहिये कि आज भी अतिगामी चतुर और चालाक लोग आगे बढ़ रहे हैं। ऐसा मैंने कई जगह देखा है। जब तक मानव मूल्य नहीं बदलेगा और छोटे से छोटा आदर्श यह महसूस नहीं करने लगेगा कि देश के निर्माण में उमका भी हाथ है, तब तक गांधी जी का स्वप्न पूरा नहीं होगा।

आज हमसे इन्कार नहीं किया जा सकता कि देश में गरीबी है, और मंहगाई बढ़ रही है इससे भी इन्कार नहीं किया जा सकता। लेकिन इस मंहगाई और गरीबी का कारण क्या है इस में भी हम अपनी नज़र नहीं हटा सकते। पहली बात यह भी माननी होगी कि हमारे देश में विषमतायें बढ़ रही हैं। देश के अन्दर जो भी आंकड़े मौजूद हैं उनसे मालूम होता है कि 1961 और 1970 के बीच में 60 प्रतिशत मंहगाई बढ़ी है। लेकिन इसके साथ साथ कारखानों में काम करने वाले जो मजदूर हैं उनकी औसत वार्षिक आय जो 1948 में 1417 रु० थी वह 1968 में बढ़कर 2224 रु० रह गई।

मैं बतलाना चाहता था कि जिस प्रकार से मंहगाई बढ़ा है उस प्रकार से मजदूरों की आय नहीं बढ़ा है। जब मजदूरों को मंहगाई बढ़ा, गरीबी में जब मंहगाई बढ़ा तब उनकी खरीदने की ताकत बढ़ी है या नहीं? वह नहीं बढ़ा। हिन्दुस्तान में काना धन है, कोई इस बात से इन्कार नहीं कर सकता। लेकिन अगर सरकारी कर्मचारी और हमारा प्रशासनिक ढांचा मजबूत और ईमानदार होते, मेवाभावी होते तो जो काना धन आज बढ़ा है, जो लाखों हजारों भ्रष्टान करोड़ों रुपयों की लागत से बनाये गये हैं उनकी तरफ हमारी दृष्टि जाती। लेकिन हम लोगो से कुछ ऐसी ताकतें हैं जो निहित स्वार्थ हैं और लोकतन्त्र को खावे हुए हैं। वह निहित स्वार्थ हैं चतुर और चालाक लोग, कुछ पूंजीवादी लोग जो हमारे लोकतन्त्र के अन्दर बैठे हुए लोकतन्त्र में विश्वास व्यक्त करते हैं और लोकतन्त्र की दुहाई देते हैं। जब तक उनका खतरा

[श्री मूलचन्द डागा]

नहीं होता तब तक हम किस प्रकार से आशा करें कि आने वाले जमाने में उस लोकतन्त्र की स्थापना होगी जिसमें गरीब आदमी स्वाभिमान के साथ खड़ा हो सकेगा ? जब स्वाभिमान से खड़े होने के लिये मैं लोकतन्त्र की बात कहता हूँ तब देखता हूँ कि उत्पादन के क्षेत्र में गिरावट आई है। मैं मानता हूँ, और हमने सारे आंकड़ों में यह माना है कि उत्पादन में गिरावट आई है। हमने यह माना है कि हमारे यहां भ्रष्टाचार है, हम मानते हैं, कि रिश्वत-खोरी है, नौकरशाही और लालफीताशाही है, कर्तव्य-विमुखता है, आचारहीनता है और अकर्मण्यता है। इससे इन्कार भी कौन कर सकता है ?

आज गरीब का हौसला बढ़ा है, उसमें विश्वास बढ़ा है, इसलिये कि इन्दिरा जी ने कुछ बातें कहीं। इन्दिरा जी ने जो बातें कहीं हैं उनको करता हूँ। इसलिये इन्दिरा जी की इस बात में गरीबों ने विश्वास किया, गरीबी दूर होगी। यह कोई उनका इन्द्रजाल नहीं था, खयाली पुलाव नहीं था, एक वास्तविकता थी। लेकिन गरीबी को दूर करने के पहले हम उन ताकतों को रोके जो हमारे यहां के गरीबों पर हावी हैं। आज गांव गांव में हरिन क्रान्ति के नाम पर लांग सीलिंग के कानून को लागू नहीं होने देते। इसका कारण यह नहीं है गरीब नहीं चाहते कि सीलिंग लागू हो, बल्कि ऐसी ताकतें हैं जिनको पूंजीवादी कहना चाहिये। इस तरह से गांवों में भी विषमता बढ़ी है। इसकी तरफ सरकार का ध्यान गया है और मुझको बड़ी खुशी है कि सरकार इन ताकतों के ऊपर भी अंकुश लगाना चाहती है, मैं इसका स्वागत करता हूँ।

आज अगर अतिगामी ताकतों का दमन नहीं हुआ, वह पुलिस पर हावी होती है, आज गांवों में गरीब आदमी या मजदूर दबे हुए हैं तो उसका कारण यह है कि हमारा प्रशासनिक ढांचा इन अतिगामी शक्तियों को दबा नहीं पाता, वह अतिगामी शक्तियों से मिल कर

लाभ उठाता है। आज काला घन कैसे पैदा हुआ ? हमारे अधिकारियों की कमजोरी से। आज जो अतिगामी शक्तियां गांवों में उत्पन्न होती हैं उसका कारण यह है कि पुलिस अतिगामी शक्तियों से मिली रहती है।

आज जो भी रिएक्शनरी फोर्स हैं उनके बारे में हिन्दुस्तान की सरकार बार-बार एलान करती है कि हम साम्प्रदायिक संस्थायें नहीं चाहते, लेकिन फिर आर० एम० एस० कैसे पनप रहा है ? आखिर उस पर अंकुश लगाने का कोई तरीका है या नहीं ? वह आज छोटे-छोटे बच्चों के दिमाग कन्फुसिन करता है, आज हमारे बच्चों में उसके विरुद्ध भावना भरी जानी चाहिये। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि आज हिन्दुस्तान में ही नहीं समार में यह भावना पैदा हो गई है कि हम लोग मजहब के नाम पर राज्य नहीं कर सकते, लेकिन इस तरह की बातों पर कौन अंकुश लगायेगा ? हमें सक्ती के साथ ऐसी पार्टियों और संस्थाओं का दमन करना होगा और यह काम धीरे-धीरे कदम उठाने से नहीं हो सकता। धीरे-धीरे चलने वाला आदमी कभी भी आगे नहीं जा सकता है। देश तेजी से आगे चलता है। मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि तेजी से चलने वाले मुल्क में हमने आज तक क्या किया है ?

हम लोगों का जो नीतियां हैं उनका लाभ पूंजीपतियों ने और निहिन स्वार्थों ने ही उठाया है। मिर्चाई के लिए पानी का वितरण होता है। मिर्चाई के साधन मुहैया करने के लिए आपने हजारों बांध बांधे हैं। नदियों को आपने बांध दिया है। पहाड़ों पर आप नदियों को बांधते हैं। लेकिन जो मिर्चाई के लिए पानी इन बांधों से और नदियों से उपलब्ध होता है, वह किसको मिलता है। वह पानी मालदार जो है उसके खेत को सींचने के काम में जाता है। गरीब तो उस पानी से महकूम रह जाता है। मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि क्या पानी के सही वितरण की आपने कोई पालिसी बनाई है आस इंडिया खेल पर जिसके अधीन गरीब आदमी

को भी सिंचाई के लिए पानी मिल सके ? जो इजीनियर होता है वह भी मालदार को ही पानी देता है और जो पानी देने वाला है वह भी धनी आदमी को ही पानी देता है, जिनके पास बहुत जमीन है उसको ही पानी देना है ।

सीलिंग आन लैंड का कानून आपने बनाया । भूमि का आवंटन आपने किया । लेकिन क्या आपने सोचा है कि गरीब के पाम भी अच्छी और उपजाऊ जमीन गई है । जो फाल्तू जमीन पडी हुई थी और जिनको बाटा गया है क्या उसमें अच्छी और उपजाऊ जमीन गरीब के पाम गई है ? अगर गरीब आदमी को जमीन मिल भी जाती है तो क्या वह जमीन पुलिम गरीब आदमी का दिला पाती है ? क्या पुलिम गरीब आदमी को मदद के लिए आती है ? नहीं आती है ।

नीतिया बनाने में हम कुशल हैं, कानून बनाने में हम चतुर हैं । लेकिन उन नीतियों का पालन कौन करेगा ? नीतिया को आग कौन बढ़ाएगा, इसके आगे एक प्रश्न वाचक चिह्न लगा हुआ है । चार पाच याजनाये बनाई गई हैं । देश आगे बढ़ा भी है । मूलक आगे बढ़ने लगा है । लेकिन मे जानना चाहता हू कि क्या उन योजनाओं का लाभ गरीब वर्ग और पिछड़ा हुआ वर्ग उठा सके हैं या नहीं उठा सका है, इसके सामने भी प्रश्न वाचक चिह्न जुड़ा हुआ है । आपने देश में पचायती राज लागू किया है और सामुदायिक याजनाओं का जाल बिछा दिया है । गांव-गांव में आपने सामुदायिक योजनाओं को शुरू किया है । आपने सोचा था कि इन योजनाओं के फल-स्वरूप देश में काफी सुधार होगा । लेकिन सामुदायिक योजनाओं पर लाखों करोड़ों रुपया खर्च करने के बाद भी आज गांवों के अन्दर जो पिछड़ा वर्ग है वह ऊपर नहीं उठ सका है । देश में जो गरीब लोग हैं, उनको ऊपर उठाने का तरीका क्या होगा, यह भी सोचने वाली बात है । भारत एक गरीब देश है । समुक्त राष्ट्र के राजा अलुमानों में यह पता चलता है कि भारत में प्रति व्यक्ति सालाना आय दो सौ

डालर है जबकि अमरीका में वह 3578 डालर है, कनाडा में 2247 डालर है, इंग्लैंड में 1451 डालर है और फ्रांस में 1927 डालर है । इन आंकड़ों से पता चलता है कि भारत अभी भी किनना गरीब देश है ।

हम लोग समाजवादी नीतियों को आधार बना कर चलते हैं । लेकिन उनके लिए यह आवश्यक है कि वैज्ञानिक तरीके में यथा वितरण हो । लाकूनत्र में हमें खतरा उन शक्तियों से है जिनको आज तक भी हम कुचल नहीं सके हैं फिर चाहे वे शक्तिया पानिटिक्स में हो या अन्यत्र हो । आज हिन्दुस्तान में जितने वकील हैं या डाक्टर हैं उनको तो सम्मान मिलता है लेकिन जो माधारण मनुष्य है उसको मनुष्य नहीं समझा जाता है, उसको मानव नहीं समझा जाता है । लोकतंत्र में मनुष्य का, मानव का मूल्य बढ़ना चाहिये । वह नहीं बढ़ेगा जब उसमें स्वाभिमान होगा । आप कहते हैं कि जो वोटर है वह समझदार हो गया है । आज उम पर एलीगेशन भी लगाए जाते हैं । लेकिन मैं समझता हूँ कि जब हमारे देश के मतदाता स्वाभिमानो बन जायेंगे, इस देश को अपना देश समझेंगे, यह समझेंगे कि यह मेरा देश है और इसको बनाने वाला मैं हूँ तब हमारा देश महान बन जाएगा । लाकूनत्र आज का युग धर्म है । लेकिन लोकतंत्र को सफल बनाने के लिए यह जरूरी है कि मनुष्य में स्वाभिमान की भावना पैदा हो । लाकूनत्र तथा लोकनात्रिक समाजवाद का कायम करने के लिए यह बहुत जरूरी है । जो क्षेत्रीयता की भावना पनप रही है, इसको चूक करने के लिए भी आपको कदम उठाने चाहिये ।

कल रेल मंत्री जी बड़े अच्छी जबान से कह रहे थे कि 22 करोड़ का घाटा रेलों को इसलिए हर साल होता है क्योंकि हिन्दुस्तान के लोग बिना टिकट यात्रा करते हैं । यह किसका दोष है ? लोगों का अगर चरित्र गिर रहा है तो इसका दोष किस पर है, कौन इसके लिए जिम्मेवार है ? अगर आज यह कहा जाता है कि गांव-गांव में, छोटे-छोटे स्थानों में भी हमारे

[श्री मूलचन्द डागा]

पुलिस स्टेशन सेवा के मन्दिर नहीं रहे, अस्पताल सेवा के मन्दिर नहीं रहे, डाक्टर सेवा की भावना से काम नहीं करते हैं, तो इसका दोष किस पर है? अगर शिक्षा के क्षेत्र में जामूल-बूल परिवर्तन नहीं हुए हैं, तो इसका दोष किस पर है? देश में अगर बेरोजगारों की फीज खड़ी हो गई है तो इसका दोष किस पर है? कौन इस सबकी जिम्मेदारी लेगा? 25 सालों में हमने लाखों की तादाद में बेकार पैदा कर दिए हैं। शिक्षा बोझिल हो रही है। नवयुवक चाहता है कि उसको काम करने का मौका मिले लेकिन काम उसको मिलता नहीं है।

अन्त में मैं इतना ही कहना चाहता हू कि लोकतांत्रिक समाजवाद में लोगों का विश्वास कायम रहे, इसके लिये यह आवश्यक है कि हम अतिगामी शक्तियों पर काबू पाए, जो विपमता है, और जो बढ़ रही है, इसको रोकें ही नहीं बल्कि इसको दूर भी करें। हमने सक्ती के साथ ये सब काम नहीं किए तो आने वाला जमाना पच्चीस साल के बाद कहेगा कि हमने देश को जिस मन्जिल तक पहुंचाना था, उस मन्जिल तक पहुंचाने में हम नाकामयाब रहे हैं।

इस अभिभाषण में जिन स्वप्नों की बात की गई है और जिनको साकार करने की बात कही गई है, मैं मानना हूँ वे साकार होंगे। एक बड़ी भारी जिम्मेवारी हिन्दुस्तान पर और हिन्दुस्तान में जिसकी हकूमत है, कांग्रेस, उस पर आई है। श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी को जो बल जनता ने प्रदान किया है उसके भरोसे और देश में जो ताकत आई है उसके भरोसे उन्होंने कह दिया है कि हमारी शक्ति बढ़ गई है और एशिया के अन्दर कोई दूसरा राष्ट्र अपनी चौदराहट नहीं बना सकता है, अपनी चौदराहट को वह क्षम कर दे। अमरीका की या चीन की चौदराहट अब नहीं चल सकती है। हम तरह की चौदराहट हमारे स्वामिमान के खिलाफ है।

मैं चाहता हूँ कि देश में निर्माण के

कामों में, रोजगार के मामले में, भूमि के वितरण के मामले में, सौलिंग के मामले में तेजी से कदम उठाये जायें और जो निहित स्वार्थ हैं, जिनके खुद के इंटरैस्ट हैं, उनको कुचल दिया जाए। ऐसा होगा तभी हम आगे बढ़ सकेंगे।

SHRI VAYALAR RAVI (Chirayinkl) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I am very glad to support the motion before the House, but I do not claim that the Address of the President is presenting a very bright picture either of the past or of the present. But I do feel that the President has tried his level best to project the problems which we faced last year and whatever things we have to do next year. In this context, I have to appeal even to those including my friend Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu to extend all co-operation towards building the nation which we are trying to build after the war.

When I was listening to the speech of Mr. Dandavate, I found he was complaining against the majority votes won by the Congress in the recent elections to the State legislatures. His complaint is that there is no opposition party here or in the State legislatures. Where the majority has been returned by the Congress. But what happened in 1967? The people of India had given a large number of seats even equally if not more than expected, to the legislatures in Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Haryana and in many other States, to the other parties. But what happened and what did the Opposition do? With large number of seats in the legislatures, they started capturing the seats from the Congress side and we saw the spectacle of Ayarams and Gayarams which, I must say, brought ridicule to the States and their legislatures in the country. So, when the people returned them in large numbers to the legislatures, the Opposition did not play the role of the Opposition but they tried to play the game of defection all over the States and tried to keep to power through defections. The people were fed up with that kind of Opposition tactics and that is why they have been rejected.

The other thing that the hon. Member complained of is that the Congress party obeyed their leader. It is true. We cannot afford to be a party with different leaders going in different directions. I am glad that

Mr. Dandavate has no complaint about the leader as such, but he stated that his complaint is only against the method of selection. But we cannot help it.

Coming to the next point, I have said that we are trying to build up a nation after the war. War is not a pleasant thing. It is not a war that we wanted; it was a war which was thrust upon us. The casualties were very heavy and the burden on the country and the people has been very heavy. Last year, the President said many things which we were not able to fulfil, because we had to divert our whole attention to the rehabilitation of millions of refugees consequent on a war which was thrust upon us. We had to repair everything which we had lost. So, the President may not have been able to project a bright picture, in fact, he has already said in the opening paragraph itself that the liberty of 75 million people were at stake in Bangladesh, that ten million refugees had come here and that we went to the aid of Bangladesh in defence of human freedom. All that has already been mentioned in the first paragraph itself. I do regret—I do not know how the President could have missed it—that he did not mention anything about unemployment in this country. Of course it is not a problem peculiar to India alone. It is a problem for every country in the world. Mr. Bosu is laughing; I have read that in Europe and even in America they are faced with unemployment. But we must have a phased programme to fight unemployment, step by step. Unfortunately I do not see any such thing in the President's Address.

It is a matter of gratification that we have achieved food self-sufficiency and we have stopped imports, in fact we are trying to export now. I compliment the ICAR, the scientists working there and in other institutions who did a great deal to achieve self-sufficiency. But what about planning. Yesterday, I had a discussion with the Food Minister. While there is enough food in the country, Kerala did not get rice because there is no proper means of transport. Arrangements for transporting foodgrains to parts of the country which need it should be planned and rice or other commodities should be transported, by road or rail, to the place where it is needed from where it is produced.

Land ceiling is another thing. I claim that Kerala has taken the lead in this matter.

Every tenant, every Kudikodappukaran has got the right. I know that the legislature in our States are dominated by rich peasants who object to land ceilings. With family as the basic unit, the land ceiling must come. I believe the President and the Government must give a lead to every State. The President has said that every State must press forward with these reforms and the poor tenant must get the land so that he can cultivate it. Land belongs to the tiller and must go to him. I hope Kerala's lead will be followed by other States.

The financial institutions, the banking institutions have become institutions of corruption. In my State I am told that when a man who wants to start a small scale industry goes to the bank to get a loan the bank agent and staff ask 5 or 10 per cent commission. Nationalised banks are meant for some purpose and that purpose will not be achieved in fact that purpose will be spoiled by the bureaucracy working there.

We are lacking a committed civil service. We make a programme and it goes to the Secretariat and is processed through the manuals, rules and regulations and ultimately gets scattered into pieces. The public servants, Secretary, Joint Secretary, Deputy Secretary and the Under Secretary—are not computers; they are human beings. Their attitude will definitely influence their decisions. At present their attitude favours the rich and not the poor. As I said we do not want computers; we want human beings who can sense the feelings of the people.

The President says that a scheme has been approved to provide central assistance for providing house sites for landless rural workers. It is a very good idea. My state came forward with a big proposal, with people's participation. Two million students offered their labour for many months to build one lakh houses in my State. It is the biggest programme with people's involvement. In every Panchayat we are building a hundred houses. The Kerala Government made a big programme and we prepared a project report and submitted it to the Centre. Government officials and the Minister here have been saying that no State is coming forward with a big housing programme. My State has come forward with people's and students' participation with manual labour. On May



[Shri Vayalar Ravi]

Day all the workers of my State, every factory worker and every agricultural worker is contributing his salary to this big scheme. There is so much of people's involvement, but the Centre is thinking whether it should give any money or not to this programme. That means that there is something wrong somewhere. It is because there is lack of imagination on the part of some people. This happens because we do not have a committed civil service.

Many of the officers in the Secretariat may not have seen a coconut. It is a rare commodity, but it is used by a millions of people. Are we expected to help monopolists like Tata and Lever Brothers, or the poor farmer in the State? Copra price has fallen like any thing and my State is losing every year Rs. 90 crores. This money is not going to the poor people or the Government of India, but into the pockets of Tata, Lever Bros. etc. This kind of situation cannot be allowed to continue. We made representations but it has not been heeded.

There is black money in rubber, in the Coir industry and the cashew industry. There is complete economic depression in my State. We are speaking of equality of the States and the prosperity of the country, but when some States are suffering, the country cannot have any prosperity and we cannot achieve anything. Every State has got its own problem, and they should be seen in their proper perspective, and solved by the action of the Government.

Mr. Bahuguna has visited Kerala, and he must know the feelings of the people there. I request him to see that the Crossbar Switching Equipment Unit is given to Kerala as Shri Srikantan Nair has already stated. The decision Instruments Factory has been given to Kotah. We have nothing against Kotah, but the Managing Director is a demagogue. They are making assembling plants, not production plants. We demand a production plant. They want to sabotage the programme in our State. This should not be allowed.

We must have a programme with more employment and equal treatment of the State and also a committed judiciary. Then only can we implement whatever we want. I hope Mr. Bostu's party will also cooperate

I do agree that violence should not be allowed, but they started it and they are getting it back. My colleague Shri Ramachandran, during his election campaign, could not go to certain areas. He was pushed back, slippers were thrown at him, and he was not allowed to speak. Two workers have been murdered, and the CPM M. L. A. is the first accused. This should not be allowed. They should accept the defeat in a sportsman spirit.

16.30 hrs.

*The Lok Sabha adjourned till Seventeen of the clock.*

*The Lok Sabha re-assembled at Seventeen of the Clock.*

[MR. SPEAKER in the Chair]

GENERAL BUDGET, 1972-73

MR. SPEAKER: The Hon. Finance Minister.

THE MINISTER OF FINANCE (SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN): Sir, I rise to present the Revised Estimates for the current year and the Budget Estimates for 1972-73.

*Economic Conditions : 1971-72*

2. In many ways, the year that is now drawing to a close has been the most eventful in our recent history. It began in the wake of a clear expression of the will of our people in favour of a bold and radical programme to promote growth with social justice. This verdict has been reconfirmed decisively in the recent Assembly elections. But the beginning of the year also witnessed a reign of terror and repression in East Bengal. By November 1971, some 10 million refugees had sought shelter in our midst; and be stunted no effort or resource in looking after these hapless and heroic people. Despite this massive influx and the cost of a war, which was not of our seeking, we decided not delay or postpone in any way the equally urgent task of development and social welfare. Instead, we sought to meet the additional burdens by two supplementary instalments of fresh taxation, by greater mobilization of voluntary savings and by a renewed