

of Service) (Removal of Difficulties) Order No. 1 published in Notification No. S.O. 55(E) in Gazette of India dated the 31st January, 1973 under sub-section (2) of section 11 of the Former Secretary of State Service Officers (Conditions of Service) Act, 1972. [Placed in Library. See No. LT-4187/73.]

ANNUAL GENERAL ADMINISTRATION  
REPORT OF ANDAMAN & NICOBAR  
ADMINISTRATION

SHRI F. H. MOHSIN: On behalf of Shri K C. Pant, I beg to lay on the Table a copy of the Annual General Administration Report (Hindi and English versions) of the Andaman and Nicobar Administration, for the year 1971-72. [Placed in Library. See No LT-4188/73.]

COMMITTEE ON PRIVATE MEMBERS' BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS  
TWENTY-SECOND REPORT

SHRI G. G. SWELL (Autonomous Districts): Sir, I beg to present the Twenty-second Report of the Committee on Private Members' Bills and Resolutions.

13.57½ hrs.

PUBLIC ACCOUNTS COMMITTEE  
SIXTY-THIRD REPORT

SHRI SEZHIYAN (Kumbakonam): Sir, I beg to present the Sixty-third Report of the Public Accounts Committee regarding action taken by Government on the recommendations contained in their Third Report on Exploratory Tubewells Organisation.

13.59 hrs.

BUSINESS ADVISORY COMMITTEE

TWENTY-THIRD REPORT

THE MINISTER OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRI RAGHURAMAIAH): Sir I beg to move the following:—

"That this House do agree with

the Twenty-third Report of the Business Advisory Committee presented to the House on the 20th February, 1973."

MR. SPEAKER: The question is:

"That this House do agree with the Twenty-third Report of the Business Advisory Committee presented to the House on the 20th February, 1973."

The motion was adopted

13.59 hrs

MOTION OF THANKS ON THE  
PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS

MR. SPEAKER: Now we take up the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address to be moved by Shri R. K. Sinha. This will come at 3 O'clock 15 hours have been allotted and we very much hope we will be able to finish it within time. I would not restrict the Debate; you can say anything on this; you can come out with even what you think you have been denied ...

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE (Kanpur): Including Harvana teachers ...

MR. SPEAKER: Don't get committed. I assure you very honestly, it is not a question of this side or that side; we have examined the Adjournment Motions very carefully. I honestly follow the precedents and the rules. But the hon Members have their own difficulties. I have got my own difficulties.

SHRI DINEN BHATTACHARYYA (Serampore): I am glad that you are also appreciating our difficulties.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE: After having heard the hon. Minister I think you must have been fully convinced now that the adjournment motion was necessary.

MR. SPEAKER: Anyway let us not debate about it now.

श्री टुकुम चन्द कछवाय (मरेना)  
अध्यक्ष महोदय, हाल से जो आप आश्वासन  
दे रहे हैं यह आश्वासन काम रीति प्रस्ताव  
से देते तो ज्यादा अच्छा होता।

अध्यक्ष महोदय आप रूप बदल दीजिये  
मुझ कोई एनगज नहीं हूँगा।

श्री टुकुम चन्द कछवाय रूपम तो  
कहने हैं स्वीकार करना चाहिए।

अध्यक्ष महोदय कहा कहत है।

*The Lok Sabha adjourned for Lunch  
till Fifteen of the Clock*

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*The Lok Sabha reassembled after  
Lunch at three minutes past Fifteen  
of the Clock*

[MR DEPUTY SPEAKER in the Chair]

MOTION OF THANKS ON THE  
PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS—contd

MR DEPUTY-SPEAKER We will  
take up the Motion of Thanks to the  
President for his Address.

श्री आर० के० मिन्हा (फैजाबाद) उपा-  
ध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं आप की अनुमति से  
निम्नलिखित प्रस्ताव सदन के सामने प्रस्तुत  
करना चाहता हूँ

'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 Presi-  
dent for the Address which he  
has been pleased to deliver to  
both Houses of Parliament assem-  
bled together on the 19th Febru-  
ary, 1973,

महामहिम राष्ट्रपति ने अपने अभिभाषण  
में दोनों सदनों के सामने यह कहा था कि

देश के सामने कौन-सी हैं और यह कह  
था कि जहाँ हम औपचारिक वित्तीय कार्य  
के ऊपर गौर करोगे वहाँ जनता के मार्ग दर्शन  
करने की ओर भी हम को अग्रसर होना  
है। इस बारे में उन्होंने जो शर्णाधिकारी  
की बाढ़ आज से दो वर्ष पहले आई और  
जिस प्रकार देश के ऊपर सूखे का सबूत आया  
उस का भी जिक्र किया, और बतलाया कि  
देश में 1 करोड़ 6 लाख टन अनाज बाटा  
जा चुका है। इस से कीमती पर भी अमर  
पडा है लेकिन फिर भी उन्होंने बतलाया कि  
हम को इस का सामना किन उपायों में करना  
चाहिये।

इस के साथ साथ उन्होंने यह भी  
बनाया कि पिछले साल 7 परसेंट इन्फ्लेशन  
ग्रोथ हुई है। मैं बहुत नम्रता से यह अर्थ  
करना चाहता हूँ कि जो दाम बढ़े हैं उसके  
ऊपर हमारे विपक्षी दल के साथी यह जरूर  
कहेंगे कि हम को तेजी से कदम बढ़ाना  
चाहिये। लेकिन मैं उन से कहना चाहता  
हूँ कि उन्होंने आज जो तरीका अख्यार  
किया है और जिनके फलस्वरूप इस देश में  
प्रजातंत्र खतरे में पड गया है उस से गेहूँ  
या चावल के भाव घटने वाले नहीं हैं।  
आज ममस्त एशिया पर एक सबूत आया  
हुआ है। अगर चीन के लोगों को या  
रूस के लोगों को या इंडो चाइना के लोगों  
को आस्ट्रेलिया, कनाडा और अमरीका से  
गन्ना मगाने पर मजबूर होना पडा तो इस  
लिये नहीं होना पडा कि वहाँ भी हमारे  
किस्म की पद्धति थी या कोई गैरी सरकार  
थी जिस पर यह लाठन लग सकते थे।

आज इस बात की जरूरत नहीं है कि  
हम देश के शासन को कमजोर करें, इस बात  
की जरूरत नहीं है कि पार्लियेमेंटरी पद्धति को  
कमजोर करें, बल्कि इस बात की जरूरत  
है कि हम अपने मन में सोचें कि क्या इस  
सरकार ने जो स्थिति सन् 1972 में थी उस  
का मुकाबला 1965 की अपेक्षा ज्यादा



ताकत के साथ, ज्यादा सूझ बूझ के साथ कर के देश को प्रगति के रास्ते पर डाला है या नहीं।

अब सरकार ने यह नीति अपनाई है कि वह गेहूँ के व्यापार को अपने हाथ में लेगी, इस के साथ साथ जैसे ही चावल की फसल आ जायेगी, उस के व्यापार को भी वह अपने हाथ में ले लेगी। हम यह देख सकते हैं कि जब सरकार इस व्यापार को अपने हाथ में लेती है तो राशनिंग के तरीके में या फेअर प्राइम शापिंग खोल कर वह सारे देश में सामान को सस्ते में सस्ते दामों पर बँच कर और जो लोग काला बाजार करते हैं उन के गले को ले कर पीपल्स कमेटिया बना कर उन के द्वारा गल्ले को देश भर में वितरित करवा कर सही तरीका अख्तियार कर सकती है।

इस के साथ साथ मैं यह भी कहना चाहता हूँ कि आज सरकार के सामने एक सकट आया है। इस में पहले तीन चार वर्ष तक ग्रीन रिवोल्यूशन की कामयाब क्रान्ति हुई। ममस्त देश में इतना गल्ला था कि हम लोग आराम में रह सकते थे, और जब बंगलादेश में आजादी की लड़ाई हुई तो उम में हम न हिस्सा लिया तथा जो एक करोड़ शरणार्थी हमारे देश में आये उन को हम खिला सके। यही नहीं गिछने माली में हम बंगला देश के लोगों की पूर्ण रूप से मदद करते रहे हैं।

इस सदन में ऐसे बहुत से लोग होंगे जो जब लड़ाई न छेड़ी जाये तो यह कहेंगे कि आप लड़ाई क्यों नहीं लड़ते हैं और जब लड़ाई छेड़ी जाय तो उस के लिये कर देने से इन्कार करेंगे, लड़ाई की कीमत को अदा करने से इन्कार करेंगे। यह चीज राजनीति में हो नहीं सकती है। जब बंगला देश की आजादी की लड़ाई हम ने लड़ी तो उम में हमारे देश का पैसा खर्च हुआ, हमारे जवान

वाम आये और बंगला देश के लोगों को हम को मान्य भय तक खिलाना पडा। आज बंगला देश में सूखा हुआ। मैं नहीं कह सकता कि दुनिया की सरकारें बंगला देश को मदद करेंगी या नहीं। वह करे या न करे अमरीका भी अपनी राजनीति के अनुसार बहा के लोगों की मदद कर सकता है, लेकिन हमारा तो यह धर्म है कि हम हर हालत में, हर तरीके में, गल्ला वगैरह से बंगला देश की मदद करेंगे और ही हम को एक रोटी कम खानी पड़े। मगर आज जो लोग राष्ट्रीयता की बात करते हैं, दशभक्ति की बात करते हैं, वह कर क्या रहे हैं? मैं आप के सामने अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ और यह चीज मैं अपने एक बयान में आज में एक महीना पहले कही थी, कि आंध्र प्रदेश का कोई भी फैमला हो, चाहे राष्ट्रीय स्तर पर हा चाहे आंध्र प्रदेश के लोग तय करें, लेकिन रेलों का जलाना, रेलवे कर्मचारियों को जिन्दा जला देना, या पटरियों को उखाड़ देना, जिस में उत्तर भारत में दक्षिण में कोयला न जा सके और दक्षिण भारत में उत्तर को पट्टाल और दूसरा सामान न आ सके, यह राष्ट्रभक्ति नहीं है, वह देशद्रोह है। जो राजनीतिक पार्टिया के नेता मेरे बाद बोलेंगे, मैं उन में यह पूछना चाहता हूँ कि क्या आप पार्लियामेण्टी पद्धति में विश्वास करते हैं? क्या आप प्रजातन्त्र में विश्वास करते हैं? अगर आप विश्वास करते हैं तो खड़े हो कर क्यों नहीं कहते कि आज देश में जो कुछ है रहा है आंध्र प्रदेश में जा रहा है आज देश के पूर्वी इलाकों में, पश्चिम बंगाल में, उड़ीसा में या अमम में जिस तरीके की समस्याएँ उत्पन्न जा रही हैं वह ऐसी हैं जिन में जनता के हित का कोई मतलब नहीं है?

एक मीटिंग होती है आंध्र प्रदेश में वहाँ पर एक मंत्री के बारे में, जो एक गोज पहले मंत्री हुए थे, किसी ने कहा कि अगर

[श्री आर० क० सिन्हा]

यह मंत्री यहां आयेंगे तो तुम क्या कहोगे ? जनता चुप रही। जनता से फिर पूछा गया कि तुम क्या कहोगे ? जो साहब अध्यक्षता कर रहे थे मीटिंग की, वह फरमाते हैं कि उन्हें हम देशद्रोही कहेंगे। आंध्र प्रदेश और तेलंगाना एक रहें या अलग हो जाएं लेकिन यह जो विचारधारा है कि अगर कोई कहता है कि यह एक रहे तो वह देशद्रोही है, गलत विचारधारा है। एक मंत्री के साहबबादे को जनता ने पकड़ लिया उमका मडन कराया गया और उनको श्मशान भट ले जा करके उन से उनके पिता का आखिरी कर्म कराया गया। क्या यह प्रजातंत्र है ? क्या यह प्रजातंत्रीय ढंग है ? हमारे मोदी साहब जो स्वतंत्र पार्टी के नेता हैं उन्होंने राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण के बारे में कहा कि यह एक स्टेट है। उन्होंने कहा कि आज प्रधान मंत्री कोई एनान कर दें तो कल को शान्ति हो सकती है। मैं पूछना चाहता हू कि क्या वायोलेंस चला करके कोई फैसला करवाया जा सकता है या हो सकता है ? मैं अपने कोई विचार इस समस्या के बारे में पेश करना नहीं चाहता हूँ। मेरी क्या राय है कि आंध्र और तेलंगाना अलग हों या एक रहें, इसको मैं यहां रखना नहीं चाहता हूँ। लेकिन मैं बाजपेयी जी से पूछना चाहता हूँ, माक्सिमिस्ट पार्टी के नेताओं से पूछना चाहता हूँ और चाहता हूँ कि वे परदा न डालें हम पर और उनकी जो विचारधारा है, वह क्या है और हमको वे खुल कर देश के सामने रखें। आप बताएं कि आप इस हिंसा को, इस जुन्म को, इस ज्यादाती को गलत बताएंगे या नहीं बताएंगे ?

आज देश में क्या किया जाने वाला है ?

1971 और 1972 के चुनाव में हारी हुई बिसियानी पार्टियां आज एक रास्ता बूढ़ रही हैं (ध्वजध्वज) जो बात मैंने कही है वह मैं कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी के बारे में नहीं कहना चाहता हूँ। 1971-72 के चुनाव में जो

पार्टियां हार गई थीं उन्होंने आज सुप्रीम कोर्ट की जजमेंट को ले कर एक बेन रिएक्शन शुरू किया है। उस जजमेंट के लिए भारत सरकार की कोई जिम्मेदारी नहीं है। देश की समाजवादी सरकार और हमारी राष्ट्रीय नेता प्रधान मंत्री श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी का प्रयत्न शुरू से ही यह रहा है कि इस समस्या का कोई हल हो सके, कोई फैसला हो सके। लेकिन वायोलेंस बढ़ता गया और आर० एस० एस० के वालटीयर्ज हमने सुबों से आंध्र प्रदेश में भेजे गए हैं। नक्सलाइट भी बहा भेजे गए हैं . . . .

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी (गालियर) - बिल्कुल गलत है। यह आप अनर्गल आरोप लगा रहे हैं।

श्री आर० क० सिन्हा : जिस प्रकार से रेलवे की सम्पत्ति नष्ट की गई है उसकी क्षतिपूर्ति चार महीने तो क्या चार बरस तक भी नहीं हो सकेगी, उसको उठा कर फिर से बहा नहीं रखा जा सकेगा। आंध्र प्रदेश के गरीब किसान आज अपना तम्बाकू बेच नहीं सकते हैं, गरीब आदमी बहा व्यापार नहीं कर सकते हैं। यह आन्वोलन चलता रहेगा तो बहा का गरीब आदमी पिसता रहेगा, उसका व्यापार नहीं हो सकता है, उसका तम्बाकू बिक नहीं सकता है। चावल तमिलनाडु, केरल और मैसूर में स्मगल हो कर बहा जा सकता है और बिक सकता है लेकिन आंध्र प्रदेश और तेलंगाना के गरीब लोगों को नहीं मिल सकता है। हमारे बीस्त जो प्रजातंत्र में विश्वास करते हैं, आंध्र प्रदेश के लोग जो प्रजातंत्र में विश्वास करते हैं चाहे वे सीवेरे-टिस्ट हों या इंटेंशनिस्ट हों, उन से मैं आज इस मंच से अपील करना चाहता हूँ कि वे आएँ और शान्ति से इस समस्या का हल खोजें और इस बात को तम करें, राष्ट्र की नेता श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी और राष्ट्रीय नेतृत्व में विश्वास करें और समझें कि देश की

प्रजातंत्र के रास्ते पर चल कर ही बनाया जा सकता है ।

एक ग्रांड एलायंस बना हुआ है । इस में हम देखते हैं कि हमारे पुराने साथी जिन्होंने राष्ट्रपति के चुनाव में हमारा साथ दिया था हमारे ज्योतिर्मय बसु साहब जी की पार्टी के लोग, वे भी भुलावे से उस में पहुँच गए हैं । मार्क्सवादी पार्टी आज स्पीयरहेड कर रही हैं राइटिस्ट लायंस को । यह बात समझ में नहीं आती है कि राइटिस्ट एलायंस को मार्क्सिस्ट स्पीयरहेड करें । आंध्र प्रदेश में आन्दोलन हो, उड़ीसा में आन्दोलन हो. . . . .

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU (Diamond Harbour): I have become entitled, under rule 115, to make a personal explanation which I shall do, tomorrow.

श्री आर० के० सिन्हा : आज देश में षडयंत्र रचे जा रहे हैं । यह भी कहा जा रहा है कि स्टेट्स रिभागमेंटेशन कमीशन बैठे । यह सब इसलिए किया जा रहा है कि दो तीन बरस तक इस देश में गरीबी हटाने की बात या काम न किया जा सके । कोशिश यह हो रही है कि आन्दोलन और हड़तालें की जाएं, विस्फोटक बम बनाए जाएं । बमों के साथ राजनीतिक पार्टियों के प्रतिनिधि आंध्र प्रदेश में पकड़े गए हैं । कुछ हिप्पी विदेशों से वहाँ आए और वे आंध्र प्रदेश में पकड़े गए । वे नाच रहे थे और भीटिंग कराने की कोशिश कर रहे थे । मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि क्या विदेशी मुद्रा या हिन्दुस्तान के ब्लैक मनी का इस आन्दोलन के सिलसिले में इस्तेमाल नहीं किया जा रहा है ? आज आंध्र में आन्दोलन करो, कल उड़ीसा में करो, परसों पश्चिमी बंगाल में करो । कम्युनिज्म रायट्स उत्तर प्रदेश और दूसरी जगहों में कराने की कोशिश की जा रही है ताकि सरकार का ध्यान आर्थिक कार्रवाइयों से हटे और छोटे-छोटे सबालों

की तरफ जाए और 1976 में कहा जा सके कि श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी ने कहा था कि गरीबी हटाओ का एक फार्मुला पेश करेंगी और वह पेश नहीं किया गया ।

आज सीलिंग आन रूलन प्रापर्टी की वान चल रही है । किमानों को जमीन देने का आन्दोलन देश में शुरु हुआ है । इसको ले कर के बड़े बड़े किसान, बड़े बड़े पूंजीपति किमानों के नाम पर एकत्रित हो गए हैं और ये वे लोग हैं जो समाजवाद के दुश्मन हैं । एक जमाना था जबकि जर्मनी में वहाँ की कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी ने गलती से सीक्रिट एलायंस किया था नाजी पार्टी से और उन्होंने कहा था कि आफ्टर हिटलर आबर टन लेकिन मैं मार्क्सिस्ट्स से कहना चाहता हूँ कि आफ्टर जनसंघ देमर विल बी नो टन आफ थोर्सवे एक अजदहे को पानी पिला रहे हैं ? प्रतिक्रति की आप मदद कर रहे हैं, इसको आप समझ लें ।

1972 में राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण में यह कहा गया है कि पिछले वर्षों की औद्योगिक उत्पादन की अपेक्षाकृत धीमी गति में तेजी आई और उत्पादन सात प्रतिशत से अधिक बढ़ा । जहाँ उन्होंने और चीजों का जिक्र किया है वहाँ खाद का, सिमेंट का, स्टील का, आयल का और बिजली का भी जिक्र किया है । मैं यह अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि देश में जो कोर इंडस्ट्री है उस में विदेशों से चाहे आप कोलेबोरेशन करें । या आप उस में बड़ी मशीनें लगायें लेकिन बक्त आ गया है जबकि देश में आटोमेशन को रोका जाए ।

[श्री शार० के सिंह:]

वक्त आ गया है जब बड़ी कम्पनियों का शुरू करना बन्द किया जाए। दस बीस करोड़ की आप बड़ी फैक्टरी लगाते हैं और चार पांच सौ आदमियों को ही नौकरी मिलती है। देश में बेरोजगारी बढ़ती जा रही है। कोर इंडस्ट्री को छोड़ कर बाकी देश में बेरोजगारी की समस्या को ले कर जो भी प्रयत्न किए जायें उन में छोटे उद्योगों को प्रगति मिलनी चाहिए, इंटरमिडिएट टेक्नालाजी का अध्ययन होना चाहिए। पांच लाख लोगो को रोजगार देने का जिम्मा इस अभिभाषण में किया गया है। लेकिन मैं अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि पांच लाख बेरोजगारों को कलकत्ते, बम्बई, मद्रास आदि में ही रोजगार नहीं मिलना चाहिए, लखनऊ और कानपुर के लोगों को ही न दे। पिछड़े हुए इलाको के लोगों को ये नौकरियां आप दे। मैं माफ कहना चाहता हूँ कि अगर आपको नौकरी देना है तो आपको देश को जिलों में बांट कर हर जिले में एक एक हजार बेरोजगारों को नौकरी देनी चाहिए। पच्चीस माल से हूय योजनाये बनाते आ रहे हैं। एक ही पुराने तरीके पर हम चलते आ रहे हैं। तरीका यह है कि एक नगर दिल्ली है, यहां एक यूनिवर्सिटी है जिस में सत्तर हजार विद्यार्थी हैं। क्या उस में तीस हजार विद्यार्थी नहीं हो सकते हैं और छ. और यूनिवर्सिटियां पांच पांच हजार विद्यार्थियों के लिए पिछड़े क्षेत्रों में नहीं खुल सकती हैं? यह नहीं हो सका है। दिल्ली यूनिवर्सिटी भी एक फ़ैक्ट्री है। यहां के या बम्बई, कलकत्ता आदि के आन्दोलनकारी सरकार पर दबाव डाल सकते हैं लेकिन दूसरी जगह के लोग नहीं डाल सकते

हैं। आज बड़े बड़े शहरों में पाल्पूशन है रहने की जगह नहीं है, झुग्गियों और झोंपड़ियों की संख्या बढ़ रही है। यही उद्योग और शिक्षा के केन्द्र हैं। बड़े बड़े दफ्तर भी यही है, मेट्रोपालिटन टाउन्ज में ही हैं। मैं चाहता हूँ कि इनको इन टाउन्ज में बिल्कुल न खोला जाए। हमके बदले हिन्दुस्तान के पिछड़े हुए इलाकों में आबादी के लिहाज से आप पैसा दें। आज क्या होता है? बैंकवर्डनैस के नाम पर राज्य सरकारें के से पैसा ले लेती हैं लेकिन पिछड़े हुए इलाकों में कुछ खर्च नहीं होता है। जो नई योजना बनने जा रही है उसमें मैं मांग करना चाहता हूँ कि कम से कम पच्चीस पच्चीस करोड़ रुपया प्रति बैंकवर्ड डिस्ट्रिक्ट के वास्ते रखा जाए और पांच छः हजार करोड़ रुपया हम हिमाचल से उनके लिए अगली पंचवर्षीय योजना के लिए अलग रखा जाये। डिस्ट्रिक्ट बेन्ड प्लानिंग होना चाहिए। जिले के चुने हुए लोग अपने जिले की योजना बनाये। पच्चीस माल में हम इंतजार करने आ रहे हैं लेकिन हमारे पिछड़े जिलों की बैंकवर्डनैस की समस्या हल नहीं हुई है, बेरोजगारी की समस्या हल नहीं हुई है। आज बैंकवर्डनैस हमारे गले में एक फटा बनी हुई है। अपने जिले के बारे में मैं एक छोटी सी चीज पेश करना चाहता हूँ। एक लाख रुपया चहा स्टेडियम बनाने के लिए दस बरस पहले मंजूर हुआ और सूद समेत वह एक लाख का दो लाख हो गया है। लेकिन अभी तक स्टेडियम नहीं बना। रुपया बैंक में सड़ रहा है। 55 लाख रुपया भीषी योजना में दुग्धशाला के लिए मंजूर हुआ था। चार बरस तक और अभी तक

भी लैंड तक एक्वायर नहीं की जा सकी है। मुझे डर है कि जो फैजाबाद जिले में पूर्वांचल के लिए एग्रिकल्चरल यूनिवर्सिटी स्थापित करने का निर्णय उत्तर प्रदेश सरकार ने किया है वह भी कहीं फाइलो में न रह जाए। मैं यह भी मांग करना चाहता हूँ कि पूर्वी उत्तर प्रदेश के लिए, पूर्वांचल के लिए भी आज उसी तरीके से योजना कमिशन में सैल बनने चाहिए जैसे पहाड़ी जिलों के लिए बने हैं। जितने पिछड़े इलाके हैं उनका रिजर्नल प्लानिंग होना चाहिए। सेंट्रल प्लानिंग कमिशन को देश के हर एक बैकवर्ड क्षेत्र की प्रगति और विकास की तरफ ध्यान देना चाहिए। ग्रान्ध ग्रौंग तेलगाना का सवाल, और इस प्रकार के अन्य सवाल, इसीलिए उठते हैं कि पिछड़े क्षेत्रों को बेन्ड में सही तरीके से मदद नहीं मिलती है।

इसी तरह पिछड़ी जानियों हरिजनो और गरीबों को मदद नहीं मिलनी है। अगर हमारे देश में पिछड़ी जातियां, हरिजन और गरीब हैं, तो वह सोशलिज्म से कान्ट्रा-डिक्टरी हैं। अगर हमारे देश में बैकवर्डनेस है, तो वह भी सोशलिज्म से कान्ट्राडिक्टरी है। इसलिए मैं अपनी राष्ट्रीय सरकार और अपने नेताओं से यह अपील करना चाहता हूँ कि जो नई योजना बनाई जाये, उसमें पिछड़े इलाकों का ख़ाम खयाल रखा जाये और इस बात पर ध्यान दिया जाये कि ब्यूरो-क्रेसी हमारे देश, और देश के विभिन्न क्षेत्रों, की प्रगति को रोक न सके। ब्यूरोक्रेसी

केबरे में मैं लास्की साहब का एक क्वोटेशन पेश करना चाहता हूँ

Laski considered that the characteristics of bureaucracy are "passion for routine administration, sacrifice of flexibility to rule, delay in making decisions and refusal to embark upon experiment"

The experience of President Roosevelt with US bureaucracy has been described by J A Farley as follows:

"Some of the greatest troubles the President had were caused by subordinate officials who were in sharp disagreement with his policies and, rightly or wrongly, were sabotaging the job he was trying to accomplish"

Bureaucracy cannot be an agent of change

जब प्रगतिशील देशों का यह हाल है कि वहाँ ब्यूरोक्रेसी फाइलो पर बैठी रहती है, तो अब समय आ गया है कि इस देश में सरकार अपने अफसरों की एकाउटेबिलिटी तय करे। उनकी प्रमोशन या डिमोशन इस आधार पर हो उनके करियर का चार्ट इस प्रकार बनाया जाये कि किमी अफसर को किम जिले में, किम काम के लिए भेजा गया था और उसमें उमका रिवाइड कैसा रहा। अगर कोई अफसर अच्छा काम करे तभी उसको पदोन्नति दी जाये। हम जानते हैं कि हमारे अफसरों में बहुत से ऐसे लोग हैं, जो देशभक्त हैं। लेकिन कठिनाई यह है कि हमने उनको एक ऐसी पद्धति में डाल दिया है, जिससे देश को उनकी योग्यता का लाभ नहीं पहुँच पाता है। हमने उनको उचित ट्रेनिंग नहीं दी है। हमने उनको सोशल सर्विस में नहीं डाला है।

[श्री धार० क० सिन्हा]

अधरत इस बात की है कि हमारे देश में ग्रेजुएट की एक सड़ धार्मी बनाई जाये और उन से दो बरस तक कम्पलसरी सोशल सर्विस कराई जाये। देश में नौजवानों का एक संगठन बनाया जाना चाहिए था, जिस के देश भर में केन्द्र होते। एक राष्ट्रीय विद्यार्थी आन्दोलन भी शुरू किया जाना चाहिए था। तभी हम उनसे यह उम्मीद कर सकते थे कि वे देश की सेवा करें। हम को अपनी ब्यूरोक्रेसी को सही रास्ता दिखाना होगा। हम को देश में ऐसे संगठन बनाने होंगे, जिन से समाजवादी क्रान्ति आ सके।

रूढ़ा तक लैंड रिफार्म का मवाल है, जो लोग लैंड रिकार्ड रखते हैं, वे ब्यूरोक्रेट हैं। वे गरीब आदिमियों को जमीन नहीं पाने देते हैं। इसलिए लैंड रिफार्म का तरीका सिर्फ यह है कि जनता की चुनी हुई कमेटिया लैंड रिफार्म को लागू करें। धाब के सब लोग बैठे और यह फैसला करें कि गरीबों को जमीन दी जाये।

जैसा कि मैंने कहा है, डिस्ट्रिक्ट की चुनी हुई प्लानिंग कमेटिया योजना बनाये। आज स्थिति यह है कि हम जनता से दूर भागते हैं और उस को प्लानिंग के काम में लाने से डरते हैं। देश की प्रगति के लिए सब पार्टियों का एक मंच होना चाहिए, एक आल-पार्टी ब्यू बनाया जाना चाहिए।

आज देश के गरीब किसानों के सामने एक बड़ा कठिन सवाल है। जस्टिस डीलेंड अ जस्टिस डनाइड। आज एक गरीब आदिमी कोर्ट फीस भी नहीं दे सकता है। मुकदमों छोटी अदालतों से बड़ी-अदालतों में जाते हैं और बस/ तक उन के फंसले नहीं होते हैं। इस काम के लिए जूडिशियल कमेटीज बनाई जानी चाहिए, जिन में ला जानने वाले हों, लेकिन जजिज न हों। हमारे लीगल प्रोसीजर को ऐसा बनाया जाये, जिस से मुकदमों का फैसला जल्दी हो सके।

मैं यह भी सुझाव देना चाहता हूँ कि हमारी पार्लियामेन्टरी पद्धति में सुधार होना चाहिए आज लच से पहले श्री बाजपेयी ने कहा कि आखिर में बोटिंग हो जायेगा, हमारी बात कौन सुनेगा। इस लिए यह जरूरी है कि अख-बारों के सामने अपनी भंडास निकालने और गैलरीज को प्ले करने के बजाये यह व्यवस्था की जाये कि पार्लियामेंट का सेशन तीन चार महीने हो और बाकी समय में कमेटीज की मीटिंगज हो। उन कमेटीज के चैयरमैन मिनिस्टर्स हों और पार्लियामेंट के विभिन्न पार्टियों के मੈम्बर्स उन के सदस्य हों। वे कमेटिया विन्नार से अलग अलग विषयों पर विचार करें और अपने सुझाव द आज हालत यह है कि बड़ी बड़ी राष्ट्रीय योजनाओं, पब्लिक सेक्टर की 3400 करोड़ रुपए की प्राजेक्ट्स, पर बहस के लिए सिर्फ एक घंटे का वक्त मिलता है।

कल लन्दन में पांच पाकिस्तानी हमारे हाई कमीशन में घूस गए और उन्होंने वह काम किया, जो औपचारिकता के खिलाफ है, जिस को युगाडा का तानाशाह तो कर सकता है लेकिन कोई प्रजातंत्रिक लोग नहीं कर सकते हैं, मैं समझता हूँ कि भूटो साहब एक ऐसी जरानीत चला रहे हैं, जिसके जरिए वे अपने देश में फिर तानाशाही को वापिस ला रहे हैं। उन्हीं के कुछ एजेंट प्रोवोकैटर और खरीदे हुए लोग इस घटना के लिए जिम्मेदार हैं। इस तरह वे लोग विश्व को यह बताना चाहते हैं कि हिन्दुस्तान ने उनके कदी अपने यहाँ रखे हुए हैं।

हमारी सरकार को पूरे जोर के साथ दुनिया में यह प्रचार करना चाहिए कि वास्तव में गलती पाकिस्तान की है और यह कि पाकिस्तान की फौजों ने हिन्दुस्तान और बंगला-देश के सामने सामूहिक सरण्डर किया था। लेकिन आज पाकिस्तान विभिन्न अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय मंचों और अखबारों के माध्यम से तरह तरह की दलीलें दे कर यह सिद्ध करना चाहता है कि

हिन्दुस्तान सही रास्ते पर नहीं है—वह देश सही रास्ते पर नहीं है, जिस के नेताओं ने छः हजार स्क्वेयर मील जमीन शिमला मस्मिट के बाद बिना कोई गोलनी-बन्दूक चले पाकिस्तान को वापिस कर दी, जिस की फौजे बंगलादेश की आजादी की लड़ाई में भाग लेने के बाद निश्चित वकल में पहले ही वहा से वापिस आ गई और जिस की विदेश नीति एक आदेश नीति है। हमारी तरफ से पाकिस्तान को यह बना देना चाहिए कि अगर वह हम पर उंगली उठाना चाहता है, तो हम उस उंगली को तोड़ सकते हैं।

हमारे देश की नीति पाकिस्तान के साथ दोस्ती की है। हम पाकिस्तान से कहना चाहते हैं कि हिन्दुस्तान, पाकिस्तान और बंगलादेश ये तीनों देश, मिल कर दोस्ती और और शान्ति के साथ रहे। हमारी नेता, श्रीमती इदिरा गांधी, ने यह आदर्श पेश किया है। हमने शिमला में पाकिस्तान की हर तरह से यह समझने का मौका दिया कि वह लड़ाई में हिन्दुस्तान से कभी जीत नहीं सकता है। वह हमसे चार बार लड़ चुका है, लेकिन हिन्दुस्तान का बालो बाका नहीं कर सका। हिन्दुस्तान ने विजय में भी अपना बड़प्पन दिखाया और पाकिस्तान की ओर समझौते और दोस्ती का हाथ बढ़ाया।

महामहिम राष्ट्रपति ने अपने अभिभाषण के आखिर में जो शब्द कहे हैं, मैं उन को दोहराना चाहता हूँ—

“माननीय सदस्यगण, हमारी आंतरिक और बाहरी नीतियों के औचित्य तथा हमारी अर्थव्यवस्था, हमारी सम्या-और हमारी जनता की आधारभूत जीवन शक्ति कई बार सिद्ध हो चुकी है, जब-जब देश को गंभीर स्थितियों का सामना करना पड़ा है। मुझे विश्वास है कि हमारी वर्तमान कठिनाइयाँ अस्थायी हैं और हम इनका सफलतापूर्वक सामना करने से अधिक संगठित और अनुशासित बनेंगे। इन चुनौतियों का सामना करने

के लिए हमें स्पष्ट दृष्टि और एक ही लक्ष्य से काम करना है।”

और वह नदय है देश की प्रगति, देश में प्रजातन्त्र का विजय-प्रजातन्त्र के खिलाफ विस्फोटक बमों का इन्तमाल नहीं, जो कुछ विरोधी पाटिया करना चाहती हैं।

SHRI K. P. UNNIKRISHNAN (Badagara): I rise to support and second the motion which has been just moved by my friend, Mr. R. K. Sinha, the motion of thanks to the President.

The debate on the motion of thanks to the President which has become an annual feature has acquired a kind of political significance in this country because it is an opportunity which both Houses of Parliament have acquired, to debate the far-reaching issues, issues of momentary importance as well as of permanent importance to the future of the country. And this has also been signified by the kind of annual rituals which we witnessed the other day, the kind of boycotts and so on. The inability to meet the arguments of this side has very often manifested itself in these boycotts and this year, it has not been different, as we have seen

But I find a special political significance in this year's drama which was staged deliberately. It meant pre-judging the issues involved in the Address because even before the contents of the Address were known, they had come out with this act of discourtesy to the President and to their fellow Members of Parliament. This is only a part of the counter-revolutionary offensive which has been manifesting itself in many ways for the past few months. It was clear that it has been in the making for the past few months—the revival of the grand alliance to which my friend has just referred. But a new dimension has been added. New partners have been sought for and the great Marxist party, ultra-revolutionary party, the party of Shri A. K. Gopalan....

**SHRI G. VISWANATHAN** (Wandiwash): Your target is Mr. AKG.

**SHRI K. P. UNNIKRISHNAN**: No. I will not leave you!

Now, this grand alliance is sought to be projected on the national scene by the people who have been rejected and thrown into the dustbin of history during the last elections.

Now, we may not have reached the pinnacle of achievement or of fulfilment, but I would say that considering the hostility of the environment, natural and otherwise also propped up by the gentlemen sitting on the other side, there is nothing to be apologetic about our performance. What else is the aim of our friends sitting on that side? The programmes which were rejected by the people are sought to be revived in another 'Indira-hatao' and 'Congress-hatao' campaign. But I shall leave these things and come to them later. . . (Interruptions)

The President's Address has rightly given overriding consideration to the economic issues, the real and grave issues of importance that face the country to-day. I would at the outset refer to the basic inhibitive factors of our economy, the factors of a monsoon-fed economy, the factors of lack of investment resources, the factors of lack of investment in the past in the right and real direction, the factors of not having forged the effective tools and instruments of implementation and so on. I would also say that as in the case of the Latin American or the Middle-East countries, we do not have rich energy resources in the nature of oil reserves. We do not have the permanent, never failing rain-fed conditions of the South East Asian countries which can have surplus of food. (Interruptions) we do not have a favourable balance of payments position as a result of our vast exports out of our own natural resources. These are the basic inhibitive factors of Indian eco-

nomy, to which has been added the forces of disintegration, violence anarchy and disorder, deliberately planted on the political scene and the social fabric by the gentlemen sitting there. . . (Interruptions) The drought last year has undoubtedly caused hardship to a large number of people of a vast tract right from Gulbarga in the south to Gujarat and Rajasthan in the north. But, it has to be noted that there has been a relief work of unprecedented magnitude undertaken this year as never before. Now, there has never been any attempt, a colossal effort of this kind in the past whether it be Maharashtra, Mysore or Gujarat or Rajasthan

The President has also referred to the price question which is undoubtedly a live question, a question affecting millions of our countrymen and lakhs of our households. Galloping prices of essential commodities affecting lakhs of households have naturally caused concern not only among them but among the Members of Parliament and political workers on this side. Nobody is more conscious of this fact as the Government of the country led by Mrs. Gandhi. This is not necessarily as a result of certain policies pursued or followed but as a result of the complexities of our economy a large part of which is in the non-monetised sector. That is why our party has rightly decided to take over the wholesale trade in foodgrains. The prices of foodgrains in this country is as good an indicator as the price of steel or automobile in the American economy.

I would like to emphasise that without ensuring a proper public distribution system this question of galloping prices can never be satisfactorily solved. We cannot solve the enigma of spiralling prices unless we attack it from the positions of sound policy and Governmental strength. There are friends on the other side, just like some traders, who think alike and the Jan Sangh and the Swatantra



parties have come out against this step. This shows them out in their true colours. There is an amendment given to the Motion of Thanks by the Jan Sangh. This is amendment No. 59 which comes out with a very clear idea, that is, to condemn the whole policy of take over of wholesale trade in foodgrains and now we know who are on the side of the blackmarketees and hoarders. These are the forces who have been on the side of the large-scale blackmarketees and wholesalers, the big monopolists and the big traders of mandis. It is certainly not an easy task. I would appeal to them to think about as to how we can solve this problem, namely, the basic question of distribution of 8 million tonnes of foodgrains and about Rs. 100 crores worth of essential commodities. How can this be ensured even at the existing levels of consumption? Certainly that requires a vast network involving lakhs of retail outlets and thousands of wholesale outlets. We have to take into consideration the whole question of storage, transport and so on. It cannot be solved unless we have a rational public distribution system. I submit, it has to be accompanied by rationing system not only in the urban centres but also in the semi-urban areas also.

Apart from the question of prices I would refer to the problems of the public sector to which honourable President has referred to. This is the crucial sector of the economy relevant to our efforts to achieve the social objectives and the national goals which we have placed before our people. We have already invested a colossal amount around Rs. 6800 crores in the public sector. That is something like 10 billion dollars. It is a fantastic amount for a poor country like ours. Unless new managerial talents and tools are forged, unless new managerial skills and policies are evolved, we cannot just depend upon the bureaucrats, these capitalists without investment, to run the industries effectively, and profitably. We

have evolved an effective techno-managerial cadre in the country but unfortunately by and large most of them are in the private sector. We have very good schools of management at Ahmedabad and Calcutta producing excellent young men and they are taken away, they are absorbed by the private sector. Unless the whole approach towards management education and management of public sector is basically and drastically altered we cannot get the right type of management. To depend upon the present cadre of revenue-oriented administrative services to run this vital sector would be too much to expect. Apart from that there are various difficulties and complexities that we face in regard to this problem. I do not want to refer to specific instances. But I would say that alone is not enough.

Now, I shall come to the question of trade union's role and policies in this country. Last year during the Budget debate when I had said that at least 50 per cent of the bonus should not be paid in cash but should be retained through amendments to Companies Law Act making workers the partners in industry, I was ridiculed by many trade union leaders. The trouble is—and it applies to my party as well—that a "labour aristocracy" has come up in this country. Even at the risk of being unpopular I would say that when crucial questions of investment, wages and income policy have to be decided—decided at the national level—taking into consideration the whole direction of economy these friends of the trade union are putting pressure on the question of bonus and thus helping to push up the price spiral and also derail the economy. I would like to pose this question to my friends on the other side whether these are the right priorities they have and why they are insisting on 100 per cent payment of bonus in cash.

Now, I come to the question of the Fifth Plan. During the debate on the

[Shri K. P. Unnikrishnan]  
Fifth Plan—of even earlier when it comes before us on the question of Approach to the Fifth Plan—this House will have to decide and take hard decisions on the question of investments, wages and income policy and employment policies. There are no soft options before us. The choices are hard and we cannot take right decisions unless there is a basic and radical change in the attitude of trade union leadership, and there can be no hope of socialism in the country during our generation.

This is an economy of contrasts and complexities. Just as I am against the monopolies I am also against this "labour aristocracy". That is what my Marxism has taught me. As I said it is an economy of contrasts and complexities. The whole idea behind our national goal is to have a substantial and revolutionary changes within the life-span of this generation and, I would say, under the leadership of Shrimati Indira Gandhi and that means revamping our policies of agriculture and industry and having right type of employment policy.

In agriculture, Sir, we have achieved a tremendous deal not only through green revolution but also to a large extent in taking significant steps towards structural changes. But I am not satisfied. We have to go forward still towards the evolution of a new agrarian system and this system alone can achieve some basic and fundamental changes in the whole social set-up. I would refer to a Japanese economist who has contributed something—Shingeru Ishikawa—in "Agricultural Development strategies in Asia". He says: "An agrarian system in which both profitability and collective welfare work as complementary motivating forces for progress and using both traditional and modern inputs in a scientific manner are necessary." I think he has got a right type of perception which has to be modified to suit our conditions and also our larger social and national goals.

Similarly, President has referred to the question of employment and made a proclamation that Government is taking right steps to find five lakhs of jobs for the educated unemployed. I would only hope that during the coming weeks, Government would spell out in concrete details what concrete measures or steps they are going to take in this direction. I come from a State which is not only worried but in which the problem has found alarming expressions. So I would only appeal to the Government that this should not end up as a mere proclamation or a statement in the President's Address, but they have to spell out concrete measures in clear detail before the people.

The question of education has also rightly been touched upon by the President. As Shrimati Indira Gandhi told a conference of educationists in Wardha a few months ago, education need not be confined in a backward country like ours to the traditional schools or conventional schools and colleges but it should also begin in the farms and factories. That means changing our whole concept of education and imparting a new vigour to it, because without education and without skills and without technology, this country just cannot progress.

Before I deal with other questions, I would like to deal with a major political question that is engaging the attention of the people, namely the question of violence and disorder let loose in a part of our country. It is really unfortunate and tragic that our difficulties or the sentiments of a section of the people, however legitimate they might be, are sought to be used for sectarian and partisan ends. It is disgustingly shameful that a section of gentlemen sitting on the other side should go on using the sentiments of people of Andhra in an effort to revive the grand alliance which was buried nine fathoms deep by the people of this country, and also using the general atmosphere of disappointment in this country...

**SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE:** If it is buried so deep, how can it be revived?

**SHRI K. P. UNNIKRISHNAN:** Violence had been let loose by the distinguished followers of the great leader Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee and Shri Piloo Mody and others. It is disgustingly shameful that a man like Shri Latchanna should talk of secession; and a follower of Shri Piloo Mody whose massive presence is absent here today in the House, says that he will get fleets from foreign countries to help and build up an independent Andhra! I do not know how this Government can keep quiet when a State is set on fire deliberately Shri Piloo Mody who is not present here today is busy setting Andhra on fire. We find from the reports yesterday that "No reason to stop agitations," says Piloo Mody. It is a combination of all the right reactionary forces...

**SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE:** Nonsense.

**SHRI K. P. UNNIKRISHNAN:** Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee may protest. But country-made bombs were recovered from the houses of his followers....

**SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE:** That is wrong.

**SHRI K. P. UNNIKRISHNAN:** Who is Yagnanarayan?....

**SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE:** It is all police frame-up. Let us have an independent inquiry.

**SHRI K. P. UNNIKRISHNAN:** It is not a police frame-up. Let him not protest too much. We shall bring forward evidence.

They are fanning out in different senses and setting the whole State aflame. I want to warn this House and the country that if we succumb to the forces of separatism in Andhra

today, whatever be the political cause, that will be disastrous not only for Andhra and Telengana but also for the whole country, and we shall not succumb to this. We shall never succumb to the violent methods used by friends of the Opposition, whether it be Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee or Shri Piloo Mody. We shall never succumb and we would rather not.

When the Prime Minister referred to this and said that if she was standing in the way, she would easily quit, Shri Piloo Mody had the temerity to ridicule her by saying 'When have the Nehrus resigned?' I would like to point out that the Nehrus have resigned and have done many more things. The whole country knows it. Even his mentor the late Rajagopalachari had said that the position of Nehru was not only that of Lakshmana in our national legend but of that of Rama and Lakshmana combined. When my hon. friends were idling in the secured comforts of the bungalows at Cumbala Hills or Malabar Hill, Jawaharlal Nehru was the captain of our struggle. This man has the temerity to go and tell the people of Andhra to launch an anti-Indira tirade. If he is going to launch on an anti-Congress trade, we are prepared to accept the challenge. We will accept it not only in Andhra, but everywhere in the country. They may do, do it independently or with the support of people like Shri A. K. Gopalan.

**SHRI K. S. CHAVDA (Patan):** With the help of CRP.

**SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE:** And the Army.

**SHRI K. P. UNNIKRISHNAN:** I just cannot understand this campaign. I cannot call it a kind of linguistic campaign. It is a kind of frenzy let loose by people who have lost their fight.

In their interests, their bus transport interests, their lands. These are

[Shri K. P. Unnikrishnan] forces at work there. I would like to differentiate these forces from the forces which we saw during the Samyukta Maharashtra agitation. During the height of that agitation, our distinguished leader, the Finance Minister, Shri Chavan, had said: 'If I had to choose between Jawaharlal Nehru and Samyukta Maharashtra, I will choose Jawaharlal Nehru'.

AN HON. MEMBER: What a shame!

SHRI K. P. UNNIKRIISHNAN: It is not a shame.

SHRI G. VISWANATHAN: The Finance Minister, Shri Chavan, agreed to bifurcation.

SHRI K. P. UNNIKRIISHNAN: I am confident that if the people of Andhra have to choose between this country, between the national interests of this country and their aspirations, however legitimate might be their grievances or aspirations, they will choose the former. We will never succumb and we will fight it out.

Shri A. K. Gopalan, for whom I have great respect, is sitting over there quietly. A leader of our national movement in Kerala, he is now threatening an 'Andhra model' struggle in Kerala. One of his followers went a step ahead and said 'We will have it on the Vietnam model'. Do they understand what is going on Vietnam or what went on there? This revolutionary party which makes such tall claims and unashamedly they have joined hands with the Jan Sangh and the Kerala Congress, a party of planter lobbies. This is the emerging pattern, a new political pattern a revived grand alliance. We shall take care of it. We shall look after it. We shall meet their challenge, if necessary, anywhere.

SHRI MADHU DANDAVATE: (Rajapur): Just a clarification.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Order, order.

SHRI K. P. UNNIKRIISHNAN: I do not submit. It is for the Chair to permit.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: It is not for the Member to give permission. If he yields, he can sit down.

SHRI K. P. UNNIKRIISHNAN: All right.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: May I know whether the choice between Pandit Nehru and Samyukta Maharashtra is to be interpreted as a choice between national interests and some other interests which are against them?

SHRI K. P. UNNIKRIISHNAN: I am sorry he did not follow me; his friends did not let me proceed uninterrupted either. I am sure that so far as the people of Andhra are concerned, when it comes to a question of legitimate grievances, even if there are any, and the overriding interests of the Nation, if these overriding considerations are placed before them or allowed to be placed before them, they will accept the national interest. It is the business of this House to settle that because it cannot be settled in the streets of Eluru, Guntur or anywhere else it has to be settled by this House and this House alone through normal democratic processes. But I am sorry to say that normal democratic processes, even voicing of differing sentiments, is not permitted in Andhra Pradesh. This is the kind of movement they are championing. This is what they call as a popular upsurge there. There may be grievances; I am quite convinced there are legitimate grievances. But I would pose this question before Mr. Vajpayee, because they were talking some years ago about an unitary State in India. (*Interruption*) Now they have come out with a suggestion for 68 States, I was told.

AN HON. MEMBER: 58 States; George Fernandes.

SHRI K. P. UNNIKRIISHNAN: I do not know who has manufactured 50 or 68 States. It is irrelevant. The whole point is that from their earlier

emphasis on national unity, their attitude towards the sub-regional forces have fundamentally changed to suit their political convenience. That is the charge I am making. This is because your mentors abroad as well as here, as I said, whose interest you represent have forced you to accept it. Now, you are trying to exploit the legitimate feeling of a large section of the people in Andhra Pradesh. We are prepared to face it politically.

**SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE:** Not by the CRP.

**SHRI K. P. UNNIKISHNAN:** Not the CRP or anybody. But we have to keep up the functions of this Government. I am not competent to speak on behalf of the Government, but as a party I can say we shall not abdicate the functions of this Government as long as this Government is there. If it is necessary to use the CRP, the CRP has got to be used (*Interruption*).

**SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE:** To molest the people. In Vijayawada, people have been molested. Are you supporting it? (*Interruption*)

**SHRI K. P. UNNIKISHNAN:** I do not. Mr. Vajpayee who has risen in eloquent defence of the people, the innocent victims if there were any, has not issued a word of condemnation when violence was let loose and Fascist terror was let loose and counter-offensive was let loose in Andhra Pradesh. Now, it does not lie in his mouth to come here and say that there are innocent victims. (*Interruption*) I do not expect it from a man of a national stature like that of Mr. Vajpayee.

I do not want to enter into the merits and demerits of this question. But all that I would emphasise and say again and again is that this question has to be democratically solved; this question has to be solved in this House; this question has to be solved and permitted to be solved in the normal democratic processes, and any attempt at terror and intimidation and violence which have been the hallmark of this campaign in Andhra

Pradesh has to be fought, and I hope the Prime Minister and the Government of India will fight it ruthlessly and effectively.

Before I conclude, I would say, as the President has referred to a number of questions and international questions also—he has referred to the question of accord with Pakistan, the Simla agreement and other questions—the question of bilateralism which up to a point has triumphed in the Simla agreement, I hope, will be given a fair trial and allowed to succeed not only with regard to our relations with Pakistan; I also hope, as the President has hoped, that China would improve her relations with us, because our whole approach has been of peace in the sub-continent, because unless there is peace in the sub-continent, the vast problems of poverty, of illiteracy, filth and squalor, not only in this country but in Pakistan and Bangla Desh as well can never be resolved. So, the question of peace is of vital significance for us, and I hope they will also reciprocate it.

**MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER:** Motion moved:

That the Members of Lok Sabha assembled in the 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 19th February, 1973. There is a large number of amendments to this motion: as many as 411.

**SHRI DINEN BHATTACHARYYA** (Searmpore): Some were given today also.

**MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER:** That is the number I have with me. (*Interruption*) Order please

**SHRI DINEN BHATTACHARYYA:** All the amendments received up to 12 O'clock.

**MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER:** I am mentioning the amendments which are before me. Members present in the House who desire to move their amendments, may send to the Table within 15 minutes the serial number of the Amendments they would like to move.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE  
(Gwalior): I beg to move:

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of a definite time-bound programme to eradicate unemployment." (1)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of effective steps planned to eliminate black-money in the country." (2)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the announcement of immediate grant of 333 per cent, as bonus to all Government employees." (3)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of launching without delay a massive rural works programme particularly in drought affected areas in such a way as to create permanent national assets and to ensure drinking water to every village within a specified period" (4)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of immediate re-distribution of surplus and cultivable waste-lands with priority to landless persons among the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Ex-soldiers, with special agencies to cater to their financial requirements. (5)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the reservation of production of most of consumer goods for cottage and small industries" (6)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of failure of the Government in meeting even the minimum demand of power for agricultural and industrial requirements in various parts of the country." (7)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the need for drastic cut in Government's unproductive spending and practice of austerity at the highest official levels as a means to checking conspicuous consumption." (8)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the need for a round table conference of all economic interest to formulate national policies on employment, prices, productivity and income." (9)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the need for starting Financial Consultation Service in the nationalised banks." (10)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the need for comprehensive insurance plan for crops and cattle." (11)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the interest-free loans to small farmers from Government agencies, repayable in easy instalments after five years." (12)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of equality in wages for equal work between women and men in all sectors." (13)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of distress over increasing corruption at high levels in the Central and State Governments." (14)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of appointment of a second States Reorganisation Commission which should examine various demands for the creation of separate States in the best interests of the nation keeping in view considerations of economic development and administrative convenience—decisions of the Commission being binding on the Government." (15)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of immediate abrogation of article 370 of the Constitution to bring Jammu and Kashmir State at par with other States of the country." (16)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the extraordinary delay in passing the Lokpal and Lokayuktas Bill". (17)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of announcement ending the State of emergency." (18)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of conversion sales tax into excise duty." (19)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the appointment of a permanent Finance Commission to solve the question of financial allocation between the Centre and States on a stable basis." (20)

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE (Kanpur):  
I beg to move:—

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention anything about the Government's determination to reduce the prices of essential commodities by giving deterrent punishments to hoarders and black-marketeers; taking-over of the monopoly houses and taking effective steps for unearthing black money." (21)

श्री क० एम० बन्युकर (केसरिया) . मैं  
प्रस्ताव करता हूँ

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

"परन्तु खद ह कि विकास के पूंजीवादी  
मार्ग को छोड़कर गैर पूंजीवादी  
मार्ग पर चलने की नीति की  
आवश्यकता का अभिभाषण में कोई  
उल्लेख नहीं है ।" (22)

[श्री के. एम. मधुकर]

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये,  
अर्थात् —

“परन्तु खेद है कि देश के 75 पूजा-  
वादियों के हाथों से अशुभ सत्ता  
छीनने की आवश्यकता का अभि-  
भाषण में कोई उल्लेख नहीं है।

(23)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये,  
अर्थात् —

“परन्तु खेद है कि देश के एकाधिकार-  
वादी प्रतिष्ठानों के राष्ट्रीयकरण  
का अभिभाषण में कोई उल्लेख  
नहीं है।” (24)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये,  
अर्थात् —

“परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में  
जीवन यापन की आवश्यक वस्तुओं  
की मूल्य वृद्धि को रोकने तथा उमर में  
कमी करने के सम्बन्ध में किसी  
कारगर कदम का कोई उल्लेख नहीं  
है।” (25)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये,  
अर्थात् —

“परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में खाद्यान्न  
चीनी, खाने के तेल और रस्ते के  
थोक व्यापार का अखिलम सर-  
कार द्वारा अपने हाथ में लिये जाने  
का कोई उल्लेख नहीं है।” (26)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये,  
अर्थात् —

“परन्तु खेद है कि केन्द्रीय सरकार के  
लगभग 30 लाख कर्मचारियों के  
लिये गठित तृतीय वेतन आयोग  
की रिपोर्ट के प्रकाशन में हो रहे  
बिलम्ब का अभिभाषण में कोई  
उल्लेख नहीं है।” (27)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये,  
अर्थात् —

“परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में  
रेलवे डाकतार, रक्षा प्रतिष्ठानों,  
नागर विमानन, रिजर्व बैंक,  
बीमा, अस्पताल, नगर निगमों,  
नगर पालिकाओं, जिला बोर्डों  
और विश्वविद्यालयों के कर्म-  
चारियों को बोनस देने के सम्बन्ध  
में कोई उल्लेख नहीं है।” (28)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये,  
अर्थात् —

“परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में  
आवश्यकता पर आधारित न्यून-  
तम वेतन का कोई उल्लेख नहीं  
है।” (29)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये,  
अर्थात् —

“परन्तु खेद है कि न्यूनतम राष्ट्रीय  
वेतन 250 रुपये प्रतिमाह निर्धारित  
करने का अभिभाषण में  
कोई उल्लेख नहीं है।” (30)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये,  
अर्थात् —

“परन्तु खेद है कि मजदूरों एवं कर्म-  
चारियों की हड़तालों पर किसी भी  
प्रकार का प्रतिबन्ध नहीं लगाने  
के निर्णय का अभिभाषण में कोई  
उल्लेख नहीं है।” (31)

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

“परन्तु खेद है कि सरकार की मजदूर-  
विरोधी नीति में परिवर्तन करने  
का अभिभाषण में कोई उल्लेख  
नहीं है।” (32)



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

“परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में बढ़ती हुई बेरोजगारी को समाप्त करने के लिये कोई प्रभावकारी कदम उठाने का कोई उल्लेख नहीं है।” (33)

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

परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में मजदूरों के जीवन-स्तर को ऊंचा उठाने के लिये किसी ठोस कदम का कोई उल्लेख नहीं है।” (34)

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

परन्तु खेद है कि मजदूरों के बतन तथा दूसरी सुख-सुविधाओं को बढ़ाने की दिशा में किसी कार्यवाही का अभिभाषण में कोई उल्लेख नहीं है।” (35)

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

“परन्तु खेद है कि अम-कानूनों को सख्ती के साथ लागू करने का अभिभाषण में कोई उल्लेख नहीं है।” (36)

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

“परन्तु खेद है कि पूंजीपतियों को अम-कानूनों का उल्लंघन करने पर सजा देने की आवश्यकता का अभिभाषण में कोई उल्लेख नहीं है।” (37)

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

“परन्तु खेद है कि अमिकों एवं किमानों के आन्दोलनों को दबाने में पुलिस का प्रयोग रोकने की आवश्यकता का अभिभाषण में कोई उल्लेख नहीं है।” (38)

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

“परन्तु खेद है कि सरकारी व्यवस्था पर नौकरशाहों का नियंत्रण समाप्त करने में सरकार की असफलता का अभिभाषण में कोई उल्लेख नहीं है।” (39)

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

“परन्तु खेद है कि राष्ट्रीय जीवन में व्याप्त घूसखोरी एवं अष्टाचार का उन्मूलन करने की आवश्यकता का अभिभाषण में कोई उल्लेख नहीं है।” (40)

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

“परन्तु खेद है कि छात्रों में बढ़ते हुये असन्तोष को दूर करने के लिये कोई प्रभावकारी कदम उठाने का अभिभाषण में कोई उल्लेख नहीं है।” (41)

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

“परन्तु खेद है कि शिक्षा का राष्ट्रीय स्वरूप निर्धारित करने का अभिभाषण में कोई उल्लेख नहीं है।” (42)

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

“परन्तु खेद है कि राष्ट्रीय एकता को सुदृढ़ करने के लिये देश भर में स्कूलों एवं कालेजों में समान पाठ्यक्रम निर्धारित करने की आवश्यकता का अभिभाषण में कोई उल्लेख नहीं है।” (43)

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

“परन्तु खेद है कि समाज में से जातिवाद, सम्प्रदायवाद, प्रतिवाद तथा दूसरे संकुचित एवं रूढ़िवादी विचारों का अन्त करने के लिये ठोस कदम उठाने की आवश्यकता का अभिभाषण में कोई उल्लेख नहीं है।” (44)

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

“परन्तु खेद है कि साम्प्रदायिक संगठनों एवं साम्प्रदायिकतावादी प्रचार पर रोक लगाने की आवश्यकता का अभिभाषण में कोई उल्लेख नहीं है।” (45)

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

“परन्तु खेद है कि स्वतन्त्रता-सेनानियों को यथाशीघ्र पेंशन देने की आवश्यकता का अभिभाषण में कोई उल्लेख नहीं है।” (46)

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी (ग्वालियर) : मैं प्रस्ताव करता हूँ :

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

“परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में दैनिक जीवन की आवश्यकताओं

की पूर्ति के लिये ज़रूरी उपभोग्य सामग्री की निरन्तर बढ़ती हुई कीमतों के सम्बन्ध में सरकार की नीतियों की लगातार असफलता का कोई उल्लेख नहीं है।” (47)

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

“परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में तृतीय वेतन आयोग के प्रतिवेदन के शीघ्र प्रस्तुतीकरण में सरकार की विफलताओं का उल्लेख नहीं किया गया है।” (48)

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

“परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में आन्ध्र और तेलंगाना के लिये पृथक राज्यों के निर्माण की घोषणा नहीं की गई है।” (49)

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

“परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में महाराष्ट्र, राजस्थान, गुजरात मैसूर तथा देश के अन्य भागों के अनेक क्षेत्रों में सूखे की स्थिति तथा खाद्यान्न के अत्यन्त अभाव की स्थिति में पशु धन की विशाल हानि और व्यापक भूखमरी के संदर्भ में सरकारी नियोजन की विफलता का उल्लेख नहीं है।” (50)

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

“परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में रबी की फसल में प्रचुर उत्पादन के लिये चलाये गये विशेष सरकारी अभियान की निराशाजनक विफलता की चर्चा नहीं की गई है।” (51)

कि प्रस्ताव में अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये,  
अर्थात् —

“परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में  
आर्थिक जड़ना तथा विकास गति  
में तीव्र गिरावट की कारणीभूत  
सरकारी नीतियों का कोई उल्लेख  
नहीं है।” (52)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये,  
अर्थात् —

“परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में,  
ग्रामीण क्षुब्ध तथा गिरावट लोचों  
में बटनी हुई बेरोजगारी के सम्बन्ध  
में सरकार की किञ्चित्-विमर्शता  
का कोई उल्लेख नहीं है।” (53)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये,  
अर्थात् —

“परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में काम  
के अधिकार का मन्विधान के मूल  
अधिवारों में सम्मिलित करने की  
घोषणा नहीं की गई है।” (54)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये,  
अर्थात् —

“परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में सारे  
देश में, विशेषतया हरियाणा व  
राजस्थान आदि में शिक्षकों के  
वेतन व अन्य मवा-मुविधाओं  
की दुर्गन्धना में उत्पन्न शिक्षा  
जगत में व्याप्त अराजकता की  
गम्भीरता का उल्लेख नहीं किया  
गया है।” (55)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये,  
अर्थात् —

“परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में  
तुर्की में श्रीमद्भगवद्गीता व  
उपनिषदों आदि ग्रन्थों पर लगाये

गये प्रतिबन्धों पर गहरा क्षोभ  
प्रकट नहीं किया गया है।” (56)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये,  
अर्थात् —

“परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में  
व्यापक मिचार्ड योजनाओं, लघु  
उद्योगों तथा सतुलित आणविक  
प्रोद्योगिकी के पक्ष में पंचम  
पंचवर्षीय योजना के अन्तर्गत पूंजी  
निवेश की प्राथमिकताओं के पूर्ण  
वदन की आवश्यकता का उल्लेख  
नहीं है।” (57)

डा० लक्ष्मीनारायण पांडेय (मदसौर)  
में प्रस्ताव करना हूँ

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये,  
अर्थात् —

“परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में  
अनाज के अभाव में वस्तु जनता का  
राशन पहुँचाने हेतु कोई प्रभावी  
बंदम उठाने के बारे में कोई उल्लेख  
नहीं है।” (58)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये,  
अर्थात् —

“परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में  
अनाज के धाक यापार के राष्ट्रीय-  
करण की गलत नीति का खंडन  
नहीं किया गया है।” (59)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये,  
अर्थात् —

“परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में  
बेरोजगारी की समस्या को,  
जिसमें शिक्षित बेरोजगार भी  
सम्मिलित हैं, प्रभावी ढंग में हल  
करने की कोई निश्चित घोषणा  
नहीं की गई है।” (60)

[डा० मधुमत्त दानवटे]

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

“परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में अत्यधिक महंगाई एवं उपभोक्ता वस्तुओं के अभाव से अस्त-जन्साधारण को राहत देने के बारे में निश्चिन्त नीति की घोषणा नहीं की गई है।” (61)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये,  
अर्थात् —

“परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में सभी कर्मचारियों को बोनस देने के बारे में कोई उल्लेख नहीं है।” (62)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये,  
अर्थात् —

“परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में मताधिकार की आयु 18 वर्ष करने के बारे में कोई उल्लेख नहीं है।” (63)

PROF MADHU DANAVATE  
(Rajapur): I beg to move

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

“but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the need to replace the existing monopoly-oriented mixed economy by socialist economy.” (64)

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

“but regret that there is no mention of the need to introduce steps like demonetisation to unearth the black money in the country” (65)

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

“but regret that there is no mention in the address of the need to tap the resources from the agricultural rich for the developmental activities through necessary taxation” (66)

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

“but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the need to build a sound and radical policy frame as a basis of the Fifth Plan Approach” (67)

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

‘but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the need to end discrimination among the various categories of employees in the application of the Payment of Bonus Act’ (68)

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

“but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the need to publish the Pay Commission's Report without any further delay” (69)

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

‘but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the need to improve and revise the norms of efficiency management and accountability of the Public Sector so as to improve its image and performance.’ (70)

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

“but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the need to revise the norms of Central assistance to drought affected areas of the country and also reorient the existing Famine Code” (71)

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

“but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the need to respond to the democratically expressed wishes of the people of the Andhra Pradesh for the bifurcation of the Andhra State.” (72)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the need to introduce effective measures to check the rising prices." (73)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the need to end the vacillating attitude of the Government in the implementation of the schemes like West Coast Railway and other railway project, which provide the infra-structure for the development of backward areas" (74)

SHRI P G MAVALANKAR (Ahmedabad) I beg to move

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of meaningful steps to be taken to meet the increasing student unrest in the country" (76)

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

"but regret that there is no mention of necessary measures to be taken to meet the rightful demands of the youth in terms of opportunities of employment" (77)

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

"but regret that there is no mention of firm measures to be taken to check orthwith malpractices in elections and the need for correction of electoral rolls etc" (78)

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

"but regret that there is no mention of emphasis on the urgent need of a clean and efficient administration in the whole country" (81)

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

"but regret that there is no mention of time limit by which the Prime Minister will announce her award on the Narmada issue which is of national importance (82)

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

'but regret that there is no mention of the galloping rate at which the human sufferings and death of cattle is taking place in the drought affected areas of the country and the various ways in which central assistance is to be made available to the affected areas' (83)

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

but regret that there is no mention of concrete steps for bettering the living conditions of the working classes and particularly of the need for improvement in the slums" (84)

SHRI P K DEO (Kalahandi) I beg to move

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

but regret the failure to check the spiralling prices of essential commodities' (85)

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

but regret the failure to check alarming growth of un-employment." (86)

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

"but regret the failure to remove complete stagnation of economic and industrial fronts" (87)

[Shri P. K. Deo]

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

"but regret the failure to check growing lawlessness in the country" (88)

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

"but regret the failure to augment the inadequate measures to relieve the people suffering from drought" (89)

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

"but regret the delay in submission of the Report of the Pay Commission." (90)

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

"but regret the failure to check the mass killings and repression by the Central Reserve Police to suppress unanimous and popular demand of the people for bifurcation of Andhra State." (91)

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

"but regret the failure to check defection and thus scuttling of the proper functioning of Parliamentary Democracy by not bringing the Anti-defection Bill as unanimously recommended by all parties." (92)

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

"but regret the failure to enact the Lokpal and Lokayuktas Bills" (93)

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

"but regret the failure to get out of Court settlement of Krishna Godavari inter-State water dispute." (94)

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

"but regret the failure to connect Jakhpura to Banspani and Talcher to Bimlagarb through railway lines in Orissa." (95)

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

"but regret the failure to instal second steel plant in Orissa." (96)

SHRI DASARATHA DEB (Tripura East): I beg to move.

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the failure of the policies to arrest the rise in prices of foodgrains and the consumer goods required to meet the bare necessities of daily life" (97)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of any steps to be taken to extend net work of irrigation facilities to the severely drought affected areas" (98)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the failure of the Government to protect the lives and properties of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes who are being burnt alive by the miscreants belonging to high castes" (99)

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address of the failure of Government in meeting the challenge of the drought and acute shortage of foodgrains in Maharashtra, Rajasthan, Gujarat, Mysore, Tripura and several areas in other parts of the country" (100)

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address of the failure to protect the lives of 150 persons of Tripura who died of starvation very recently." (101)

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

“but regret that there is no mention in the Address of taking over of wholesale trade in foodgrains, sugar, edible oils, cloth and other essential commodities without delay.” (102)

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

“but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the failure of the Government to provide economic rehabilitation to Zhumias of Tripura even after the 25th year of independence.” (103)

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

“but regret that no mention has been made in the Address of the failure in demarcating the boundaries of the existing scheduled areas of Tripura by erecting permanent posts to avoid the dispute of land between tribals and non tribals.” (104)

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

“but regret that no mention has been made in the Address about the introduction of the Regional Councils in the Tribal belt of Tripura and other areas where ever feasible.” (105)

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

“but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the failure of the Government in the distribution of land among the poor and landless peasants.” (106)

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

“but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the intention of the Government to include ‘Nepali language’ in the Eighth Schedule to the Constitution.” (107)

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

“but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the failure to develop a script for Tripuri, Santhal, Oraon, Bhil and other Tribal dialects and to introduce the mother tongue of tribals as the medium of instruction for their respective group.” (108)

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

“but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the failure to restore to tribals the lands which have been transferred to non-tribals illegally.” (109)

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

“but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the failure to fill up the reserved quota of jobs for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the Government offices.” (110)

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

“but regret that no mention has been made in the Address of the delay in publishing the Report of the Third Pay Commission constituted for about 90 lakh Central Government employees.” (111)

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

“but regret that there is no mention in the Address of any move to form Tribal Development Council for the Tribal belt of Tripura.” (112)

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

“but regret that there is no mention in the Address that no restriction whatsoever will be imposed on the workers and employees to go on strike.” (113)

[Shri Dasaratha Deb]

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

“but regret that no mention has been made in the Address of minimum need-based wages.” (114)

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

“but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the need for ensuring jobs to all unemployed people of the country particularly the youth of urban and rural areas” (115)

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

but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the failure of the Government to ensure the minimum price of jute and cotton etc to the growers’ (116)

श्री सरजू बाच्छेय (गाजीपुर) में प्रस्ताव करता है

कि प्रस्ताव के अंत में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् —

“परन्तु खेद है कि जमीन की हदबंदी लागू कर अतिरिक्त जमीन को खेत-मजदूरों एवं गरीब किसानों के बीच अभिलक्ष्य वाटने की आवश्यकता का अभिभाषण में कोई उल्लेख नहीं है।” (117)

कि प्रस्ताव के अंत में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् —

“परन्तु खेद है कि पूरे देश के लिए अ० भा० कांग्रेस कमेटी द्वारा गठित नौ सदस्यी वाली कमेटी के भूमि हदबंदी करने संबंधी सुझावों के आधार पर जमीन की हदबंदी करने की आवश्यकता का अभिभाषण में कोई उल्लेख ही किया गया है।” (118)

कि प्रस्ताव के अंत में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् —

“परन्तु खेद है कि प्रगतिशील भूमि सुधार का विरोध करने वाले उमीकार एवं कुलक तन्त्रों के विरुद्ध मतत संघर्ष चलाने की बात का कोई उल्लेख नहीं है।” (119)

कि प्रस्ताव के अंत में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् —

“परन्तु खेद है कि, सम्पूर्ण देश के लिए अखिल भारतीय किसान महा के संभावों के आधार पर एक प्रगतिशील भूमि हदबंदी कानून बनाने की बात का अभिभाषण में कोई उल्लेख नहीं किया गया है।” (120)

कि प्रस्ताव के अंत में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् —

“परन्तु खेद है कि जमीन में किसानों की ब्रदखली को रोकने के लिए कारगर कार्यवाही करने का अभिभाषण में कोई उल्लेख नहीं है।” (121)

कि प्रस्ताव के अंत में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् —

“परन्तु खेद है कि मालगुजारी प्रथा का अंत कर ५.मस बढ़ता हुआ आयकर लगाने की आवश्यकता का अभिभाषण में कोई उल्लेख नहीं है।” (122)

कि प्रस्ताव के अंत में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् —

“परन्तु खेद है कि किसानों एवं खेत मजदूरों पर जुल्म करने वाले जमींदारों एवं बड़े जमीन मालिकों के विरुद्ध कड़ी से कड़ी कार्यवाही करने का अभिभाषण में कोई उल्लेख नहीं है।” (123)



कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये,  
अर्थात् —

“परन्तु खेद है कि देश के कुछ भागों में हो रहे साम्प्रदायिक दंगों की निन्दा करने तथा दंगाइयों के विरुद्ध कारगर कदम उठाने का अभिभाषण में कोई उल्लेख नहीं है।” (124)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये,  
अर्थात् —

“परन्तु खेद है कि देश के विभिन्न भागों में हंगामों पर हो रहे पाशाविक जुल्मों की निन्दा करने तथा जुल्म करने वालों के विरुद्ध कड़ी कार्यवाही करने का अभिभाषण में कोई उल्लेख नहीं है।” (125)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये,  
अर्थात् —

“परन्तु खेद है कि आदिवासी जनता की जमीन की रक्षा करने के लिए उचित एवं प्रभावी कदम उठाने का अभिभाषण में कोई उल्लेख नहीं है।” (126)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये,  
अर्थात् —

“परन्तु खेद है कि देश में हो रही बिजली की भारी कमी को दूर करने के लिए कोई ठोस कार्यवाही करने की आवश्यकता का अभिभाषण में कोई उल्लेख नहीं है।” (127)

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

“परन्तु खेद है कि मिर्चार्ड के लिए बिजली की दरों में कमी करने की आवश्यकता का अभिभाषण में कोई उल्लेख नहीं है।” (128)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये,  
अर्थात् —

‘परन्तु खेद है कि बिहार में आणविक शक्ति चालित पा ७ स्टेशन बनाने की आवश्यकता का अभिभाषण में कोई उल्लेख नहीं है।’ (129)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये,  
अर्थात् —

“परन्तु खेद है कि अल्पमतवादी दलों के अधिकारों की रक्षा के लिए ठोस कदम उठाने की आवश्यकता का अभिभाषण में कोई उल्लेख नहीं है।” (130)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये,  
अर्थात् —

“परन्तु खेद है कि उर्दू भाषा को सम्मानजनक स्थान देने का अभिभाषण में कोई उल्लेख नहीं है।” (131)

SHRI K S CHAVDA (Patan)  
I beg to move

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

“but regret that Government have not taken any effective steps to hold the price line, particularly of essential commodities, with the result that the common man has been hit hard” (142)

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

“but regret that Government have not taken adequate steps to meet the drought situation in some parts of the country and to offer relief to the unfortunate victims” (143)

[Shri Khemchandbhai Chavde]

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

"but regret that the Government have failed on the food front and have not been able to enforce proper procurement and distribution systems to ensure equitable distribution of foodgrains at controlled prices." (144).

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

"but regret that Government have failed to improve the power supply position in the country with the result that both agricultural and industrial outputs have been adversely affected resulting in galloping inflation and unemployment" (145).

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

"but regret that Government have failed to eradicate unemployment among educated and uneducated young men from the country." (146).

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

"but regret that Government have failed to play an effective role in the solution of river water disputes, particularly the Narmada river dispute resulting in unnecessary wastage of river water." (147).

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

"but regret that Government have failed to fill up the quota reserved for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in services and posts of the Central Government, particularly in Class II and III." (148).

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

"but regret that Government have failed to remove untouchability lock, stock and barrel from the country." (149)

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

"but regret that Government have failed to curb the activities of foreign dominated firms in the drug industry which have manoeuvred to have the prices of drugs fixed to their advantage, which are exerting every pressure to see that the recommendations of an expert body like the Bureau of Industrial Costs and Prices are not implemented expeditiously, which still hold about 90 per cent share of the drug market and which have repatriated profits which are many times of their initial investment." (150).

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the steps to be taken by Government to stop the lotteries in the country." (151).

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the need for introduction of Prohibition throughout the country." (152).

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

"but regret that the "Gharibi Hatao" slogan adopted by the ruling party at the last elections to woo the electorate has not been implemented." (153).

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

"but regret that there is general indiscipline in the country which is evident from the strikes by public services in some States disrupting normal life and causing much inconvenience and hardship to the public." (154).

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

"but regret that Government have failed to maintain law and order as there have been violent activities involving loss of public property in some parts of the country" (155)

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

"but regret that Government have done nothing to give relief to pensioners who are finding it difficult to make two ends meet from the pension amount which has depreciated in value over the year on account of mounting inflation" (156)

SHRI N SREEKANTAN NAIR  
(Quilon) I beg to move

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of effective measures to bring down the soaring prices, to curb black marketing and profiteering to eradicate unemployment and to remove poverty in the country" (157)

SHRI DINEN BHATTACHARYYA  
(Serampore): I beg to move

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the withdrawal of emergency in the country" (159)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the effective steps to be taken to control the prices." (160)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the severe unemployment problem" (161)

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

but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the need for changing the existing deteriorating educational system in the country' (162)

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

but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the severe power crisis in the country' (163)

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

'but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the necessary land reforms in the country" (164)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the 83 per cent minimum bonus to all the workmen including State and Central Government employees" (165)

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

'but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the Third Pay Commission's Report (166)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the growth of authoritarian tendency on the part of the Government and the Ruling Party" (167)

[Shri Dinen Bhattacharya]

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

'but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the inflationary economic situation in the country' (168)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the unabated black-money circulation in the country" (169)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the increasing attack on Harijans in various States" (170)

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

'but regret that there is no mention in the Address about providing the drinking water to all the villages in the country' (171)

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

but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the electrification of all the villages in the country" (172)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the full utilisations of industrial capacity" (173)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the stopping of PL-480 and other foreign aids" (174)

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

'but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the nationalisation of foreign companies in India" (175)

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

but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the large scale victimisation in industries." (176)

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

but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the increase of crimes in the country" (177)

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

'but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the increasing chauvinistic tendencies in the country' (178)

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

but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the food shortage in the country' (179).

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the secret ballot system in trade unions" (180)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the socio-economic problems behind the student unrest" (181)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the unemployment allowance to unemployed" (182).

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about free medical treatment to all people" (183).

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about giving free education upto Higher Secondary level throughout the country." (184).

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the right to work for all the people" (185).

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the States assistance in case of old age, sickness and disablement." (186).

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about equal pay for equal work." (187).

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

"but regret that there is no mention about the right to exercise franchise on attaining 18 years of age." (188).

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the capturing of opposition parties trade union offices with the connivance of police" (189).

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the eviction of peasants and agricultural workers, tenants from the land all over the country" (190).

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the monstrous growth of monopolists in the country." (191).

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about release from detention of thousands of opposition party workers and supporters and MISA, PDA and PVA." (192).

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the increasing use of repressive forces on the people." (193).

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the whole sale trade take over in foodgrains, sugar, edible oils, cloth and other necessities of life, immediately." (194).

[Shri Dinen Bhattacharyya]

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the use of police, CRP, Military and other repressive forces to suppress the workers, employees agricultural labours and peasants movements." (195).

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the failure in eradicating unemployment in Kerala." (196).

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the failure in taking effective steps to arrest the increase in prices of essential commodities in the country" (197).

**SHRI K. SURYANARAYANA** (Eluru) I beg to move.

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

"but regret that in the Address no declaration has been made of the immediate need for bifurcation of the State of Andhra Pradesh as per the wishes of the people of both the regions of Andhra and Telengana respectively." (199).

**SHRI P. M. MEHTA** (Bhavnagar): I beg to move:

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of a sure adequate supply of foodgrains to the people of drought hit States like Maharashtra, Gujarat, Rajasthan and others." (200).

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

"but regret that no effective measures have been proposed to arrest the continuing rise in prices of essential commodities and reduce prices to normal level." (201).

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

"but regret that no effective steps have been proposed to overcome power shortage in the country." (202).

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of payment of 8.33 per cent bonus to the employees of Railways, Post and Telegraph Department, Defence factories, Printing Presses and other Government commercial concerns." (203).

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of earliest implementation of Narmada Project." (204).

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of establishing an Atomic Energy Station in Gujarat." (205).

श्री को. एम. नवकर : मैं प्रस्ताव करता हूँ ।

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

"परन्तु खेद है कि प्रतिभाषण में देश में छिपे काले घन को निकालने के उपायों का उल्लेख नहीं किया गया है ।" (209)

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

“परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में  
अल्यूमिनियम कारखानों का  
राष्ट्रीयकरण करने का कोई उल्लेख  
नहीं है।” (210)

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

“परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में चीनी  
मिलों का राष्ट्रीयकरण करने का  
कोई उल्लेख नहीं है।” (211)

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

“परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में  
आंध्र प्रदेश को टुकड़ों में बांटने का  
आन्दोलन करने वाली प्रतिगामी  
शक्तियों की निन्दा करने का  
उल्लेख नहीं है।” (212)

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

“परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में  
आंध्र प्रदेश के विभाजन के विरुद्ध  
डटे रहने का कोई उल्लेख नहीं है।”  
(213)

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

“परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में  
दक्षिणी वियतनाम को अस्थायी  
क्रान्तिकारी सरकार को मान्यता  
देने का कोई उल्लेख नहीं है।”  
(214)

श्री भोगन्द्र झा (जयनगर) : मैं प्रस्ताव  
करता हूँ :

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

“परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में तीनों  
विदेशी तेल कम्पनियों के राष्ट्रीय-  
करण की आवश्यकता का कोई  
उल्लेख नहीं है।” (215)

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

“परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में विदेशी  
व्यापार के पूर्ण राष्ट्रीयकरण की  
आवश्यकता का कोई उल्लेख नहीं  
है।” (216)

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

“परन्तु ह्लद है कि अभिभाषण में  
प्रशासन-तन्त्र के जनतंत्रीकरण का  
कोई ठोस सुझाव नहीं है।” (217)

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

“परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में सभी  
एकाधिकारी प्रतिष्ठानों के राष्ट्रीय-  
करण की आवश्यकता का कोई  
उल्लेख नहीं है।” (218)

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

“परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में सभी  
बड़े पंजीवादी प्रतिष्ठानों में लगी  
सार्वजनिक कर्जों की रकम को  
हिस्सा-पूजी के रूप में पूर्णतः एवं  
शीघ्र बदलने का कोई उल्लेख नहीं  
है।” (219)

[श्री मोनेन्द्र झा]

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये,  
अर्थात् —

“परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में 75 इजाजतदार पूजावादियों के हाथों से आर्थिक सत्ता छीनने का कोई उल्लेख नहीं है।” (220)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये  
अर्थात् —

‘परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में इस निश्चय का कोई उल्लेख नहीं है कि मानसिक अथवा शारीरिक श्रम के लिए सक्षम सभी व्यक्तिगता को अनिवार्य रूप से कार्य देकर बेकारी का अन्त किया जाये।’ (221)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये  
अर्थात् —

“परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में सभी भूमिहीनों का अनिवार्य रूप से बाँस या अन्य जमीन देने का कोई उल्लेख नहीं है।” (222)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये,  
अर्थात् —

‘परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में चौरबाजारी और मुनाफाखोरी को समाप्त कर मूल्य-वृद्धि को पूर्णतः रोकने के दृढ़ निश्चय का कोई उल्लेख नहीं है।’ (223)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये,  
अर्थात् —

“परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में सभी कारखानों एवं प्रतिष्ठानों के प्रबन्ध में अधिकारों को सम्मिलित करने का कोई उल्लेख नहीं है।” (224)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये,  
अर्थात् —

“परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में समस्त देश में सभी स्तरों पर कानूनी अधिकार प्राप्त गैर-सरकारी समितियों द्वारा प्रगतिशील भूमि सुधार को लागू करवाने तथा बाधा प्रस्तुत करने अथवा भूमि का गलत हिसाब देने वाले बड़े भूस्वामियों को दण्डित करने के निश्चय का कोई उल्लेख नहीं है।” (225)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये,  
अर्थात् —

‘परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में अन्ध के विघटनवादी उपद्रवों में बड़े भूस्वामी, बम-मालिक थोक व्यापारी एवं अन्य स्थिरस्वार्थी तथा प्रतिक्रियावादी राजनीतिक दलों अथवा तन्हा की हिमावादी और विध्वंसक भूमिका का कोई उल्लेख नहीं है।’ (226)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये,  
अर्थात् —

“परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में समस्त देश के उच्च विद्यालयों और महाविद्यालयों के राष्ट्रीयकरण करने की आवश्यकता का कोई उल्लेख नहीं है।” (227)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये,  
अर्थात् —

“परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में केन्द्रीय सरकार के कर्मचारियों के लिए गठित तृतीय वेतन आयोग के प्रतिवेदन के अधिसूचना प्रकाशन का कोई उल्लेख नहीं है।” (228)



कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाय  
अर्थात् —

"परन्तु खेद है कि अधिभाषण में  
आवश्यकता पर आधारीत निम्नतम  
बेतन सभी अधिकों के लिए  
निर्धारित करने का कोई उल्लेख  
नहीं है।" (229)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाय  
अर्थात् —

"परन्तु खेद है कि अधिभाषण में  
प्रणालन में व्याप्त भ्रष्टाचार को  
समाप्त करने का कोई उल्लेख नहीं  
है।" (230)

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी में प्रस्ताव  
करता है

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाय  
अर्थात् —

"परन्तु खेद है कि अधिभाषण में  
हजियाणा के मुख्य मंत्री के विरुद्ध  
120 संसद सदस्यों द्वारा ठोस  
भारोप लगाये जाने के बावजूद भी  
उसे दोष-मुक्त कर दिये जाने पर  
कोई आश्चर्य व्यक्त नहीं किया  
गया है।" (233)

SHRI P. K. DEO: I beg to move:

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

"but regret the failure to appoint  
commission of inquiry to go into  
the charges of corruption levelled  
against the Chief Minister of  
Haryana on the basis of the me-  
moranandum submitted by the 120  
M.P.s to the Government of India"  
(234).

SHRI SAROJ MUKHERJEE (Kat-  
wa) I beg to move.

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

"but regret that the Address does  
not mention about the safety and  
security of the persons against  
whom the cases are pending before  
the law courts, as had been proved  
recently in the Howrah Court"  
(235)

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

"but regret that the Address does  
not mention about the security  
and safety of the Members of Par-  
liament are not guaranteed when  
they go round their constituencies".  
(236)

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

"but regret that there is no  
mention about the denial of ele-  
mentary and democratic rights of  
the opposition parties by many  
State Governments specially by  
the West Bengal Government".  
(237).

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

"but regret that there is no  
mention about the failure of pre-  
venting the terrible erosion on the  
Farakka Barrage, causing loss of  
human lives and huge amount of  
properties". (238).

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

"but regret that the Address fails  
to mention Government's failure to  
reopen and run the Martin Burn  
Railways in West Bengal". (239).

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

"but regret that the Address fails to mention that the All India Radio is being consistently used for propoganda of the ruling party to mislead the people and not allowing it to be used by the opposition party". (240).

SHRI P. G. MAVALANKAR: I beg to move:

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

"but regret the Address fails to enumerate urgent concrete steps to be taken to make education a significant means for social transformation and economic growth." (241).

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of indiscribable atrocities and untold hardships meted out to Harijans Adivasis and other depressed and suppressed classes of the community even during the Silver Jubilee Celebrations Year of our Independence". (242)

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

"but regret that there is no emphasis in the Address on the immediate need for austerity in the living pattern of Ministers and all other high ranking individuals and economy in the administration". (243).

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

"but regret that the Address fails to advocate the right of franchise to all adults aged 18 years with a view to securing fuller and better involvement of the youth in the public and political affairs of our democratic policy". (246).

SHRI SURENDRA MOHANTY (Kendrapara): I beg to move:

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of distributive justice, while it lays exaggerated emphasis on the quantity and extent of growth". (248).

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of removal of regional disparity which has grown wider and wider during the last four Plans." (249).

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of specific steps to bring down prices of essential commodities". (250).

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of corruption in high places and the Government's unholy attempts to gloss over them." (251).

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the deleterious consequences of State capitalism under the guise of public sector". (252).

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

"but regret that there is no declaration in the Address of bifurcation of the State of Andhra, as demanded by the people of Andhra and Telengana". (253).

श्री के० एम० अब्दुलकर मैं प्रस्ताव करता हूँ

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् —

“परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में बिहार के पूर्णिया जिलान्तर्गत कटिहार में थर्मल पावर स्टेशन की स्थापना करने का कोई उल्लेख नहीं है।” (254)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् —

“परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में रेलवे स्टेशनों का नाम उर्दू में भी प्रकाशित करने के बारे में कोई उल्लेख नहीं है।” (255)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् —

“परन्तु खेद है कि उर्दू भाषी जनता की सुविधा के लिए राशन-कार्ड, वोटर सूची, आदि उर्दू में भी प्रकाशित करने का अभिभाषण में कोई उल्लेख नहीं है।” (256)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात्—

“परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में बिहार के विश्वविद्यालयों में उर्दू, उडिया और बंगला में उत्तर पुस्तिकाएँ लिखने का अधिकार प्रदान करने तथा अनुसूचित रखने का कोई उल्लेख नहीं है।” (257)

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

“परन्तु खेद है कि मजदूर यूनियनों को मुक्त मतदान के द्वारा मान्यता

प्रदान करने का अभिभाषण में कोई उल्लेख नहीं है।” (258)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् —

“परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में सरकारी कर्मचारियों को सस्ती दर पर गल्ले की सप्लाई करने का कोई उल्लेख नहीं है।” (259)

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

“परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में सरकारी क्षेत्र में चल रहे कारखानों के उच्च पदों पर राष्ट्रीयकरण के सिद्धान्त में विश्वास रखने वाले लोगों की ही नियुक्ति करने का कोई उल्लेख नहीं है।” (260)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् —

“परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में राष्ट्रीयकरण में विश्वास न करने वाले तथा उसका भीतर से घात करने वाले अधिकारियों को उससे निकाल बाहर करने का कोई उल्लेख नहीं है।” (261)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् —

“परन्तु खेद है कि मजदूरों के प्राविडेंट फण्ड की राशि रखने वाले उद्योगपतियों को सख्त से सख्त सजा देने की बात का अभिभाषण में कोई उल्लेख नहीं है।” (262)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् —

“परन्तु खेद है कि भारत कोकिंग कोल कम्पनी लिमिटेड की धोर

बिहार सरकार की रायल्टी के चार करोड़ रुपये की बकाया राशि को चुकता करने का अभिभाषण में कोई उल्लेख नहीं है ।” (263)

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

“परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में 18 वर्ष की आयु में बालिग मताधिकार देने में सरकार की असफलता का कोई उल्लेख नहीं है ।” (264)

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

“परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में वर्तमान शिक्षा प्रणाली में ग्रामूल परिवर्तन करने में सरकार की विफलता का कोई उल्लेख नहीं है ।” (265)

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

“परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में सामाजिक उत्पीड़न को रोकने में सरकार द्वारा किये गये प्रयासों की असफलता का कोई उल्लेख नहीं है ।” (266)

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

“परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में साम् दायिक एकता एवं अल्पसंख्यकों में विश्वास पैदा करने, उनकी शिक्षा, सेवाओं और अन्य विकास की सुविधाएँ देने में सरकार की विफलता का कोई उल्लेख नहीं है ।” (267)

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

“परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में साम्प्रदायिक दंगे भड़काने वाले तत्वों के प्रति कठोर दृष्टि अपनाने में सरकार की असफलता का कोई उल्लेख नहीं है ।” (268)

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

“परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में मुसलमानों एवं आदिवासियों की समस्याओं पर सही दृष्टि अपनाने का कोई उल्लेख नहीं है ।” (269)

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

“परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में अमरीकी दूतावास द्वारा पी० एल० 480 के खाते से रकम खर्च करने पर प्रतिबंध लगाने के बारे में कोई उल्लेख नहीं है ।” (270)

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

“परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में विदेशी मुद्रा से सम्पन्न विदेशी कम्पनियों के कर्ज के भुगतान के प्रश्न के बारे में कोई उल्लेख नहीं है ।” (271)

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

“परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में बिहार, उत्तर प्रदेश, उड़ीसा, आसाम, मध्य प्रदेश के अत्यन्त पिछड़े क्षेत्रों का पिछड़ापन दूर करने के सम्बन्ध में कोई उल्लेख नहीं है ।” (272)

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

“परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में उचित मूल्य की दुकानों पर जब वितरण प्रणाली द्वारा जीवन उपयोगी वस्तुओं के वितरण के संबंध में कोई उल्लेख नहीं है।” (273)

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

“परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में दवाई उद्योग के राष्ट्रीयकरण के संबंध में कोई उल्लेख नहीं है।” (274)

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

“परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में सूखा पीड़ित इलाकों के लोगों को भालगजा 1 से छुट देने के सम्बन्ध में कोई उल्लेख नहीं है।” (275)

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

“परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में कृषि सुधारों के संबंध में राष्ट्रीय कृषि आयोग के मुझावों पर सरकार के नाकारात्मक दृष्टिकोण का कोई उल्लेख नहीं है।” (276)

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

“परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में काश्तकारों और बटाईदारों के मालिकाना हक के संरक्षण में सरकार की असफलता का कोई उल्लेख नहीं है।” (277)

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

“परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में मन्-दान द्वारा ट्रेड यूनियनों को बिना शर्त मान्यता समेत जनवादी अधिकारों की स्थापना का कोई उल्लेख नहीं है।” (278)

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

“परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में आवश्यकता पर आधारित न्यूनतम बतन निर्धारित करने में सरकार की विफलता का कोई उल्लेख नहीं है।” (279)

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

“परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में महिलाओं को व्यवसायिक प्रशिक्षण देकर उन्हें रोजगार देने में सरकार की विफलता का कोई उल्लेख नहीं है।” (280)

SHRI D. K. PANDA (Bhanjanagar):  
I beg to move:

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

“but regret that there is no mention in the Address of elimination of regional imbalance” (281).

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

“but regret that there is no mention of abandoning the capitalist path which is the basic cause of regional disparity in general and backwardness of Orissa in particular.” (282).

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

"but regret that there is no mention of immediate implementation of the proposals for large industries in Orissa in the Central sector namely (a) the Zinc Smelter Plant at Paradeep (b) establishment of oil refinery at Paradeep (c) establishment of Refractory at Paradeep (d) establishment of fertilizer plant at Paradeep (e) ship building yard at Paradeep (f) establishment of Cement plant at Koraput and (g) establishment of second steel plant at Nayejesh in Orissa." (283)

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

"but regret that there is no mention of steps for reduction of poverty in Orissa which is highest" (284)

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

"but regret that there is no mention of effective steps for complete rural electrification of Orissa where 2.73 per cent of the villages are electrified which is the lowest in the country." (285).

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

"but regret that there is no mention of the failure to implement the recommendations of the Tribal Welfare Committee of 1968 to ameliorate the distressed conditions of Adivasis in general and Orissa in particular." (286).

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

"but regret that there is no mention of the need to fix the minimum need-based wages." (287).

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

"but regret that there is no mention of the need to fix the minimum national wage at Rs. 250 for the workers in general and sugar workers in particular who are the lowest paid." (288).

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

"but regret that there is no mention of the need to revise the present wage scale of the sugar workers who are paid the lowest wage." (289).

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

"but regret that there is no mention of the need to pay Rs. 50 as retaining allowance to sugar workers." (290).

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

"but regret that there is no mention of a clear cut policy of nationalising the 102 monopoly houses in the country." (291).

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

"but regret that there is no mention of the immediate need for the take over of all our aluminium companies including Hindalco owned by Birlas and the Indian Aluminium Company." (292).

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

"but regret that there is no mention of the immediate need to ensure the democratic rights of the workers including the right to strike, right to recognition of the unions supported by majority determined by secret ballot and settlement of all disputes by negotiations with representatives of each and every union for collective bargaining and a minimum wage of Rs. 252 for every worker for every industry however backward it may be." (293).

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

"but regret that there is no mention of a clear cut policy for participation of the workers in the management in the public sector at all levels." (294).

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

"but regret that there is no mention of the effective steps to bring down the prices of sugar and cloth by nationalisation of sugar and textile industries in the country." (295).

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

"but regret that there is no mention of the need to nationalise the wholesale trade in foodgrains industry." (296).

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

"but regret that there is no mention of the need to abandon the colonial pattern of education and to introduce a uniform rational system of education." (297).

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

"but regret that there is no mention of the urgent need of developing minor and major parts in the country in general and Gopalpur port in Orissa in particular." (298).

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

"but regret that there is no mention of the urgent need of distribution of Government fallow lands to the Adivasi, Harijan landless persons in general and in Orissa in particular in view of its extreme backwardness. (299).

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

"but regret that there is no mention of the immediate need of enforcing effective control on the prices of fertilisers and their distribution in the country." (300).

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

"but regret that there is no mention of effective steps to overcome the shortage of fertiliser in the country." (301).

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

"but regret that there is no mention made of immediate laying of railway lines namely Gopalpur to Balangir via Aska, Bhanjanagar and Phulabani and also the Jakhapura-Banspani line for developing trade and commerce" (302).

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

"but regret that there is no mention of the immediate need to take permanent measures for developing irrigation facilities to overcome the distress in chronically drought affected areas and districts like Ganjam in Orissa in particular and the country in general" (303).

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

"but regret that there is no mention of the urgent need of completing the survey work and implementation of lift irrigation projects in the country at large and in Orissa in particular" (304).

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA (Berasarai) I beg to move:

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

"but regret that the President

has not stressed the need to amend the Aligarh University Act, which has hurt the feelings of a large number of countrymen." (306).

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

"but regret that the President has not taken a serious view of the failure of the administration to protect the lives and property of minorities and Harijans in various places in the country." (307).

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

"but regret that the Address offers no relief to the rapidly swelling ranks of the unemployed" (308).

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

"but regret that the Address does not refer to the alarming rise in prices which is causing untold suffering to the people." (309).

श्री को० एम० मधुकर : मैं प्रस्ताव करता

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये,  
अर्थात् —

"परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में अन्न के थोक व्यापार को शीघ्र हाथ में लेकर तथा जनता में उसे उचित मूल्यों पर वितरण करने संबंधी नीति का कोई उल्लेख नहीं है।" (310)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये,  
अर्थात् —

"परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में कीमतों को तेजी से बढ़ने से रोकने में सरकार की विफलता तथा उसे

प्रभावकारी ढंग से रोकने संबंधी दृढ़ संकल्प का कोई उल्लेख नहीं है।" (311)

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

"परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में राष्ट्रीयकृत बकों की ऋण नीति में ऐसे सुधार का, जिससे छोटे किसानों और खेतीहर मजदूरों की सहकारी समितियों को भी ऋण मिल सके, कोई उल्लेख नहीं है।" (312)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये,  
अर्थात् —

"परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में सरकार द्वारा प्राइवेट कम्पनियों को दिए जाने वाले कर्जों को सरकारी अंशों में बदलने सम्बन्धी नीति का उल्लेख नहीं किया गया है।" (313)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये,  
अर्थात् —

"परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में एकाधिकारी प्जी के उन्मूलन सम्बन्धी नीति का कोई उल्लेख नहीं है।" (314)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये,  
अर्थात् —

"परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में विदेशी तल कम्पनियों के राष्ट्रीयकरण सम्बन्धी नीति का कोई उल्लेख नहीं है।" (315)

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

"परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में देश के पिछड़े क्षेत्रों में उद्योगों के नेजी



से विकास सम्बन्धी वृद्ध नीति की किसी घोषणा का उल्लेख नहीं किया गया है।" (316)

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

"परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में कृष्ण उद्योगों को अपने हाथ में लेने में कानूनी अड़चनों से होने वाले बिलम्ब को दूर करने सम्बन्धी कानून बनाने की आवश्यकता का कोई उल्लेख नहीं है।" (317)

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

"परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में सरकारी क्षेत्र के स्थानों में व्यापक नौकरशाही का कोई उल्लेख नहीं किया गया है।" (318)

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

"परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में सरकारी क्षेत्र के स्थानों में श्रमिकों को प्रबंध में हिस्सा देने तथा धीरे धीरे उनका पूरा प्रबंध श्रमिकों को सौंपने की आवश्यकता का कोई उल्लेख नहीं है।" (319)

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

"परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में देश में सी० आई० ए० की गतिविधियों को रोकने के निश्चय का कोई उल्लेख नहीं है।" (320)

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

"परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों में अभी भी व्याप्त सामाजिक अत्याचार, खेतीहर मजदूरी को

न्यूनतम मजदूरी नहीं दिए जाने, हरिजनों की बस्तियों में पीने के पानी आदि सम्बन्धी समस्याओं को युद्ध स्तर पर समाप्त करने की आवश्यकता तथा अपने उद्देश्य प्राप्त करने में सरकार की असफलता का कोई उल्लेख नहीं है।" (321)

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

"परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में आयात तथा निर्यात को पूर्णतः सरकारी नियंत्रण में लेने संबंधी निश्चय का कोई उल्लेख नहीं है।" (322)

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

"परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में हृदयवन्दी कानूनों को पाग करने तथा उन्हें लागू करने में तीव्रता लाने के निश्चय का कोई उल्लेख नहीं है।" (323)

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

"परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में गन्ने के उत्पादन के विकास के लिए गन्ने की कीमत कम में कम 15 रुपए प्रति क्विंटल की कानूनी व्यवस्था करने संबंधी बात का कोई उल्लेख नहीं है।" (325)

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

"परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में चीनी मिला के राष्ट्रीयकरण सम्बन्धी किसी घोषणा का उल्लेख नहीं है।" (326)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये,  
अर्थात् -

“परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में प्रशासन में हर स्तर पर फैले भ्रष्टाचार, बूसखोरी, भाई भतीजावाद को रोकने में सरकार की विफलता का कोई उल्लेख नहीं है।” (327)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये,  
अर्थात् -

“परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में देश से निरक्षरता को एक निश्चित अवधि के अंदर दूर करने के सकल्प का कोई उल्लेख नहीं है।” (328)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में जोड़ा जाये,  
अर्थात् -

“परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में सरकार द्वारा आन्ध्र प्रदेश की समस्याओं को समय पर नहीं मुलज्जाये जाने के कारण आन्ध्र में स्थिति बिगड़ने से रोकने में सरकार की असफलता का कोई उल्लेख नहीं है।” (329)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये  
अर्थात् -

“परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में वियतनाम के नव निर्माण में भारत सरकार द्वारा दिए जाने वाले सहयोग के संकेत तथा अमीकी साम्राज्यवाद की बर्बर युद्ध नीति की निन्दा का कोई उल्लेख नहीं है।” (330)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये,  
अर्थात् -

“परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में तृतीय वेतन आयोग की रिपोर्ट प्रकाशित करने में सरकार की विफलता का कोई उल्लेख नहीं है।” (331)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये,  
अर्थात् -

“परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में बोनस अधिनियम को सभी सरकारी एवं गैर-सरकारी संस्थानों के श्रमिकों के लिए समान रूप से लागू करने सम्बन्धी कानून बनाने का कोई उल्लेख नहीं है।” (332)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये,  
अर्थात् -

“परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में देश में व्याप्त काले धन को सरकार द्वारा निकाल बाहर करने के प्रयोजन से उठाए जाने वाले कदमों का कोई उल्लेख नहीं है।” (333)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये,  
अर्थात् -

“परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में देश की सीमाओं पर एव समुद्री मार्ग से होने वाले तस्करी व्यापार को अविलम्ब रोकने का कोई उल्लेख नहीं है।” (334)

**SHRI M. KATHAMUTHU** (Nagapattinam): I beg to move:

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

"but regret that the Address is totally obvious of the disguised unemployment and even under-employment in the country." (335)

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

but regret that the Address does not seem to be aware of the fact that the Government have spent only Rs. 30 crores out of Rs. 50 crores allocated for the so called Crash Programme against unemployment" (336)

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

"but regret that the Address does not take adequate notice of the fact that in many States even the existing and amended ceiling laws are not being implemented in the interest of the toiling peasantry." (337)

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

"but regret that the Address does not give any direction to the States that the harrassment and persecution of the peasants as well as the fraud on the existing land reforms must at all costs be prevented as a major national policy." (338)

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

"but regret that the Address does not show any interest in the significance of giving tenancy rights to the peasants which is of paramount importance in the context of agrarian reforms." (339)

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

"but regret that the Address does not show any concern for the millions of Harijans who are subjected not only to intense economic exploitation but also social oppression." (340)

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

"but regret that the Address does not stress the urgency of providing minimum living wage to agricultural labourers as a matter of national policy." (341)

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

"but regret that the Address does not take note of the grievances of the toiling peasantry that they are not supplied with necessary credits, fertilisers, seeds and other inputs for improving agricultural production." (342)

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

"but regret that the Address does not take note of the heavy indebtedness of the peasantry nor does it propose any measure to relieve substantially this terrible debt burden on them" (343)

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

"but regret that the Address while referring to 7 per cent growth in industrial production forgets the fact that this is computed on the basis of the low figure of 4 per cent increase in the rate growth in 1971" (344)

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

"but regret that the Address fails to take serious note of the fact that the Fourth Five Year Plan has failed to ensure 8 to 9 per cent of industrial growth." (345)

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

"but regret that the Address misses the seriousness of the situation created by the continued stagnation of the industrial economy on the one hand and regional imbalances on the other" (346)

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

but regret that the Address fails to note that for bottle-necks and obstruction as well as lack in industrial growth the main responsibility must be fixed on monopoly capital and the policies which feed it" (347)

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

'but regret that the Address does not still realise that for the rapid and balanced industrial development of the country the concerns belonging to the 75 monopoly houses have got to be nationalised' (348)

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

'but regret that while the Address refers to industrial licencing policy, it forgets that notwithstanding the Industrial Policy Resolution, 1956 which is the basis of the present Industrial policy decision the 75 monopoly houses and especially the Tatas and Birlas have grown enormously and along with them the malpractices and other anti-national operations of the big business" (349)

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

"but regret that the Address does not see the necessity of reformulating a radical industrial policy for the country which must have a clear anti-monopoly direction and also at

the same time provide for nationalisation of vital industries including some key industries" (350)

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

"but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that the latest industrial policy permits monopoly capital or large business houses to enter even the enlarged core sector of industries" (351)

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

but regret that the Address does not give a clear assurance that the monopolists who should be eliminated from our economy are not to be allowed to enter into the so called joint sector with the State (352)

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

but regret that the Address does not note the failure of the Government even to convert the loans from the Government and other public financial institutions to monopoly concerns into equities held by Government or such institutions' (353)

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

'but regret that the Address does not take serious note of the tendency in some States to offer new concessions to monopolies in the name of industrial expansion" (354)

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

"but regret that the Address is a remarkable example of how not to objectively assess and analyse the prevailing economic situation in the country which is barren of any promise for even the minimum necessary policy changes to curb the exploiting classes or improve the living condition of the masses (355)

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

"but regret to note that the slogan of 'garibi hatao' has not found even an echo in the bureaucratic idiom, and that n:;9)Saa and platitudes take the place of a firm commitment for concrete measures for implementing the slogan." (356)

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

"but regret that the Address is yet another documentary proof that the Government is not at all serious about implementing the election pledges of the ruling party." (357)

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

"but regret that the Address does not take into account either the revival of a new 'Grand Alliance' of Rightist forces in the country or the situation including popular frustration and discontent which these forces are seeking to exploit to further their short-term and long-term objectives." (358)

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

"but regret that the Address while warning the country against violence does not pay any attention to the fact that having been defeated in the normal democratic processes and in the elections the Rightist and Communal forces are now trying to work up regionalism, separatism, linguism and even communalism to rouse passions in order to engulf the country in disruption and chaos to suit their ends" (359)

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

"but regret to note that the Address does not recognise that the

Rightist counter-offensive poses a threat not only to the cause of the working people and democracy but even to the integrity and unity of the country." (360)

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

"but regret that the Address does not show any understanding of the developments in Andhra Pradesh in its larger perspective as an integral part of the strategy of Right reaction which has been routed in elections but far from uprooted in the socio-economic life of the country." (361).

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

"but regret to note that the Address does not give a clear and categorical assurance that the integrity and unity of Andhra Pradesh shall be preserved and the game of the vested interests and Right reaction thus defeated." (362)

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

"but regret that the Address does not point out that the separatist movement in Andhra Pradesh with all its violence and terrorism has been engineered by landlords, wholesalers and other vested interests with a view to preventing land ceilings and other progressive measures, wholesale take over of food-grains, nationalisation of public transport etc". (363)

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

"but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that certain political parties and other elements have entered into the separatist movement with a view not only to advance the nefarious ends

of reaction in Andhra Pradesh but also with a view of counter-revolution and reaction on the national plane." (364)

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

"but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that certain people belonging to other political parties were admitted to the ruling party for sheer opportunistic reasons and that these elements now are in the forefront of separatist violence and chaos." (365)

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

"but regret that the Address does not take a correct lesson from the fact that the political stability does not depend on a mere majority in the legislature when especially such majority is comprised of reactionaries and agents of vested interests." (366)

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

"but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that the Administration in Andhra Pradesh failed miserably in dealing with the situation and that top bureaucrats became themselves abettors of the separatist movement in many places." (367).

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

"but regret that the Address does not show the necessary awareness that any concession to the separatists under whatever pretext is bound to encourage the forces of disruption and separatism all over the country." (368)

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

"but regret that the Address does not recognise in due measure the significance of defeating the separatist movement in Andhra Pradesh if separatist disruption has to be prevented from raising its ugly head in other parts of the country." (369)

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

"but regret that the Address does not call upon the nation to take the separatist movement in Andhra Pradesh as a challenge to the integrity and unity of the country as well as to the cause of democracy and progress" (370)

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

"but regret that the Address does not show any sign of concern that it was from the ruling party itself that the voice of separation was raised." (371)

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

"but regret that the Address while referring to the situation in Andhra Pradesh does not differentiate between the landlords and other vested interests as well as the Rightist and Communal forces who inspired and instigated the separatist movement on the one hand and those others among the student Community and Government employees who unfortunately fell a victim to it." (372)

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

"but regret that while understandably suggesting 'calm and rational discussion' the Address does not emphasise that the main purpose of such discussion will be to find a solution within the framework of integrity and unity of Andhra Pradesh and in particular within the framework of Prime Minister's 5-point formula.' (373)

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

“but regret that while calling upon the people of Andhra Pradesh to cooperate fully with the Government in finding a peaceful solution which is a correct appeal, the Address does not at the same time stress the importance of such a common and co-operative effort to preserve and safeguard the unity of Andhra Pradesh and thus ensure that the forces of balkanisation are not let loose in the country in the name of another round of unprincipled and undemocratic States Reorganisation. (374)

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

“but regret that the Address does not pay tribute to the integrationists in Andhra Pradesh who have heroically withstood terror and onslaughts of the separatists and held aloft the banner of unity even at the risk of their life and property.” (375)

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

“but regret that the Address does not even take note of the demand of separation of South from North which has been raised by some leaders of the Andhra separatist movement.” (376)

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

“but regret that while calling upon Parliament to ‘take stock of the problems that the nation faces and give guidance to the people’ the Address does not itself show the elementary forthrightness to practise what it preaches.” (377)

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

“but regret that the Address totally and inexcusably underestimates the havoc the continued rising prices are causing on the life of the common man.” (378)

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

“but regret that the Address shows lack of courage and even interest on the part of the Government to admit its failures on the price front or to pinpoint the real causes behind runaway prices. not to speak of taking effective measures against them.” (379)

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

“but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that after a rise of more than 12 per cent in the wholesale price index during 1972 the price graph is rising again in the first two months of 1973.” (380)

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

“but regret that no mention of concrete schemes has been made in the Address about the uplift of the poor and backward classes especially the Harijans in the country.” (381)

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

“but regret that the Address has failed to mention any time-bound programme to fix wages for agricultural workers and implementation thereof in all the States and Union territories.” (382)

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

“but regret that in the Address no mention has been made of the brutal atrocities committed against Harijans in different parts of the country such as burning of huts, looting, murder and molestation of women, and the need to take firm and effective steps to protect them from such atrocities.” (383)

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

“but regret that in the Address there is no mention about the comprehensive scheme for housing and social insurance for agricultural workers.” (384)

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

“but regret that the Address has failed to mention the urgent need for a comprehensive legislation for regulating the service conditions of agricultural workers ensuring them security of employment, workmen's compensation, and other amenities enjoyed by the industrial workers.” (385)

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

‘but regret that the Address does not mention the failure of the Centre and State Governments to enforce effectively the provisions of the Un-touchability (Offence) Act.” (386)

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

‘but regret that the Address does not mention the failure of the Government to fill up the posts reserved for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in Government services, particularly in public sector industries.” (387)

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

“but regret that the Address does not take note of the demand of all sections of people in Tamil Nadu to institute a Commission of Inquiry into the charges against the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu and his Ministry.” (388)

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

“but regret to note that the Address does not call upon the Government to expeditiously dispose of

the applications for political pensions by freedom fighters.” (389).

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

“but regret to note that the Address does not contemplate to reduce the voting age to 18.” (390)

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

“but regret that the Address does not mention about the necessity to take over the entire sugar industry.” (391)

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

“but regret that the Address does not emphasise the necessity to bring out the Report of the Third Pay Commission.” (392)

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

“but regret to note that no mention has been made in the Address of the problems and miseries of the handloom workers.” (393)

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

“but regret that the Address does not single out the main cause of rise in prices viz., the existing grip of monopolists on our economy nor does it propose any measure to check the speculative and similar other operation which boost prices.” (394)

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

“but regret that the Address does not criticise the attempt in certain quarters to justify the rise in prices by attributing it to the influx of refugees from East Bengal and the brief Indo-Pak war.” (395)



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

"but regret that the Address does not even give an assurance that the credit policy of the banks will be changed in order to prevent speculative advances and other encouragement to price speculation." (396)

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

"but regret the failure on the part of the Government to formulate a policy for the state take over of the wholesale trade in foodgrains and other essential commodities." (397)

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

"but regret that the Address overlooks the fact that even the declared policy in favour of take over of the wholesale trade in rice and other foodgrains is not being implemented by several State Governments and that some of them like the Government of West Bengal, Rajasthan, have openly come out against the takeover." (398)

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

"but regret that the Address does not take serious note of the failure of the Food Corporation of India to implement even its own modest target for kharif procurement." (399)

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

"but regret that while referring to a system of public system the Address does not show any interest in the urgency of the nationalisation of cotton, sugar, essential drugs and similar other commodities of common consumption which is required to ensure the success of an effective network of public distribution system." (400)

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

"but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that no effective steps have been taken against big hoarders and profiteers nor to discover hoarded stocks of foodgrains, cloth and other essential commodities." (401)

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

"but regret that the Address does not indicate any price policy whatsoever for holding the price line." (402)

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

"but regret that the Address does not show any concern at the fact that at the production level monopolists are boosting prices by taking advantage of their system of cost accountancy and by exerting their influence with the Tariff Commission." (403)

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

"but regret that the Address does not show any understanding of the problem of the Government employees as well as the employees in the public sector who should be supplied from the Government shops essential commodities at fair prices, especially in view of the rising cost of living." (404)

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

"but regret that the Address does not see that in order to make the coarse and medium varieties of cloth available to the consumers at reasonable price the production of fine and super-fine cloth have to be drastically reduced and even in some cases stopped." (405)

[Shri M. Rathamutha]

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

“but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that agricultural producers do not get a fair price for their produce, though they have to pay high prices not only for the consumer goods but also for other essential articles needed for cultivation.” (406)

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

“but regret that the Address does not show concern at the delay in the submission of the Report of the 3rd Pay Commission nor does it give an assurance that interim relief will be granted to the Central Government employees.” (407)

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

“but regret that the Address does not show proper grasp of the magnitude of the problem of unemployment in the country including growing unemployment among the educated youth.” (408)

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

“but regret that the Address does not call upon the Government even to check the growth in unemployment which will be of the order of well over 15 million being educated unemployed persons.” (409)

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

“but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the fact that in a developing country like ours nearly 100,000 engineers and diploma holders are without employment today.” (410)

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

“but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the serious

social implications of the present phenomena of unemployment which is always exploited by the reactionary forces in the political life and also by the monopolists in economic life to keep the wages down and earn high profits.” (411)

श्री हुसैन खान कछवाय (मुरैना) : मैं प्रस्ताव करता हूँ :

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

“परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में शरणार्थियों के नाम पर लगाया गया कर वापस लेने का कोई उल्लेख नहीं है।” (412)

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

“परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में जिन व्यक्तियों के पास गल्ले का अतिरिक्त तथा अतिरिक्त अघोषित स्टॉक पाया जाये उसे जप्त करके उनके विरुद्ध कार्यवाही करने के सम्बन्ध में कोई उल्लेख नहीं है।” (413)

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

परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में पिछड़े जिलों में अधिक औद्योगिक एककों की स्थापना करने तथा उनमें बेरोजगार लोगों को रोजगार की सुविधायें उपलब्ध कराने के सम्बन्ध में कोई उल्लेख नहीं है।” (414)

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

“परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में ऐसे लोगों को जिनमें औद्योगिक साक्षर

दिये गये हैं और जिन्होंने उत्पादन शुरू नहीं किया है तथा उत्पादन शुरू करने के मामले में आनाकानी कर रहे हैं उनके लाइसेंस जब्त करने के बारे में कोई उल्लेख नहीं है।” (415)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् —

“परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में ऐसे कपडा मिल जो बन्द पड़े हैं और जिनके कारण श्रमिकों में बेरोजगारी बढ़ी है उन्हें सरकार द्वारा अपने हाथ में लेकर उनके प्रबन्ध की समुचित व्यवस्था करने तथा उत्तर प्रदेश और मध्य प्रदेश के पिछले भागों में नये उद्योगों की स्थापना करने के बारे में कोई उल्लेख नहीं है।” (416)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् —

“परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में श्रमिकों को समय पर बोनस दिलाने तथा उनको आवास की सुविधायें अधिक मात्रा में उपलब्ध कराने के बारे में कोई उल्लेख नहीं है।” (417)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये अर्थात् —

“परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में अखिल भारतीय स्तर के ऐसे श्रम संगठनों को जिनकी सदस्य संख्या साढ़े चार लाख में अधिक है अखिल भारतीय स्तर पर मान्यता देने के सम्बन्ध में कोई उल्लेख नहीं है।” (418)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् —

“परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में भूमिहीनों में कृषि योग्य भूमि का आवंटन करके कृषि उपज में वृद्धि करने के सम्बन्ध में कोई उल्लेख नहीं है।” (419)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् —

“परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में आन्ध्र प्रदेश में शान्ति व्यवस्था बनाये रखने के उद्देश्य में सरकार द्वारा आवश्यक कार्यवाही करना, आन्ध्र का शीघ्र ही नैलगाणा और आन्ध्र क्षेत्रों में विभाजन करने तथा राज्यों के पुनर्गठन के लिये एक आयोग की स्थापना करने के सम्बन्ध में कोई उल्लेख नहीं है।” (420)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये अर्थात् —

“परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में पाकिस्तान द्वारा अधिभूत कश्मीर भू-भाग को मुक्त कराने के लिये अविश्वस्य कदम उठाने के सम्बन्ध में कोई उल्लेख नहीं है।” (421)

कि प्रस्तावों के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये अर्थात् —

“परन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में ऐसे भारतीय युद्ध बन्धियों को जो इस समय पाकिस्तान में बीमार हैं मुक्त कराने और पाकिस्तान से भारतीय युद्ध बन्धियों के साथ मानवोचित व्यवहार करने का आग्रह करने के सम्बन्ध में कोई उल्लेख नहीं है।” (422)

[श्री हुवस बन्द कछयाण]

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

“परन्तु खेद है कि अग्निभाषण में भारतीय उप-महाद्वीप में शान्ति कायम करने तथा स्थायी शान्ति स्थापित करने के उद्देश्य से पाकिस्तान द्वारा बंगलादेश को अखिलम्ब मान्यता दिलाने और उसे सयुक्त राष्ट्रसंघ में प्रवेश दिलाने के सम्बन्ध में कोई उल्लेख नहीं है।” (423)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये,  
अर्थात् —

“परन्तु खेद है कि अग्निभाषण में बियतनाम के पुनर्निर्माण के लिये प्रचुर मात्रा में उसे सहायता देने के सम्बन्ध में कोई उल्लेख नहीं है।” (424)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये,  
अर्थात् —

“परन्तु खेद है कि अग्निभाषण में नेपाल तथा लद्दाख में चीन द्वारा अघिकृत भू-भाग को मुक्त कराने के सम्बन्ध में कोई उल्लेख नहीं है।” (425)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये,  
अर्थात् —

“परन्तु खेद है कि अग्निभाषण में युगान्ता से निकले गये एशियाई-यों द्वारा छोड़ी गयी चल तथा अचल सम्पत्ति का सुभावना दिलवाने के लिये भारत सरकार द्वारा की जाने वाली समुचित कर्मचाही का कोई उल्लेख नहीं है।” (426)

कि प्रस्ताव के अन्त में यह जोड़ा जाये,  
अर्थात् —

“परन्तु खेद है कि अग्निभाषण में म्यूनिख औद्योगिक में लेबनानी गरिल्लो की गतिविधियों की, जहाँ कई इजराइली खिलाडी मारे गये थे सरकार द्वारा अर्त्सना की जान और भारत में अरब तथा लेबनानी गरिल्लो को आश्रय न देने के सम्बन्ध में कोई उल्लेख नहीं है।” (427)

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA  
I beg to move

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

‘but regret that the Address does not refer to the complete disregard of the recommendations of the Beg Committee in the Aligarh Muslim University Act’ (428)

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

‘but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the need to revise the decision of the Central Government not to accede to the demand made by a large number of Haryana legislators and backed by 121 members of Parliament to appoint a Commission of Inquiry into the charges of corruption against the Chief Minister of Haryana’ (429).

SHRI DINEN BHATTACHARYYA  
(Serampore): I beg to move:

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

“but regret that the Government even after 25 years of Independence could not guarantee need based wages to the toiling masses both urban and rural.” (431).

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

"but regret that the Government could not guarantee trade union and democratic rights as envisaged in the Constitution to the working population of the country." (432).

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

"but regret that the Government could not take effective measures to unearth black money which is running a parallel economy in the country." (433).

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

"but regret that the Government has failed to introduce effective steps to reduce the high percentage of illiteracy in the country." (434)

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

"but regret that the Government's educational policy is resulting in all out chaos and disruption in education in almost all the States specially in West Bengal." (435)

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

"but regret that the Government could not guarantee security of trade unions functioning in West Bengal which has been seriously endangered by the hirelings of the Ruling Party." (436).

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

"but regret that the Government has failed to bring any legislation incorporating deterrent punishment to the defaulting employers in respect of depositing of contributions to the Provident Fund" (437).

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

"but regret that the Government has failed to take any effective measures to improve the E.S.I. Scheme in the interest of the workers." (438)

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

"but regret that the Government has failed to set up any CBI enquiry in the matter of apprehending the murderer of Hemanta Basu who was murdered on the eve of 1971 election when there was President's Rule in West Bengal." (349)

SHRI SEZHIYAN (Kumbakonam) I beg to move.—

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the indiscreet steps to find a solution acceptable to the people of both the regions of Andhra and Telengana" (440)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the indiscriminate use of Maintenance of Internal Security Act in Andhra" (441)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the need to release all political detenus, to withdraw Central Reserve Police and army and restate all the Government employees whose services have been terminated in Andhra Pradesh" (442)

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

"but regret that the Address fails to mention the need for early summoning of the Assembly of Andhra

[Shri Sezhiyan]

Pradesh to ascertain the will of the elected representatives regarding future of that State." (443).

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address on the growing unemployment in the country" (444).

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of any concrete steps to solve the problem of unemployment and under-employment in the country" (445).

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

"but regret that the Address fails to mention the increasing tax arrears from big income-tax assesses." (446).

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the inadequate supply and the rising price of the yarn required for handloom weavers in Tamil Nadu." (447).

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the ending of the State of Emergency when the need for it was over." (448).

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

"but regret that the Address does not take note of the failure of the Government in planning for the power requirements of the country, in giving priority to the necessary schemes and in taking adequate measures to avoid a power crisis." (449)

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

"but regret that the Address does take note of the failure of the Government in not giving immediate attention and sanction to the power schemes proposed by the State of Tamil Nadu" (450).

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

"but regret that the Address does not take note of the failure of the Government in not arranging for maximum utilisation of the created capacity of the Neyveli Thermal Station" (451).

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the inflationary economic policies pursued by the Government." (452).

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

"but regret that the address does not mention any concrete steps to bring down the prices of essential commodities." (453).

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

"but regret that the Address fails to enumerate the specific reasons for the non-fulfilment of the various targets in the field of production and distribution of basic and essential commodities in the country." (454).

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

"but regret that the Address fails to mention about the public upsurge and popular demand in Andhra and Telengana regions." (455).

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the need to open the second mine cut in Neyveli for generation of more electricity" (456).

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the avoidable delay in completion of the Kalpakam Scheme for power generation through nuclear energy" (457)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the delay in clearing the small hydro schemes proposed by the State of Tamil Nadu" (458)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the need to sanction a second nuclear plant of 1,000 M.W capacity in Tuticouin area." (459)

**SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU** (Diamond Harbour). I beg to move

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

"but regret that the Address is unrelated to the reality of the economic and political situation prevailing in India." (460).

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the steep and unprecedented price rise in 1972." (481).

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

"but regret that the consumer price index numbers for industrial workers have been rising unabated" (462)

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

"but regret that the price policy has been and is being formulated and implemented in the interests of monopolists, big traders, big speculators and big land-holders which is responsible for such galloping price rise" (463)

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

"but regret the failure to take any effective steps to check deficit financing and the parialal economy of black money and to mobilise the potential economic surpluses" (464)

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

"but regret that the myth of so-called 'Green Revolution' has been exploded by the recent unprecedented drought throughout the country" (465)

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

"but regret that the unemployment and under-employment in urban and rural areas have been rising on an unprecedented scale" (466)

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

"but regret that in spite of talks about 'Garibi hatao' and even distribution of economic power', the monopoly houses, Indian as well as foreign, have grown and are growing in strength." (467).

[Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu]

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

"but regret that the Government is unwilling to take any positive steps to nationalise the foreign banks and foreign monopoly firms which are taking out of the country crores of rupees every year as profits, dividends, technical fees, interests, administrative and head office expenses" (468)

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

"but regret that corruption favouritism and nepotism have grown and are growing examples of corruptions being fraud on the State Bank of India, New Delhi, Parliament Street Branch involving 60 lakhs of rupees, circumstances under which Maruti and Co, a small car manufacturing company was set up in Haryana, the rag scandal which shook the whole country, the poster scandal, and the charges against the Haryana Chief Minister" (469).

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

"but regret that the ruling party headed by the Prime Minister has made and is making open use of the State machinery to further party and individual interests and used the State machinery including the machinery of the defence department during its 75th session held at Salt Lake area, Calcutta" (470)

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

"but regret that the Government of India headed by the Prime Minister has let loose a reign of terror throughout the country: in Andhra the CRP atrocities have surpassed all limits and about 3000 cadres of the leftist parties, particularly of the CPI(M) have been secretly murdered; murder and intimidation the CPI(M) have been secretly gal have not stopped." (471).

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

"but regret that the ruling party headed by the Prime Minister has started surreptitiously to curb the rights of the Members of Parliament as is evident from the curtailment of sittings of Lok Sabha during the last 5 years, many Opposition Members of Parliament have alleged that their residences are watched by plain-clothed policemen, telephones tapped and correspondence intercepted." (472).

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

"but regret the wholesale rigging of elections by the ruling party in West Bengal, Kashmir, Tripura, Orissa, and other States" (473)

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

"but regret that the Government has failed to ensure security to the minority communities and that the communal incidents show no sign of decline" (474)

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

but regret that Government has failed to ensure security to Harijans and linguistic minorities, atrocities upon the Harijans have become a matter of daily occurrence" (475)  
16 hrs

SHRI A K GOPALAN (Palghat):  
The President's speech is a most disgusting document. Apart from a few empty platitudes here and there, the address is a clear statement of the bankruptcy of the policies and activities of the Government led by Mrs. Indira Gandhi. The Country to-day is in vortex of an all-round crisis. One looks vainly for an indication of the awareness of this crisis in the President's speech. Needless to say, when there is no awareness of the crisis in the Government, no efforts at finding solutions to the problems can be discerned.



To-day many States in the country are in the grip of famine—Mysore, Maharashtra, Rajasthan, Gujarat, Parts of West Bengal, Tripura, Bihar Orissa and Andhra, Ration shops are without foodgrains, kerosene, etc Millions of people have been displaced from their hearts and homes and have become refugees in their own country For the rural masses in the famine affected States, there is no work, no food, no shelter, no security The so-called scarcity works undertaken are a mockery—an inhuman exploitation of the starving people The wages given are not enough to purchase even the foodgrains.

Here is the 'Times of India' report of February, 19

Give us food, we do not want wages" This is the demand of agricultural labourers employed in a large number of relief works in Gujarat which, according to the Chief Minister is experiencing "the most extensive scarcity this year in the recent memory of the state"

A Press Party which visited Gujarat has given this statement

From all over the country we get heart-rending stories of the sufferings of the famine hit people

Do we get any indication from the President's speech that his Government led by Shrimati Indira Gandhi is aware of this ghastly situation? Prices have increased so much that daily necessities of the people like foodgrains, kerosene edible oils etc have become beyond the reach of common man. During 1972 the general price level as measured by the official wholesale price index rose by 78 per cent which was twice as much as the increase in the previous year During 1972-73 the price rise would be of the order of 15 per cent, if not more, even exceeding the dubious record of 1966-67 when prices rose by 14 per cent

Apart from cereals and pulses, the most important item of food articles which contributed to the price spurt

during the past year was sugar which rose by no less than 33.4 per cent This was on top of an increase of 21.5 per cent in 1971

As far as commercial crops are concerned, we see that the price of sugar goes up, but the price of sugarcane goes down Take the price of cane in 1968-69 It was given to the factory at Rs 12—Rs 15 per quintal and the price of sugar then was Rs 175 p But to-day the price has come down The Agriculture Prices Commission recommended the sugar cane prices as Rs 8 and now the price of sugar is Rs 4/- As far as price of cotton is concerned, it has come down from Rs 250 per quintal to Rs 150 per quintal As far as price of cloth is concerned it has risen from 145.4 points to 172.5 So the price of cotton comes down but the price of cloth goes up The price of sugar cane comes down the price of sugar goes up As far as the peasants who are the majority in our country, the price of their produce comes down and when they go to the market to buy the cloth or sugar they find that the price of both the sugar as well as cloth has gone up This is the case of all the consumer goods Even in the case of rubber, the price of rubber comes down the price of tyre goes up As far as the prices are concerned the prices go up but as far as the consumer goods produced by the peasants are concerned their prices come down One does not know when the prices of sugar cotton come down, how the prices of manufactured things go up

The other thing is why no foodgrain is available in many States Working people everywhere are the most affected That is why the Central Government employees State Government employees, teachers, industrial workers—they are all suffering. Even after three years, yesterday we had discussed here that the Pay Commission has not given its report It has postponed No doubt, interim relief was given but they wanted more relief It has been

[Shri A. K. Gopalan]

denied. But as far as the State Government employees are concerned there is no question of Pay Commission. There is no question of interim relief. What is the policy of the Government? As far as prices are concerned, whether it is for the State Government employee or for the Central Government employee, the prices are the same. There is no difference. As far as the dearness allowance is concerned it depends upon the increase in prices. Then, why is the difference between the Central Government employees and the State Government employees? The Central Government has promised some relief but as far as the State Government employees are concerned—U. P., Maharashtra, Mysore, Haryana, they are demanding relief. The policy of the Government in the Centre is one and the policy of the Government in the States, with the same ruling party, is another. There, they are not given relief though the prices are rising and the reason why they are given relief here is the same. Relief in the Centre, I do not say is given according to the rise in prices, but some relief is given but as far as State employees are concerned relief is not given at all. One does not understand what this policy of the Government is as far as the State employees are concerned. The State Government employees are asking for relief but the Congress Government everywhere is bent upon suppressing their struggle. Yesterday and day before yesterday teachers from Haryana were arrested—1000, day before yesterday and 800 yesterday. What they wanted was the dearness allowance, because the prices are going up. Even after this budget certainly the prices will go up. The Railway budget shows that after 15 k.m. the travelling cost will be higher. As far as the demands of the employees are concerned, the teachers, State and Central Government employees are concerned, they say, you see that the prices come down. Two years back what we bought in the same measure and in the same

quantity, if those things we want to buy to-day we do not get in the same measure. We want to live as we lived two years ago, now that we want to be more happy. What will they do? What is the Government doing? Thousand teachers were arrested day before yesterday and 800 teachers were arrested yesterday. They think all will be ready for arrest. Why should the State employees suffer and the ruling Congress ignore altogether the demands of the State Government employees

Then there is a question of unemployment. Unemployment is a very important question. Garibi hatao was the slogan. But what is happening to-day. Despite tall claims of the Government, with their crash programme for reducing unemployment, unemployment has been mounting at a very significant rate. Not only that, even in the existing employment, lakhs of people are being done away with. There is mechanisation in industry and mechanisation in agriculture. I will give an example. In Kerala, lakhs of women are employed for beating the husk of the coconut. They get 75 p. per day. In the villages, there are no other industries except this. Now, the machines are being introduced there. The husking machines are there. So many lakhs of women in the villages who earn by this and on whose earnings their whole families depend are out of job. Why introduce these machines? We are not against introduction of machines as such. Machines are essential for progress. But when there is no alternative job, why are you introducing machines even for husking? Lakhs of people become unemployed. As far as the out-turn of machines is concerned, you may make a profit. But what about the people who are thrown out of job? When the policy is to give employment to more people, what is done by introducing machines is that more people become unemployed.

Then, I understand, the Government is manufacturing 186 computers every year. The machinery has come. Their

policy is to manufacture 186 computers every year. If in the next five years, 186 computers are manufactured every year, what will happen? The *Garibi Hatao* will be implemented completely with these computers. The people will be thrown out of job. I do not say that there should not be any computers. But if 186 computers are manufactured every year and put in use, what will become of the people who are already employed today? Is there any other avenue of employment for them? As far as the problem of unemployment is concerned, it is not only that avenues of employment are not there but the mechanisation of industry and agriculture is making more and more unemployment. Even in villages, the husking of coconut is being mechanised and machines are allowed to be used.

As far as the food situation is concerned, as I have already said, there is famine in the country and there is drought in the country. The people are starving. What is the remedy? The remedy for the people is to organise themselves. My hon. friend, Shri Unmkrishnan has been talking about violence. He has been trying to provoke me; my name has been mentioned. I was not provoked because I am elder to him. That is why I was not provoked. He was talking of so many things. I was in the Congress and I organised Congress in Kerala before he was born. So, I thought, let him say so many things about me. I do not mind. But I want to ask him: What is the meaning of violence? He says, violence is let loose in the country. I will show you what is happening. Supposing one man beats another, that is violence. But if one person unnecessarily beats me, does it not become violence? What is happening in the country? In Andhra, it is said, there is violence. Yes. But then, in Andhra, there is also violence by the C. R. P. and the army. You say, that is not violence. Then, you must have a new meaning in the dictionary for the word "violence", that if the C. R. P., the police and the army kill people, it is not violence but when

people do something, it is violence. You must say that; you must have a new meaning for the word "violence". What is happening in Kerala? What is happening in Andhra Pradesh? So many *bandhs* are being organised. Today, there is Kerala *bandh*. Why? Why people go in for a *bandh*? Is *bandh* a pleasure? There has been Andhra *bandh*, there has been Kerala *bandh*. There was a *bandh* in Tivupura, there was a *bandh* in Maharashtra. All the *bandhs* are not the sweet things for the people. During *bandhs*, there will be blows, the people will be put in jails, there will be bloodshed and all that. Are the people who are organising *bandhs* and taking part in these *bandhs* wanting to have some *tamasha*? Is it a football match? Is it a hockey match? There is something which the people want the Government to understand. They are suffering and they want to make this Government understand that there is something wrong, they want to live, but the Government is not doing anything. They sit in a place and do it.

What happened in Kerala? In Kerala, 6000 teachers had been arrested and suspended. All the private schools are closed today. NGOs and teachers, about 6,000, have been arrested. I think, the number will be much more than that because today noon Radio announced that about 950 people had been arrested today. (*Interruption*) Teachers and NGOs are people; they are not animals; he was asking why I said 'people'.

SHRI C. M. STEPHEN (Muvattupuzha): In Kerala, 82 per cent of NGOs are working in the offices.

SHRI A. K. GOPALAN, That is why you are beating the others! (*Interruption*) I am one of those members who never interrupt. When my hon. friend was saying so many things about me, I did not say anything. You must ask him, Sir, to keep quiet.

SHRI C. M. STEPHEN: Why are you shirking it? It is not your monopoly only. (*Interruption*)

**SHRI A. K. GOPALAN:** My name was dragged so many times. I did not say anything at that time because I thought I would get an opportunity when I would reply. I also know how to be angry; it is not that I do not know that; I do not want that. He will get an opportunity, Sir, to speak. Let him say at that time whatever he wants to.

According to him, 90 per cent of the NGOs are going to offices and the work is going on. But there is a ban on meetings, there is a ban on processions. Why? Is it because everybody is going to office! When everybody is going to office and when everything is peaceful, why should there be ban on processions and meetings and arrest of people? I do not understand this. It is not my radio; in the noon today the radio announced that about 950 people had been arrested....

**SHRI K. P. UNNIKRISHNAN:** Just one point ...

**SHRI A. K. GOPALAN:** I will not permit you. You said so many things and I did not interrupt you. You said so many things which were not true. I did not want to get up and say that what you were saying was wrong. I thought I would get the opportunity when I would reply. You can ask Mr. Stephen to speak.

In Kerala, I said, there was *dharna*. *Dharna* means peaceful sitting before offices. All those who were near 200 yards were beaten. He said about violence. I want to know whether my friend, Mr. Stephen, knows what happened in the M. G. College—Mahatma Gandhi College. It was Mahatma Gandhi College and that was the reason why the worst violence was there! Probably police thought why should it be called Mahatma Gandhi College! Where the name of Mahatma Gandhi was there, they used violence. Here is a picture. I went there with the Principal and others. This is the picture, Sir. You find clotted blood. I can understand violence if the students are hiding in the class room. But

when the classes are going on, when the teachers are taking the classes, entering the class-rooms and beating them—is it not violence? Do you enter the school without asking the Principal? If there is anything, ask the Principal. The Principal told me that he was standing there. One Mr. Rao, Typist, was standing there and he said that he was not a student, he was a typist. But he was beaten. Is it not violence? Young students being beaten and blood coming out—is it not violence? If they have done anything, take them to court and bring forward the offences committed by them. Is it the police that is to punish them or is it the court that is to punish. This question of violence and shouting that there is violence on the part of other people and not the Police is not correct. Police also must behave and see that as far as offences are concerned, people are brought to book. But, what is happening? Hundreds of people are arrested. People, when they do not get food and rice, what will they do? They will naturally protest and make some noise. People, when they do not get jobs, they will say, 'We want jobs'. When there is no violence, why should there be beating of people? People were beaten in five places in my State. People were beaten when they were taking out a procession. The procession was allowed. Only three days back it was banned. Before that it was allowed. When the procession was going on, they were beaten in a place called, Vinjam, where I saw in the hospital—I went to the hospital—a small boy of 8 years lying injured. He was going back with fish. He was beaten in such a manner that he is lying in the hospital and blood was coming out. Why such a beating of a young boy? When he fell down, he was kicked by the police with their boots. It is not only one Party beating. Police do not show any partiality in beating. Everybody, all Parties are beaten. At Vaikkam the CPI, the Congress and others held separate meetings protesting against the Police repression. They do not ask which Party you belong to when beating.

The question is to-day there is an acute crisis in the country and prices are going up and whatever emoluments they get, when they go to the market they find that they are not able to live as they lived two years ago. So they protest. Sir, 6000 employees were dismissed, all Government servants. What was the crime they committed? They said that they wanted a Pay Commission. 'We want interim relief.' Then what should you have done? Call them and talk to them. We shall have a Pay Commission and when it comes, we shall discuss about it. But nothing was done.

As far as Tripura was concerned there 3000 people mostly peasants and Adivasis were arrested for demanding famine relief. There were 139 starvation deaths in Tripura due to famine conditions. On the 15th February about 50,000 Satyagrahis participated in a peaceful civil disobedience movement. They suppress this peaceful campaign the Government sent CRP Border Security Force and Army there. In so many places Mohanpur, Kaila Sahai, Dharmanagar, Kamalpur, Belonia etc. the CRP brutally attacked the Satyagrahis and a number of people were severely injured. The civil disobedience movement was there always when the Britishers were there. We always offered civil disobedience movement. For that people are beaten. On the 19th February Tripura *bandh* was observed against police oppression. There is no water. People who do not have drinking water protest 'We want water.' There is acute scarcity of water in the hill areas of Tripura.

Even in West Bengal complete lawlessness prevails. Goondas enjoying the protection of the Police go and attack the people and disrupt trade-union meetings. Not only that people who go to the court before the Judges goondas attack them and also the persons who go to the court to give evidence in the cases as also the plea-

ders. This is what is happening in Calcutta.

As far as Andhra is concerned what is happening in Andhra? We are not one who wants bifurcation. We said the Government should find a solution and as far as employment is concerned, something must be done. We gave a solution to the Government but the Government did not agree. But, what is happening after the President's rule? Shooting everywhere. On 21st November there was a firing by the Police on peaceful people observing *bandh* in Ongole. People were killed and on the 2nd January there was a firing in Nellore and more than 13 people died. On the 23rd there was firing in Kakinada on the 25th in Eluru and on the 27th in Rajahmundry and also in Vijayawada. Everywhere there was firing. What is the basis of all this trouble in Andhra? The basis is backwardness of the area as well as unemployment. Unemployment and backwardness of any area in our country cannot be solved by suppression. There is backwardness for the past 25 years. Every Plan says about backward area and backward States and if the Government do not even now consider about the backward areas in a State and the backward States the same thing will happen. Backward areas will think it is better that we get a separate State so that our area will become improved. That is what they think so far as unemployment is concerned so far as backwardness is concerned. This is the position. These cannot be solved by separation by dividing the State. Unfortunately this sort of thing is happening. We see it. The solution is not firing. Sir, President's rule has not solved the problem. Mulki rules have not solved the problem. So something else must be done. Sir, We should go into the basic cause as to how this began. When the High Court said that Mulki rules should not be there, at once the Central Government must have availed of that opportunity and the Central Government should have called the leaders to discuss with them. Mulki rule

[Shri A. K. Gopalan]

is not there now. What should be done, Sir? What is to be done for more employment, for creating more of employment opportunities, how can employment be given to these people? What are the difficulties? How can this be solved? That is what we should try to solve. Instead of that, CRP is let loose, there is Police everywhere. You say violence is there. You resort to firing. Another violence comes. Another firing starts. Firing and violence, continuously. Sir, this is what is happening. This is what we see in Andhra. What is the solution? Is the solution only killing the people? Is the solution only to resort to firing? If this is the solution, everywhere it will have to be done, because, there are backward areas, there are people of those areas who are unemployed, who have got various grievances, who have got various difficulties and to solve the problem which they face, this certainly is not the way of doing things. Once you resort to firing people become angry. Something is done. Another firing takes place. There is firing after firing. So many people are killed. Do you know how many people died? It is a very serious matter. It is a very serious question to be tackled. You should find out the basic cause of such movements. The basic question is the question of unemployment. The basic question is the question of backwardness. All the areas are backward. Rayalaseema is backward; Telengana is backward. But nothing is done to satisfy the people and that is why this problem is there. Common people are suffering. They are groaning under the severe and unbearable scarcity conditions in their daily lives. No food is available for the whole month. No sugar is available. There is no kerosene. There is not even electric power.

Power cut not only affects cities, but it also affects agriculture, and the irony of fate is that no Government has really tried to tackle this problem. The CRP is let loose, this is only to strengthen the executive. The main

thing is the problem of unemployment, that is what is behind the crisis, Sir. So something must be done as far as Andhra is concerned.

Another new problem has come now and that is, the power cut. I have seen in Tamilnadu. There is acute power cut. The Coach Factory is not working there. As far as Oxygen plant is concerned, because power is not there, hospital patients do not get oxygen to breathe. You have got Neyveli there. Something must be done by the Government. The Chief Minister said, they asked for the help of the Central Government. The Central Government did not give that help. It is not only a question of Tamilnadu alone. It is not only a question of unemployment in Tamilnadu alone. If there is no power, the whole south will suffer. Tamilnadu is the granery of the South. All the areas, Tamilnadu, Kerala etc. will be starving if this power-cut continues. It is not only the case in Tamilnadu and this is there in Rajasthan also. On the one hand you face the problem of unemployment and on the other hand you face the problem of these powercuts.

A person is there; he is born in this world; he has no job. It is not his fault that he is born. Family planning and all these things are there. He came before this family planning came up. He has nothing to do with it. He is starving. So something must be done. There is no use of saying simply 'Violence, violence'. There are lakhs and lakhs of people in this country without job, without drinking water, who are remaining there in this condition. What is the problem? How to solve this problem? Now, the power cut has come in such a way actually in Tamil Nadu and also in other States in India that something has to be done.

Another question is regarding attack on Harijans. Everyday we read news of attack on Harijans and Adivasis—Harijans burnt alive in Banda (M.P.). They are under the suppression of the landlords and caste

Hindus—higher class people torturing them—social boycott still continues in several places. Harijans, Adivasis and agricultural labourers worst affected due to famine and drought and scarcity. Now, Sir, what happened in Kerala? Fifteen days back in Kerala in a place named Changanasery four Harijan women were raped. All the parties including the members of the ruling party as well as the Opposition parties belonging to that State printed notices and said this is what has happened. Something must be done. But nothing is done. Government denies it. So, it is not only from the other places but even from the Government this is what is being done.

Then another point is about Industrial Licensing policies of the Government. In the field of industry, the Central Government has recently formulated policies with regard to licensing which help big monopoly houses in a very blatant manner. Under the guise of promoting the production of key industries like Cement and Steel, the Government is trying to completely exempt monopolies from even existing controls. This is being done in the name of 'Joint sector'. I am quoting *The Economic Times* of 27th December, 1972: More and more Chief Ministers are actively supporting the idea of joint sector and issue of licenses to big and monopoly houses. The West Bengal Chief Minister, Mr. S. S. Ray, has already come out in their favour; others to join him are the Chief Ministers of Haryana and Madhya Pradesh.

The same Chief Ministers and Congress leaders who are pleading for the big business houses are also trying to scuttle all proposals for land reforms and ceilings on urban property.

Sir, the *Economic Times* of 27th December said: Those who are asking for more industrial licenses to big industrial houses have also indicated their unwillingness to pass legislation on land ceilings, urban property ceilings and on other radical measures,

at least till the crisis created by the serious food shortage is overcome.

So, Sir, where are we moving to? Are we moving towards socialism or is it a trend towards fascism? As far as the main problems of the people are concerned—food and job—the two most important things the people cannot even agitate. They cannot even peacefully agitate. When there is violence, it is violence. Is agitation of one or two thousand persons sitting before an office and bringing home to the officers concerned their view point is violence. You are beaten for everything. What was the amount spent for CRP in 1972? What is the amount spent today? It is said: In every village in Kerala we will do one thing; we will provide a police station in every village. What is the solution? If the whole system and whole method is not changed, if we go on following this capitalist path of development, this is what will happen. There will be more and more repression, and people will not be able to open their mouth and give expression to the feelings that the prices are more and they want more money. There would be so much repression everywhere that they cannot say even this. The CRP, military and police would be there, and they cannot agitate peacefully even for their reasonable demands. This is what is happening today.

The President's Address unfortunately has not seen the gravity of the crisis in the country today and it has offered also no solution to the problems that are there. I thought that during this critical period when there was a crisis in the country, something would have been said in this regard, but I regret that nothing has been said in this regard.

I do not want to deal with the question of political alliances etc. about which my hon. friend Shri K. P. Unnikrishnan has spoken. This is not the forum to discuss political alliances. This is Parliament where we are to represent the grievances of the



[Shri A. K. Gopalan]

people. I am prepared to discuss politics with my hon. friend outside. I do not want to say anything here about politics, alliances and non-alliances and things like that.

I want your permission, Sir, to place\* this photograph on the Table of the House.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: He can give it to me

SHRI CHINTAMANI PANIGRAHI (Bhubaneswar): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, we are happy that the forces of peace and socialism have achieved new victories in Viet Nam in the year 1973. We are confident that in India also, in this year the forces of peace and socialism will achieve new victories, defeating the forces of reaction. When a sense of frustration and a kind of negative atmosphere and outlook is prevailing the entire country today, I am happy to note that the President in his Address has put forward certain positive economic programmes of action before the country which represent the policies of our party and Government and which would enable the country and the party to march forward on the path of socialism with greater confidence and achieve further victories.

SHRI PILOO MODY (Godhra): Which paragraph of the President's Address is he referring to?

SHRI CHINTAMANI PANIGRAHI: I am referring to the President's Address. My hon. friend can go through it. I shall come to it para by para presently.

The political picture in this country is that the Opposition parties and more unfortunately the Left outside the Congress have not been able to learn anything from the past and they will not be able to learn anything in

the future also. I am in this House for a pretty long period, and when I heard the speeches of some of the leftist leaders in this House I found that those speeches resembled almost the type of speeches which were made in the days of 1967. The masses of India with their maturity have taught the political leaders and the political parties that mere anti-Congressism or a mere anti-Congress platform or a mere negative approach to any problem will not lead us anywhere, and the people of India have given their reactions to this kind of approach in 1967 and in 1971, and it is surprising that when we approach the grave economic problems and the crisis that is facing the country today, this kind of negative approach to everything and a kind of platform that the Congress should go, which had permeated the atmosphere in 1967 is being pursued again and again. It is better not to try this hoax on the people again. It will prove to be a hoax again in 1973 when the forces of peace and socialism are winning victories after victories everywhere, and I hope that India and her people would never separate themselves from the main current which is sweeping the world scene today.

Just by the way, by way of diversion, I would like to mention one particular thing. I do not quite remember, but perhaps in 1967 when Shri E. M. S. Namboodiripad was the Chief Minister of Kerala, something was mentioned in this House about St Albert's College at Ernakulam. I think the police entered that college and beat the students there....

SHRI VALALAR RAVI (Chirayinkil): The photograph of St. Thomas College had appeared in the papers.

SHRI CHINTAMANI PANIGRAHI: I do not know if the same police which Shri E. M. S. Namboodiripad had posted there in 1967 are taking

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\*Speaker not having subsequently accorded the necessary permission, the document was not treated as laid on the Table.



the same action in 1973; one does not know it. But this thing happened.

I do not want to go into these points; I want to concentrate on the main points made by the President in his Address, that is, the socio-economic measures which he has placed before us, the challenging task which he has placed before the country. I would like to confine myself to those challenging problems.

We have fought one of the biggest liberation wars in recent years. It is one of the historic battles we fought as a result of which Bangla Desh was born. In such liberation wars, the sacrifices are immense. But because perhaps the victory was so sure and so sudden that we have not been able to grasp the extent or magnitude of the sacrifices we made. I would like to place before the House the figure in monetary terms concerning the involvement of India in this liberation war of Bangla Desh. If you look to the budget papers, you will find that a provision of Rs. 200 crores was made for economic assistance to Bangla Desh upto the end of the financial year 1972-73. The grants and loans totalled together more than Rs. 200 crores. Besides these, expenditure on relief to refugees from Bangla Desh was, as was revealed in answer to a question, tentatively estimated at Rs. 323.04 crores. Besides this, we sent food stocks, grants, loans and other relief materials. All these come to more than Rs. 1,000 crores. If the figures of assistance for this year are included, the total may come to about Rs. 1500 crores.

I would like to submit this. If we could have created this additional wealth in terms of goods and services by our hard labour, the economic crisis or the price rises we see today would not have happened. We had the capacity to create this additional wealth. We have an industrial structure which is more sophisticated than many countries', a structure of which any country can be proud. But because some of our industrial capacity

remains utilised and there is question of power shortage, to which the President also made a mention in his Address, we could not reap the full benefit out of it. We were not able to put in more hard work and produce this additional wealth which we had to give to a friendly country, which we have to do in this world today for safeguarding our own values of democracy and secularism. For preserving these values, a sum of Rs. 1500 crores is a very little sacrifice so far as India is concerned. In our attempt to safeguard democracy, we have done our best. The drought condition immediately following a war added to our sufferings further.

When we look into these things, we have only to remind ourselves about the path we have chosen and the promises we have made to our people. We have chosen a path against the monopoly houses. Our path is to march towards socialism. Our promise is to remove regional imbalances. Our commitment to the 220 million people who live below the poverty line is that the alleviation of their condition must receive top priority. These are the priority tasks before us which the President has put forward in his Address. This is the programme before the people; this is the policy of our party and Government. Our programme is to effect a transformation from feudalism and capitalism to socialism through democracy and non-violence. This is one of the biggest experiments at socio-economic transformation envisaged in the sub-continent and in this we are achieving success after success.

It is no use telling us that we are falling. In such an attempt, there may be shortcomings and failures but we have to march ahead with confidence.

I was analysing the speech of the President. What is the non-capitalist way of development we have pursued? We have now control of the largest amount of credit. It comes to

[Shri Chintamani Panigrahi]

about Rs. 10,000 crores. That was our programme. After the nationalisation of banks, insurance,—LIC—and the public lending institutions, the Government commands a credit control of Rs. 10,000 crores. This is an achievement which any nation, any country which thinks of having socialism, must be proud of. Unless we utilise these Rs. 10,000 crores of credit in the productive fields it will not give us good results, and with this instrument we can give a direction to rapid economic growths and we can put curbs on the growth of monopoly houses. We are trying to do that in all possible ways. Take the question of industrial licensing. The priority today is to increase production, and we find today that there is immense capital and there is no dearth of capital in this country. We have enough of funds because of the nationalisation of banks and the private lending institutions. Today you know the nationalised banks are overflowing with deposits of about Rs 8,000 crores; a rate-war is going on to attract more business-houses. I think it needs a kind of rational approach so that we can invest all this credit in productive fields.

We have taken a major stride in bringing in more and more fields of production into the public sector, namely, a major part of transport and communications, power, coal, steel, heavy engineering, banking, insurance, external and internal trade, copper—all the means of production in this country where there is any possibility of exploiting the natural resources. In pursuit of our policy of socialist transformation of society in a peaceful and democratic manner, the State has taken over all the means of production, and today, it is in the commanding heights. I am happy to note today that the public sector investment has gone up to more than Rs. 12,000 crores. It is one of the magnificent achievements.

We had our shortcomings so far as the public sector is concerned. You

know that so far as the Congressmen are concerned and the Congress party is concerned and the Government is concerned, we have very often expressed our anxiety to improve the performance of the public sector, and today, I hope some major steps have been taken to improve the performance of the public sector. Sometimes I was thinking as to why all the public sector undertakings should not be given a kind of task, that this is the target of production for this year, 1973-74, and any public sector undertaking which completes the target will get a bonus if they have completed the target for the year. They would be given a little more autonomy so that they will be able to manage the resources and the raw materials so that they can achieve the target of production for which they would be given the responsibility. Why can we not plan to get at least 1000 crores of rupees annually now to the national exchequer from the Public Sector.

One of our main programmes was to curb monopolies, and these are the measures that we have taken to curb monopolies in this country. To increase production, land reform is one of our main programmes, and the President has also hinted in his Address on the progress that we are making so far as the land reforms are concerned. If I may take a little time, I can point out that about half a million hectares of surplus land have been distributed among the landless. This is not a small achievement. For instance, the State Governments have so far distributed 5.7 million hectares of Government land in the normal course through their revenue departments. In answer to a question, I was told that different State Governments have also distributed surplus land to the landless people. This is no mean achievement within a period of one or two years. This is the biggest achievement on right lines.

Therefore, when we want to criticise this party, and the Government or our leadership, we shall have to

ask ourselves whether we are pursuing the path that we have charted for the country, *i.e.*, the path of anti-monopoly, socialism and anti-feudalism and directing all our resources to that end. I should say that we are directing all our efforts to achieve all these programmes that we have before us and have put before the country and the people.

The main programme is to remove poverty. As the President has said, we have to remove poverty and build self-reliance. These are the two main themes of the plan document which was placed before this House. How do we do it? The Government should now consider this. Today we have 543 foreign private companies and 271 Indian subsidiaries which have majority foreign participation and they remit Rs. 300 crores annually by way of profits, dividends and other remittances to the foreign countries. The debt servicing repayment and amortization take up about Rs. 600 crores a year. That means there is an annual drain of Rs. 900 crores. Our exports come to about Rs. 1700 crores a year and we shall have to add another Rs. 900 crores of production so that we can export about Rs. 3000 crores a year in order that we can make up all these things within two or three years. We have also to remove poverty. The removal of poverty can not be done by the wave of magic wand. These two things cannot go together.

Our leftist friends were advancing some arguments. What are the problems before the people of Andhra? Do they want more lands, more jobs? I tell you that I will be with the people of Andhra Pradesh if they take out a procession saying: we want five lakhs of jobs or ten lakhs of acres of surplus lands to be distributed, we shall be with the people of Andhra and fight with them. If any attempt is made to divert their attention from economic emancipation of the masses, that does not help the struggle for socialism. Fascism is that philosophy which wants to force

something on the Government, the country and the people. Congress friends from Andhra are here and I appeal to them: let us sit together and discuss our problems. If it is the problem of unemployment why not Parliament say that Rs. 500 crores be spent in Telengana and Andhra this year? The whole country should give atleast a chance to the people of Andhra and Telengana. How many jobs and how many factories do they want? If that is the solution the whole country will come forward and help our friends in Andhra and Telengana.

But the main problem, the main challenge is being diverted. The main challenge today is to provide 220 million people who live below the poverty line with Rs. 40 and Rs. 30 a month with their needs. That is the challenge before us. The President has thrown enough suggestions. We have a programme how the people in those areas could march forward so that we can achieve socialism and give jobs to the jobless, food to the hungry, clothes to the half-naked, lands to the landless and homes to the homeless. In the year 1973 we must achieve progress for the down-trodden, the people who are really suffering in this country. The President has appealed to us to address ourselves to these challenging tasks. And these are the needs of the hour. I support the motion of thanks to the President and I hope it will be accepted by all sections of the House.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA (Alipore)  
I find it extremely difficult to indulge in any serious debate on the basis of what is contained in the President's Address. Because most of the things it contains have been said so many times before. Of course much can be spoken about the points which should have been in the Address but are not there. For example if I may make a brief reference to paragraph 4 there is reference to the price of food articles but there is no appreciation or mention whatsoever of this biggest

[Shri Indrajit Gupta]

problem which is affecting the common people in this country namely, the alarming rise in prices, which is not indicated here. They just complacently or cursorily refer to it as though it is something very normal and nothing to be worried about.

16.55 hrs.

[SHRI K N TIWARY in the Chair]

Then in the same paragraph an over-simplified, if I may say so, assurance has been given again that the wholesale trade in wheat will be taken over from the coming wheat marketing season. This will be followed by the take-over of wholesale trade in rice with "whole-hearted cooperation". But nobody has mentioned here whether it is such an easy matter, what are the preparations being made, what is the infrastructure being set up to take over this wholesale trade or a mere bald announcement will do. And as far as the cooperation of States is concerned—whole-hearted cooperation of surplus as well as deficit States—well it is common knowledge that there are several States which are not very happy about it at all and would like to resist it if possible and delay it if possible rather than give whole-hearted cooperation.

In paragraph 7, I am very brief because I want to deal with another matter, there is a reference to the new Industrial Licensing Policy—new in the sense that some clarifications were made. Here it is stated, 'Industrial Licensing Policy of curbing monopolies and the concentration of economic power'. Well, I am thankful that at least these words, these mantras, these shabdoles have found a place this time in the President's Address. In the 1972 President's Address they were conspicuous by their absence. Even the words were not there. In 1971 in the President's Address as I pointed out too at that time there was not a word about it. This time at least the mantra has been put in clarifying its Industrial Licensing Policy as 'indus-

trial Licensing Policy of curbing monopolies and the concentration of economic power'. But I would like to know from my friends opposite that if this policy when announced was really meant to curb the monopolists, why is it being welcomed by the monopolists? See, what the *Statesman* says in its editorial on the 6th February. The *Statesman* ownership I think is not in doubt. Everybody knows the consortium of companies, who are the proprietors of the *Statesman*—Tatas, Martin Burns and Andrew Yule and such like. What does this Paper say? It says 'with all the loopholes provided, the new policy cannot really be regarded as unduly restrictive. The enlargement of the core sector incorporating major groups and generic terms increase the avenues open to the larger houses'. This is how in two sentences one of the organs of the monopoly houses has summed up this new clarification of the Industrial Licensing Policy, which according to the President Address is meant to curb monopolies and the concentration of economic power.

There is nothing stated here not even a passing reference to another very alarming feature—devaluation of the rupee which is taking place due to its being linked with the pound sterling. Already 10 per cent devaluation has taken place because the pound has floated down. Pound has been allowed to float in relation to dollar, in relation to mark, in relation to yen. It has floated down 10 per cent within the last few months and because our Government has clung to the policy that the rupee must be kept tied to the pound sterling, there is a *de facto* devaluation which is going to throw our trade—import and export values—out of gear. There is no appreciation of it at all.

Then, there is no mention of the virtual collapse of the educational system, at least at the university level. All the major universities in the country at one time or other were closed down for long periods. There should be some appreciation of,

it—instead of simply saying in paragraph 16 'realising the significance of education. Government has decided to take steps for programmes of educational re-construction.' What is this kind of thing? A serious crisis is there. Millions of young people are affected, the teachers are affected. There is not a State in this country which has not witnessed in recent weeks this mass scale discontent of teachers bursting out in various forms. Even today, I think, the spot-news says that about 1500 or 1600 Haryana teachers have again been arrested in Delhi. This happened in Punjab; this happened in Bihar; this happened in Kerala, in so many States, everywhere. There is no appreciation of it.

17 hrs.

Now, I have to say one thing here. Mr. Unnikrishnan made a very good speech, I must say. But it would have been better if he had not ventured into the field of trade unions, and the scale of priorities. I am afraid, I can never agree. I hope, he develops a little more experience in trade unions. The question of priority is not whether trade unions cling to a demand for bonus or give up a demand for bonus. Is that a matter which is holding up production? Is that a matter which is causing bottle-necks in the public sector which is dealt with here, in paragraph 9, at great length. The main priority question has been left out. Unnikrishnan may not be aware of it. I do not blame him. The President is a veteran trade unionist. It might have occurred to him, I do not know. But the Government is absolutely silent on the vital question of restructuring the whole of industrial relations machinery in this country. I was expecting something because it is a matter which has been under active consideration.

For the last one year, it is being debated with the employers, with the trade unions, and we find to our surprise, the Labour Ministry and the

Planning Commission working at cross-purposes with each other on this matter. The Labour Ministry has produced a draft which is utterly outmoded, anti-labour, anti-democratic, and wants to cling to the old present system. The Planning Commission has produced a paper which at least compared with that of the Labour Ministry is much more sensible and progressive. It tries to base the idea on trade union recognition, solving the question of multiplicity of trade unions through the democratic method by a secret ballot. The Planning Commission has accepted it. But the Labour Ministry says no.

Then, collective bargaining instead of compulsory arbitration, putting an end to third party interference in industrial disputes and letting the employers and workers talk it out across the table, the workers' participation in management at least in the public sector, the right to strike, not that they must go on strike every day, all these things have been discussed for months together. But if attempts are made legally, statutorily, to encroach upon the right to strike, you are not going to improve things and the production bottleneck will never be overcome.

We want also that the public sector should work properly. We are annoyed because crores of rupees of public money that have been put in the public sector is not yielding proper results, not because Mr. Piloo Mody would like it to be denationalised, but because it is being mismanaged. The core of this question is the question of industrial relations. The President's Address simply indulges in some homilies or sermons to managers and workmen alike that you must learn to discharge your responsibilities and that you should not allow trade union rivalries to prevent you fulfilling your historical role.

'What is this?' Let us be practical; let us get down to brass tacks. Everybody knows it. The Ministers in-charge of economic Ministries know

[Shri Indrajit Gupta]

it very well. They have to come to grapple with the problem that a new system of industrial relations has to be evolved and that the old system of industrial relations has to go lock stock and barrel. Not even an indication of this not even a bare mention of this is there in the President's Address.

Now, I come to the main contention which I wish to make. I wish to put in a little different perspective some of the events which have been referred to already and which are taking place in our country today, disturbing, alarming, disquieting, dangerous events with dangerous portents for the future if I may say so and in a proper perspective of the international situation also—the two are not entirely unrelated to each other.

In the President's Address—here and in the same kind of moral sermonizing attitude—it is said

We are happy that the long delayed peace agreement in Vietnam has been concluded and that the terrible war that raged for a whole generation has ended.

Of course pacifists (Christians, Quakers and everybody) are happy and so are we.

SHRI PILOO MODY Even I am happy.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA Even Mr Mody is happy because if the war had continued much longer, the Americans would have been in a real soup.

What I wish to say is that the biggest event of international significance in recent years is this liquidation of this hot bed of war in South East Asia. Liquidation of this hot bed of American aggression in Vietnam. This is not an ordinary matter. It is completely played down in the President's Address. It is not merely a question of peace returning to the people of Vietnam and Laos. It is something

much more than that. Here is an opportunity now that the whole balance of forces in South East Asia can shift decisively in favour of the forces of national liberation and peace. But for that, the other countries of this region have also to be firm against all neo-colonialist and imperialist manoeuvres and intrigues. This opportunity has come, but I regret to find that the Government of India, in recent weeks, is not living up to the traditions which it had itself set in 1971 during the traumatic experience of the Bangladesh liberation war. We all felt proud at that time. But now, in recent weeks, what has happened I want to know. At Bidhan Nagar, at the annual session of the Congress in Calcutta my friend, Mr Priya Ranjan Das Munshi, asked an innocent question as to when the Resolution on Vietnam is condemning the atrocities committed on the Vietnamese people why were they hesitating to put in one word in the Resolution as to who was committing those atrocities. Upto the end that word was not put in—the name of the country the power was not named and a reply was given to Mr Munshi. I read it in the papers somebody replied saying 'What is the need to mention as to who it is when everybody knows about it?' That was the first straw in the wind.

In recent weeks there has been this attempt beginning with what the *New York Times* described as Sardar Swaran Singh's 'Indian love call' to certain recent things which we do not like at all. I congratulate the Prime Minister on the speech she made in that One Asia Conference. What was wrong with it, I want to know? What was there which any self-respecting Indian should go back on? She asked whether if the people of Vietnam had been Europeans, had belonged to the white race the same kind of indiscriminate massacre and bombing would have been allowed for so many years, and the people in Washington were so annoyed, so angry, that they accused the Prime Minister of indulging in racialism. This speech of hers did not

fit in with that love call which has been issued earlier. That was the trouble.

I would just remind you that, in 1965, when the then Prime Minister Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri, had made a very mild criticism of the United States policy in Vietnam, the then President Mr Lyndon Johnson had the temerity to cancel the invitation which had been given to Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri to visit the United States of America. These are the same people. Do not forget that.

The Prime Minister of a small country like Sweden, Mr Olaf Palme had come out boldly against the Americans for what they had been doing in Vietnam, and the result is that Mr Nixon has ordered that neither should any American Ambassador remain in Stockholm nor should any Swedish Ambassador be entertained in Washington. These are the gentlemen you are dealing with. For eight months they had allowed this embassy here to go untenanted in order to show their displeasure. Now Mr Patrick Moynihan has arrived yesterday with all sorts of sweet words for us.

Therefore we must understand that the victory of Bangladesh and the victory now of the Vietnamese people is a victory which must be utilised by us and by other countries and peoples of this region to press forward more vigorously against these forces of imperialism and neo-colonialism and not try to retreat or patch up or make up with them.

There is a grave danger of President Nixon's strategy after this Vietnam defeat—now converting itself on to politico-economic lines in this area. The Prime Minister in that speech in the One Asia Assembly has said that for many nations all over the world, peace only means war by other means. I congratulate her. It is the truth of history and now, what is likely to happen? Sheikh Mujib has already highlighted in many of his speeches which are appearing every day during his election campaign the efforts which

are being made by the Indian Government and the domestic reactionaries to provoke in Bangla Desh hostility against India to disrupt the friendship between India and Bangla Desh—he is very outspoken about it—it is important to see that on this subcontinent Indo-Bangla Desh hostility Indo-Pakistan hostility Pakistan-Bangladesh hostility are not allowed to die down and are kept alive that the flame should be kept and fanned up. This is the new strategy which is being employed by the reactionary forces. Therefore in this background I will just make a passing reference to this prisoners-of-war issue. I know it is a complicated issue. It is a delicate issue and one should be cautious in discussing it.

I did some months ago raise the question of prisoners-of-war in this House that we should be very careful to see that in terms of the Geneva Convention and in terms of international law we are not put in a position which may be distorted nationally and internationally to be used against us to put us as it were, on the wrong foot. Now this prisoners-of-war issue has been made has been blown up into a big international issue. I would not refer to what happened yesterday in London in the High Commission. But all these things, if you read—I do not know whether the Members had the time to read some of the speeches made by the Members of the Conservative Party in the House of Commons on yesterday's incidents—if you read them you will find that an attempt is being made to establish India throughout the world as a power which is unjustifiably and obstinately refusing to release these prisoners-of-war. We know what the position is. I do not wish to repeat the whole thing. We cannot act in this matter without the concurrence of Bangla Desh. But I will even then appeal to the Prime Minister. She has taken a good initiative and we have recently released—I forget the number—a number of sick and wounded POWs who were taken on the eastern front. It is a good gesture to show that we have no ill-motives behind it. But it



[Shri Indrajit Gupta]

is not enough. It is becoming a point of tension, serious tension against India. It is being utilised against India and, therefore, I would suggest in all humility that at least after the end of the Bangla Desh elections which are almost at hand—they will be over in a few days—after that, at least, India should exercise her initiative and utilise her friendly offices to see whether at least it is possible that all those prisoners who are not accused of by the Bangla Desh Government with specific war crimes or whom they intend to put on trial, barring those people, whether ways and means can be found for returning the rest. Otherwise, this question may assume very serious proportions to our disadvantage.

Having said that I say that it is in this concrete specific background which is developing in South-East Asia and in this sub-continent, after the events of Bangla Desh and Vietnam now inevitable attempts will be made by Nixon and his followers to find new grounds where they can carry out their political and economic manoeuvres. It is against this background we have to judge this wave of disturbances and agitations which are being engineered in various States of our country. If this was as a matter of time, I would not put the question in this way. I would say perhaps it is an accident of history or a coincidence—Assam, then the communal riots in Uttar Pradesh, then the atrocities committed on Harijans in various villages, then the events in Andhra Pradesh, then the events recently in Orissa and West Bengal which are all happening one after the other within a few weeks, that it is a matter of coincidence. But, I am afraid—I cannot accept such an easy analysis—it is a new phenomenon of agitations and disturbances seizing upon divisive issues. The core of the matter is that divisive issues, whether they are linguistic or regional or whether they are communal, these are being seized upon in a pre-

planned way to create friction, to create fratricidal strife, to create diversion in the country, away from the question of democratic advance for radical reforms, and so on.

Admittedly, the people have got genuine discontent, genuine grievances. There is no doubt about it. And, for that also, Sir, the Government's policies are largely responsible.

But, taking advantage of those grievances and those discontents, certain reactionary forces are trying to whip up chauvinistic passions of the worst kind and to indulge in fratricidal clashes and to launch violent orgies. This is the essence of the new situation. There is no mention there is no sign of any awareness of it in the President's Address.

I say Sir, that the basic unity of the country is being threatened if this thing is allowed to continue.

My party does not hold that there is something sacred or sacrosanct about all the existing State boundaries. We have never held this view. If some boundary may have to be reorganised here and there,—if it is necessary in the interest of the development either the regional development or the linguistic and cultural rights, the development of some people, some community, some tribal people—if it is required, it must be done. The main purpose behind it would be to bring about greater unity,—greater unity of the Indian family,—unity in diversity, so that no section of people feel,—or justifiably feel,—that they are being suppressed either linguistically or culturally or economically. So, from that standpoint if it is necessary, it can be done.

My friend Mr Gopalan waxed eloquent here about the backwardness of Telengana and Rayalaseema. He is quite right. But the only thing he omitted to mention was that the Centre of this movement, this so-called movement which is going on, is neither Rayalaseema nor Telengana. The



centre of the movement is the four Circar districts there. Is that a backward area—an area which is dominated by the richest landlords of Andhra Pradesh? That is the area where all the maximum trouble is going on. Therefore, this re-drawing of boundaries in the genuine interest of the people has nothing in common with the cries which are being raised now there.

When the time comes, on another occasion, I will quote chapter and verse, I have all the material with me, of the statements and the public speeches, everything, made by various people,—cries of South against North crises of Independent Andhra. What has this in common with the question of doing justice to some area which may be underdeveloped? Where is it going? Where is it being taken to, this calculated frenzy, which is being aroused by the biggest landlords of the richest part of Andhra? That question has to be answered by my friend, Mr Gopalan also.

A few years ago, names like Nagaland, Mizoram, Arunachal Pradesh, Meghalaya, Manipur State etc did not figure on the map of India. The formation of these areas and these States, in our opinion was long overdue and was delayed. It should have been done much earlier. But, at that time, my friend, Mr Vajpayee was virulent about this. He said, it is breaking up the unity of India, our border our security, everything will be threatened, you are fragmenting the whole border. But, those people in the hill areas, on the eastern border, feel that they are linguistically, culturally, economically under-developed. They have a feeling of frustration. They wanted their own areas, their own State. That promotes greater unity and that does not promote disunity. But today, Mr. Vajpayee's party, says this. I have read the report of the Study Team which the Jan Sangh sent there. I have got that with me in my file. What have they come

back and suggested? Suddenly now they say, 50 States can be formed in India. On what basis? I would like to know. Then, Sir, this movement cannot be supported only for this reason that this particular movement at this particular time is a divisive reactionary movement being led by reactionaries. Don't tell me that all the thousands of people are taking part in it so how can it be reactionary. Many reactionary movements if they seize on these issues can mobilise people for the time being and even then I will say the overwhelming majority of the poor people the agricultural labourers and the industrial workers are not with this movement in Andhra. I will give proof of how they are standing and fighting against this. But I would say the ruling Congress party and the Government of India are following a disastrous policy of drift and appeasement. Yesterday there was a big hulla gulla about the Prime Minister having referred in some speech to Opposition parties being anti-national and so on. I have also read it in the newspapers. I think she made a speech somewhere and was referring to the happenings in Andhra. In that connection she was reported in the press at least, rightly or wrongly, as saying that the parties of the Opposition are indulging in anti-national activities. Now, Sir, when she publicly accuses the Opposition

**SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA** (Begusara): You are a good apologist for the Prime Minister.

**SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA** Since there has not been any contradiction I am taking that press report as it is. When the Prime Minister publicly accuses the Opposition

**THE PRIME MINISTER, MINISTER OF ATOMIC ENERGY, MINISTER OF ELECTRONICS, MINISTER OF INFORMATION AND BROADCASTING AND MINISTER OF SPACE (SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI):** I did not contradict this statement. As I have said time and again in the House

[Shrimati Indira Gandhi]

if I were to, take notice of all the wrong reports, I would be issuing contradictions practically every hour of the day.

**SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA:** You could have explained yourself in the House.

**SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI:** Mr. Mishra would you please like to listen to the tape as to how many people were shouting and how loudly. When there is that kind of noise I cannot get up.

**SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA:** Madam, I am on a different point. Even if I give you the benefit of the doubt that you did not say it I am asking why she forgets to mention her own party-men; those of them who have played the role of arch-incendiaries....  
(Interruptions).

**SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI:** I am sorry, to interrupt. I hope, Sir, I am not taking the Hon'ble Member's time. I did not mention any party by name and when I spoke about the agitation I did say that I was sorry that some of my own people have also participated. So, Mr. Gupta, I am very sorry but there is no basis for all your remarks.

**SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA:** But just being sorry will not do.

**SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI:** I am not sorry for what I said. I am sorry that you are expressing wrong views here on the basis of wrong report.

**SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA:** May I suggest that you ask yourself this question as to why the massive majority which the Congress won in Andhra not so long ago has now turned into this massive resignations by MLAs and MPs from your party. That question should bother the party.  
(Interruptions) Mr. Nahata, I am well aware of the fact that there are Congressmen in Andhra who have

courageously stood up against this wave of terror and chauvinism. But my charge is that the Government of India is letting down those Congressmen by trying to appease these other people. One reason is you have welcomed back with open arms into your party all sorts of ex-Syndicate people and even ex-Swatantarite, Prof. Ranga, has become member of your party.  
(Interruptions) He is one of the great leaders of this great movement there. Why did you not turn him out of your party? Why don't you publicly expel him from your party?

I am saying that by leaving the issue open as they have done and by Government's saying that they have an open mind on the subject and by not taking a firm stand Government are encouraging these elements to stoke the fires high, and I would say that they are letting down and disappointing those Congressmen who have, in spite of difficulties tried to stand up in Andhra against this mad wave of chauvinism.

**SHRI G. VISWANATHAN:** They are in Hyderabad.

**SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA:** My hon. friend would be in Hyderabad too. If he is also told every day that his house will be burnt and his family will be molested, he would also be there in Hyderabad. I shall quote my hon. friend Shri G. Viswanathan also when the time comes and point out what he said in Vijayawada.

**SHRI G. VISWANATHAN:** Let him quote it right now.

**SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA:** I shall quote it at the appropriate time.

**SHRI PILOO MODY:** I hope he will quote also Shrimati Lakshmikanthamma's statement.

**SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA:** The game of reaction must be seen. It is a political issue. Pitting Assamese against non-Assamese...

**SHRIMATI T LAKSHMIKANTHAMMA (Khammam)** Let him not fiddle when the country is burning

**SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA** Oriyas against Bengalis, and even Andhra against the people of Telengana is going on. I know that speeches are being made in the Andhra region where people are being told about what is allegedly happening to Andhra people living in Hyderabad and other places, and what is being done to them, that they are being molested, their women are being molested and so on. It is this type of horrid thing which is being stoked up. When the battle for linguistic reorganisation of States took place years ago one noble feature of it was that the fight was, of course in many places against the Government and the police but nowhere either in Maharashtra or Andhra Pradesh or Kerala or any where also where people fought to reorganise their States on linguistic lines, did it arouse feelings of hatred against each other.

**SHRI PILOO MODY** Nonsense

**SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA** But what is happening now? There are communal atrocities whenever possible against Muslims. I have here a letter which I received only today, which is signed by so many people they are all Harijans from Malki Mohammedpuram in Eluru taluk in West Godavari district and my hon friends can read it. There they will find it is being done to the Harijans in the villages generally by these people who are fighting for separation. They are committing this manner of atrocities upon the Harijans the poor Harijans, there in the villages of Godavari. They are specialising in this kind of thing.

**SHRI PILOO MODY** I deny that completely

**SHRI DINEN BHATTACHARYYA (Serampore)** Who is he to deny it?

**AN HON MEMBER** Those are just dumb impressions there

**SHRI PILOO MODY** It is absolute nonsense. It is done by the CRP.

**SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA** I quite agree that this battle can be fought only politically with courage and determination. It cannot be fought simply by mobilising police or by relying on guns and bullets. That is true. I agree that if the CRP commits atrocities and excesses anywhere if the CRP indulges in molestation of women anywhere, it is condemnable and it should be inquired into. But I do not think that it even women MLAs are molested as they were in Kakinada the other day by these great men who were leading this movement. One woman MLA had her saree stripped off. That is not condemned in this House, they are only condemning the CRP. I say that we must condemn both sides. What are they doing there? Have they got any sense of decency left? If there was then this kind of thing would not have happened. (Interruptions) I would like to tell my hon friend Shri Shyamnandan Mishra that I happen to be the President of the South-Eastern Railwaymen's Union whose line extends up to Visakhapatnam. I cannot defend those people who had locked up innocent cabinmen of the railways in the cabin from outside and burnt them alive. What have they done? This is the way the movement is being carried on. And yet people talk only about the CRP. Certainly condemn the CRP for any atrocities and excesses that they commit. But what is going on the other side? This kind of movement is being put forward as a great democratic movement and a democratic demand.

In conclusion I would just say that on no account at present in today's context and conditions should this demand be conceded and be surrendered to, because it would let loose a chain reaction in various States of the country which it will be impossible to handle.

**SHRI PILOO MODY:** What chain reaction? He himself had admitted that it would be a good thing ..

**SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA:** This is an entirely disruptive and reactionary movement

**SHRI PILOO MODY:** What he is saying is that only movements which he leads should be supported

**SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA:** Yes, I know. We have seen many movements. (Interruptions)

**SHRI G. VISWANATHAN:** When it comes from the north-east, it is for unity. When it comes from the south, it is for disruption.

**SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA:** Do not bring in the question of north and south here (Interruptions). I will quote what Shri Viswanathan has said about north and south.

**SHRI PILOO MODY:** Shri Indrajit Gupta is still hoping to lead a movement in this country. We do not want to shatter his hope. Let him continue to hope. He may still lead a movement.

**SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA:** I do not lead a movement with ladies moving about in cars wearing expensive jewels and silk sarees (Interruptions). That is why you cannot rally the agricultural labourers (Interruptions).

This gentleman, Shri Latchanna, was exposed by me in this House months ago when he said 'after we have bifurcated Andhra, we will further bifurcate the Royalaseema area from it'. So it is not bifurcate, but trifurcate. That is the real move behind Shri Piloo Mody's party there—Balkanize the country. Balkanizing the country is what your American masters want.

**SHRI PILOO MODY:** When Shri Vajpayee was talking about Nagaland, it was not Balkanization.

**SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA:** He was opposed to it. Now he has changed.

**SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE:** For you, it was all-right.

**SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA:** Each case must be considered on its merits. I agree. Consider this case on its merits and explain to me how the demand led by these four Circar districts is justified. Are they under-developed? Are they poor? Are they exploited? Are they discriminated against? If you ask these questions.

**SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE:** They are being treated as second-class citizens in their own capital.

**SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA:** If you ask these questions, they say 'We are treated as second-class citizens, therefore, we must break up the State'. I hope the people of Telangana will also ponder over this development. I would request my friends from Telangana who were complaining that the Andhras always wanted to suppress and exploit them, that they should ponder over this. (Interruptions)

श्री जाववत घोट (नागपुर) 'आप वहा जा कर देखिये कि क्या हालत है। यहा बैठे बैठे सरकार पब कर अपने विचार मत बनाइये। वहा आन्दोलनकारियों ने रेलवे कर्मचारियों को टाय कर, सड़का कर मारा आप इस को ही रखते हैं। वहा वर मासूम बच्चों को सी घार पी किस दुरी तरह से पीट रही है, इस को भी देखिये।

सभापति महोदय . अब आप बैठ जाइये।

**SHRI JAMBHWANT DHOTE:** He is yielding.

सभापति महोदय . यह जचित नहीं है। यह कोई बाजार नहीं है। काच समझदार भावनी हैं, आप को ऐसा नहीं करेना चाहिये। आप यहाँ से नहीं जायेंगे।

श्री इन्द्रजीत गुप्त उन का कोई दोष  
नहीं है, मैंने उन की बुलाया था।

MR CHAIRMAN Shri Gupta will now conclude.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA Anyway, I have actually finished All I wished to focus attention on was to this that this development which is taking place at this particular time, in the context of the international developments all around our country, should be kept in mind and firm political measures taken to see that our country's unity and security are safeguarded

PROF NARAIN CHAND PARASHAR (Hamirpur) Mr Chairman, Sir, I rise to support the motion of thanks presented to this House by my hon party colleague Shri R. K. Sinha The President's Address is now before the House and it highlights some of the important achievements made by the country during the recent one year I am not prepared to accept that this should be a detailed account It cannot be a substitute for the various reports nor can it be a substitute for the entire policy statement of the Government of India It is a major speech which gives us in a nutshell the guidelines that the country is to follow, and it highlights the successes of the country in various fields It is important to view this Address in that context

Mr Indrajit Gupta has pointed out so many shortcomings in this Address He said that so many things had not been said For this these is the budget, there are the annual reports of the Ministries, there are major occasions for making important policy speeches on the floor of this House by the important Ministers in the days to come and those things can be pointed out at that time.

What I want to bring to your notice here is that the President's speech has rightly appealed us to look at some of the important achievements

and some of the important ballmarks of our policy that have got acclaim and world wide praise We have in the field of foreign affairs acclaimed and appreciated the agreement between China and Japan In this very speech the President has made a reference to the end of the Viet Nam war It is no use growing eloquent on the brutalities and things of that type What is the aim? Is it the war that we are going to denounce or are we to appreciate peace? Since the President has referred to peace peace is the most important achievement on the Asian sub-continent today Just as the Sino-Japanese agreement is an important development Similarly we have also acclaimed here the fact of the British entry into the European Economic Market

We have also been given a good account of what is happening on the African continent and similarly what is going on in the other parts of the world So, in the field of foreign policy we have a nice resume of the highlights and our achievements.

The Prime Minister has been to Nepal a friendly country The Minister of External Affairs, Shri Swaran Singh has been to Japan All these things show that we have created enough goodwill in the field of domestic affairs, the achievements have been properly highlighted There is a reference to the workers' participation. Our friends here are very fond of saying that the prices have risen that these things have happened, and ask "What has the Government done?" I had an occasion recently to talk to a few friends in Bombay and there many people posed the same question as to what had happened the wages are low but the prices are very high They asked what the achievement of the Government was Then one worker stood up and said, "This is the achievement of the Government formerly when the workers wanted to talk to the head of the management, or the factory manager, there was no time and there

[Prof. Narain Chand Parashar]

was no occasion for him; months passed and years passed but the requests were never entertained. But now, if there is a demand a slight hint that the worker wants to see the manager, the manager says that he will go and see him and then go home. The worker can sit in his room." This is the point. The worker has got a sense of achievement. He has got the satisfaction of being heard. (Interruption). Mr. Piloo Mody may be an important man. But the poor worker in this country, under the policy and programme of our party, has got his voice heard. The voice of wage-earner, the voice of the ordinary worker who tills the land or who runs the factory with his dirty hands and soiled clothes is heard by the white-collared man, by a man who draws a fat salary. That is a significant thing and a world of achievement that we have made in this country.

Similarly there is reference to planning, planning for the backward areas. We have had planning even in the past but now attention has been diverted to those regions of the country where the development has not taken place.

May I ask the question: who are the enemies of development? Those who launch agitations to divert the attention of the public from the real issues are the enemies. The real issue before the Indian masses today is earning a living wage; it is an economic question. It is not a political question.

The approach document to the Fifth Plan is before us and the President has rightly said that the Fifth Lok Sabha would have the opportunity to give to the country the Fifth Plan. Similarly there are other things which have been highlighted.

The most important thing before the country today, which is the subject of hot discussion and which is rousing passions is the question of Andhra Pradesh. I want to pose to simple problem before the House. Why did not leaders of the Jana Sangh, Swa-

tantra and the Cong. (O) demand reorganisation of India when they were in power in Madhya Pradesh and in Uttar Pradesh in the years 1967, 1968 and 1969? Why did not they think then that smaller States would be helpful for the development of the country? Why do they want to bifurcate Andhra now? Is it because the movement for bifurcation is launched by vested interests? I want to refer to one important fact. The call for the first Vijayawada bandh was given by and also published by the Chamber of Commerce there. It was not launched or organised nor was the call for it given by the ordinary people, ordinary labourers. When it suits them, Jana Sangh raised the demand for Maha Punjab. One of their MLAs started a fast in the temple at Amritsar for this movement saying that the defence of Western India lies in Maha Punjab. Where does the Defence of India go now? I ask, where does the defence of India disappear when we want bifurcation of Andhra? It is not a question of dividing Punjab or Andhra. It is the quest for power. They want to capture power. If there is any sense in their argument that small States would be better for developing the backward region, one should remember that there are 225 districts in this country which have been identified as backward, districts by the Planning Commission and the Ministry of Industrial Development. Subsidies are given and licenses are issued for industries in these districts, so that more industries could be located there. The Jana Sangh was thinking of Akhand Bharat at one time extending from Capecomorin to Kashmir and from Himalayas in the east to the Himalayas in the west. They are now thinking of the division of India into 50 States. They were the votaries of unitary form of Government, who said that there should be one language and one culture for entire India. They are now claiming that Andhra must be divided and this must be divided and that must be divided. The point is that if they get power they would call for a Maha Punjab because the

communal colour of the population would give them certain advantages. But they have been liquidated in the same Punjab in which they were Ministers at one time. If it suits them they will call for a break up of Andhra Pradesh and launch movement in other parts of the country.

Shri A. K. Gopalan was waxing eloquent about literacy and linguistic connotations of the world 'violence'. Does he know that violence starts from the mind? It is the philosophy of violence which that buses would be burnt. Innocent persons, man women and children would suffer. Reference has been made by those leaders who condemned butchery. They would be butchered again because violence starts from their mind and from their hearts because that is the process which they are going to initiate for the country. They are the followers of Chairman Mao who say that the real power comes out of the barrel of the gun. Let loose the barrel of the gun and you destroy the philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi.

Is this the way to deal with it? I tell you what great harm is being done. For one railway line that is being dismantled in Andhra Pradesh, for one train that is being looted in Andhra Pradesh, for one bus that is being burnt in Andhra Pradesh, there are hundreds and thousands and lakhs of people waiting in the snow-bound peaks of Ladakh and Himachal Pradesh, in the desert areas of Rajasthan, in the backward areas like Basti in U.P., for a railway line, for a train, for a bus, for a metalled road. And these people are Indians who must have a share in the national resources for their development. They want to share development. But these miscreants in Andhra Pradesh who masquerade as the people who want to bifurcate Andhra Pradesh set fire to railway lines, trains, buses and telephones. Do you remember that for one frown on your face, for one element of anger in your heart, there are thousands of tears ready to be wiped

out from the villages of India. They are the people who are waiting that they should be heard, they should be listened, and they are the people who want trains, buses and metalled roads. Yet there is this orgy of violence organised by the reactionary parties to put the country back in point of development, in point of economy. They are the enemies of development; they are the enemies of the defence of India.

Don't forget that if you burn something here in the name of one thing or the other, whether it is Andhra Pradesh or it is Madhya Pradesh or it is West Bengal or it is Kerala, you are doing injustice to the millions of innocent Indians who are waiting for the signs of development to approach them. There are people who are still away from an era of development. These agitators are preventing the dawn of hopes for millions of these people.

These are the agitators who want to reorganise India. There is a call for second States' Reorganisation Commission. What for? So that it is easy for them to capture power, so that it is easy for them to halt the process of democratic transformation launched by our Prime Minister for the whole country. They do not want that the poor man should be heard; they do not want that the labourer should be heard; they do not want that they should get a bus, a metalled road, or any such thing. All that they want is, after 10 years, another reorganisation commission and then another reorganisation commission so that they have a chance to start fasts in temples where the police may not be allowed to enter, so that the passions for religion, language, caste or creed may be whipped up to divert the attention of the people of India from the real issues of economic development, of social transformation and of democratic processes.

I want to emphasize with all the emphasis at my command that any set-back to the development of India.



whether it takes place in Andhra Pradesh or in any other part of the country, is an act of treason against the entire State; it is a fraud committed on the millions of innocent people who are waiting for the signs of development to come near them. Secondly, it is something like casting an insult or casting a slur on the fair name of those soldiers who have died for the defence of mother-lands whether it is in Bangladesh or in war in China. Do you remember those brave people?

The people of Andhra Pradesh, I hope, will listen and see reason and start a process of putting an end to this violence. Let them have faith in the leader of our destiny, the Prime Minister of India, and come to the negotiating table. After all, what are we demanding? We simply request them to stop this *bandh* business which is on the call of big business houses, vested interests, feudal lords, who want to put a halt to the march of the vehicle of democratic progress. They should stop violence and come to a point of negotiation. It is not whether Andhra Pradesh is bifurcated or remains united. It is India which is going to lose. There are millions of people in the army who are not thinking of Andhra Pradesh or Assam or Kerala. They are ready to give their blood for the defence of motherland, for the continued assurance for the development of the country, so that mother-land thrives. If mother-land lives, the country gets on to the path of progress and development on an even keel. It is they who are making us survive. Otherwise, these agitators, these anti-social elements, these reactionary parties, will let loose such an atmosphere of violence that we all will be submerged. When these soldiers are defending our motherland, their children, mothers and wives are in the villages where no development has taken place. Now defence is there calling us, development is there calling us and not reorganisation of States or reorganisation of districts to suit Mr. Vajpayee or the RSS brigades which

are marching in the coastal areas and other areas of Andhra Pradesh. I would request the Home Minister and the Prime Minister to see that either all those forces condemn the orgy of violence or strict legal action is taken against them, so that an honest man, MLA or even an ordinary worker is assured of safety, is assured of the honour that he is entitled to in the free Republic of India. Today the house of the Deputy Leader is burnt; tomorrow the effigy of the Prime Minister may be burnt; the day after tomorrow there may be some other incident of violence. They are adding disgrace to the fair name of our country. We are proud products, proud advocates and protagonists of mother India, mother culture and mother tongue. We should remember that, by insulting one woman, we are doing a great harm to our country. If they are true to the soil on which they live, on which they thrive, to the water which they drink, the bread which they eat—then they should see that the country must march forward on the path of development and the sectarian issues which are whipped up in order to divert attention are relegated to the background.

I want to pose one question to those people who are giving calls for *bandh*. How many *bandhs* were there when Himachal Pradesh attained Statehood? Not even a single *bandh* was there. How many *bandhs* were there when Meghalaya, Manipur and Tripura attained Statehood? Not even a single *bandh* was there. The people of those areas, by Constitutional and peaceful means, brought to the Government of India their pressing demands and they got what they desired. The path of violence is a self-destructive path; it will not lead you, my dear friends, to power; it will lead you to destruction. and in, this process you will do incalculable harm to yourselves. Therefore, let us realise that the President's Address gives us a warning and also gives us hope that the path of peaceful negotiation is the path which will be



beneficial to Andhra, Mysore, Himachal Pradesh, Assam, or any State; it does not matter whether the State is big or small. Let us all live in the same country and I hope that the President's Address will have a salubrious effect on the forces of reaction and destruction.

MR CHAIRMAN Mr Shamim  
He is not here

Mr P C Mavalankar He is  
also not here

Mr. Satyanarayan Rao He  
is also not present There is nobody  
to speak on behalf of the Opposition

Shri Jambuwani Dhote rose

MR CHAIRMAN All right You  
can speak. Mr Dhote

श्री जाम्बुवत धोटे (नागपुर) सभापति महोदय राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण पर धन्यवाद का जो प्रस्ताव प्राया है और उसी सिलसिले में जो भी विचार इस सदन में प्राये है, वे आपने सुने। आज तो हमारा प्रजातन्त्र ही खतरे में है। आज हमारे देश में कांग्रेस पार्टी के स्थान पर कोई आल्टरनेटिव पार्टी नहीं है और कोई दूसरी ऐसी आल्टरनेटिव पार्टी न होने की वजह से इस देश में प्रजातन्त्र को बनाकर रखने की जिम्मेदारी खास तौर पर कांग्रेस पक्ष के ऊपर आती है। सरकारी पक्ष के ऊपर यह जिम्मेदारी आती है। प्रश्न यह है कि आज सरकार और सरकारी पक्ष प्रजातन्त्र बनाकर रखने में कहा तक कामवाक हों रहे हैं। सरकार का हर कार्य प्रजातन्त्र लौटने के लिए लोगों को मजबूर करता है। हर बात हिंसा और अहिंसा के बारे में विचारने की कोशिश की जाती

है। हिंसा और अहिंसा की परिभाषा क्या होनी चाहिए, यह पहले तय होना चाहिए। आज हमारे देश में जो लोग मारे गए हैं वह आन्दोलनकारियों ने मारे हैं या पुलिस ने मारे हैं? आन्दोलनकारियों के जरिए मारे जा चुके लोग मारे गए होंगे उनसे कम से कम हजार गुना लोग हम देश में पुलिस के जरिए गोलियों से भून दिए गए हैं। तो हिंसा पुलिस करती है या जनता करती है—इस बात को समझने का समय आ गया है। आज हम देखते हैं कि हिंसक इस देश की पुलिस है, हिंसक इस देश की मिलिट्री है। जनता यदि अहिंसक आन्दोलन करती है, अपनी धाँसों को लेकर वह आगे बढ़ती है तो उसको डंडे दिखाये जाते हैं और गोलियाँ दिखाई जाती हैं। आंध्र का सवाल लीजिए, तेलंगाना का सवाल लीजिए, बिदर का सवाल लीजिए या कोई भी सवाल लीजिए, हमारे देश में केवल आंध्र ही प्रश्न है ऐसा जिन लोगों का कहना होगा वह मूर्खों के नन्दन वन में बसर करते हैं। हमारे देश में केवल आंध्र ही प्रश्न नहीं है। हमारे देश में भाषा का प्रश्न है, हमारे देश में भाषा-नाथों का प्रश्न है और हमारे देश में पूरे देश के रिआर्गनाइजेशन का भी प्रश्न है। ऐसी अवस्था में कुछ लोगों ने मार्क्स की चार किताबें पढ़ ली, या लेनिन की कामेंड्स पढ़ ली और अपने को प्रोग्रेसिव समझ लिया।

सभापति महोदय ऐसा शब्द आपको नहीं इस्तेमाल करना चाहिए। आपने कहा है मर्ख-नन्दन।

श्री जाम्बुवत घोट यह किसी का नाम नहीं है । नन्दन वन का अर्थ है बागीचा । स्वर्ग में जो बागीचा है उसका नाम है नन्दन वन । यह अनपार्लमेन्टरी नहीं है ।

सभापति महोदय . आप बोलिए । हम ममझ रहे हैं क्या पार्लमेन्टरी है, क्या अनपार्लमेन्टरी है । मूर्खनन्दन आपने कहा है । आप बोलिए ।

श्री जाम्बुवत घोटे तो मैं कह रहा था कि कुछ मार्क्स की किताबें पढ़ ली, कुछ रेनिन की कामेट्स पढ़ ली और किताबों में आन्दोलन बिठाने लगे तो, यह नामाणा होता है । लेकिन भावना भी सबसे बड़ी चीज होती है । हमारे देश में कई प्रश्न हैं । आंध्र तेलगाना और विदर्भ का प्रश्न आगे आ रहा है । क्या वहाँ की जनता और वहाँ के कार्यकर्ता अर्थशास्त्र नहीं समझते हैं ? छोटी एडमिनिस्ट्रेटिव यूनिट्स

इस देश को बड़ा कर सकती हैं । लेकिन आज केन्द्र बसोंज राज्य सरकार—ऐसी अवस्था हमारे सामने खड़ी हो रही है । यदि यनिटरी फार्म और गवर्नमेन्ट हमारे यहाँ होती तो छोटी-छोटी एडमिनिस्ट्रेटिव यूनिट्स और छोटे-छोटे प्रान्त बनाने की जरूरत नहीं होती लेकिन हमारे यहाँ तो फेडरल सिस्टम आफ गवर्नमेन्ट है । ऐसी अवस्था में हम देश में छोटे-छोटे प्रान्त बनाना, देश की फिर से पुनर्रचना करना बहुत जरूरी है । मिमाल के तौर पर देखिये .

सभापति महोदय आप अपना भाषण कल जारी रखियेगा ।

The House stands adjourned to meet tomorrow at 11 A M

18 01 hrs.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned till fifteen of the Clock on Thursday February 22, 1973/Phalgun 3, 1893 Saka)