

Wednesday, February 22, 1956

# LOK SABHA DEBATES

(Part I—Questions and Answers)

**VOLUME I, 1956**

(17th February to 15th March 1956).



**TWELFTH SESSION, 1956**

(Vol. I contains Nos. 1 to 20)

**LOK SABHA SECRETARIAT  
NEW DELHI.**

## CONTENTS

[Vol. I. Nos. 1 to 20—17TH FEBRUARY TO 15TH MARCH, 1956]

### COLUMNS

*No. 1—Friday, 17th February, 1956—*

Oral Answers to Questions—	
Starred Questions Nos. 41 to 46, 48 to 53, 55 to 60	1-34
Short Notice Question No. I.	34-37
Written Answers to Questions—	
Starred Questions Nos. 1 to 28, 30 to 40, 47, 61 to 72	37-62
Unstarred Questions Nos. 1 to 29	63-78
Daily Digest	79-84

*No. 2—Monday, 20th February, 1956—*

Oral Answers to Questions—	
Starred Questions Nos. 73 to 76, 78, 79, 101, 80, 82 to 85, 87 to 91	85-119
Written Answers to Questions—	
Starred Questions Nos. 77, 86, 92 to 100, 102 to 107	120-27
Unstarred Questions Nos. 30 to 48	127-36
Daily Digest	137-40

*No. 3—Tuesday, 21st February, 1956—*

Oral Answers to Questions—	
Starred Questions Nos. 108, 110, 111, 113, 115, 116, 118, 121 to 126, 128 to 131	141-75
Written Answers to Questions—	
Starred Questions Nos. 109, 112, 114, 117, 119, 120, 127, 132 to 134, 136 to 140, 142 to 149	175-85
Unstarred Questions Nos. 49 to 55, 57 to 64	185-92
Daily Digest	193-96

*No. 4—Wednesday, 22nd February, 1956—*

Oral Answers to Questions—	
Starred Questions Nos. 150 to 153, 155, 156, 162 to 168, 171 to 174, 176, 177, 179 to 182, 154 and 160	197-229
Written Answers to Questions—	
Starred Questions Nos. 157 to 159, 161, 169, 170, 178	229-32
Unstarred Questions Nos. 65 to 81	232-40
Daily Digest	241-42

*No. 5—Thursday, 23rd February, 1956—*

COLUMNS

## Oral Answers to Questions—

Starred Questions Nos. 184 to 195, 197, 202 to 210 and 183 . 243-77

## Written Answers to Questions—

Starred Questions Nos. 196, 198 to 201 . 277-79

Unstarred Questions Nos. 82 to 94 . 279-86

## Daily Digest .

287-90

*No. 6—Friday, 24th February, 1956—*

## Oral Answers to Questions—

Starred Questions Nos. 211 to 215, 218 to 230, 234 to 238 . 291-326

## Written Answers to Questions—

Starred Questions Nos. 216, 217, 231 to 233, 239 to 245 . 326-31

Unstarred Questions Nos. 95 to 108 . 331-38

## Daily Digest .

339-40

*No. 7—Tuesday, 28th February, 1956—*

## Oral Answers to Questions—

Starred Questions Nos. 285 to 296, 298 to 301, 304, 306, 307, 312, 308 to 311. . . . . 341-73

## Written Answers to Questions—

Starred Questions Nos. 246 to 284, 297, 302, 303, 313 to 315, 317, 318, 81. . . . . 373-95

Unstarred Questions Nos. 109 to 167 . 395-428

## Daily Digest .

429-34

*No. 8—Wednesday, 29th February, 1956—*

## Oral Answers to Questions—

Starred Questions Nos. 319 to 322, 324 to 327, 329, 330, 332, 334, 336 to 339, 343 to 347, 349 . . . . . 435-69

## Written Answers to Questions—

Starred Questions Nos. 323, 328, 331, 333, 335, 340 to 342, 348, 350 to 369 . . . . . 469-82

Unstarred Questions Nos. 169 to 186 . . . . . 483-92

## Daily Digest .

493-96

*No. 9—Thursday, 1st March, 1956—*

## Oral Answers to Questions—

Starred Questions Nos. 370 to 372, 374 to 378, 381, 382, 384, 386 to 392 . . . . . 497-531

Short Notice Question No. 2 . . . . . 531-32

## COLUMNS

## Written Answers to Questions—

Starred Questions Nos. 373, 379, 380 383, 385, 393 to 399 . . . . . 533-38

Unstarred Questions Nos. 187 to 207 . . . . . 538-50

## Daily Digest

551-54

*No. 10—Friday, 2nd March, 1956—*

## Oral Answers to Questions—

Starred Questions Nos. 400, to 403, 405, 406, 408, 409, 411, 412, 414, 415, 417, 419, 421 to 424, 427, 428 . . . . . 555-89

## Written Answers to Questions—

Starred Questions Nos. 404, 407, 410, 413, 416, 418, 420, 425, 426 . . . . . 589-93

Unstarred Questions Nos. 208 to 229 . . . . . 593-602

## Daily Digest

603-06

*No. 11—Saturday, 3rd March, 1956—*

## Oral Answers to Questions—

Short Notice Question No. 3 . . . . . 607-12

## Daily Digest

613-14

*No. 12—Monday, 5th March, 1956—*

## Oral Answers to Questions—

Starred Questions Nos. 433 to 437, 439, 440, 442 to 444, 446, 448 to 450, 452 to 454, 461, 463 to 465, 467 . . . . . 615-47

## Written Answers to Questions—

Starred Questions Nos. 429 to 432, 438, 441, 445, 447, 455 to 459, 462, 466 and 468 to 472 . . . . . 647-60

Unstarred Questions Nos. 230 to 253 . . . . . 661-70

## Daily Digest . . . . .

671-74

*No. 13—Tuesday, 6th March, 1956—*

## Oral Answers to Questions—

Starred Questions Nos. 474, 476 to 481, 483, 485, 488 to 490, 492 to 494, 496, 498, 499, 502, 505, 507 and 508 . . . . . 675-708

## Written Answers to Questions—

Starred Questions Nos. 473, 475, 482, 484, 486, 487, 491, 495, 497, 500, 501, 503, 504, 506, 509 to 530 . . . . . 708-24

Unstarred Questions Nos. 254 to 299 . . . . . 725-52

## Daily Digest

753-58

No. 14—Wednesday, 7th March, 1956—

COLUMNS

## Oral Answers to Questions—

Starred Questions Nos. 533, 535, 536, 539, 540, 542 to 544, 546, 547, 552 to 554, 556, 558, 560, 531, 537, 538	759-90
---	--------

## Written Answers to Questions—

Starred Questions Nos. 532, 534, 541, 545, 548, 549, 551, 555	790-93
---	--------

Unstarred Questions Nos. 300 to 319	793-804
-------------------------------------	---------

Daily Digest

805-08

No. 15—Thursday, 8th March, 1956—

Resignation of Deputy-Speaker	809
-------------------------------	-----

Appointment of Speaker <i>Pro-tem</i>	809
---------------------------------------	-----

## Oral Answers to Questions—

Starred Questions Nos. 561, 563 to 565, 567, 568, 571, 572, 573, 575, 576, 582, 585, 587, 570 and 584	809-34
--	--------

## Written Answers to Questions—

Starred Questions Nos. 562, 566, 569, 574, 577 to 581, 583, 586 and 588	834-39
--	--------

Unstarred Questions Nos. 320 to 325	840-42
-------------------------------------	--------

Daily Digest

843-44

No. 16—Friday, 9th March, 1956—

## Oral Answers to Questions—

Starred Questions Nos. 590 to 594, 599 to 601, 604 to 606, 608 to 610, 613 to 616, 589, 602, 603 and 607	845-78
---	--------

## Written Answers to Questions—

Starred Questions Nos. 595 to 598, 611, 612 and 617	878-80
---	--------

Unstarred Questions Nos. 326 to 346	891-92
-------------------------------------	--------

Daily Digest

893-96

No. 17—Monday, 12th March, 1956—

## Oral Answers to Questions—

Starred Questions Nos. 620, 623, 624, 626, 628, 630, 632, 634 to 636, 638 to 645, 559, 621	897-931
---	---------

## Written Answers to Questions—

Starred Questions Nos. 618, 622, 625, 627, 631, 633, 637	931-34
--	--------

Unstarred Questions Nos. 347 to 362	934-46
-------------------------------------	--------

Daily Digest

946A-46B

*No. 18—Tuesday, 13th March, 1956—*

COLUMNS

## Oral Answers to Questions—

Starred Questions Nos. 646, 649, 650, 653, 652, 655, 656, 658, 660, 661, 663, to 665, 667 to 674, 676 to 679	947-80
---	--------

## Written Answers to Questions—

Starred Questions Nos. 647, 648, 651, 654, 657, 659, 662, 666, 675 and 680	981-85
---	--------

Unstarred Questions Nos. 363 to 379	985-92
-------------------------------------	--------

Daily Digest	993-96
--------------	--------

*No. 19—Wednesday, 14th March, 1956—*

## Oral Answers to Questions—

Starred Questions Nos. 682, 684 to 687, 689, 691 to 693, 698 to 703, 707 to 709, 683, 688, 681, 695	997-1031
--	----------

## Written Answers to Questions—

Starred Questions Nos. 690, 694, 696, 697, 704 to 706 and 710	1031-34
---	---------

Unstarred Questions Nos. 380 to 408	1034-50
-------------------------------------	---------

Daily Digest	1051-54
--------------	---------

*No. 20—Thursday, 15th March, 1956—*

## Oral Answers to Questions—

Starred Questions Nos. 711 to 714, 716 to 720, 722, 723, 725 to 729, 731, 734, 732, 715, 721, 724	1055-83
--	---------

## Written Answers to Questions—

Starred Question No. 733	1083-84
--------------------------	---------

Unstarred Questions Nos. 409 to 418	1084-90
-------------------------------------	---------

Daily Digest	1091-94
--------------	---------

LOK SABHA DEBATES  
(Part I—Questions and Answers)

Dated.... 26.03.2015

197

LOK SABHA

Wednesday, 22nd February, 1956

*The Lok Sabha met at Eleven of  
of Clock.*

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

ORAL ANSWERS TO  
QUESTIONS

पांडिचेरी बन्दरगाह

\*१५०. श्री एम० एल० द्विवेदी : क्या परिवहन मंत्री यह बताने को कृपा करेंगे कि :

(क) पांडिचेरी बन्दरगाह के नवीकरण के लिये उनके मंत्रालय ने जो योजना बनाई है उसकी मुख्य-मुख्य बातें क्या हैं;

(ख) नवीकरण के पश्चात् उक्त बन्दरगाह किस श्रेणी में आयेगा, और उससे क्या अतिरिक्त लाभ होंगे;

(ग) उस योजना पर कितनी धनराशि खर्च होने का अनुमान है; और

(घ) यह योजना कब तक कार्यान्वित की जायेगी और कबतक पूरी होगी?

रेलवे तथा परिवहन उपर्यंत्री (श्री झलगेशन) :

(क) पांडिचेरी बन्दरगाह की विकास योजना के लिये एक नये मजदूत कंकरीट का १,२०० फुट लम्बा घाट बनाने का विचार है जिसमें माल को लाने ले जाने के लिये एक शेड, रल की लाइनें, माल आदि की ढेरी के लिये होता और जहाजरानी सम्बन्धी भवद के लिये सब सुविधायें होंगी।

(ख) यह बन्दरगाह न बड़ी न छोटी बल्कि बीच की श्रेणी में आयेगा और काफी अधिक व्यापार को सम्भाल सकेगा।

(ग) २६.४२ लाख रुपये।

(घ) आशा है काम इस साल के मध्य तक शुरू किया जायेगा और लगभग  $\frac{1}{2}$  वर्ष के अन्दर पूरा हो जायेगा।

1-52 Lok Sabha.

198

**Shri M. L. Dwivedi:** May I know whether, since its accession to India, there has been an increase in the traffic in the Pondicherry Port and whether there is likely to be an increase in a large measure after some time?

**Shri Alagesan:** The quantum of traffic in the Pondicherry Port depended mainly on the fact that it was a free port. After integration with India, it ceased to be a free port. So, I think the traffic should have gone down.

**Shri M. L. Dwivedi:** May I know whether in addition to the work of renovation there are any repairs also to be undertaken, and if so, to what extent?

**Shri Alagesan:** I have given the complete details of the scheme. A new pier is going to be constructed. The old one has broken. A new one is going to be constructed. With the ancillary facilities like transit shed, etc., there is going to be great improvement.

VANASPATI

\*151. **Shri Jhulan Sinha:** Will the Minister of Food and Agriculture be pleased to refer to the reply given to Starred Question No. 680 on the 8th December, 1955 and state the progress made in regard to finding out a suitable dye for colourisation of vanaspati?

**The Minister of Food and Agriculture (Shri A. P. Jain):** No further progress has so far been made in the matter.

**Shri Jhulan Sinha:** May I know if the task of finding out a suitable colouring for vanaspati has been entrusted to any manufacturers of vanaspati or whether the work has been taken over by the Government in any of its scientific laboratories?

**Shri A. P. Jain:** It has been taken up in a number of scientific laboratories and among them are the Central Food Technological Research Institute, Mysore, the National Chemical Laboratory, Poona, the Central Drug Research Institute, Lucknow, and a number of others.

**श्री एम०एल०द्विवेदी :** क्या इस रंग के लिये किन्हीं प्राइवेट संस्थाओं से भी मांग की गयी थी, और क्या उन्होंने कोई रिपोर्ट दी थी, और क्या अभी तक कोई भी रंग जंच कर सरकार के सामने आया है ?

**श्री ए० प० जैन :** कुछ प्राइवेट संस्थाओं ने भी रंग दिये थे और उन रंगों की जांच भी की गयी लेकिन कोई रंग पूरा नहीं उतरा ।

**Shri Shree Narayan Das:** Has any foreign expert been consulted in this matter?

**Shri A. P. Jain:** No foreign expert has been consulted in this matter. We have sufficiently qualified experts in the country to give a sound opinion.

**Shri Joachim Alva:** What is the truth behind the report that the powerful combine of Lever Brothers and other companies have joined together to sabotage this scheme of colourisation of vanaspati?

**Shri A. P. Jain:** So far as I know, there is no truth in it. Perhaps the hon. Member knows more about it.

**पंडित डॉ० एन० तिवारी :** अभी मंत्री महोदय न कहा कि वे रंग पूरे नहीं उतरे । इस पूरे उतरने के क्या मानी हैं । वे रंग कम दिन टिके या आये ही नहीं ?

**श्री ए० प० जैन :** पूरा उतरने के मानी यह कि वे कुछ शर्तों को पूरा करें । वे शर्तें ये हैं :

- (१) वनस्पति में वे आसानी से घुल जायें ।
- (२) रंग ऐसा न हो जो आंखों को बुरा मालूम हो ।
- (३) योड़ी मात्रा में डालने से आ जाय ।
- (४) वनस्पति के जायक को खराब न करे ।

और भी बहुत सारी शर्तें हैं । लेकिन सब से बड़ी चीज यह है कि, वह नान टाक्सिक हो, यानी वह शरीर को नुकसान न पहुंचाने वाला हो ।

#### WEST COAST ROAD

**\*152. Shri Radha Raman:** Will the Minister of Transport be pleased to refer to the reply given to Starred Question No. 650 on the 10th March, 1955 and state :

(a) whether construction of West Coast Road linking Bombay with Cape Comorin is in progress according to plan ;

(b) if not, its present position ;

(c) when this road will be completely ready and its total estimated cost ;

(d) whether a part of this road will pass through Portuguese territory ; and

(e) if so, how many miles ?

**The Deputy Minister of Railways and Transport (Shri Alagesan):** (a) No.

(b) A statement is laid on the Table of the Lok Sabha. [See Appendix I, annexure No. 47.]

(c) The development of the road at an estimated cost of Rs. 8 crores is expected to be completed during the third five year plan period.

(d) No.

(e) Does not arise.

**Shri Radha Raman :** May I know the areas which this new road will cover and the specific advantages which the Government think it will render to the population of those areas?

**Shri Alagesan :** The advantages that will be derived from this road are obvious. The area that will be covered by this road is the coastal stretch right from Bombay down to the Travancore-Cochin border. The road in the Travancore-Cochin area is already classed as a national highway. The west coast road will be extending from Bombay to the border of the Travancore-Cochin State.

**Shri Joachim Alva :** The hon. Minister, Shri L. B. Shastri, was kind enough to tour the areas last year and the highest officers of the Ministry.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker :** The hon. Member will put a question.

**Shri Joachim Alva :** I just wanted to link up the facts. I will put the question. May I know what progress has been made in regard to the bridge over the Sherawati river near Honavar on the Bhatkal road as against the estimates?

**Shri Alagesan :** As far as bridges in those areas are concerned, there are any number of them. The work is proceeding on some of them. I do not know at what stage the work is regarding the particular bridge that the hon. Member has mentioned.

**Shri A. M. Thomas :** From the statement, I gather that 14 bridges remain to be commenced. May I know how many bridges, among these 14, have been taken up on hand now, and may I also enquire why, when the foundation-stone for some of the bridges is laid with all pomp and ceremony, the work is not carried out? What is the reason for it?

**Shri Alagesan :** I do not know to which bridge he refers.

**Shri A. M. Thomas :** I specifically refer to the Aroor bridge. The foundation-stone is there for the last one and a half years.

**Shri Alagesan :** I have to submit that that bridge has nothing to do with this question.

**Shri Radha Raman :** May I know whether the road, as it is now being constructed, will have the nearest approach to the Goan territory and what will be distance from that road to the Goan territory?

**Shri Alagesan :** Yes Sir. It touches the Goan territory on both sides, and the length of the road, if it is to be taken *via* the Portuguese territory, will be 80 miles. Now, it takes a roundabout route.

#### TARIFF COMMISSION REPORT

**\*153. Shri T. B. Vittal Rao :** Will the Minister of Railways be pleased to refer to the reply given to Starred Question No. 346 on the 1st December, 1955 and state:

(a) whether the Tariff Commission have since submitted their report regarding the prices to be paid for the locomotives manufactured by TELCO;

(b) if so, whether Government have examined the same; and

(c) what decision has been arrived at?

**The Deputy Minister of Railways and Transport (Shri Alagesan) :** (a) No, Sir.

(b) and (c). Do not arise.

**Shri T. B. Vittal Rao :** May I know whether any payments are being made to the TELCO for the locomotives made over to the railways, pending the receipt of this report, and if so, at what rate?

**Shri Alagesan :** These payments were made even before. They were called 'on account' payments. They continue to be made pending the adjustments which will have to be made on the recommendation of the Tariff Commission.

**Shri G. P. Sinha :** May I know how many new firms are to be established in the next Five Year Plan for the manufacture of locomotives, and what percentage of locomotives will be met by local production?

**Shri Alagesan :** We are already having the Chittaranjan Works which manufactures BG locomotives. I thought that was very well known. There is again the TELCO which manufactures MG locomotives. Barring these two, there are no other firms manufacturing locomotives in India.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker :** He wants to know whether there is any proposal to establish any further factory for the manufacture of locomotives during the Second Five Year Plan.

**Shri Alagesan :** No, Sir.

## बन्दरगाहों का विकास

\*१५५. श्री आर० एस० तिवारी : क्या परिवहन मंत्री यह बतान की कृपा करेंगे कि :

(क) प्रथम पंचवर्षीय योजना के अधीन नये बन्दरगाहों की स्थापना के लिये और विद्यमान बन्दरगाहों के सुधार के लिये अब तक कितना रुपया व्यय हुआ है और कितना पाया शेष है;

(ख) दूसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना के अधीन बन्दरगाहों का विकास के लिये योजना आयोग ने कितनी धनराशि नियत की है ; और

(ग) कितने बन्दरगाहों पर यह धनराशि स्वर्च की जायेगी और प्रत्यक्ष पर कितनी धनराशि स्वर्च होगी ?

रेलवे तथा परिवहन उपमंत्री (श्री अलगेशन) :

(क) बड़ी बन्दरगाहों की सूचना के बारे में एक विवरण सभा की मेज पर रख दिया गया है [देखिय परिणाम १ अनुबन्ध संख्या ४८] जहां तक छोटी बन्दरगाहों का सम्बन्ध है उनके बारे में सूचना इकट्ठी की जा रही है और जितनी जल्दी हो सकेगा उसे सभा की मेज पर रख दिया जायेगा ।

(ख) तथा (ग). बड़ी बन्दरगाहों के लिये ४० करोड़ रुपये और करीब ५० छोटी बन्दरगाहों के लिये ५ करोड़ रुपया नियत किया गया है । एक एक बन्दरगाह पर कितना स्वर्च किया जायेगा इसका अभी तक कोई फैसला नहीं हुआ है ।

Shri A. M. Thomas : From the statement I gather that out of the Rs. 36 crores and odd set apart, only Rs. 14 crores and odd have been spent so far and up to the end of 30-3-1956 only Rs. 8 crores more will be spent, with the result that about Rs. 14 crores will lapse. May I know the reasons for this state of affairs?

Shri Alagesan : These schemes were finalised and were taken up only two years after the commencement of the First Five Year Plan and there were other difficulties also. Whatever amount remains unspent will be carried over to the second plan period ; there is no question of funds lapsing.

Shri A. M. Thomas : May I know from the hon. Minister the break-up for the Cochin Port,—what amount has been set apart and what amount has been spent so far?

Shri Alagesan : The provision originally made during the first plan period was Rs. 1.48 crores.

Shri A. M. Thomas : It will be much more.

Shri Alagesan : I do not have the correct figures of the final provision with me at the moment.

Dr. Rama Rao : May I know why the major port of poor Visakhapatnam does not come under this head? May I know how much it is likely to get out of the Rs. 40 crores allotted for the Second Five Year Plan?

Shri Alagesan : I do not have the figure for the Visakhapatnam Port. Up to the 31st of October 1955, the expenditure incurred on the Cochin Port was Rs. 38 lakhs and odd.

Shri Matthen : May I know if it is true that important harbours like Calcutta and Bombay are getting steadily silted up and if so what is the Ministry doing about this?

Shri Alagesan : There is no question of silting up of the Bombay Port. The Calcutta Port is a riverine port and there is no question of its getting silted up, as constant dredging is being done.

Shri Veeraswamy : May I know at what stage the proposal to expand the Madras harbour on the Triplicane side stands?

Shri Alagesan : It is going according to schedule.

## MINOR PORTS

\*156. Shri Dabhi : Will the Minister of Transport be pleased to state :

(a) whether it is a fact that the National Harbour Board at its fifth meeting held at Visakhapatnam on 9th November, 1955 has decided to improve minor ports in India during

the Second Five-Year Plan period at an estimated cost of rupees five crores ; and

(b) if so, the names of the minor ports to be improved?

**The Deputy Minister of Railways and Transport (Shri Alagesan) :** (a) Yes Sir.

(b) A statement is laid on the Table of the Lok Sabha. [See Appendix I, annexure No. 49.]

**Shri Dabhi:** It is mentioned in the statement that the proposal forwarded by the Government of Bombay did not indicate the ports to be developed. May I know the purpose and the nature of the proposal forwarded by the Bombay Government?

**Shri Alagesan :** They have not given the details port-wise. An Officer on Special Duty has been appointed and he is going round. In consultation with the Bombay Government, he will make his proposals. We have received the estimated expenditure that the Bombay Government would like to incur on its minor ports and that comes to a crore of rupees.

**Shri Dabhi:** May I know whether the officer has submitted his report?

**Shri Alagesan :** I said he is going to visit the minor ports in Bombay

**Shri Joachim Alva :** Has the Government arrived at a decision as between the claims of Mangalore, Malpe and Karwar and while arriving at a decision, has it given a chance for the development of minor ports also at the same time?

**Shri Alagesan :** Provision is made in the Plan for the development of Malpe port. As regards the claims between Malpe and Mangalore, I think the hon. Member knows that the matter is at present being investigated at the Poona Research Station.

**Shri Matthen :** May I know if the proposal made by the Norwegian fishery project to open out Neendakara near Quilon to Astamudi Lake

that it may be made a natural harbour has been considered?

**Shri Alagesan :** I require notice.

**Shri Shree Narayan Das:** May I know whether it is a fact that the Government of Japan is prepared to give monetary help for the setting up of a port on the eastern coast of India with a view to facilitating the export of iron ore from there?

**The Minister of Railways and Transport (Shri L. B. Shastri) :** There has been some talk about this matter both from Japan and Poland. The Orissa Government has received some offers and they contacted the Transport Ministry. We have advised them to negotiate with them and carry on the talks. No definite decision has been taken so far.

#### WARE-HOUSES

**\*162. Pandit D. N. Tiwary :** Will the Minister of Food and Agriculture be pleased to state:

(a) whether arrangements in all the States have been made to open ware-houses at important centres, (*mandies* and markets) from the next financial year ;

(b) if so, how many are proposed to be opened; and

(c) whether sufficient propaganda is being carried on to acquaint the people of this facility?

**The Minister of Food and Agriculture (Shri A. P. Jain) :** (a) Not yet; Sir.

(b) and (c). Do not arise.

**Pandit D. N. Tiwary :** May I know when it will be possible for the Government to establish ware-houses?

**Shri A. P. Jain :** We are shortly going to introduce the necessary legislation for the purpose of establishing ware-houses and we hope to take up this matter with a good deal of tempo.

**Pandit D. N. Tiwary :** May I know if the necessary arrangements will be made in advance, so that after the passing of the Act, the work can be started

immediately and the agriculturists may get the facilities of ware-houses for the next season?

**Shri A. P. Jain:** We have already set up a committee in the Ministry to consider the question of selecting sites, the type of storage, types of grains to be stored, and so on. We have made good progress, so that after the necessary legislation has been passed, we shall be in a position to proceed from a fairly advanced stage.

**Shri D. C. Sharma:** May I know according to what rule these ware-houses will be distributed amongst the various States of India? Will they be distributed in terms of the surplus areas, non-surplus areas etc. or will some other rule be adopted?

**Shri A. P. Jain:** There will be a three-tier system. The Government of India will build ware-houses at places of all-India importance. The State Governments will build ware-houses at places of State importance. That is, in the principal *mandies*. There will then be storehouses at the village level. A large-sized co-operative society covering 5 villages if irrigated and 10 to 15 villages if unirrigated will have a storehouse.

**श्री एम् एल० द्विवेदी :** मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि प्रगल्ली पंचवर्षीय योजना के लिये इन वैभव-हाउसेज के संबंध में सरकार ने क्या कोई घन-राशि निश्चित की है, और यदि की है तो उस का विवरण क्या है?

**श्री ए० पी० जैन :** जहां तक मुझे याद है, इस के लिये १५ करोड़ रुपया रखा गया है।

**Shri Shree Narayan Das:** May I know whether all the State Governments have accepted to shoulder the responsibilities envisaged in the report of the Rural Survey Enquiry Committee?

**Shri A. P. Jain:** A full comprehensive scheme has been made on the basis of the recommendations made by the committee. The State Governments were consulted and everything is progressing in fullest consultation and collaboration with the State Governments.

**Shri G. P. Sinha:** May I know whether the State Governments have been requested to send their proposals and whether any proposal has come from Bihar in view of the fact that it is always a regular flood and drought area?

**Shri A. P. Jain:** The State Governments have been consulted. All the State Governments have sent proposals including the State of Bihar.

**पंडित डॉ० एन० तिवारी :** एक पास हो जाने के बाद जब तक वैभव-हाउसेज बनते नहीं हैं, तब तक क्या गांवों में या छोटी छोटी मंडियों में किराये के मकानों में गोदाम खुलेंगे ?

**श्री ए० पी० जैन :** इस बक्त भी कुछ ऐसे निजी गोदाम हैं जो कि इस्तेमाल हो रहे हैं, लेकिन हमारी यह स्कीम है कि कुछ वैभव हाउसेज बनायें जायेंगे, और देहात के अन्दर कुछ मकानात किराये पर ले कर उन को भी इस्तेमाल किया जायेगा ।

**Shri Altekar:** May I know whether the Centre has fixed the location in class I which are to be constructed by the Central Government?

**Shri A. P. Jain:** Provisionally we have done so. It will be finalised only when the Warehousing Board has been set up.

#### BOMBAY DOCK LABOUR BOARD

**\*163. Dr. Rama Rao :** Will the Minister of Labour be pleased to state:

(a) the special reasons for vesting the Chairman of the Bombay Dock Labour Board with extraordinary powers to suspend, dismiss or discharge any worker; and

(b) whether workers will be given any chance for explanation before, or appeal after, any such action?

**The Deputy Minister of Labour (Shri Abid Ali):** (a) Provision has been made for vesting certain reserve powers in the Chairman of the Bombay Dock Labour Board in the event of an emergency seriously affecting the working of the Port. He will exercise these powers only when an emergency is declared by him with the approval of the Central Government.

(b) The workers will get a chance for explanation but will have no right of appeal.

With your permission, I may add that the situation has since improved considerably and it is hoped that there would be no occasion to make use of these powers.

**Dr. Rama Rao:** The hon. Minister says that there may not be any occasion to use these powers. But the powers are there. May I know if the worker will be given a charge-sheet and whether he is free to employ a lawyer to represent him and protect his trade union rights?

**Shri Abid Ali:** Of course, he will be given a charge-sheet.

**Dr. Rama Rao:** He has not answered about the lawyer.

**Shri Abid Ali:** There is no question of engaging a lawyer in these cases. The union can represent them.

**Shri Kamath:** Is this a forerunner or a foretaste of the larger scheme to associate labour with management in industry to which the Prime Minister gave expression recently at Amritsar?

**The Minister of Labour (Shri Khandubhai Desai):** It must be understood that these are reserve powers which may be utilised only when an emergency arises.

**Shri T. B. Vittal Rao:** May I know under what Act the Chairman has been given these powers in an emergency?

**Shri Abid Ali:** The notification gives the details and the Act has also been mentioned; Bombay Dock Workers (Regulation of Employment) Act.

**Shri Kamath:** Who will be invested with the power to declare an emergency?

**Shri Khandubhai Desai:** If there is an emergency in the opinion of the Chairman of the Dock Labour Board, he would have to apply to the Government and unless the Government declare an emergency, he cannot utilise these powers.

#### BUDDHA JAYANTI

\*164. **Shri Bishwa Nath Roy:** Will the Minister of Communications be pleased to state whether in view of Buddha Jayanti in May this year, Air Service to Gorakhpur would be increased for facilitating visit to Kasia and other Buddhist religious places near Gorakhpur by national and international tourists?

**The Minister of Communications (Shri Jagjivan Ram):** Yes, Sir. The frequency of the present twice daily Air Service to Gorakhpur will be increased provided the traffic position during Buddha Jayanti days demanded any extra flights.

**Shri Bishwa Nath Roy:** May I know whether these extra services will be started on some definite date or it would be just left to the rush of visitors to decide when the celebrations actually start?

**Shri Jagjivan Ram:** If we find that there is a demand and necessity of extra services; they will be started. We cannot give a date now.

**Shri Veeraswamy:** May I know whether any arrangements are made for air services from several places in India to Sarnath and Gaya?

**Shri Jagjivan Ram:** So far as Sarnath is concerned, there is a regular service which touches Banaras. As regards Gaya, there is a regular service to Patna. But, if a large number of people would like to visit Gaya, there will be no difficulty in running special services from important centres to Gaya.

**Shri Bishwa Nath Roy:** May I know if there is any arrangement for an air service to Lumbini, the birth place of Shri Buddha?

**Shri Jagjivan Ram:** I do not think there is any aerodrome in Lumbini. There is one air strip at Kasia. I will see whether we can improve that airport. If a large number of people want to visit that place, we can run a few services to that place.

## FAMILY PLANNING

**\*165. Shri D. C. Sharma :** Will the Minister of Health be pleased to state:

(a) whether it is a fact that the Planning Commission is considering a proposal to set up a production unit for family planning requisites; and

(b) if so, the nature of the scheme?

**The Deputy Minister of Health (Shrimati Chandrasekhar):** (a) The Planning Commission have no such proposal under consideration.

(b) Does not arise.

**Shri D. C. Sharma:** May I know if the hon. Minister has seen reports to this effect in the press and if so, will the hon. Minister be able to locate the sources of this press report?

**Shrimati Chandrasekhar :** I do not know what report he is referring to.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker :** The press report says that there is planning. The hon. Minister says, No. How can the hon. Minister be expected to know the source of information for all kinds of rumours? The hon. Member must seek the aid of the press.

**Shri D. C. Sharma :** It has appeared in a well-established newspaper of Delhi that something was happening.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Order, order. Hon. Members must understand the scope of questions here. He has put down a question whether a press report is correct or not. The hon. Minister has replied that there is no proposal before the Planning Commission. To say, "I have heard various rumours from 360 million people, how do you contradict" is rather a strange question to ask. If it has appeared in a particular newspaper from the P. T. I. let him speak to them and ascertain: not here.

**Dr. Rama Rao :** May I know whether it is a fact that the Government have sanctioned Rs. 120,000 to develop a fantastic form of contraceptive from peas?

**Shrimati Chandrasekhar :** I have no information to that effect.

**Shri Radha Raman :** May I know whether the attention of the Government has been drawn to reports about some suggestions made by Shri K. Santhanam, Ex-Lt. Governor re. Family Planning?

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker :** How is it relevant?

**Shri Radha Raman :** He has made some suggestions.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Hon. Members have no more questions except some rumours.

## RAILWAY FREIGHT STRUCTURE ENQUIRY COMMITTEE

**\*166. Shri Krishnacharya Joshi :** Will the Minister of Railways be pleased to state:

(a) whether the Railway Freight Structure Enquiry Committee has submitted its recommendations; and

(b) if so, what are the main recommendations?

**The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Railways and Transport (Shri Shahnawaz Khan):** (a) No, Sir.

(b) Does not arise.

**Shri Krishnacharya Joshi :** May I know when the final report is likely to be submitted?

**Shri Shahnawaz Khan :** We cannot say anything definitely at this stage.

**Shri Krishnacharya Joshi :** May I know whether any time-limit has been fixed?

**Shri Shahnawaz Khan :** No time-limit has been fixed.

## TATA IRON AND STEEL COMPANY

**\*167. Dr. Ram Subhag Singh :** Will the Minister of Labour be pleased to state:

(a) whether an agreement has been arrived at between the Tata Iron and Steel Company and the Tata Workers Union for the association of employees in the company's management;

(b) if so, the nature of the agreement ; and  
 (c) how far Government contributed in effecting that agreement?

**The Deputy Minister of Labour (Shri Abid Ali):** (a) Yes.

(b) The agreement in respect of associating employees with management is of a general nature ; the manner and method by which employees would be associated with the management are to be discussed between the parties at a later date.

(c) It is Government's policy to encourage agreement between employers and employees whereby there will be increasing association of the latter in management. I am glad therefore that both parties have been able to arrive at an understanding in this matter.

डा० राम सुभग सिंहः प्रश्न के भाग (ग) में जो पूछा गया है कि "How far Government contributed in effecting that agreement" उसके बारे में सरकार का क्या जवाब है ? क्या सरकार ने जो यह समझोता हुआ है मालिकों और मजदूरों के दरम्यान, उसको कराने में कोई भाग लिया है या नहीं ?

श्री आबिद अली : जब कभी ट्राईपारटाइट मीटिंग होती हैं, या जब कभी एम्पलायर्ज और एम्पलायर्स आपस में मिलते हैं, तो उनपर जोर दिया जाता है कि वे इस सास चीज को अपनायें जिससे कि सब का फायदा हो । उसी का असर है कि यह चीज हुई ।

डा० राम सुभग सिंहः क्या सरकार ने कोई निश्चित नीति तय की है कि जिस से मजदूरों को कारखानों के प्रबन्ध में भी शामिल किया जाये ?

श्रम मंत्री (श्री संदुष्टाई वेसाई) : इस प्रश्न पर ज्ञानिग कमिशन सोच विचार कर रहा है ।

**Shrimati Tarkeshwari Sinha:** In view of the importance of this question, can we have a specific idea as to when this policy is likely to be formulated and can be implemented?

**Shri Khandubhai Desai:** When the final report of the Planning Commission comes before Parliament, the Members will have a full opportunity to discuss this issue.

**Shrimati Renu Chakravarthy:** Is it not a fact that the main point about this agreement is that the subscription fee of the workers towards membership of their unions will be cut from the actual pay rolls by the employers themselves? Is that not the main principle behind this agreement—that is, it is a close shop union?

**Shri Khandubhai Desai:** Such systems are in vogue in various parts of the world. Where a bi-partite agreement between employers and employees takes place, they may decide whether this system should be permitted or not. In this particular agreement it has come to our notice from the members that mutual agreement is there, that this system is intended for securing good union and good management.

**Shri G. P. Sinha:** May I know how many firms have expressed their desire or given assurance that they will allow labour to participate in management? May I also know if Government will make it compulsory for big firms to allow labour participation in management?

**Shri Khandubhai Desai:** Last week there was a panel meeting in the Planning Commission and there was general agreement on this issue between the management and employees' representatives.

**Shri Feroze Gandhi:** The outcome of the discussions to which reference has been made was that the workers will have access only to financial information in so far and in so much as shareholders are entitled. The position is that shareholders are hardly entitled to any information. Therefore, are Government considering steps to see that labour participates in management really and that they have full access to the books of the company. "Financial information" is rather vague.

**Shri Khandubhai Desai:** Whatever information is available to the shareholders will also be made available to them.

**Shri Feroze Gandhi:** But hardly any information is available to the shareholders.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker :** We are not arguing out this matter.

**Shri T. B. Vittal Rao :** Does not this deduction of subscription from the pay roll run counter to the provisions of the Payment of Wages Act?

**Shri Khandubhai Desai :** It may run counter to the present Payment of Wages Act, but if there is general agreement that Act can be amended.

#### REMODELLING OF KURNOOL STATION

\*168. **Shri Gadilingana Gowd :** Will the Minister of Railways be pleased to refer to the reply given to Starred Question No. 535 on the 8th August, 1955 and state:

(a) whether the remodelling of the Station building at Kurnool has been taken up and completed; and

(b) if so, the amount spent thereon?

**The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Railways and Transport (Shri Shahnawaz Khan):** (a) The work is in progress.

(b) Approximately Rs. 6,000 have been spent so far.

**Shri Gadilingana Gowd :** Is it a fact that the Government has suspended the repairs owing to the decision on the States Reorganisation Commission?

**Shri Shahnawaz Khan :** No, Sir.

#### POULTRY DEVELOPMENT

\*171. **Shri S. C. Samanta :** Will the Minister of Food and Agriculture be pleased to refer to the reply given to Starred Question No. 363 on the 1st December, 1955 and state:

(a) whether under the revised pilot project, the remaining 31 poultry development centres have been established;

(b) if so, whether all the States have been covered;

(c) when the last poultry census was taken; and

(d) the poultry population according to that?

**The Minister of Food and Agriculture (Shri A. P. Jain) :** (a) No Sir, on account of the non-availability of chicks in time and lack of adequate facilities in some States, it is now found that only 22 more centres can be established upto the end of the current year against 31 as originally planned.

(b) All except U. P., Saurashtra, Madhya Bharat, Jammu & Kashmir, Kutch, Manipur, Tripura and Andamans.

(c) In 1951.

(d) 7,34,20,713.

**Shri S. C. Samanta :** May I know how the 19 centres already established are working, and whether they have also helped in putting down the epidemics that prevail in poultry farms?

**Shri A. P. Jain :** The 19 centres referred to and a few other centres which have been set up are working very satisfactorily. They are rearing chicks and providing training.

**Shri S. C. Samanta :** May I know whether foreign breeds have been imported for improvement of the poultry in these centres?

**Shri A. P. Jain :** Yes.

**Shri A. M. Thomas :** In view of the statement made by Dr. P. S. Deshmukh, Minister of Agriculture, that there would be plenty of chicks and eggs during the Second Five Year Plan, may I know the special steps that are being taken?

**Shri A. P. Jain :** Certain plans have been worked out which will be implemented during the Second Five Year Plan period. There will be 300 centres for demonstration and extension work, and there will be 50 regional farms, and they will cover large areas of the country.

**Shri D. C. Sharma :** May I know what efforts are being made to train experts in poultry farming, and how they are being detailed to the various National Extension Service blocks and projects?

**Shri A. P. Jain :** They are being trained in the institutes and detailed to the various regions.

**P. & T. UNIONS**

**\*172. Shri Asthana :** Will the Minister of Communications be pleased to state the extent and terms on which protection from transfer has been given to the office-bearers of the recognised P. & T. unions?

**The Minister of Communications (Shri Jagjivan Ram) :** The Secretaries, Assistant Secretaries and Treasurers of recognised P. & T. Unions are not ordinarily transferred from their stations during the first year of their holding such office. This concession applies to the above mentioned office-bearers of the All India, Circle, District and other branch unions, if the constitution and bye-laws of the Central Union permit opening up such branches. The protection is not, however, guaranteed and is subject to the interests of the administration and does not extend beyond the first year of their holding office even if they are re-elected for the second year.

**Shri Velayudhan :** May I know whether any of the unions have represented to the Government that no lunch interval is given to the lower cadre employees of the Posts and Telegraphs department?

**Shri Jagjivan Ram :** How does it arise?

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker :** How does it arise out of transfer?

Lunch on the way, is it?

**Shri Velayudhan :** It is about Posts and Telegraphs unions. They have represented.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker :** No, no. The question relates to protection against transfer, not against hunger.

**GIR LIONS**

**\*173. Shri K. K. Basu :** Will the Minister of Food and Agriculture be pleased to state:

(a) whether any effort is being made to preserve the stock of lions in the Gir forest;

(b) the number of lions living in this forest; and

(c) whether a number of such lions have been killed recently?

**The Minister of Food and Agriculture (Shri A. P. Jain) :** (a) Yes, Sir.

(b) About 310.

(c) No, Sir.

**Shri K. K. Basu :** Is the Minister aware of the report which appeared recently in the press that roundabout that area a number of cases were found where such lions had been killed by poisoning?

**Shri A. P. Jain :** I have not seen that report.

**Shri K. K. Basu :** May I know whether during the last year or so, efforts were made to show these lions in living condition to certain dignitaries, and if so, what was the amount spent on such arrangements?

**Shri A. P. Jain :** The Government of India have not taken any steps to do that. I do not know whether the Saurashtra or the Bombay Government have done that; I am not in a position to answer what they have done.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker :** How does that question arise out of this?

**Shri Dahbi :** May I know whether there is any proposal to transfer some of these lions to some other forests?

**Shri A. P. Jain :** Yes, there is a proposal.

**सेठ अचल सिंह :** इस फारेस्ट में शेरों की संख्या कितनी है?

**ओ० पौ० जैन :** मैं ने अभी बताया है कि ३१० है।

**Shri Kamath:** How was the census taken?

**Shri Joachim Alva :** In view of the public interest in these lions having been heightened after the Prime Minister visited that area, has the Ministry taken the trouble of recommending to the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting to take a good documentary film of the Gir lions?

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker :** Taking a documentary picture is not going to increase the number.

#### BRIDGE OVER GANDAK RIVER

\*174. **Shri Anirudha Sinha :** Will the Minister of Railways be pleased to state :

(a) whether it is a fact that the construction of a new railway bridge with a double line over the Gandak River in Bihar has been sanctioned by the Railway Board ; and

(b) if so, the estimated cost of the bridge and the time when the work of actual construction will commence?

**The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Railways and Transport (Shri Shahnawaz Khan):** (a) Yes, Sir.

(b) The bridge is estimated to cost approximately Rs. 2 crores. The preliminaries such as finalisation of the design and arrangement of construction plant are being taken in hand and the actual construction will commence thereafter.

**Shri Anirudha Sinha :** May I know what time it would take to complete the construction of the bridge and also whether it would be a rail-cum-road bridge, or a rail bridge only?

**Shri Shahnawaz Khan :** The bridge would take approximately three years to complete. We have asked the State Government whether they would like to have a roadway across the bridge. In case they desire to have a road across the bridge, then they must be prepared to share some of the costs. Their reply is awaited.

**Shri Bishwuti Mishra :** माननीय मंत्रीने गंडक नदी के बगाहा के पुल को भी देखा है। मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि क्या उस के बनने की कोई गुंजाइश है?

**Shri Shahnawaz Khan :** यह दूसरा सवाल है। अगर माननीय सदस्य नोटिस देंगे तो उस का जवाब दे दिया जायेगा।

**Shri Bishwuti Mishra :** पार्लियामटरी सेक्रेटरी मंहोदय को उस के बारे में कुछ मालूम नहीं है। माननीय मंत्री ने गंडक नदी के ऊपर बगाहा के पुल को देखा है। क्या वह पुल बनेगा या नहीं?

**रेलवे तथा परिवहन मंत्री (श्री एल० बी० शास्त्री) :** मैं ने उस को देखा है, मगर देखने के मानी यह नहीं है कि वह पुल बनेगा ही। हम ने रेलवे बोर्ड को जांच-पड़ताल करने के लिये कहा है और वह उसे करने वाला है।

#### DELHI-MADRAS JANATA EXPRESS

\*176. **Shri T. B. Vittal Rao :** Will the Minister of Railways be pleased to refer to the reply given to Starred Question No. 794 on the 13th December, 1955 and state :

(a) whether the proposals for increasing the line capacity between Bhopal and Bina have been finalised;

(b) if so, the details thereof; and

(c) the steps taken for their implementation?

**The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Railways and Transport (Shri Shahnawaz Khan) :** (a) Not yet, they are still under consideration.

(b) and (c). Do not arise.

**Shri T. B. Vittal Rao :** May I know the nature of the proposals that are under the consideration of the Railway Board for such a pretty long time? May I also know whether these proposals envisage the doubling of that particular track, or any change in the interlocking so that the line capacity may be increased?

**Shri Shahnawaz Khan :** There are different proposals. One is of doubling the line from Bhopal to Bina. The other is to have a new line from Guna to Nagda, that is, an alternative line.

**Shri T. B. Vittal Rao:** This has been the chief impediment in the way of running a daily Janta express between Delhi and Madras. May I know when these proposals will be finalised, and when we can expect a daily Janta train to run between Delhi and Madras in view of the fact that there is justification.....

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** The hon. Member should put only one question at a time. He cannot go on putting a second question and a third question also in the same question. The hon. Member wants to know: "If this is finished, when is a Janta going to be run?" That is a separate question.

**Shri T. B. Vittal Rao:** There is a Janta train now from Delhi to Madras, but this is coming in the way of its running daily. The proposal has been under consideration for a very long time. I have been raising this question for the last one and a half years.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Anyhow, I do not know how it arises out of this. The heading may be different from the body.

**Shri Shahnawaz Khan:** Preliminary engineering surveys are being carried out. The target date for opening the line from Guna to Nagda is 1960.

**Shri Matthen:** May I know whether the Minister is aware of the general complaint that Janta trains to Madras are not running in time, and sometimes they are very late, and if so, what he has done about the matter?

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** That is a different question. This question relates only to the doubling of the line for the purpose of a Janta express.

**Shri Heda:** In view of the improvement in the line that has been referred to by the Parliamentary Secretary in his reply, may I know when this Janta is likely to become a daily service?

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** That question does not arise out of this.

#### TUNGABHADRA BRIDGE

\*177. **Shri Radha Raman:** Will the Minister of Transport be pleased to state:

(a) whether Government have sanctioned some amount for the construction of a bridge over the Tungabhadra River near Kurnool on National Highway No. 7 (Banaras-Cape Comorin Road) to facilitate communication between the States of Hyderabad and Andhra;

(b) when the bridge construction is expected to commence and when it will be completed; and

(c) whether the State Governments are also contributing towards its cost?

**The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Railways and Transport (Shri Shahnawaz Khan):** (a) Yes, Sir.

(b) The construction of the bridge is expected to be commenced shortly and completed in about three years.

(c) No, Sir.

**Shri Radha Raman:** May I know whether Government have fixed any time-limit within which this national highway should render traffic possible?

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** The Parliamentary Secretary said that this would be completed in three years. Thereafter, traffic may be possible. Has the Minister to say anything more?

**The Deputy Minister of Railways and Transport (Shri Alagesan):** Nothing more.

**Shri Krishnacharya Joshi:** In view of the fact that Vishalandhra is going to be formed soon with Hyderabad as its capital, may I know whether with a view to providing a means of communication between Kurnool and Hyderabad, the construction work will be expedited?

**Shri Kamath:** The hon. Member is making an intelligent anticipation.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** The hon. Member is only making a suggestion.

**Shri Radha Raman :** What will be the length of the bridge, and will it be a road-cum-rail bridge or only a single bridge?

**Shri Alagesan :** It will be only a road bridge. There is already a rail bridge.

CANCER RESEARCH CENTRE, PATNA

\*179. **Dr. Ram Subhag Singh :** Will the Minister of Health be pleased to state :

(a) whether Government propose to set up a cancer research centre at Patna ;

(b) if so, when is that centre likely to be set up ; and

(c) the estimated cost of setting up that centre ?

**The Deputy Minister of Health (Shrimati Chandrasekhar):** (a) to (c). The question of setting up four cancer research centres in the country is under consideration. No decision has been taken regarding the location of the centres.

**Dr. Rama Rao :** May I know whether before setting up a research centre at Patna, Government have got any treatment centre at the same place, where modern efficient treatment can be had for cancer ?

**Shrimati Chandrasekhar :** All this will be taken into consideration when the centre is established at Patna.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker :** There is no centre at present.

**Shri T. S. A. Chettiar :** May I know whether the centre in Madras will be in the Government hospital or in the private hospital run by Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddi ?

**Shrimati Chandrasekhar :** There is a scheme for establishing four centres ; and Madras also will be taken into consideration when the proposals are finalised.

**Pandit D. N. Tiwary :** May I know how the centres will be selected after the scheme is considered ? May I

know also what arrangements obtain at present at Patna for the treatment of cancer ?

**Shrimati Chandrasekhar :** A separate question may be put for that.

INTENSIVE FAMILY SURVEY OF AGRICULTURAL LABOUR

\*180. **Shri S. C. Samanta :** Will the Minister of Labour be pleased to refer to the reply given to Starred Question No. 80, on the 22nd November, 1955 and state :

(a) whether the reports of the Central India and North-West India zones on the Intensive Family Survey of Agricultural Labour have been published ; and

(b) if so, whether Government have considered the reports ?

**The Deputy Minister of Labour (Shri Abid Ali):** (a) The reports pertaining to the two zones were published in December 1955. Copies of the reports are available in the Parliament Library.

(b) The various reports on the Agricultural Labour Enquiry which are now available have revealed the magnitude of the problem of unemployment and under-employment among agricultural labourers. Formulation and implementation, during the Second Five Year Plan Period, of measures to improve their conditions of living and the employment opportunities open to them are receiving the attention of the Central and State Governments.

**Shri S. C. Samanta :** May I know the number of villages and the number of persons about whom this investigation was made ?

**Shri Abid Ali :** A sample enquiry was conducted in 812 villages in 27 States for about 11,000 families and 47,300 persons.

**Shri S. C. Samanta :** May I know whether any further enquiry is going to be made by Government to carry out the recommendations that will be taken up by Government ?

**Shri Abid Ali :** It is proposed to conduct another Agricultural Labour Enquiry during 1956-57 which it is hoped will reveal the extent of prosperity agricultural labour has achieved as a result of the development schemes undertaken in the First Five Year Plan.

**Shri S. C. Samanta :** May I know whether the schemes that are proposed to be carried out in the Second Five Year Plan have already been prepared by Government?

**Shri Abid Ali :** These are being prepared.

#### SETHU-SAMUDRAM PROJECT

\*181. **Shri T. B. Vittal Rao :** Will the Minister of Transport be pleased to state :

(a) whether the Expert Committee to examine and report on the feasibility and desirability of connecting the gulf of Mannar and the Palk Bay by cutting a channel at the approaches to the Adam's Bridge for enabling deep sea ships to navigate in safety from the West to the East Coast of India, has submitted its report;

(b) if so, the findings thereof; and

(c) if the reply to part (a) above be in the negative the reasons for the delay?

**The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Railways and Transport (Shri Shahnawaz Khan) :** (a) No, Sir.

(b) Does not arise.

(c) In the course of its deliberations at the first two meetings the Committee came to the conclusion that certain further data should be collected. This is being done.

**Shri T. B. Vittal Rao :** In the Gazette notification announcing the appointment, I remember to have seen a time-limit fixed that they should submit the report by the end of January. May I know how was the time-limit put there?

**Shri Shahnawaz Khan :** If any committee cannot finish its deliberations in time, it asks for extension of time.

**Shri T. B. Vittal Rao :** May I know if it is possible to get this report before the draft Five Year Plan is finalised?

**Shri Shahnawaz Khan :** I am unable to say anything on this point.

**Shri Matthen :** In view of the great advantage that will accrue to Indian shipping by the opening of this channel and generally to the development of economy in the south of India which is already neglected, will the hon. Minister give this matter special top priority?

**Shri Shahnawaz Khan :** The committee has been appointed and certain essential data is being collected. We are doing whatever is possible to expedite it. We cannot do anything unless the necessary data is available.

#### LAND RECLAMATION

\*182. **Shri Radha Raman :** Will the Minister of Food and Agriculture be pleased to state :

(a) what is the estimated amount of annual additional production from land reclaimed by the Central Tractor Organisation; and

(b) the expenditure incurred in the reclamation?

**The Minister of Food and Agriculture (Shri A. P. Jain) :** (a) 2,26,000 tons.

(b) The total expenditure incurred on the C. T. O. for the period 1946-47 to 1954-55 is Rs. 10,40,14,780.

**Shri Radha Raman :** Will the hon. Minister be pleased to state the State-wise figures of reclamation?

**Shri A. P. Jain :** I have got those figures with me but it is a big list. If the hon. Member wants I shall place it on the Table of the Lok Sabha.

**Shri Velayudhan :** May I know what were the findings of certain enquiry committee regarding the CTO; whether it had made any suggestions regarding the heavy expenditure this organisation had incurred and what

suggestions it had given and whether Government have carried out any of those suggestions?

**Shri A. P. Jain :** There were two reports, one by the Estimates Committee and another by the Zaidi Committee. They covered the whole scope of the working of the CTO. They also complained against the high cost of tractorisation and adequate action has been taken on those recommendations.

**Shri Altekar :** May I know the total extent of land reclaimed by the CTO?

**Shri A. P. Jain :** About 14½ lakhs of acres.

**Shri Thimmaiah :** May I know whether there is any proposal to reclaim land in the Malnad areas and, if so, in what places will land be reclaimed?

**Shri A. P. Jain :** There is no proposal for the Malnad area.

**Shri Kamath :** Is it a fact that during these operations these tractors which were intended, mainly to reclaim kans-infested land, in many States actually ploughed through standing crops in several fields in spite of the resistance of the kisans, and later on these kisans were saddled with the cost of tractorisation against their wishes?

**Shri A. P. Jain :** The operation has to be done over a large area. Some part of it may be kans-infested and some other part may not be. I do not know whether there has been any case where standing crops have been knocked down but there have been cases where non-kans-infested lands have also been tractorised.

**Shri Kamath :** Against the wishes of the kisans.

**Shri K. K. Basu :** May I know whether the cost of tractorisation has been reduced or is it still in the same high level?

**Shri A. P. Jain :** We have been reducing the charges and they have come down substantially.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker :** The List is over; I will now take up the unanswered questions. Q. 154. Shri V. P. Nayar. Absent.

**Shri Joachim Alva :** Sir, can we take up this question in the absence of Shri Nayar and can supplementaries be allowed?

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker :** It may be answered.

#### INDIAN AIRLINES CORPORATION OFFICE

\*154. **Shri Joachim Alva (on behalf of Shri V. P. Nayar):** Will the Minister of Communications be pleased to state:

(a) the estimated expenditure on the proposed building for the Office of the I.A.C. in New Delhi; and

(b) whether the design of the building is made by the Architects of the Government of India or by private firms of Architects?

**The Minister of Communications (Shri Jagjivan Ram) :** (a) Rs. 25 lakhs.

(b) The design of the building has been prepared by a prominent private firm of Architects. The Chief Architect and Town Planner, Government of India, was also consulted.

**Shri Joachim Alva :** May I know what is the rent that is being paid to the building where the IAC is housed at present?

**Shri Jagjivan Ram :** I have not got that information. Roughly, I think, it is—again speaking from memory—between Rs. 4,000 to Rs. 5,000 per month. If the hon. Member gives notice, I will give the correct answer.

**Shri Joachim Alva :** When a new building is to be put up for the IAC why were not Government ready with the plan for the construction of the new building?

**Shri Jagjivan Ram :** The plans have been prepared for the IAC building. But till the building is complete, the office has to be accommodated somewhere. We cannot wait till the building is constructed.

**Shri Joachim Alva :** When it has been handed over to a private firm, why were not tenders invited and the best plan taken for building the IAC?

**Shri Jagjivan Ram :** That was for the Corporation. The Corporation consulted the Government architect and they were advised that this was a reliable firm and an efficient firm and after receiving quotations from it the Corporation has decided that.

#### KRISHNA BRIDGE

**\*160. Shri Heda :** Will the Minister of Transport be pleased to state:

(a) whether Government have decided to construct a bridge over River Krishna at Rangpur near Kurnool;

(b) if so, its estimated expenditure; and

(c) what would be the saving in mileage in the Highway No. 7 by this bridge?

**The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Railways and Transport (Shri Shahnawaz Khan) :** (a) Yes, Sir.

(b) Rs. 37.50 lakhs.

(c) With the direct route between Kurnool and Hyderabad via the proposed Krishna Bridge at Rangpur, the saving as compared to the alternative fully bridge route from Kurnool to Hyderabad via Bellary-Hosur-Raichur Mahbubnagar will be about 220 miles.

**Shri Heda :** When will the construction start?

**Shri Shahnawaz Khan :** Estimates for this bridge were received in September 1955 and they are being examined. As soon as we have examined that, we will start making arrangements.

#### WRITTEN ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS IMPORT OF D.D.T.

**\*157. Sardar Hukam Singh :** Will the Minister of Health be pleased to state:

(a) the quantity of D.D.T imported during 1955-56 for malaria control in this country;

2—52 Lok Sabha

(b) any commitments made recently for import of D.D.T. from the United States; and

(c) the quantity of D.D.T. consumed during 1955-56 in this country for anti-malaria campaigns?

**The Deputy Minister of Health (Shrimati Chandrasekhar) :** (a) 6,100 tons of D.D.T. 75% wettable powder.

(b) The United States Technical Cooperation Mission will provide 8,550 tons of D.D.T. 75% against the requirements for the year 1956-57.

(c) 5,260.8 tons of D.D.T. 75%; 48.9 tons of D.D.T. 50% and 1.3 tons of D.D.T. technical have been distributed to the various States. Figures of actual consumption are not available.

#### CANADIAN ENGINES

**\*158. Shri Ibrahim :** Will the Minister of Railways be pleased to state:

(a) the number of Canadian W. P. Engines in use on the Indian Railways as on the 1st January, 1956, and

(b) the normal age of the engines and their general performance?

**The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Railways and Transport (Shri Shahnawaz Khan) :** (a) 229.

(b) The normal life of the engines is 40 years, and their general performance is satisfactory.

#### BONUS FOR TEA PLANTATION WORKERS

**\*159. Shri N. B. Chowdhury :** Will the Minister of Labour be pleased to state:

(a) whether it is a fact that the Indian Section of the tea plantation industry in India have not ratified the bonus agreement for tea garden workers; and

(b) if so, the steps Government propose to take to make Tea Garden owners implement the agreement?

**The Minister of Labour (Shri Khan-dubhai Desai) :** (a) and (b). It is presumed that the Hon'ble Member is referring to the recent bonus agreement signed by the Indian Tea Association and the representatives of

plantation workers in New Delhi. The associations of Indian Tea Planters in North East India have not so far agreed to the quantum of bonus payable under the Agreement. The matter is receiving Government's attention.

#### GUR

**\*161. Shri S. C. Singhal:** Will the Minister of Food and Agriculture be pleased to state:

(a) whether Government are aware of the fact that the prices of gur are very high this year; and

(b) if so, what are the reasons therefor?

**The Minister of Food and Agriculture (Shri A. P. Jain):** (a) No. The prices of gur during the current season have not been high.

(b) Does not arise.

CHITTARANJAN CANCER HOSPITAL,  
CALCUTTA

**\*169. Shri Sivamurthi Swami:** Will the Minister of Health be pleased to state:

(a) whether Government have approved a scheme to set up a centre for research in cancer in the Chittaranjan Cancer Hospital, Calcutta; and

(b) if so, the estimated cost of the building and equipment and the annual recurring expenses?

**The Deputy Minister of Health (Shrimati Chandrasekhar):** (a) and (b). A proposal has been received to this effect. The matter is under consideration.

#### कलकत्ता बन्दरगाह

**\*१७०. श्री जी०एल० औषधी:** क्या परिवहन मंत्री यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि :

(क) क्या यह सच है कि १९५५ में १९५४ की अपेक्षा कलकत्ता बन्दरगाह से होने वाले व्यापार में कमी हुई है; और

(ख) यदि हां, तो इसके क्या कारण हैं?

रेलवे तथा परिवहन उपर्युक्ती (श्री अस-गेश्वन) : १९५४-५५ के साल में कलकत्ता बन्दरगाह के जरिये ७,८१३,८१३ टन का

समुद्री व्यापार हुआ जबकि सन १९५३-५४ की संख्या ८,०५६,०६६ टन थी। लिहाजा १९५४-५५ में व्यापार मामूली हद तक गिरा।

(ख) व्यापार के गिरने के कारण यह है कि कोयला, कच्ची धातु, लोहे का कचरा (स्क्रेप), चीनी, और चाय की नियर्ति कम रही। इस किस्म की कमी-बेशी कोई असाधारण नहीं है और न ही इसके लिये विशेष कारण बताया जा सकता है।

#### CO-OPERATIVE SUGAR FACTORIES

**\*178. Shri S. C. Singhal:** Will the Minister of Food and Agriculture be pleased to state:

(a) whether Government have taken any steps to encourage sugar factories on co-operative lines, so that the cane-growers may get the major part of the profits of the sugar factories; and

(b) if so, with what result?

**The Minister of Food and Agriculture (Shri A. P. Jain):** (a) Yes, Sir.

(b) Licences have so far been issued to 20 co-operative factories. The Second Five Year Plan provides for establishing more co-operative sugar factories by 1960-61.

#### P. & T. OFFICES

**65. Shri R. K. Gupta:** Will the Minister of Communications be pleased to state:

(a) the number of post and telegraph offices opened in the District of Mohindergarh of PEPSU since 1953; and

(b) the number of such offices proposed to be opened in the above district during the year 1955-56?

**The Minister of Communications (Shri Jagjivan Ram):** (a) 27 post offices upto 31-1-1956.

(b) (i) Post Offices—11 post offices have already been opened and 3 more are proposed to be opened in 1955-56.

(ii) Telegraph Offices: Nil.

#### NARMADA BRIDGE

**66. Shri Kamath:** Will the Minister of Transport be pleased to refer to the reply given to unstarred question

No. 95 on 25th November, 1955 and state:

(a) whether the design of the road bridge over the Narmada River at Barman on Saugor Naisingpur Road, National Highway No. 26, has been prepared; and

(b) if not, the reason therefor?

**The Deputy Minister of Railways and Transport (Shri Alagesan):** (a) and (b). A design was prepared for the site originally recommended but, on a personal inspection recently, the Consulting Engineer, Road Development, selected a more suitable site in the vicinity and asked for surveys, on receipt of which a fresh design will be prepared.

#### NARMADA BRIDGE

**67. Shri Kamath:** Will the Minister of Transport be pleased to refer to the reply given to unstarred question No. 96 on the 25th November, 1955 and state the further progress with regard to the work of construction of the road bridge over the Narmada River at Hoshangabad?

**The Deputy Minister of Railways and Transport (Shri Alagesan):** The information in regard to the proposed design and site of the bridge called for from the State Public Works Department is still awaited.

#### SAFETY FITTINGS IN RAILWAY COMPARTMENTS

**68. Thakur Jugal Kishore Sinha:** Will the Minister of Railways be pleased to state:

(a) the additional safety fittings that have been given in ladies compartments in the new type of Janta train; and

(b) whether there is any proposal to run such type of Janta train in other zones where there is none?

**The Deputy Minister of Railways and Transport (Shri Alagesan):** It is presumed "new type of Janta train"

refers to the vestibuled Janta rake now running between Delhi and Calcutta, weekly.

(a) Normal safety fittings, as standard for ladies' compartments, have been provided.

(b) Three more vestibuled Janta rakes are under construction for running on routes to be selected, on experimental basis.

#### HOUSES FOR COAL MINE WORKERS

**69.** { **Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad :**  
**Dr. Ram Subhag Singh :**

Will the Minister of Labour be pleased to state:

(a) whether Government have formulated any plan to construct houses for coal mine workers every year; and

(b) if so, how many will be constructed annually?

**The Minister of Labour (Shri Khandubhai Desai):** (a) and (b). The Subsidy-cum-loan Scheme for the construction of houses for the miners sanctioned in March, 1954 will continue to be in force. In addition, Government have under consideration a Scheme for the construction of 30,000 houses during the next five years direct from the Coal Mines Labour Welfare Fund. The number will depend upon the availability of sites and other facilities to be provided by the mine-owners.

#### RUBBER INDUSTRY

**70. Shri V. P. Nayar:** Will the Minister of Labour be pleased to state:

(a) the total wage bills paid by the Rubber (Manufacturing) Industry in India in the years 1952-53 to 1954-55; and

(b) whether Government have information regarding the amount spent by the Manufacturers on workers' amenities including housing in the above years?

**The Minister of Labour (Shri Khan-dubhai Desai):** \* (a) The total wages paid to workers in the rubber industry and rubber products during the calendar years 1952, 1953 and 1954 were :—

Year	Total Wages
1952	Rs. 26, 883, 093
1953	Rs. 26, 395, 227
1954	Rs. 27, 459, 948

Information for the year 1955 is not yet available.

(b) Government have no information.

\*Source—Annual Returns under the Payment of Wages Act.

#### MERCHANT NAVY

**71. Shri Ibrahim:** Will the Minister of Transport be pleased to state:

(a) the qualifications required for enrolment of officers and ratings in the Merchant Navy ;

(b) whether any preference is being shown to candidates belonging to the fishermen community ;

(c) the number of candidates recruited during 1955 ; and

(d) the number among them belonging to the fishermen community and the Scheduled Castes?

**The Deputy Minister of Railways and Transport (Shri Alagesan):** (a) to (d). It is presumed that the information is required only in respect of candidates who are taken in as trainees in the various training establishments set up by the Government of India for eventual absorption as officers/ratings in the Merchant Navy. Accordingly, a statement giving the required information is appended. [See Appendix I, annexure No. 50.]

#### LOCOMOTIVES

**72. Shri D. C. Sharma:** Will the Minister of Railways be pleased to state :

(a) the number of new locomotives added to the Indian Railways from 1947 onwards year-wise ;

(b) how many of them were indigenous and how many were imported;

(c) the number of aged and over-aged locomotives declared unfit for use during the above period year-wise ; and

(d) whether any more locomotive factories are proposed to be established by Government during the Second Five Year Plan?

**The Deputy Minister of Railways and Transport (Shri Alagesan):** (a) to (c). A statement giving the information required is attached. [See Appendix I, annexure No. 51.]

(d) No.

#### RE-MODELLING OF STATION YARDS

**73. Shri D. C. Sharma:** Will the Minister of Railways be pleased to state :

(a) the basis on which the remodelling of station yards is decided ; and

(b) the names of station yards remodelled since 1950 in the various zones?

**The Deputy Minister of Railways and Transport (Shri Alagesan):** (a) The remodelling of station yards is decided on the volume of traffic to be dealt with at the station and the facilities required for the same.

(b) A statement is attached. [See Appendix I, annexure No. 52.]

#### COCHIN AND OTHER PORTS

**74.** { **Shri C. R. Iyyunni :**  
**Shri Velayudhan :**

Will the Minister of Transport be pleased to state the amount set apart for the development of the Cochin Harbour and of the minor ports of Alleppey and Trivandrum in the Second Five Year Plan?

**The Deputy Minister of Railways and Transport (Shri Alagesan):** Schemes costing in all Rs. 360-80 lakhs in respect of the Cochin Harbour and Rs. 7 lakhs in respect of Alleppey port have been drawn up for inclusion in the Second Five Year Plan. No scheme is contemplated in respect of Trivandrum Port.

### सिंचाई की छोटी योजनायें

75. श्री कें सौ. सोधिया : क्या खाद्य और कृषि मंत्री यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि :

(क) क्या पहली पंच वर्षीय योजना के अन्तर्गत सिंचाई की छोटी योजनाओं पर व्यय करने के लिये जो राशि नियत की गई थी, वह पूरी की पूरी खर्च की जा चुकी है ;

(ख) प्रत्येक राज्य को कितनी राशि दी गई थी और अब तक कुल कितनी धनराशि प्रत्येक राज्य में खर्च की गई है ; और

(ग) यदि पूरी धनराशि खर्च नहीं की गई है, तो उसके क्या कारण हैं ?

खाद्य और कृषि मंत्री (श्री ए.पी. जैन) :

(क) तथा (ग). पहली पंचवर्षीय योजना के अन्तर्गत सिंचाई की छोटी योजनाओं के लिये मंजूर की हुई राशि ३० जून १९५६ तक उपयोग में लायी जा सकती है। इस लिये अभी यह कहना मरम्मकिन नहीं है कि पहली पंचवर्षीय योजना के अन्तर्गत इन योजनाओं के लिये नियत की हुई सारी राशि खर्च की गई या नहीं।

(ख) सिंचाई की छोटी योजनाओं पर ३१ जनवरी १९५६ तक मंजूर की हुई और १९५४-५५ तक दरअसल में खर्च की हुई सारी राशियों का राज्यवार एक विवरण नस्ती कर दिया गया है। [दस्तिये परिशिष्ट १, अनुबन्ध संख्या ५३] १९५४-५५ में अब तक खर्च की हुई राशि की जानकारी अभी मौजूद नहीं है।

### GRAND TRUNK EXPRESS

76. **Shri N. Rachiah:** Will the Minister of Railways be pleased to state :

(a) whether it is a fact that only six berths out of twelve berths are allotted to passengers travelling from Bangalore to Delhi in a through bogey of Grand Trunk Express ;

(b) whether Government are aware that passengers travelling from Bangalore are subjected to considerable inconvenience for want of accommodation ; and

(c) whether Government propose to provide through bogies with I, II, and III Classes and with sleeping accommodation for II and III class passengers as the distance is more than 1,500 miles ?

**The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Railways and Transport (Shri Shah Nawaz Khan) :** (a) Yes.

(b) It is only on certain occasions, when the number of through 1st class passengers offering ex-Bangalore City to Delhi exceeds the number of berths set apart for them, that some inconvenience is felt by such passengers.

(c) A combined 1st and 3rd through carriage is already provided. It is not proposed to provide either sleeping or sitting through 2nd class accommodation or 3rd class sleeping accommodation on this service.

### INDUSTRIAL EXHIBITION

77. **Shrimati Ilia Palchoudhury :** Will the Minister of Communications be pleased to state :

(a) the number of telegrams issued and received at the Posts and Telegraphs Offices located at the Industrial Exhibition held in Delhi last year ; and

(b) the revenue which accrued to the Indian Posts and Telegraphs Department as a result thereof ?

**The Minister of Communications (Shri Jagjivan Ram) :** (a) Number of business and private telegrams is 4,605. No press telegram was booked and received.

(b) The revenue from business and private telegrams is Rs. 13,464-13-0.

### RAILWAY EARNINGS

78. **Shrimati Ilia Palchoudhury :** Will the Minister of Railways be pleased to state :

(a) the total Railway earnings during the months of November and December, 1955 as compared to the earnings in the corresponding months of 1954 ; and

(b) the total number of passengers carried by Indian Railways during the same periods ?

**The Deputy Minister of Railways and Transport (Shri Alagesan) :** (a) and (b). A statement is attached. [See Appendix I, annexure No. 54.]

**RAILWAY EMPLOYEES AT BARKA-KANA (E. RAILWAY)**

79. { **..Thakur Jugal Kishore Sinha :  
Shri Asthana :  
Babu Ramnarayan Singh :**

Will the Minister of Railways be pleased to state :

(a) the number of Railway employees working at Barka-Kana (Eastern Railway) under different departments ;

(b) the number of employees provided with housing accommodation ;

(c) the number of houses without kitchens and water taps ; and

(d) the number of houses lying incomplete without doors and windows for about a year and the reasons for such a delay in the completion of these houses at Barka-Kana ?

**The Deputy Minister of Railways and Transport (Shri Alagesan) :** (a)

Transportation & Commercial	121
Engineering Department	925
Operating Power Department.	321
Operating Carriage and	
Wagon Department.	119
Coal Commercial	4
Medical Department	55
Electrical Department.	17
	1,562

(b) 668.

(c) 370 houses are without kitchen and 83 are without taps.

(d) 39 type I quarters remain to be completed having been occupied by staff without authority, before their completion.

**WELFARE INSPECTORS ON SOUTHERN RAILWAY**

**80. Shri Veeraswamy :** Will the Minister of Railways be pleased to state :

(a) whether it is a fact that appointments were made to the posts of Welfare Inspectors on the Southern Railway recently ;

(b) if so, the number of Inspectors appointed ; and

(c) the number of candidates belonging to Scheduled Castes who have been appointed as Welfare Inspectors ?

**The Deputy Minister of Railways and Transport (Shri Alagesan) :** (a) Yes, Sir.

(b) Six Assistant Inspectors have been appointed by promotion.

(c) Nil.

**WATER COOLERS AT STATIONS**

**81. Sardar Iqbal Singh :** Will the Minister of Railways be pleased to state :

(a) whether the water coolers installed on the Stations on the Northern Railway often go out of order ; and

(b) if so, the reasons for this and the steps taken in the matter ?

**The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Railways and Transport (Shri Shah Nawaz Khan) :** (a) No Sir, there have only been infrequent failures, the loss of capacity as a result during the last summer having been only 1.6%.

(b) The reasons were defective parts and other mechanical and electrical defects which were attended to promptly.

DAILY DIGEST

241

242

[Wednesday, 22nd February, 1956]

ORAL ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS		COLUMNS	WRITTEN ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS		COLUMNS
<i>S. Q.</i>	<i>Subject</i>	197-229	<i>S. Q.</i>	<i>Subject</i>	229-40
<i>No.</i>			<i>No.</i>		
150.	Pondicherry Port	197-98	157.	Import of D.D.T.	229-30
151.	Vanaspatti	198-200	158.	Canadian Engines	230
152.	West Coast Road	200-01	159.	Bonus for Tea Plantation Workers	230-31
153.	Tariff Commission Report	202	161.	Gur	231
155.	Development of Harbours	203-04	169.	Chittaranjan Cancer Hospital, Calcutta	231
156.	Minor Ports	204-06	170.	Calcutta Port	231-32
162.	Ware-Houses	206-08	178.	Co-operative Sugar Factories	232
163.	Bombay Dock Labour Board	208-09	<i>U. S. Q.</i>		
164.	Buddha Jayanti	210	<i>No.</i>		
165.	Family Planning	211-12	65.	P. & T. Offices	232
166.	Railway Freight Structure Enquiry Committee	212	66.	Narmada Bridge	232-33
167.	Tata Iron and Steel Company	212-15	67.	Narmada Bridge	233
168.	Remodelling of Kurnool Station	215	68.	Safety Fittings in Railway Compartments	233-34
171.	Poultry Development	215-17	69.	Houses for Coal Mine Workers	234
172.	P. & T. Unions	217	70.	Rubber Industry	234-35
173.	Gir Lions	218-19	71.	Merchant Navy	235
174.	Bridge over Gandak River	219-20	72.	Locomotives	235-36
176.	Delhi Madras Janata Express	220-21	73.	Re-modelling of Station Yards	236
177.	Tungabhadra Bridge	222-23	74.	Cochin and Other Ports	236
179.	Cancer Research Centre, Patna	223-24	75.	Minor Irrigation Schemes	237
180.	Intensive Family Survey of Agricultural Labour	224-25	76.	Grand Trunk Express	237-38
181.	Sethu-Samudram Project	225-26	77.	Industrial Exhibition	238
182.	Land Reclamation	226-28	78.	Railway Earnings	238
154.	Indian Airlines Corporation Office	228-229	79.	Railway Employees at Barka-Kana C.E. (Railway)	239
160.	Krishna Pridge	229	80.	Welfare Inspectors on Southern Railway	420
81. Water Coolers at Stations.					

Wednesday, February 22, 1956

# LOK SABHA DEBATES

(Part II—Proceedings other than Questions and Answers)

**VOL. I, 1956**

(15th February to 3rd March 1956)



**TWELFTH SESSION, 1956**

(Vol. I contains Nos. 1 to 15)

LOK SABHA SECRETARIAT  
NEW DELHI

## CONTENTS

**(Part II Debates—Vol. I—15th February 1956 to 3rd March 1956)**

COLUMNS

*No. 1. Wednesday, 15th February, 1956*

President's Address . . . . .	1—18
Message from Speaker . . . . .	19
Death of Shri Natesan . . . . .	19
Question of Privilege . . . . .	20—21
President's assent to Bills . . . . .	21
Motion for adjournment—	

Violations of Indian territory by Portuguese Armed Forces . . . . .	22—23
---	-------

Papers laid on the Table . . . . .	23—26
Representation of the People (Second Amendment) Bill . . . . .	26
Securities Contracts (Regulation) Bill . . . . .	26—27
Control of Shipping (Continuance) Bill . . . . .	27—28
Daily Digest . . . . .	29—36

*No. 2. Thursday, 16th February, 1956*

Death of Shri Meghnad Saha . . . . .	37—38
Daily Digest . . . . .	39—40

*No. 3. Friday, 17th February, 1956*

Motion for adjournment—	
Firing in Manipur State . . . . .	41—42
Papers laid on the Table . . . . .	44—47
Committee on Private Members' Bills and Resolutions—Forty-third Report.	
Life Insurance (Emergency Provisions) Bill . . . . .	44
Sales-tax Laws Validation Bill . . . . .	44—45
Capital Issues (Continuance of Control) Amendment Bill . . . . .	45
Life Insurance Corporation Bill . . . . .	45
Business of the House . . . . .	46—47
Question of Privilege . . . . .	47
Representation of the People (Amendment) Bill—	
Motion to consider as reported by Select Committee . . . . .	47—95
Resolution regarding Industrial Service Commission . . . . .	95—101
	106—50
Business of the House . . . . .	102
Committee on Private Members' Bills and Resolutions—	
Forty-third Report . . . . .	102—106
Daily Digest . . . . .	151—154
<i>No. 4. Saturday, 18th February, 1956</i>	
Business Advisory Committee—	
Thirty-first Report . . . . .	155

Representation of People (Amendment) Bill, as reported by Select Committee—	
Motion to consider . . . . .	155—60
Clauses 1—29 . . . . .	160—223
Motion to pass, as amended . . . . .	223
Bar Councils (Validation of State Laws) Bill, as passed by Rajya Sabha—	
Motion to consider . . . . .	223—39
Clauses 1—2 and Schedule . . . . .	238—39
Motion to pass, as amended . . . . .	239
Voluntary Surrender of salaries (Exemption from Taxation) Bill—	
Motion to consider . . . . .	239—42
Clauses 1—2 . . . . .	241
Motion to pass as amended . . . . .	242
University Grants Commission Bill—	
Motion to consider Rajya Sabha Amendments . . . . .	242—47
Indian Red Cross Society (Amendment) Bill—	
Motion to consider . . . . .	247—56
Clauses 1—9 and Schedules I to III . . . . .	256—57
Motion to pass as amended . . . . .	257
Saint John Ambulance Association (India) Transfer of Funds Bill—	
Motion to consider . . . . .	257—59
Clauses 1—2 and Schedule . . . . .	259—60
Motion to pass as amended . . . . .	260
All-India Institute of Medical Sciences Bill—	
Motion to consider . . . . .	260—84
Daily Digest . . . . .	285—86
<i>No. 5. Monday, 20th February, 1956</i>	
Death of Acharya Narendra Deva . . . . .	287—90
Papers laid on the Table . . . . .	290
Motion regarding Thirty-first Report of Business Advisory Committee . . . . .	290
Release of two Members from detention . . . . .	291
Motion on Address by the President . . . . .	291—402
All-India Institute of Medical Sciences Bill—	
Motion to consider . . . . .	402—31
Consideration of clauses . . . . .	431—40
Daily Digest . . . . .	441—42

*No. 6. Tuesday, 21st February, 1956*

Papers laid on the Table . . . . .	443—44
Prevention of Corruption (Amendment) Bill—	
Opinions . . . . .	444
Messages from Rajya Sabha . . . . .	444—46
Multi-Unit Co-operative Society (Amendment) Bill, 1956 . . . . .	446
Estimates Committee—	
Nineteenth Report . . . . .	446
All-India Institute of Medical Sciences Bill—	
Clause 9 . . . . .	447—53
Motion to pass, as amended . . . . .	453—60
Motion on Address by the President . . . . .	461—566
Daily Digest . . . . .	567—70

*No. 7. Wednesday, 22nd February, 1956*

Motion for Adjournment—	
Incursion by Pakistan Army into Chhad Bet in Rann of Kutch . . . . .	571—74
Papers laid on the Table . . . . .	574—76
Committee on Private Members' Bills and Resolutions—	
Forty-fourth Report . . . . .	576
Election to Committee—Delhi Development Provisional Authority . . . . .	577
Motion on Address by the President . . . . .	577—710
Daily Digest . . . . .	711—14

*No. 8. Thursday, 23rd February, 1956*

Warrant for arrest of a Member . . . . .	715
Presentation of Railway Budget . . . . .	715—41
Motion on Address by the President . . . . .	741—846
Daily Digest . . . . .	847—48

*No. 9. Friday, 24th February, 1956*

Papers laid on the Table . . . . .	849
Message from Rajya Sabha . . . . .	849
Indian Lac Ceas (Amendment) Bill . . . . .	849
Petitions regarding Report of States Re-organisation Commission . . . . .	850
Control of Shipping (Continuance) Bill—	
Motion to consider . . . . .	850—89
Clauses 2 and 1 . . . . .	889
Motion to pass . . . . .	889—91
Capital Issues (Continuance of Control) Amendment Bill—	
Motion to consider . . . . .	891—908

## COLUMNS

Committee on Private Members' Bills and Resolutions—	
Forty-fourth Report . . . . .	908—09
Indian Panel Code (Amendment) Bill ( <i>Insertion of new section 170A</i> ) . . . . .	909
Indian Panel Code (Amendment) Bill ( <i>Insertion of new section 427-A</i> ) . . . . .	909
Proceedings of Legislatures (Protection of Publication) Bill . . . . .	909—10
Motor Vehicles (Amendment) Bill ( <i>Substitution of Section 65 etc.</i> )—	
Motion to consider . . . . .	910—43
Demands for Supplementary Grants . . . . .	943
Shri Kashi Viswanath Mandir Bill—	
Motion to consider . . . . .	943—54
Daily Digest . . . . .	955—56
<i>No. 10. Monday, 27th February, 1956</i>	
Death of Shri G. V. Mavalankar . . . . .	957—68
Daily Digest . . . . .	969—70
<i>No. 11. Tuesday, 28th February, 1956</i>	
Death of Shri Lalchand Navalrai . . . . .	971 .
Papers laid on the Table . . . . .	971—972
Message from the President . . . . .	973
Message from Rajya Sabha . . . . .	973
Indian Cotton Cess (Amendment) Bill . . . . .	973
Arrest of a Member . . . . .	973
Estimates Committee—	
Twentieth Report . . . . .	974
Election to Committee—	
Central Advisory Committee of National Cadet Corps . . . . .	974
Agricultural Produce (Development and Warehousing) Corporations Bill . . . . .	974—75
Capital Issues (Continuance of Control) Amendment Bill—	
Motion to consider . . . . .	975—1030
Clauses 2, 3 and 1 . . . . .	1030
Motion to pass . . . . .	1030
Sales-tax Laws Validation Bill—	
Motion to consider . . . . .	1031—80
Daily Digest . . . . .	1081—84
<i>No. 12. Wednesday, 29th February, 1956</i>	
Paper laid on the Table . . . . .	1085
Committee on Private Members' Bills and Resolutions—	
Forty-fifth Report . . . . .	1085
Securities Contracts (Regulation) Bill . . . . .	1085—86

## COLUMNS

## Sales-tax Laws Validation Bill—

Motion to consider	1086—1128
Clauses 2, 3 and 1	1128—33
Motion to pass	1133

## Business of the House

1133—35

## Life Insurance (Emergency Provisions) Bill—

Motion to consider	1135—75
--------------------	---------

## Presentation of General Budget, 1956-57

1175—1208

## Finance Bill

1208

## Daily Digest

1209—10

*No. 13. Thursday, 1st March, 1956*

## Paper laid on the Table

1211

## Estimates Committee—

Twenty-first Report	1211
---------------------	------

## Business of the House—

Hours of Sitting	1211
------------------	------

Demands<sup>2</sup> for Supplementary Grants, 1955-56

1212—1304

Appropriation Bill	1305
--------------------	------

## Life Insurance (Emergency Provisions) Bill—

Motion to consider	1305—38
--------------------	---------

## Daily Digest

1339—40

*No. 14. Friday, 2nd March, 1956*

## Paper laid on the Table

1341—42

## Messages from Rajya Sabha

1342

## Appropriation Bill

1343

## Life Insurance (Emergency Provisions) Bill—

Motion to consider	1343—1402
--------------------	-----------

## Committee on Private Members' Bills and Resolutions—

Forty-fifth Report	1402—03
--------------------	---------

## Resolution regarding Appointment of a Committee to examine Community Projects and National Extension Service Schemes

1403—54

## Resolution regarding Fixing a Target date for Prohibition

1454

## Daily Digest

1455—56

*No. 15. Saturday, 3rd March, 1956*

## Motions for Adjournment

1457—60

## Paper laid on the Table

1460

## Statement regarding Printing errors in Finance Bill

1460—61

## LOK SABHA DEBATES

### (Part II—Proceedings other than Questions and Answers)

571

25522 572

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matter but in different language. It reads :

"The serious threat caused to the territorial integrity of India as a result of the trespass and unprovoked attack on the Indian military patrol with automatic weapons in Chhad 'bet' a thirty-five mile pasture island in the Rann of Kutch on Sunday the 19th February, 1956."

### LOK SABHA Wednesday, 22nd February, 1956

*The Lok Sabha met at Eleven of the Clock.*

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

### QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

(See Part I)

11-48 A.M.

### MOTION FOR ADJOURNMENT

#### INCURSION BY PAKISTAN ARMY INTO CHHAD BET IN RANN OF KUTCH

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker :** I have received a notice of an adjournment motion from Shri Vallatharas. What is his source of information ?

**Shri Vallatharas (Pudukkottai) :** The news has appeared in all the papers today and it is said that the matter is under the consideration of Government.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker :** I am asking the Government.

**Shri A. M. Thomas (Ernakulam) :** What is the subject-matter ?

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker :** I shall read it out.

"The very serious situation caused by the fact that a regular heavily armed section of the Pakistan Army had moved into and entrenched in suitable positions on or about 19th February, 1956 in the 35 mile pasture island of Chhad Bet in Rann of Kutch in Indian Territory with the avowed intention of occupying and holding the territory as Pakistan's own and are requiring the grazers to pay the grazing fees to Pakistan and not to the authorities of Kutch, and that there had been either inadequate or no efforts at all to check and push back the army and to safeguard the territory effectively."

I have received a notice from Shri Gurupadaswamy also on the same

12 NOON

**The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru) :** It is true that there was this incursion into Indian territory at this place called Chhad. The facts so far reported by the Chief Commissioner of Kutch are more or less simple and as follows:

I might mention that this place

Chhad is an area which is for part of the year under water. It is not an inhabited area and during the monsoon season for about four months it is under water and then for the rest of the year it is uninhabited grazing area surrounded by sand. This is a place where there is some grass, so that the question of possession really means the question of grazing rights there. There is no doubt about it that it is a part of India and possession has been exercised by India and we have been giving grazing rights to contractors who take their camels there for grazing purposes. Some attempt was made on behalf of Pakistan in the course of last year or so to state that this was disputed territory and belonged to them. We pointed out to them that this was an absolutely unjustifiable and baseless claim. Since then the practice has been for a police or sometimes military patrol of ours to go there about once a week. This time a police patrol went there in the ordinary course on the 17th of this month. They seemed to have just observed some activity on the other side and they reported it on their return. A day or two later, a military patrol went. It went on the 18th evening and it camped at some distance away and next morning went to Chhad 'bet'. On the 19th at about 11.00 hours, 400 yards

[**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru**] from Chhad 'bet', the Pakistanis, who apparently occupied positions on the other side and were equipped with automatic weapons, opened fire—L.M.G. machine gun fire. One sepoy was wounded in the stomach and as he was being taken away, two others were wounded by this fire and three camels were killed in this action. The patrol returned to Kagda and the casualties were taken to the hospital. Two of them are serious and have been removed to Bombay for further treatment. It is not known—naturally we do not quite know—what the casualties on the other side were.

These are the facts reported to us. It certainly is a serious matter, not serious in the sense of any big scale military action, but the seriousness is the incursion into our territory by Pakistan, and naturally the Government of India will take necessary action in the matter.

**Shri M. S. Gurupadaswamy** (Mysore) : May I ask for one clarification ? The Prime Minister stated that it is a very serious matter because it is an incursion into our territory. May I tell him that it is a serious infringement of our sovereignty and this is not the first time that such an incursion has taken place ? This is one of the series of incidents by which Pakistan has tried to violate our territory and our sovereignty. May I ask the Prime Minister whether, in view of the seriousness of the whole question, he would consider the question of taking some positive measures such as seeking to appoint a commission of arbitration or enquiry to go into the whole question once for all ?

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru** : No, Sir. We do not propose to appoint any committee of enquiry or arbitration as the hon. Member suggests. We shall take other measures.

**Shri V. G. Deshpande** (Guna) : What are those other measures ?

**Shri Vallatharas** : From the nature of action taken by Pakistan it appears that they have intended to occupy this territory permanently and never yield to the Indian Authorities, and it is not an ordinary intrusion which will come and go out. In view of the fact that Pakistan has taken a definite stand and has stationed a great portion of the Army also for this purpose, may I know the numerical strength of that army and the nature of the strength of

their weapons, how many miles they have covered and whether it is a fact that they have collected grazing fees from the residents or compelled them on pain of certain punishment or some such thing ?

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru** : The hon. Member wants me to give full details about the Pakistani force.

**Shri Vallatharas** : Deployed in that particular incursion.

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru** : I am wholly unable to do that. And as for the miles covered, it is measured in yards and not in miles. It is 35 square miles in area and it is a waste area. They are not standing all over the area but they are in the middle of the area. I cannot say, at least I have not at present got the information.

**Shri N. C. Chatterjee** (Hooghly) : May I know if the Pakistani troops have withdrawn or are still persisting in their wrongful occupation of our territory ?

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru** : I presume they are still there.

**Shri V. G. Deshpande** : What are the other measures the Prime Minister proposes to take in order to stop this trouble ?

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker** : Other measures than arbitration, other strong measures—the Prime Minister has said that. It is no use disclosing all those measures now though hon. Members are anxious to have the same.

In view of the statement made by the hon. Prime Minister and the action that is being sought to be taken, I do not think it is necessary to pursue this matter.

## PAPERS LAID ON THE TABLE

### AGREEMENTS BETWEEN THE PRESIDENT OF INDIA AND THE GOVERNMENT OF JAMMU AND KASHMIR

**The Minister of Home Affairs** (Pandit G. B. Pant) : I beg to lay on the Table a copy of each of the following papers :

(1) A copy of the agreement dated the 14th May, 1954, entered into between the President of India and the Government of Jammu and Kashmir under Article 306

of the Constitution as applied to Jammu and Kashmir by the Constitution (Application to Jammu and Kashmir) Order, 1954. [See Appendix II, Annexure No. 1].

(2) A copy of the agreement dated the 14th January, 1956, entered into between the President of India and the State of Jammu and Kashmir under articles 278 and 295 of the Constitution as applied to Jammu and Kashmir by the Constitution (Application to Jammu and Kashmir) Order, 1954. [See Appendix II, Annexure No. 2].

**Shri Kamath** (Hoshangabad) : Why has the hon. Home Minister been displaced ?

**Pandit G. B. Pant** : Perhaps gradually to make room for the hon. Member.

#### AMENDMENT TO INDIAN AIRCRAFT RULES

**The Minister of Communications** (Shri Jagjivan Ram) : I beg to lay on the Table, under sub-section (3) of section 5 of the Indian Aircraft Act, 1934, a copy of the Notification No. AR/1937(10), dated the 17th November, 1955, together with the Explanatory Note, making certain further amendment to Indian Aircraft Rules, 1937. [Placed in Library. See No. S-51/56.]

#### PREVENTION OF FOOD ADULTERATION RULES

**The Deputy Minister of Health** (Shrimati Chandrasekhar) : On behalf of the Minister of Health, I beg to lay on the Table, under sub-section (2) of section 23 of the Prevention of Food Adulteration Act, 1954, a copy of the Prevention of Food Adulteration Rules 1955, published in the Ministry of Health Notification No. S. R. O. 2106, dated the 12th September, 1955. [Placed in Library. See No. S-52/56.]

#### APPROPRIATION ACCOUNTS, ETC., DEFENCE SERVICES, 1953-54, AND AUDIT REPORT ETC., DEFENCE SERVICES, 1955

**The Minister of Revenue and Civil Expenditure** (Shri M. C. Shah) : I beg to lay on the Table a copy of each of the following papers, under article 151 (1) of the Constitution :

(1) Appropriation Accounts of the Defence Services for the year 1953-54 and Commercial Appendix thereto. [Placed in Library. See No. S-54/56]

(2) Audit Report, Defence Services, 1955 (including Report on the Appropriation Accounts of the Defence Services and the Commercial Appendix thereto for the year 1953-54). [Placed in Library. See No. S-54/56]

#### JUTE TEXTILES (CONTROL) ORDER

**The Minister of Commerce and Industry and Iron and Steel** (Shri T. T. Krishnamachari) : I beg to lay on the Table under sub-section (6) of section 3 of the Essential Commodities Act, 1955, a copy of the Jute Textiles (Control) Order, 1956, published in the Ministry of Commerce and Industry Notification No. S. R. O. 326, dated the 15th February, 1956. [Placed in Library. See No. S-47/56.]

#### REPLIES TO MEMORANDA OF MEMBERS RE. DEMANDS FOR GRANTS (RAILWAYS) FOR 1955-56

**The Parliamentary Secretary** to the Minister of Railways and Transport (Shri Shah Nawaz Khan) : I beg to lay on the Table a copy each of certain further statements containing replies to certain memoranda received from Members in connection with Demands for Grants (Railways) for 1955-56. [See Appendix II, Annexure No. 3.]

**Shri T. B. Vittal Rao** (Khammam) : May I seek one clarification from the Railway Minister whether there are any memoranda pending still with the Railway Ministry because it is already one year old and we are getting the next Budget tomorrow.

**The Minister of Railways and Transport** (Shri L. B. Shastri) : I cannot exactly tell the Lok Sabha as to whether any memoranda is still to be disposed of. But we have been very quick in this matter and we have sent replies to all the memoranda submitted to us except in one or two. In fact I was not aware of even this which the Parliamentary Secretary just now read out. But so far as I am aware, we have disposed of all the papers.

#### COMMITTEE ON PRIVATE MEMBERS' BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

##### FORTY-FOURTH REPORT.

**Shri Altekar** (North Satara) : I beg to present the Forty-fourth Report of the Committee on Private Members Bills and Resolutions.

**ELECTION TO COMMITTEE  
DELHI DEVELOPMENT PROVISIONAL  
AUTHORITY**

**The Deputy Minister of Health  
(Shrimati Chandrasekhar):** I beg to move :

"That in pursuance of clause (g) of sub-section (2) of Section 3 of the Delhi (Control of Building Operations) Act, 1955, the Members of this House do proceed to elect in such manner as the Speaker may direct, two Members from among themselves to serve as members on the Delhi Development Provisional Authority constituted under the said Act."

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** The question is :

"That in pursuance of clause (g) of sub-section (2) of Section 3 of the Delhi (Control of Building Operations) Act, 1955, the Members of this House do proceed to elect in such manner as the Speaker may direct, two Members from among themselves to serve as members on the Delhi Development Provisional Authority constituted under the said Act."

*The motion was adopted.*

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** The dates will be fixed later.

**MOTION ON ADDRESS BY THE  
PRESIDENT—Contd.**

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** The Lok Sabha will now resume discussion on the Motion of Thanks on Address by the President. Out of the total of 20 hours allotted for the purpose 10 hours and 25 minutes have so far been availed of.

**Shri Barman (North Bengal—Reserved—Sch. Castes):** I join with the Mover of this motion in thanks giving and being grateful to the President for all that had been done during the year. Within the limited time at my disposal, I shall mention only one factor in the beginning—the factor that concerns the masses of India. The masses of India are in full accord with the basic criterion the President's Government have adopted, namely, that our lines of advance must always be the progressive removal of inequalities. In fact the President's Government have already accepted the idea of a socialistic pattern of society for our country and we are satisfied

that, though the goal is distant as yet, we are proceeding steadfastly towards that goal, step by step.

We are particularly grateful for one thing that is mentioned in the President's Address. The Community Projects and the National Extension Service have already produced revolutionary changes in many of our rural activities. This will be continued and expanded and it is hoped that by the end of the Second Plan period they will cover nearly the whole of our rural community. Nothing is more encouraging to the masses than this declaration of policy by the President. They are concerned first and foremost with only one thing. As far back as the year 1932, our revered leader had written a letter from the District Jail of Bareilly to his beloved daughter which is headed "Man's struggle for living". I remember those memorable words. There he says about the strange sight of large masses being exploited by the comparatively few, of some who earn without working at all and of millions who work but earn very little. That being the condition of the country even today to a large extent, we are interested to find that the President's Government had rightly accepted the goal of socialist pattern of society and though the goal may be distant we are satisfied that we are proceeding steadfastly towards that goal.

I may say in this undertaking of the Government for the amelioration of the social conditions of the masses in the rural areas, the masses are not lagging behind. I will simply refer to page 2 of the annual report for the year 1954-55 of Community Projects Administration. They say :

"Till March 1955 the total value of peoples' contribution in the Community Projects and NES areas in the form of cash, kind and labour amounted to Rs. 11.37 crores as against a total Government expenditure of Rs. 21.30 crores. Thus peoples' contribution represents nearly 53 per cent. of the total Government expenditure. The all India average of people's contribution per 1000 persons works out at Rs. 2053."

That being the assessment of the results so far as the peoples are concerned, I would make only one request. Whatever may be the economic condition of the masses today, they are doing

their utmost in the performance of the huge task of economic advancement of the country. The Second Plan requires a very large sum and for that the Government of India and the State Governments will have to find other avenues of income. I should suggest that the masses of India should not be further taxed by way of indirect taxation so far as the necessary consumer goods are concerned. All that is necessary to fulfil our objective is to aim at procurement of funds from those sources where money is. I may just imitate another gentleman who said that the lancet should be directed towards that part of the body where blood is congested.

I should like to mention one more important point because it had been mentioned in this Lok Sabha. That refers to the problem Province of Bengal. We are rather committed to the reunion of the States of Bengal and Bihar. But let me make it clear at the outset that this sincere attempt on our side is based on one definite matter and that is the decision of the Government of India so far as the S.R.C. recommendations are concerned. If we do not attempt that line, what is the result? The result is, so far as the States of Bengal and Bihar are concerned, they will be constituted on the basis of the final decision of the Central Government of which a press *communiqué* had been issued and everybody had been acquainted with those facts. But yesterday my friend Mr. Sahaya said that the Union proposal should be proceeded with on the basis that the S.R.C. recommendation or proposal should be thrown overboard. If that be the decision, I am very much diffident how far we shall be successful, in our real sincere effort for the reunion of the two provinces.

The opposition parties are always trying to misrepresent facts in all possible ways. They are raising the bogey of majority domination and all that. The Deputy Leader of Communist Party spoke the other day for about an hour. I tried to find out whether there was any constructive suggestion from that party. I found none. There were several vituperations and several declamatory statements against our revered leaders of both Bengal and Bihar and against the Central Government. He had nothing constructive to say. They are all opposition tactics. On the national endeavour of this country he

had given some definition to this "nationalism". Towards the last part of his speech he has stated—these are his words—

"I feel that the proposals about the merger of different States are proposals which cut against the whole grain of Indian nationalism....."

I do not know whether Indian nationalism is the monopoly of Mr. Mukerjee. But certainly the country has accepted it that it is the Congress party and the ruling party of the day that knows more of Indian nationalism than the parties that are opposing it from every point of view, right or wrong.

**Shri V. G. Deshpande (Guna):** That is accepted.

**Shri Barman:** He has disowned the merger proposal. Then he says :

"These are proposals which are not in conformity with the history of our country or with the desires of our people."

There he is completely wrong. It is the desire not only of the Bengalis and Biharis to unite together, but you will find that in all parts of the country there are proposals for forming such bilingual and multilingual States. When he refers to the desires of the people I think he is ignoring the people of the provinces and the masses in general. In this democratic Republic it is the wishes of the masses that should be met first and it is their interest that should be the first and foremost consideration in politics and in the administration of the country.

**Shrimati Renu Chakravarty (Basirhat):** Put it to the electorate.

**Shri Barman:** We shall put it, if necessary.

**An hon. Member:** Then we will see

**Dr. Lanka Sundaram (Visakhapatnam):** If it is done.

**Shri Barman:** What are the interests of the masses? I come from a district called Jalpaiguri and there one-third of the population consists of Biharis. We have to look to their interests. We have done it and there has been no contention between us regarding any matter. Of course, the only difference is that none of them has been recruited through the Public Service Commission. Mr.

## [Shri Barman]

Acharya Kripalani the other day mentioned that the root cause of these dissensions. He referred to a certain section of the community which look more to their interest and to the interest of the political party than to the real interest of the masses. I fully agree with that view. The other day, yesterday also, the Deputy Leader of the Socialist Party has stated that bilingual States are for the national interest. I am grateful to him for making this statement. I shall then only appeal to him to instill his feeling into the minds of his followers in other parts of India and in Bihar and Bengal.

**An Hon. Member:** What about Maharashtra ?

**Shri Barman:** Maharashtra also. We find that in this attempt of ours, which is being pursued with the best of motives it is mostly the Communist Party that is making this sort of agitation and spreading all sorts of rumours through the length and breadth of India. The Deputy Leader of the Communist Party, while he was mentioning certain facts, stated that they are from rumours and from talks all over Bengal. And what did he say in the course of that ? He has decried the leaders of the whole of Bengal and Bihar. He says :

"But suddenly by an act of magic...the two Chief Minister come forward and say, we shall have a United State. And, then, they go back to their followers and talk in chauvinistic way saying that the Begalis can control the United States of West Bengal and Bihar or that the Biharis can control the so-called United States."

When he was challenged as to what is the document which can substantiate this sort of statement he said these are talks all over the State. I do not think that this sort of rumours can be stated on the floor of this responsible House.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** He said they are reported in newspapers also.

**Shrimati Renu Chakravarty:** It will be placed on the Table of the House.

**Shri Barman:** But that has not yet been placed on the Table of the House. He has stated that....

**Shrimati Renu Chakravarty:** If he desires I will do so.

**Shri Barman:** The sum and substance of the statement is that both the Chief Ministers are trying to play with the people of the provinces. This is a very damaging statement and unless he can substantiate it on the floor of the House by producing document or something I, submit to you most humbly, he should withdraw the statement. It is very damaging not only to the provinces but it is damaging to the House.

**Shrimati Renu Chakravarty:** May I read out the relevant portion from the West Bengal Government's own report ? They are Dr. Roy's own words. Shall I read it ?

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Is it a long one?

**Shrimati Renu Chakravarty:** There is quite a lot.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** The hon. Member can read it when she gets a chance.

**Shri Barman:** Up till now no document has been placed on the Table.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** But the hon. Member has offered to place it now. Is it an official communication ?

**Shri N. C. Chatterjee (Hooghly):** It is Government's own communication.

**Shri Sadhan Gupta** (Calcutta South-East): The West Bengal Government's organ.

**Shri Barman:** All right ; I am willing to hear that statement.

**Shri B. K. Das (Contai):** The interpretation put by her is wrong.

**Shrimati Renu Chakravarty:** Let me explain the position.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Hon. Members cannot talk across the Table. If Shrimati Renu Chakravarty wants to intervene, I shall certainly give her time. As I have pointed out, I wanted to know if the extract will be a long one. When the hon. lady Member is called upon to speak, she will have an opportunity to refer to that statement. Of course, even when Shri H. N. Mukherjee was speaking, I suggested to him that the statements may be made available to the Lok Sabha and that the extract or the newspaper may be placed on the Table of the Lok Sabha. The hon. lady Member is now in possession of the document. When she speaks, she may place it on the Table of the Lok Sabha. In the meanwhile the hon. Member may say what he likes to say.

**Shri Barman** : That is a mischievous statement.

**Dr. Rama Rao (Kakinada)** : What the hon. Member now says is mischievous.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker** : Order, order. Let the hon. Member proceed.

**Shri Barman** : I may then refer to another statement that has appeared in the columns of newspapers. It was said that the whole idea underlying that policy is that ultimately Calcutta will be taken out from Bengal. That statement was made in the meeting and it has been reported in the paper. I can produce that paper if the Lok Sabha likes. With all this mischievous propaganda, can any one expect that this move for unification of Bengal and Bihar can be successful? Unless the Government does well in suppressing all this sort of propaganda, it is not possible for any honest man to proceed with any honest purpose. I said at the beginning and I say it at the end that it is the starving millions who are more concerned with food, with clothing and other social amenities than others. What is the result of this unification? In my own estimation, the two States will become bigger in size and the masses will unite in their demand and they will get more strength than at present. All sorts of political interests, class interests and class domination and motives will have to be suppressed in the face of these millions and multi-millions when they unite together. Then, neither in Bengal nor in Bihar will those who are now the privileged classes dominate and the interests of the vast millions of masses will be heard and they will have greater say. That is the one positive result of unification, though I do not say that at present this is not being done. But it is quite clear that when the body of the State will become a bigger one, the masses will gather greater strength and their demands will bear fruit. We will then have their demands more successfully met. I for myself am for the dumb millions who have no voice in modern politics. I venture to say that this arrangement of unification is a good move and it will be perfectly beneficial for both the States, and I wholeheartedly support the union of West Bengal and Bihar.

**Shri N. C. Chatterjee** : I am disappointed with the President's Address. I thought that in this crisis, when our

country is in danger and the repercussions caused by the SRC Report have been very serious, we would get a stirring call from an elder statesman like the President of India. With due deference I must say that he has failed to give any stirring call or any lead to the country and the nation in this crisis. It reads like an insipid report. I am sorry to say that there is no betrayal, no symptom, no evidence, of an architect's hand. It looks like a third class report by an Under Secretary or by a bureaucrat.

**Shri S. V. Ramaswamy (Salem)** : I take exception to this remark.

**Shri N. C. Chatterjee** : You may; but I am at perfect liberty to criticise this because we know the President never composes such a report.

**Shri S. V. Ramaswamy** : On a point of order. He is making a disparaging remark about the statement of the Head of the State.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker** : I am sorry to say that the conduct of the President is not in question. What I would say is, here, the President is only the mouthpiece of the Government. Therefore, the hon. Member can say that the Address is not what he expected it to be.

**Shri Joachim Alva (Kanara)** : My hon. friend Shri N. C. Chatterjee is a practising, leading Advocate of India, and I think he can put it in better phraseology than what he has used, the thing that he wants to say.

**Shri N. C. Chatterjee** : My hon. friend Shri Ramaswamy is a barrister of 24 years' standing. I am a Barrister of 34 years' standing. He said two years back that he was a Barrister of 22 years' standing. Therefore, it must be 24 years now. Anyway, I only wanted a lead in the President's Address. I am casting no reflection on the veteran statesman who occupies President's Chair or the President's portfolio. It is an attack out of the agony of my heart against those who are sitting on the Treasury Benches, because they have displayed no constructive statesmanship. They have not shown that they have a real mind. Their mind is still suffering from confused thinking. They are talking of Five Year Plan but they are suffering from planned planlessness so far as the reorganisation of States is concerned.

[Shri N.C. Chatterjee]

I was in Europe a few months back, and I was happy to find, before I went to London to attend the Commonwealth Law Conference, that throughout the continent there was a feeling that at least there is one country in Asia where there is political stability and real sanity and a national outlook. But now we have gone down unfortunately in the estimation of the world. We are getting cuttings from the foreign press and you know what the world is thinking of us. The papers show that the riots in India over the linguistic States have hurt India's prestige and have lowered her not merely in the eyes of one country but in the eyes of the whole world. We shall be looked down upon as a third class nation unless we can solve this problem, and this problem must be tackled and solved in a proper democratic manner, with vision, with foresight and with courage.

Doubts have been expressed in important sections of the press that India is a nation. They say that India is hardly a nation and it is a congeries of nations. They are pulling this country to pieces over this problem of reorganisation of States. This problem could be tackled properly if the Government had been more consistent and if the Government had really adopted democratic methods. But what are they doing? They are really identifying the party with the country. They are identifying the caucus with nation. That is what they have done. What is the good of saying now that unilingual States ought to be scrapped and we must swing either to multi-linguism or to composite States of a bilingual or multi-lingual character. In the year 1920 I attended the session of the Indian National Congress at Nagpur when Mahatma Gandhi gave the lead and that was accepted as the correct lead by the whole of India. That lead was that the political map of India must be redrawn and the Indian National Congress then adopted the redistribution of the States on a linguistic basis as the political objective. Not merely that. It was not merely a resolution in the year 1921. The Congress itself refashioned its own Constitution on the linguistic basis. Long before Andhra or Karnataka or Kerala or Maharashtra or Gujarat or any other State was thought of, the Congress provinces were constituted on the linguistic basis and after this was done, the SRC Report says that the Congress became a dynamic institution which could inspire

the people. Sir, you will remember that in the year 1927, Pandit Motilal Nehru's Committee submitted a report and that report definitely gave an impetus to the principle of linguistic re-distribution of States. This is what the Nehru Committee said :

"If a province has to educate itself and do its daily work through the medium of its own language, it must necessarily be a linguistic area. If it happens to be a polyglot area difficulties will continually arise and the media of instruction and work will be two or even more languages. Hence it becomes most desirable for provinces to be regrouped on a linguistic basis. Language as a rule corresponds with a special variety of culture, of traditions and literature. In a linguistic area all these factors will help in the general progress of the province."

History shows that the great struggle for India's emancipation began with the anti-partition movement in Bengal and with similar movement in Maharashtra. The Indian National Congress shared an agitation on the partition of Bengal and when Bangalis were sacrificing themselves for the purpose of annulling that partition which was imposed upon our province the greatest nationalist forces for the liberation of Mother India along with the Congress stood by us. While giving its support to the anti-partition movement of Bengal in the year 1905-1906, the Indian National Congress accepted the principle of linguistic division of States. After this, the Congress reaffirmed its adherence to this principle at the Calcutta Session held in October, 1937, when it recommended the formation of Andhra and Karnataka provinces. In July, 1938, the Congress passed a resolution at Wardha and gave an assurance to the deputations from Andhra, Karnataka and Kerala that linguistic redistribution of the provinces would be undertaken as soon as the Congress comes into power. In the meantime, the Congress gave its support for the formation of Sind and Orissa, although there was good deal of misgiving with regard to it. Recently Andhra was formed after the Prime Minister's statement on Shri Sriramulu's death. Discussions took place; the Parliament was faced with a Bill and we passed it. The States Re-organisation Commission was appointed consisting of men of character and integrity after the Prime Minister made a state-

ment in the Lok Sabha on the 22nd December, 1953 and then the Home Ministry issued a Resolution on the 29th December, 1953. After two years of hard work, the Commission submitted its report. Look at the majority of its recommendations. It has accepted this principle which the Congress and the other political parties had accepted. As a matter of fact, the Organisation of which I am the temporary head followed suit in the year 1922-23 and did what the Congress had done before; and, the provinces of my organisation were also constituted on a linguistic basis. This Commission has recommended the formation of Kerala, Karnataka, Vidarbha and other States on a linguistic basis. If you think it is improper to have unilingual States and it is better to have bi-lingual States, why break up and disintegrate the Madhya Pradesh which was composed of Hindi-speaking and Marathi-speaking people and which was fairly well administered? Why break up Madhya Bharat which also consisted of Hindi-speaking and Marathi-speaking people. There was a recommendation that the Marathi-speaking people should go to Maharashtra...

**Shri M. P. Mishra** (Monghyr North-West) : How did he preside over the Maha Punjab Conference?

**Shri N. C. Chatterjee** : Let him hear me fully; I will come to that. What I am pointing out is this. One finds that there is a complete swing over from uni-linguism and the leaders on the other side of the Lok Sabha are singing praise and applauding bi-lingual or composite States. If national interest demands it, if the security of India demands it and if the integrity of the nation demands it, we should not make a fetish of the formula. I quite appreciate that India should be first above all. That was the cardinal principle which I advocated from the platform at Amritsar. "Akhand Bharat"—that is the glorious ideal. That is the ideal which everyone of us, the representatives of the Indian people, should always adhere to. I come from the land of *Vande Mataram*. What is *Vande Mataram*?

अमलाम् कमलाम् सरलाम् सुस्मिताम् भूषिताम्  
धारणीम् भारणीम् मातरम्, वन्दे मातरम्

Who is the Mother? The mother is Mother India. We are not paying homage to *Vanga Mata* or *Gujarat Mata* of any other Mata. Our mother should

be *Bharath Mata* to whom we should be loyal. That was my appeal at Amritsar. In the interest of Mother India, all narrow and subordinate loyalties must be superseded by the bigger loyalty to Mother India, to the Republic of India. I take that stand.

I had the privilege of going down to Bombay. I was deeply distressed at the cleavage between Gujeratis and Maharashtrians. I was one of those who spoke in the Lok Sabha after my friend Shri S. K. Patil finished his speech. I said that I was a supporter of Samyukta Maharashtra. I supported Samyukta Maharashtra on principle and I thought that there was a good case for the inclusion of Bombay also. I said it was not right to reject it because some capitalists would run away. I am quite sure that no capitalists would have run away even if it had been given to Maharashtra. I supported it when I had the privilege of discussing this matter with the hon. Prime Minister. I said that this Bombay problem should not be left undecided because there was some apprehension on the part of some capitalists. As a matter of fact, my friend Mr. Barman was very critical of Mr. Hiren Mukerjee. I do not agree with Mr. Mukerjee on many points and my stand is substantially and fundamentally different. What I want to point out is that, if you say that Bombay should not go to a particular uni-lingual State because some capitalists are genuinely apprehensive then one day Calcutta may have to come under Rajasthan or the capitalists of Calcutta may stand up and say that they want to be under Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru or Pandit Govind Vallabh Pant. We do not want that kind of encouragement to be given to big capitalists. What I am saying is, every right-thinking citizen will deplore and condemn all acts of violence and hooliganism which have been committed in Bombay. But I also found in Bombay millions of Gujeratis and millions of Maharashtrians who were anxious to live as fellow-citizens of one State. They want to build up one State as an integral part of the entire Republic of India. If you honestly feel that a bi-lingual State is the proper consummation, why do you not accept the Maharashtra Provincial Congress Committee's formula? Why do you not accept Samyukta Maharashtra plus bigger Gujerat along with Bombay? I am appealing to the Prime Minister—I am

[Shri N. C. Chatterjee]

glad that he is here. I made an appeal in Bombay after consulting not merely the Maharashtrian and Gujarati leaders, but leaders of the different organisations, big industrialists and capitalists that the difficult problem of Bombay can still be solved. It can be solved by one man and that man is the Prime Minister of India. I make an appeal to him to go Bombay; I know that he was in Bombay the other day, but I want him to go not in that way. I want him to go to Bombay for the purpose of summoning a round-table conference of Maharashtrians, Gujaratis and other interests involved. The whole approach at present is wrong. I am saying with great respect, but with great firmness, that the approach is wrong. Do not make it a Congress business. Do not make it a party business, do not make it a business of a four man committee appointed by the executive of one political party. It is a national problem. It must be tackled on the national plane. Do not think that Shri Deogirikar is the only one man who counts in Maharashtra. You send for him, you send for Shri S. K. Patil and decide the fate of Bombay. I have great respect for them. But, is that the proper democratic way? Are people chattel? Are they not men? Are there not millions of men involved in this matter? Are there not leaders of other political parties? I am suggesting, if you really want a bilingual state, have that formula. Have the whole of Maharashtra and the whole of Gujarat along with Bombay and make it one State. If the Gujaratis or if the capitalists or any section or linguistic group wants special safeguards, it can be devised. It is not beyond the range of practical constructive statemanship. I gave a formula in Bombay. In the British Parliament, there is a convention in respect of Scotland. The English majority cannot swamp the Scottish people. There is a convention that if the Scottish members are against any particular measure, that won't be forced down their throats. Some such formula can be devised. The Socialist leaders have also given a formula. That formula is worth considering. That formula is this. If the Bombay city cannot be tacked on to a unilingual State now for certain reasons, if you honestly think that in the interests of the country, having regard to the prevailing bitterness, it cannot be done, do one thing. Make it a city state. Leave it

to the elected representatives of the people of Bombay to decide to which unilingual State it would ultimately go. Don't take upon yourself the dictatorial power which is the claim of the fascists, and say that we three or four people sitting in Delhi, shall decide the future shape of Bombay for all time, Bombay of which we are all proud. That is not the proper approach. I therefore make this appeal.

Shri Barman was talking of democracy. What is democracy? Consulting the will of the people. Has anybody consulted the will of the people of Bombay? There is a method of doing it. The best method is, give them an elected legislature and let the elected legislature decide what will be the ultimate shape and to which particular State they will accede. I am perfectly convinced that either of these, either a bigger bilingual State of Bombay with the whole of Maharashtra and the whole of Gujarat with Bombay or a city state of Bombay will be accepted. If any constitutional safeguards are needed, we can have the British convention made a constitutional safeguard in our own Constitution.

With regard to the other great problem of Punjab, I was very happy to find that the situation was much better at Amritsar. I was depressed, I was sad, I was pessimistic in Bombay; but I was happy to find that the situation was much better in Amritsar. I was told about the increasing cleavage, mounting tension between the two communities in the Punjab. But, the way all behaved in Amritsar was simply remarkable. I paid a tribute not merely to the organisers of the convention over which I presided, but also to the organisers of the other convention over which Master Tara Singh presided. The situation was perfectly controlled. I am very happy that everything passed off smoothly. I am also happy that the authorities behaved well. That gave me great hope. That gave me the courage to plead for sanity. I did not go to Amritsar in the spirit of a militant crusader for the purpose of tilting the scales against a particular community. I went there as an Indian. I went there also as a Hindu, to appeal to both the Hindus and the Sikhs of Punjab to remember that they are organic and essential parts of one homogeneous community. I appealed to the Hindus to remember that the Sikh Gurus are the Gurus of Hinduism. The Gurus of the Sikhs are the prophets of my religion.

There is no difference between Guru Govind and Chatrapathi Sivaji. They are the saviours of India, who struggled for rescuing India, for rescuing the Hindu society from sloth and bondage. We are proud of them. I am told, I made this public declaration in Amritsar, that in thousands of Hindu homes in Punjab *Gurubani* is still recited. I make this appeal today that nothing should be done that would weaken our unity. I am sorry that Sardar Hukam Singh is not here. I wish he had been here. I would have made this appeal to him. Remember that India today is in danger. Remember, my country is in danger. Remember, my nation is in danger. Remember, 40 lakhs of people have been thrown out of East Pakistan. What is the position today? Shri Mehr Chand Khanna, our Rehabilitation Minister has said that about 4 lakhs of people have been squeezed out in less than 2 years. The average exodus from East Bengal is 24,000 per month. You know that Government figures are never accurate. Take it at 24,000. The tempo is going to increase. Shri Ghazanfar Ali Khan has got a brain wave today. What is his brain wave: Let the Bengal border be sealed. That would be no solution. That would be consigning the tortured and frustrated minority to perpetual perdition. That would be no solution. What I am appealing is this. Remember that you will have to make arrangements not merely for 40 lakhs, but for the entire Hindu minority in East Bengal. They cannot live there. It is said that this is happening on account of economic depression in East Bengal. You know that the economic depression in Pakistan is manufactured because of the policy of discrimination against the minorities, religious, economic and social. A modern state is a socialistic state, or a socialistic state or a welfare state. Everybody is talking like that. It means that it has got many things to control. The entire economic life and social life can be controlled. It is being controlled in Pakistan for the purpose of squeezing out, for the purpose of driving out the Hindus. In their Constitution they have stated that the Hindu will be an inferior type of citizen. The brand of inferiority, the Hindus have rejected. There was some hope after Mr. Fazul Huq joined the cabinet and after Dr. Khan Saheb was restored to power, that a new leaf would be turned. We are disappointed. Nothing has happened. The Hindu

Ministers have been forced to resign and quit the cabinet both at the Centre and in East Bengal. The result will be that the tempo of exodus will be aggravated, increased and intensified. Remember the incident which took place, about which the Prime Minister spoke a few minutes ago. They are shooting down our soldiers. They are having trenches in our territory. They are being armed by the Imperialist powers. Pakistan is being egged on and everything is being done by the other powers for the purpose of fomenting discord and disharmony between India and her neighbour. Therefore, you have got to be very careful. So, I say, India is in danger, the country is in danger, the nation is in danger. You must do everything possible to face this menace resolutely and not act as Acharya Kripalani says. He had been recently taking some treatment in Malabar or somewhere. He has improved; I am very happy. I am glad that his diagnosis is correct. But his prescription is wrong. What is his remedy? To jettison it. That won't do. How can you today tell the people of Kerala or the people of Karnataka that there shall be no Kerala or Karnataka State? It will be driving the people to despair. That would not be right. Face it and finish it democratically. You can do it. I am again appealing to the Prime Minister that if he takes courage in both hands and says, maybe we have made a mistake in Bombay, I will solve it, the problem can be solved. Send for the leaders of both the communities and also the important men of Bombay and tackle it. It will be finished. The cleavage has not gone so far that it is impossible to repair the damage. I am sorry to know that the Chief Minister of the State of Bombay, for whose administrative ability I have some respect, has said that the Maharashtrians tried to overthrow the Government. The first time I met Shri Gadgil in Bombay and other Maharashtrian leaders, I put it to him there is a whispering campaign against you that these disturbances were planned. Are you ready to face a judicial enquiry presided over by a Supreme Court Judge or a High Court Judge? He said "Yes". Now, you cannot possibly blackguard an entire community and then refuse a commission of inquiry. If you do not have a commission, then you must withdraw the charge. Don't say the Maharashtrians did it in a planned manner. That will not be fair. If they have done it,

[Shri N. C. Chatterjee]

then should reap the consequence and there should be an impartial commission.

1 P.M.

One fine morning sitting in the City of New Delhi two well-meaning statesmen had a brain-wave. What was the brain-wave in the cold wave of Delhi? —that there should be a merger of Bengal and Bihar. That is looked upon, I am sorry to say, with great distrust. There is a lack of *bona fides*. This is not the way to do things. If you honestly feel that merger of Bengal and Bihar would do good for India then there should be no attempt to dominate, there should be no attempt at imposition. There should be consultation with the people. There should be consultation of other parties.

From the year 1921 the Congress had been wedded to linguistic formation of States, and the States Reorganisation Commission devoted a chapter to it. There was public opinion, there was struggle. Dr. Meghnad Saha who is no more and whose death we all mourn, was looked upon as the spearhead of Bengali agitation. I joined it not in a spirit of animosity towards Bihar. I plead for justice and fair play. That is why I approached the Prime Minister and the Home Minister and Maulana Azad, and I told them: "Do justice to Bengal". British imperialism, for the purpose of crippling my race, my community and my province, deliberately partitioned Bengal. The Commission's Report points out that in proposing the annulment of the partition the British wanted to make Bengal a Muslim majority State by assigning some areas to Bihar. The Congress in 1911 passed a unanimous resolution, moved not by a Bengali but moved by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, a man of unimpeachable integrity and a man of great distinction, to reverse that decision as it was not fair. There was a *hartal* in Calcutta the other day which was successful. There have been very few *hartals* so successful in a big cosmopolitan city like Calcutta. There was not a single deplorable incident. As everyone knows there is a big non-Bengali population in Calcutta. The labour population is predominantly non-Bengali. But none was touched, everything went off peacefully.

There is no question of any inter-provincial disharmony, but feelings were roused because we felt that Govern-

ment was weakening and there was a risk of a reversal of this little chunk of territory which was being given to Bengal. I am sorry my Chief Minister gave away 500 square miles that was recommended by the Commission. I do not know why he did it, but he did it. We are apprehensive that something worse might happen. If you honestly feel, if you are convinced that in the interests of India, some kind of merger is necessary, then do it democratically. Do not say that because Dr. Sinha and Dr. Roy have thought over it it must be forced down the throat by party whips and so on. Is this democracy? The Chief Minister gives notice of a motion and then withdraws it from the legislature. It is not pressed to vote and it is said that there was some kind of debate on the Governor's Address and therefore it is quite final. That is not the way to handle this problem.

You ought to know that not merely professional politicians, but great thinkers, scientists and men of unimpeachable integrity occupying the highest positions in life have been very much perturbed over this, because there are certain factors which you cannot ignore. For example, in a democracy it means counting of heads. In a democracy numbers count. And it is not the old Bengal that is going to be merged with Bihar. I would have immediately jumped at it if it is a question of Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and Assam merging together. I would have welcomed it. We would not have opposed it. But when it is a population of a truncated, divided, partitioned, vivisected Bengal, of less than 2½ crores merged or amalgamated with a State whose population is over 4 crores, difficulty arises. Take the people into confidence. Tell them how you propose to eliminate all chances and risks of discrimination. These things have not been discussed. There ought to have been discussions over these things.

You know, Sir, Dr. Surendra Nath Sen, who is a great historian and was the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Delhi and is now the Sheriff of Calcutta. He went to Dr. Rabindranath Tagore's house where a big conference took place, where he said :

"People who had voted the present Government in the last general elections did not give it any right to liquidate West Bengal by

any abrupt move of merger with Bihar. A clear mandate from the people will have to be taken in a fresh general election before the leaders can proceed with such a vital proposal. If the ruling party, in callous disregard of the people's wishes transgresses the bounds of authority vested in them, it will within the full power of the people to pull them up in a proper way. It would be highly injudicious on the part of them to ride rough shod over the popular opinion and to do something that would destroy the confidence of people in them. That way lies danger.

Members of the legal profession know that Shri Atul Chandra Gupta is one of the outstanding lawyers in India today, he is also a great literateur. He has been a Congressman for years though not aspiring for any office or Ministership or anything like that. He has also taken the same stand. There are also other men like Dr. Saha who have sounded a note of warning. Do it democratically. If this thing had been allowed to evolve as an organic movement from the bottom, nursed and cherished and canalised under proper guidance and proper leadership, it might have gone through. But the way you are doing it, you are irritating the people.

I want to say a few words with regard to the Punjab. I have not yet had the opportunity and privilege of discussing with the hon. Prime Minister or the Home Minister the set up of things there. These Regional Councils I thought were meant really for the purpose of having States integrated, having States formed and then functioning under a Regional Council but it seems that the thing is going to be reversed in the case of the Punjab. We would like to have a proper picture, but if you give these Regional Councils complete power over law and order, then I am afraid it will lead to the accentuation of centrifugal forces. That will also help communal or sectarian elements to ally themselves with undesirable forces, and may put in peril this frontier State of India. I am not against giving legitimate satisfaction to the great Sikh community for any grievances that they have. I had a discussion with the hon. Prime Minister on this issue, and he assured me that if they put forward any grievances, he would look into them. I am quite sure he will do it. As President of the

Maha Punjab Conference I also stated : let a commission be appointed to find out if they have any genuine grievances, but let not imaginary, so called administrative grievances be magnified into a battle cry or a war cry and bring about bitterness between the communities. I still hope that the S.R.C. recommendations with regard to the Punjab would be accepted and implemented.

I have criticised this S.R.C. Report in parts, and criticised it strongly but not in the spirit of a carping critic, but in the spirit of a loyal citizen who wants to build up India during the formative period of our Republic. But I have read and re-read and re-read the chapter on the Punjab and I must say that it is a very well written chapter. It has given cogent arguments which should convince any reasonable man. The Fazl Ali Commission is perfectly right in pointing out that in the Punjab it is not a battle of languages, but a battle of scripts. Whatever may be the geographical set up or the administrative set up it will be a Punjabi-speaking province, even if you make it a Maha Punjab. Seventy one per cent. of the population do not want Punjab to be truncated. They want Punjab to be big, to be powerful, to be resourceful, to be a resilient unit which can resist any menace. We know Defence is a Central subject under Dr. Katju and Foreign Affairs is under the Prime Minister of India, but still if you do not have a resourceful, strong, resilient State, all schemes of defence and planning will go to the wall. Therefore, I want Punjab to be big, Punjab to be great. And I am quite sure that thousands, not merely thousands but millions of people belonging to both communities want to live as fellow-citizens there and want one united big Punjab, making its contribution to build up united and strong India.

**Shri N. P. Nathwani (Sorath) :** In this debate, the reorganisation of the States has loomed very large. In this context, it is therefore but natural that the recent happenings in Bombay should have been referred to by several Members.

But I was surprised and pained when yesterday my hon. friend Kaka Saheb Gadgil demanded a public enquiry into recent happenings there, and particularly into the police firings during those disturbances; and surely enough, not to be left behind, my hon. friend Shri

[Shri N. P. Nathwani]

S. S. More also endorsed the same plea yesterday. I was equally surprised today when my hon. friend Shri N. C. Chatterjee also supported the plea for a public enquiry into the firings. If the times had been normal, one would have welcomed an enquiry of such a nature. But those who talk in a light-hearted manner seem to ignore the present tension which exists in the State of Bombay and in other parts of the country.

I say, there is no case whatsoever for holding an enquiry. No case, much less a *prima facie* case, has been made out by anyone of the speakers. But even apart from that, in the existing situation, an enquiry like this would widen and suppurate the wound which to-day everybody wishes to heal.

Before I come to deal with the allegations which have been trotted out by the speakers in support of their demand, I would like to say generally a few words about the speech made by the hon. Member who claims to speak on behalf of the whole of Maharashtra. It is very significant that he has no personal knowledge of the happenings in the city of Bombay. He says that he does not know whether those allegations are true or false. He refers to some newspaper reports or whispers only.

I cannot understand why he did not make any attempt to find out the real truth. He does not suggest anywhere that true facts would not have been available to him, if he had approached the authorities in that behalf. Really, it does not flatter either his advocacy or his regard for truth, if I may say so, to indulge in reckless allegations, without the slightest attempt on his part to ascertain their veracity.

Another significant fact about his speech is the complete absence of any reference to the orgy of riot, arson and loot, that shook the city of Bombay for a week during the month of January. I submit that even a brief recapitulation of the fact would have been sufficient to convince anybody of how and under what circumstances the police had to resort to firing, and that no other steps could have been taken by Government to quell those disturbances.

There were violent attacks against the police, not merely with stones but with acid-bulbs. There were violent attacks against public property, when tram ser-

vices, bus services, and even railway services, local as well as through, were completely dislocated. The whole city was held to ransom by certain sections of the population.

**Shri S. S. More (Sholapur) :** These are a good ground for an enquiry.

**Shri V. G. Deshpande :** You accept them; but you do not want an enquiry.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker :** Hon. Members may have their say later on.

**Shri N. P. Nathwani :** My hon. friend did not refer to these events, purposefully; he merely referred to the firing. That is why I am trying to give a background about what happened there. Even the lives and properties of persons were in danger, and thousands of families had to evacuate their homes in troubled areas. In these circumstances, can any Government worth its name afford to fail in discharging its primary function of protecting the life and property of individuals? Initially, the Government and the police started with mild measures like lathi-charge or tear-gas; even curfew was imposed; but the rioters remained undeterred, with the result that ultimately the police had to take further steps, and the order of what is popularly called 'shoot-at-sight' was given. I submit, it is completely wrong to say that a shoot-at-sight order was given. If any Member had tried to understand the facts, he would have realised and brought out this fact. In a press note issued by the Government of Bombay on 20th January, this is what is stated :

"Attempts at arson were also reported from the troubled areas. However, orders have been issued to shoot immediately persons who indulge in looting and incendiarism, on their refusal to desist from their activities".

Please mark this. Two conditions have been laid down; firstly, the persons should be found indulging in looting and incendiarism, and secondly they should have refused to withdraw; only then, shooting was to be resorted to. Everybody knows that on the 19th January, looting was rampant. Several shops were looted. Even private houses were looted. There were also mobs marching with flaming torches with a view to set fire to houses and other property. It was under these circumstances that this order was given to the police.

I have another remark to offer on the speeches of those hon. Members. They have not expressed even a word of sympathy or even a murmur of regret for the sufferings endured by the victims. In one word, they dismissed the whole thing saying : "We condemn the violence". But they studiously avoided expressing their sympathy for the victims.

Now, let me go on to some of the alleged facts which were placed before the Lok Sabha by the hon. Member who spoke yesterday. He refuses to accept as authoritative the figures of casualties given by the Government of Bombay. But he would not say what the exact figure is. And what does he say ? He merely refers to some leader of the INTUC for saying that the figures of casualties given by the Government of Bombay are larger. Did he try to contact that leader ? And what was the result of his enquiry ? Certainly, one expects a greater sense of responsibility on the part of Members who claim to speak in the name of Maharashtra. The Government of Bombay have again and again pointed out that they have tried to check up the figure which they have given about casualties is the correct one.

Then, it has been said that there was indiscriminate firing. Why is it said so ? They say so because a certain newspaper has alleged that 33 per cent. of the casualties were members communities, other than Marathi-speaking. Now, did he try to verify this aspect ? It might be that there were some persons who belonged to other communities. He refuses to admit any other alternative except two, viz., either there was indiscriminate firing or, that people who indulged in those atrocities were mixed and not confined to a single community. But why not a third alternative, and obvious one, which he never tries to understand. It is this, that unvary pedestrians or onlookers may have received injuries. For instance, during the November disturbances near Flora Fountain, a Gujarati sub-editor of *Janma Bhoomi* during lunch interval, not knowing what was happening in the street went out for his lunch. That street was the scene of violence on the part of the rioters. The unfortunate man received a bullet wound and died.

**Shri S. S. More :** Is it not a case of indiscriminate firing ?

**Shri N. P. Nathwani :** No. He was not the only person going along the road. There were others—rioters also. Is it suggested that he was alone and was shot down ? Nobody has suggested that (*Interruption*). It is, possible some persons received injuries in this way. I do not deny that you may come across such stray cases of accidental injury. But to say that there was indiscriminate firing is totally unjustified. An attempt has been made to create an impression that there was firing only once and at one place and these casualties were inflicted. Friends forget that the firing that was resorted to was spread over a number of days and at several places. If they bear that in mind they can understand the nature of the injuries and other things adverted to.

There is another circumstance which has been referred to. On 21st November, it has been said, Home Guards were imported from outside Bombay. Everybody knows—and Government has made its stand quite clear several times—that they were not imported for this purpose, that they were not imported, but were camping in Bombay at the time and that they consisted of members from all parts of the State of Bombay.

The events of November and January have also been referred to. I was present in Bombay. I belong to Bombay. Though I represent the State of Saurashtra, I have made Bombay my second home and I have been staying there since last 25 years. I was present during this time and was a witness to some of the things which took place then. I am surprised at the attempt that has been made to distort the true facts which are within the knowledge of everybody.

**Shri S. S. More :** Has your statement been recorded by the Police ?

**Shri N. P. Nathwani :** My friend Shri Gadgil said that on the 18th only 600 persons were trying to approach the Speaker of the Bombay Assembly and the only thing they wanted to do was to bring to his notice their petition. Nothing of that sort. What happened at Flora Fountain is well-known I along with about 100 other members of the Bombay Bar, was an eye-witness to what happened there. There were not 600 persons; there were more than 6000 persons, a crowd of about 10,000 persons who wanted to march to the

[Shri N. P. Nathwani]

Council Hall where the State Assembly was in session. After repeated warnings, and after resorting to mild measures like lathi charge tear gas when the crowd did not disperse, the police ultimately reported to firing. This incident is sought to be passed on as a mere attempt on the part of 600 innocent persons to approach the Speaker. If this crowd had been allowed to proceed, I do not know what would have happened to the State Assembly on that day.

Then, reference has been made to the public meeting at Chaupaty which was attended and addressed by the Chief Minister of Bombay. I was simply amazed at the version which my hon. friend tried to give about this meeting. For weeks and months the protagonists of Samyukta Maharashtra were holding meetings. It is said in all they held 2000 meetings. None of these was disturbed and nothing untoward happened. But, when the BPCC held the Chaupaty meeting, attempts were made to break it. My hon. friend says, a provocative speech was made at this meeting by the Chief Minister. But it is well known that even before any speaker started addressing the meeting, there were determined attempts to disturb and break that meeting. I was present at that meeting. Two lakhs of persons attended. Stones, shoes and other missiles were thrown at the dias. But the people continued to sit and refused to budge an inch from their places. At this meeting the Chief Minister told the hooligans that that sort of disturbances would not help their cause and that Government would not be cowed. Is this a provocative speech? Did my friend expect the Chief Minister to say that he appreciated the things they were indulging in?

Then, it has been asked if there was a plan behind all this why preventive steps were not taken by the Government. That there was a plan, no honest and dispassionate persons can deny. From the sustained and violent attacks which were indulged in by the rioters, it should be obvious to anyone that there was an attempt to terrorize Government as well as the people of Bombay into submitting to the demand for Samyukta Maharashtra. It has been asked if the Government knew about this, why preventive steps were not taken. My hon. friend Shri Gadgil himself has provided an answer to that. When precautionary steps such as bringing extra police at certain places where

trouble is apprehended are taken the charge is levelled that you are trying to occupy the territory and thereby giving provocation and are discrediting the name of Maharashtra. In face of all these is this line of argument open to these friends? Why do they blow hot and cold at the same time? When such innocent measures are being objected to, how can they talk about preventive detention not being resorted to by Government at that time? Even simple events are pressed to show that the Government and the Police were acting in provocative manner.

Reference was made by the hon. Member to Dr. Charan and his volunteers. I have verified the facts. Some of the persons posing as volunteers of the Red Cross were found in possession of acid bulbs and stones. In these circumstances what can any Government do? Will they not try to prevent, such volunteers, may be, some genuine volunteers also along with them, from functioning in that area? But even this instance has been sought to be exploited by my friend to show that the Government of Bombay was acting in a high-handed manner.

Again, it has been said that the attitude of the Government was not prompt and helpful to congressmen and others who wanted to establish peace. There cannot be a greater travesty of truth than this. When Shanti Sena was started by the B.P.C.C. the Government offered assistance to their batch of volunteers. Only when some communists and leftist leaders wanted to move in the troubled area in company with the police, did Government refuse to comply and give them police assistance. Can this be characterised as want of co-operation on the part of Government?

Sir, I now pass to another aspect of the case. What pained me most was this. It is clear that in attributing the motive for the Bombay happenings to goondas generally and in declining to locate the blame more precisely, the Prime Minister wanted to be generous towards those who were blameworthy and was anxious to avoid further heart-burning. The root cause of the whole trouble was the sustained campaign of inciting a section of the people by speeches and writings. But the hon. Member has tried to suggest that all communities indulged in the orgy of crime. Such a statement is simply amazing. He laboured the point to show that the violence was common and not confined

to members of a particular community, and that members of other communities also indulged in the same. He does not try to analyse the facts on which he relies. He does not give us the exact figures. He merely says "Look at the lists, there are names". There is no mention anywhere as to the names and we are not told about it.

It is therefore unfortunate to make a demand for public inquiry because when the Government and the police were working under severe strain and when more drastic and stern action could have been legitimately invoked by the Government, they handled the situation as mildly and tactfully as possible and saved further loss of life. To come now and ask for an inquiry into the firings is totally wrong. I repeat that there is no case, much less a *prima facie* case made out. Moreover the result of such an inquiry would be as I said before, to widen and sappurate the wound. At present attempts are being made to bring the communities together; by restoring goodwill and amity between them. What will happen if you were to start an inquiry at this juncture or hereafter. The city of Bombay will be split into two camps, one party trying to prove, what has been obvious enough, namely that many atrocities and brutalities were committed by a certain section of the people, an attempt would be made by the other party, though it will be futile, to show that the police acted in an arbitrary manner and that there was indiscriminate firing and so on. The very process would divide and keep divided the city and our attempts to bring about a rapprochement between the communities would be defeated thereby. Again, you have to judge the effect such an inquiry would have on the police and home-guards who struggled valiantly during these difficult days, trying to maintain law and order and to protect the citizens from harm. Under these circumstances I oppose this demand.

Before I conclude let me pay my tribute to the Chief Minister of Bombay, who kept his head cool and calm, and undeterred by any threats, worked hard and restored normal conditions in the city of Bombay. I must also congratulate the police force and the home-guards for their valiant and successful efforts to save the city from being plunged into chaos.

2-7 Lok Sabha.

کہاں جو - اس - مسائیر (اوپر) :  
صاحب صدر - مہن آپ کی اجازت  
سے داشت پر کے بیان پر جو شکر یہ  
کے پرساو کا موشن اس ہاؤس مہن  
پیش کیا کیا ہے اس کے سوتھن مہن  
چلت ادھاڑ کہما چاہتا ہوں -

داشت پر کے اپنے محتصر یہ مکر بوئے  
جامع الفاظ مہن و تب کئے ہوئے بیان  
مہن اندرونی اور بہرہن دنیں معاملات پر  
پساحت کی ہے - اور حالات اور واقعات  
کی بہا پر نتائج اخذ کئے ہیں -

جہاں تک بہرہنی معاملات کا تعلق  
ہے سارے بیان سے ایک بات بوئے صاف  
طورو پر ظاہر ہوتی ہے کہ اس وقت جو  
چو چا امن پسندی کی سارے ملساو  
مہن ہو دھی ہے اس مہن سماں سرکار  
نے صھم و ہلائی کی ہے - یہ باع  
بانکل تھیک ہے - میں نے یعنی سال  
اپنے تھجربے سے بھی دیکھا ہے کہ دوسرے  
ملکوں میں جو فلدوستان نے اپنی  
ناروں پالھسی مورتب کی ہے اس کی  
شکر ہے - اور یہ بات بھی تھیک ہے کہ  
یہ پالھسی داشت پر کے سدھاہنست کے  
بانکل مطابق ہے - اس تھیڈی یوگ  
مہن اس چڑھ کی بھی سخت فروخت  
تھی -

بعض بھانہوں یہ کوآ یا دوسرے  
مسٹلور کو سامنے رکھا ہے اور کہا ہے  
کہ ان امن پسندی کی باتوں سے کام  
نہیں چلھتا - ہم اس پر کچھ سخت  
کارروائی بھی کوئی ہے - بھیشک کسی  
موقعے پر سخت کارروائی کی بھی خروج  
ہو جائی ہے - مکر ایک وقت میں - جب  
کہ ہم ایک پالھسی پر چل دھی ہیں -  
اور وقت صرف ایک ہی ناچھاڑ کی  
چورا ہے اسے سامنے ہونی چاہئے -

[کھانی جی - ایس - مسافر]

بہت پرانی بات ہے - ایک مرتبہ سہوا گرام میں داشت پیتا ہے ساتھ بات کرتے ہوئے میں نے کہا کہ آپ تو ہمیں اہلسا کا ہتھیار دے دیے ہیں - لیکن اگر یہ کامیاب نہ ہو تو کہا دوسرا ہتھیار کو بھی ہم استعمال کر سکتے ہیں - تو داشت پیتا نے کہا کہ اس وقت ایک ہتھیار میں نے اپلے دیہ کو دیا ہوا ہے - اگر کسی دوسرا ہتھیار کا ابھی میں ذکر کر دوں تو پھر مھرے سہائے اس ہتھیار کو افکتو طبیت سے استعمال نہیں کر سکیں گے - اس لئے میں اس بات میں بلیو نہیں کرتا کہ دوڑا جلگ مہرے میں اپلے سہائی کو دوسرا ہتھیار بھی بتا دوں -

تو مھرے کہلے گا بھاو یہ ہے کہ اس وقت ہمہن اس بات پر ہی پورے طور پر دھیان دیتا چاہئے - اور بھی خمال دکھنا چاہئے کہ ہماری جو امن پسندی کی پالمسی ہے ہم اس کے مطابق چل دیے ہیں یا ہم اس سے اللہ چل دیے ہیں - داشت پیتی جی نے جو ملتی پوکت ہو دیے ہیں ان کا بھی ورودہ کہا ہے - کیونکہ ان سے ہتھیاروں کے متعلق لوگوں کا خمال ہوتا ہے کہ ہتھیار جمع کئے جائیں - اور ایک دوسرا پر شک ہوئے لگتا ہے - اور جب شک بوجہ جاتا ہے تو وہ لوائی جگہے کا کارن بن جاتا ہے - وہی بات بالکل صاف ہے - ہندوستان کی سرکار کی امن پسندی کی پالمسی نے بہت کامیابی حاصل کی ہے - جیسا کہ داشت پیتی نے اپنے بھاشن میں فرمایا ہے - سولہ دیشوں کا پونا تھہ نیشنز میں شامل ہونا اور باقی کے لئے کوئی کاری دھنا اس بات کی شہادت ہے کہ یہ پالمسی کامیاب ہو دی ہے - اور ہم دیکھاتے ہیں کہ اج دنہا

میں وہ ماک بھی جو کہ لوائی جگہے کی بات کیا کرتے تھے یہ محسوس کرنے لگئے ہیں کہ اس تعمیل پر ہوگ میں لوائی اچھی نہیں ہے - وہ یہ محسوس کرنے لگے ہیں کہ ہمیشہ لس تھنگ سے کام نہہاں چل سکتا -

دوسری بات اندوڑن معاملات سے تعلق رکھتی ہے - اس میں داشت پیتی نے زیادہ زور کا تیہ انتسٹریو پر دیا ہے - اس طرف بھی ہماری گورنمنٹ کا جو کام ہے میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ وہ سب سے زیادہ ضروری کام ہے - اس میں شک نہیں کہ اس لوگ سہوا میں جتنی بھائیں ہوئے ہوں ان میں زیادہ زور حد بلندی کیہیں کی دیورت پر ہی دیا گیا ہے - اسی پر زیادہ چرچا ہوئی ہے - مگر یہ بیکاری کو دوڑ کوئے کا سوال کوئی کم اہم سوال نہیں ہے اور اس طرف کا نکویں اور کانگریس سرکار زور دے دیے ہے - جنہوں نے اس دفعے لالگری پس سہیں کے دوڑا ان میں ہوئی دیکھی ہوئی کا تیہ انتسٹریز کی نمائش دیکھی ہوئی وہ اس بات کی کوئی دلیل کے جس طبیت سے وہاں پر کا تیہ انتسٹریز کو دکھایا گیا ہے اور اس کا پروجہ بہت سا روپیہ خرچ کر کے کہا گیا ہے اس سے صاف ظاہر ہو جاتا ہے کہ ہاوا قدم آئے کی طرف بوجہ رہا ہے - یہ تھیک ہے کہ اس وقت جب کہ ہمارے سامنے حد بلندی کیہیں کا بڑنگ کوئی ہی موجود ہے جو بھی میںہر تلویر کوئے گا اس کا وہ دوڑ ذکر کریتا اس کا ذکر کئے بغیر نہیں وہ سکتا - میکھ بھی اس کی بات تھوڑا ذکر کرنا ہے - میں میکھتا ہوں کہ یہ سوال اہم تو ہے مگر اتنا پہچھا نہیں ہے جتنا کہ اس کو بنا دیا گیا ہے اور ساتھ ہی سمجھ یہ ہی یقین ہے کہ پارلیمنٹ میں کی

لئے اور کی جانے والی تقریبیوں سے اس  
مسئلہ کا کوئی حل نکالے والا نہیں ہے۔  
اصل کا تھوک اور ملادب حل تو وہی  
ہے جسے کانگریس ہلقی کاشف نے ہم  
لوگوں کو بتایا ہے۔ وہی اس کا اچھا  
حل ہے۔ مجھے یہ ہے لفوس کے  
ساتھ قبول کونا یوتا ہے کہ یہ حد بلڈی  
کا معامہ ذاتی فرقہ وارانہ اور منہبی بدا  
پر چل رہا ہے جو کہ قطعی نامناسب  
ہے۔ آزاد ہونے کے بعد ہم نے اپنے  
وہ مان سے فرقہ دادی کے ذہن کو نکال  
دیا۔ اور ہم نے اپنے وہ مان میں  
جو انتہت الکٹریٹ کو دکھا۔ اور ہم نے  
اس کی کوئی کمیں کی کہ چنانچہ کے موقع  
پر ہمارے یہاں فرقہ وارانہ فضا پیدا نہ  
ہو۔ لیکن میں دیکھتا ہوں کہ اس  
حد بلڈی کے سوال پر ہی کئی لوگوں  
نے فرقہ دادی کے ہے۔ وال کو ہمارے دیکھ  
وہیں کھیا کر دیا ہے۔ حد بلڈی کا  
بلڈی مقصود تو انتظام میں سہواہت  
ہی لانا ہونا چاہئے۔ چہاں آسانی میں  
وہاں زبان کا بھی خہال دکھ لہنا کوئی  
حریج کی بات نہیں ہے۔ مگر میں یہ  
سچھاہے کے قاصر ہوں کہ اس میں لای  
چھکرے کی کون سی بات ہے۔ آخر دیکھ تو  
سارا ایک ہے۔ صوبوں کی حد بلڈی میں  
کوئی عالیہ کہاں ہو کس صوبے کے ساتھ ہو۔  
اس پر بھی سچ وچار ہو سکتا ہے۔ مگر اس  
حد بلڈی میں کوئی علاقہ کسی صوبے کے ساتھ  
کیا یا کسی صوبے کے پاس سے نکل کیا تو  
اس سے کوئی افت آجائیگی۔ ایسا میدا  
خہال نہیں ہے۔ اگر سارا دیکھ ایک ہے  
اور ہم سارے ایک دیکھ کے باشندہ ہیں تو  
کسی علاقہ کے ایک صوبے سے نکل کر دوسرے  
صوبے میں چاکر مل جانے سے کوئی افت  
آنے والی نہیں ہے۔ ہار یہ بات تھیک ہے  
کہ علاقہ بوا ہونا چاہئے۔ اس میں طاقت  
ہو گئی۔ اس چیز کو میں ماننا ہیں۔ اس  
بنا پر صاف ہاہر ہے کہ جن لوگوں نے چھکوئے

شروع کئے ہیں پراؤ یہ میلٹریم اور میہبی  
ملٹریس کی بو آتی ہے۔ اب آپ سوچوں  
کے پہنچاہ کا جھکڑا ہے کس بات کا۔ اس  
سہدھے سلے سوال پر جھکڑا یہ ہے کہ  
کہ ایک فرقہ یہ کہہتا ہے کہ اگر ایسے تھلک  
ہے صوبہ بنا دیا جائے جس میں ہماری  
آہلی بوجہ جائے تو ہماری طاقت بوجہ ہی  
ہے۔ اور دوسرو طوف یہ روایتیں ہے کہ اگر  
یہاں تھلک سے صوبہ بہت برا کر دیا جائے۔  
یہ سے تھلک سے فرقہ کی تعداد بوجہ جائے۔ اور  
ایک دوسرے فرقہ کی تعداد بوجہ جائے۔ اس  
میں سمجھو ہوں کہ اس کا جائز حل یہ ہے  
جو اس وقت اختیار کیا جا رہا ہے۔ اپوزیشن  
سائیڈ سے گورنمنٹ کے اور پہ نکتہ چھلی  
کی کئی ہے کہ گورنمنٹ اپلے فیصلے بدلتی  
ہے۔ میں ان سے یوچہا چاہتا ہوں کہ  
بدلاو کرنا اگر ملابس جان پڑے تو ایسا  
کرنا کیا کوئی جرم ہے۔ یہ کوئی جرم تو  
ہے نہیں۔ آخر تھیوکریسی کا زمانہ ہے اور  
ہماری گورنمنٹ جمہوریت کے تھنگ پر  
چلے والی ہے۔ گورنمنٹ انساںوں کا ایک  
مجموما ہے وہ کوئی یتھوں کا تھیروں تو ہے  
نہیں کہ جہاں پڑ کئے وہاں پڑ کئے اور اپنے  
کئے ہونے فیصلے کو اگر فرروت معلوم پڑے تو  
بدل نہ سکیں۔ سوکار کے اور یہ بھی اس  
طوف سے اعتراف کیا گیا ہے کہ بھئی میں  
گورنمنٹ نے اپنے فیصلے کو ملوانہ میں سختی  
سے کام لیا ہے۔ ایک طرف تو یہ کہا گیا کہ گورنمنٹ  
بدلتی ہے اور دوسرو طرف کہا گیا کہ اس نے  
اپنے فیصلے کو سختی سے عمل کرایا۔ اس کے  
عمل کرائے میں اس نے سختی سے کام لیا اس  
موقع پر مجھے ایک شاعر کا یہ شعر بیاد آتا ہے۔  
کہاں لے جاتیں دل دونوں جہاں  
میں اس کی مشکل ہے۔  
انھر پیہوں کا مجمع ہے  
انھر حدوں کی محفل ہے۔  
ایک طوف تو یہ افتاداں کے گورنمنٹ اپنا  
نهضاء بدال قالتی ہے۔ اور دوسرو طوف  
اس کی شکایت کی کہ وہ اپنے فیصلوں پر

[ گھاتیں جو ایسے مسافر ]

سختی سے قائم ہے۔ اس لیے میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ اصل طریقہ وہی ہے جس کی طرف داشتہ دستی کے لیے تحریر میں اشارہ کیا ہے۔ اپنے صاف ادااظ میں کہا ہے۔

دراجھوں کا پلرگھن ایک مہتوپیوں  
ویسٹے ہے اور اس کے لئے سبدھی اور  
سہیشورتا ایمکھیت ہے ۔ لکھو بھارت اور  
بھارت کے بھوپھی کے پرشن کی تلما میں  
دراجھوں کی سہما نوڈھارن کا یہ معلمہ  
نکلو ہے ۔ یعنی انکا بھاو یہ ہے کہ اسکے  
علاوہ اور بھی ضروری ہاتھی ہیں داشتھیتی  
نے تھیک کہا ہے کہ ہم میں سے اکثر بھول یہ  
جاتے ہیں کہ یہ مہان دیھن ہم سب کی  
مادر بھومی ہے اور سب کے لئے ایک جیسی  
وراحت ہے ۔ اور انکا فرمانا بالکل تھیک  
ہے ۔ جو مہتری پوھلے والے کسی ودیا ہمی  
کو اگر ایک سرکل بلاتا ہے تو پہلے پوکار سے  
سینٹر قائم کریں اور سینٹر قائم کر کے اگر وہ  
سرکل بلایا تو سرکل اچھا بنیتا ۔ اور ایسا  
کرنے سے اپنے دیکھنے کے کھلدر سے سرکل کے  
اس دائرة تک جلتی ہوئی لکھنی کھینچی  
چانہنگی وہ براہر ہونگی اور اگر وہ سینٹر  
اکھر کھا اور پرکار کی جو نوک ہے وہ کھلدر  
پر تھیک نہیں ہو تو نہ ہی دائرة تھیک  
بلیتا اور نہ لکھیں براہر دھیلگی ۔ اس لئے  
کھلدر قائم ہونا بہت ضروری ہے ۔ ہملا کھلدر  
قائم ہو ہمارا سینٹر قائم ہو اس لئے ہر وقت  
ہر موقعہ پر سوکار کو یہ دیکھونا پوچتا ہے کہ ہم  
پہلے سینٹر کی مفہومی کو اور دیھن کی  
یکجہتی کو کس طرح قائم رکھ سکتے ہیں ۔

پڑے نہیں اُج زبانوں کو لیکر ہمارے بھیج میں  
چھکوڑا کھوں چل دھا ہے۔ ہمارے ویدھان میں  
چودھڑا زبانوں کی ہوئی ہیں۔ میں سمجھتا ہا۔  
ہوں کہ ہر ایک زبان ہماری قومی زبان ہے۔  
اگر اُج یہ خیال ہمارے دل میں پیدا ہو  
جاتے تو پھر کوئی چھکوڑا پیدا نہیں ہوا۔  
میں نے دوسرے ملکوں میں دیکھوا ہے کہ

لور کلھر کی زبان - دوسروں کی زبان کی قدر کوتے ہیں - دوسروں کی زبان کو اپنی زبان سے بھی ذیادہ قدر کوتے ہیں - ہمارے ہمان ہندی چھلی بھائی ہیں - بھائی اور ہندی (وسی بھائی بھائی کے نعرے تو لکائے جاتے ہیں لیکن یہ کہیں مجھ پر بات ہے کہ پنجاب کے ہندو اور سکھ اور بیتلال اور بھار کے لوگ ایس میں بھائی بھائی مل کر نہیں وہ سکتے - مہاراشٹر اور کجرات والے بھائی بھائی کی طرح نہیں وہ سکتے اور جب ایسی حالت ہو تو ہمارا ہندی چھلی بھائی بھائی یا ہندی (وسی بھائی بھائی کا نعا لکانا کوئی معلمی نہیں دکھاتا - ہمیں پہلے اپنے کھر کو سلہالنا چاہئے - ہمارے بھائی بار بار شک کی بات کوتے ہیں اور اج حقیقت یہ ہے کہ پنجاب میں ہندو سکھوں پر شک کوتے ہیں اور سکھ ہندوؤں پر شک کوتے ہیں -

آچاریہ کرپلانی (بھائیں پورو بورنها) : شک سکھ اور ہلدو پہاک نہیں کرتی ہے  
بلکہ دونوں کے لہتدرس کرتے ہیں ۔

گھانی جی - ایس - مسافر : کرپلانی  
صاحب نے یہ توجہ کہا ہے کہ ان کے اہم دونوں  
لئے یہ شد پیدا کر دیا ہے -

اس لئے ہمارے لیہدوں کو یہاں پر ایسی  
تقریبیوں کرنے سے بعض آنا چاہئے جو کہ  
مساٹر میں جاکر غلط فہمی اور جھکوئے پہدا  
کوئی ہیں انکے شک کو دو کرنا چاہئے۔ شامر  
نے کیسا خوبصورت شعر لکھا ہے جو کہ صحیح  
و موقم پر باد آہما ہے۔

نہیں تھا نو بھی تھا وہ بیونا افوهی دشمن میں۔  
کہ مہری بدگمانی نے اسے دکھا وہیں برسوں۔  
یلمعی شک و شہہ کو جو ہوں ان کو  
دور کر دیدا ایک بڑا اچھا اور بھادی  
علاج ہے۔ اس لئے میں ایسا یہ خہاں  
ظہاہر کرتا ہوں کہ چیسا کہ ایک بھائی  
نے کہا کہ جو یہ حد بلندی کمیشن کی  
ہے وہی اس کو لکھے ہو سدھے کے لئے

ماتتوں کو دیا جائے ۔ میں اس سے اتفاق نہیں کرتا ۔ اس کو ہمیں یووے طور سے دلہوئی کے ساتھ فہیس کرنا چاہئے ۔ دوسروی بات یہ کہ جو طریقہ نیکو سوھیشن کا یا آپس کی بات چیت کا اختہار کہا گیا ہے اس کے متعلق کرپلانی صاحب نے کہا کہ گورنمنٹ اپنے خہلات بدلتی رہتی ہے ۔ میرا یہ کہتا ہے کہ جہاں ہی بات چھٹ کرنے کے بعد گورنمنٹ کو کوئی اچھا چینچ نظر آیا وہاں ہی گورنمنٹ بدلتی ہے اور اس کا اس طرح ہے بد لدا تدرتی ہے ۔ مکو جہاں پر واپولہنس ہو ۔ جہکڑا ہو ۔ دباؤ ڈالا جائے ۔ دعہب ڈالا جائے ۔ اگر اس دعہب سے قر کر گورنمنٹ اپنے فیصلے بدل لے لگے تو میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ گورنمنٹ ۲ یہ تعلیک درست نہیں ہے ۔ ہماری گورنمنٹ نے یہ طریقہ اختہار کہا ہے کہ آپس کے صلاح و شودہ سے کام کرنے کو تیار رہتی ہے ۔ اس لئے جو سما کرپلانی صاحب نے کہا کہ سب سے ما جائے اور بات چھٹ کرنے کے بعد فیصلہ کہا جائے ۔ اس سے میں اتفاق کرتا ہوں ۔ جس سے لیکن بیٹھ کر ہاتھ کرتے ہیں ۔ نیکو سوھیشن چلتے ہیں اور سب کی بہائی کی باتیں سوچتے ہیں اور اس کے بعد کسی نہ تھیج پر پہنچتے ہیں ۔ اگر ہم یووے طور سے اس طریقہ سے کام لیں تو میرا خیال ہے کہ کسی جہکڑے کی سددھاونا ہی نہیں ہو سکتی اس لئے ان سب بانیوں کو دیکھتے ہوئے میں یہی کہتا ہوں کہ اس کام کو ۳ و کوئی نہیں ہے ۔

ہاں جہاں ایک زبان کا کوئی صوبہ بن سکتا ہے وہاں اس پر وجاہ کیجھنے اور بدلانی ہے ۔ جہاں دو زبانوں کا صوبہ بن سکتا ہے اور وہاں کے لئے وہی ملابس ہو تو وہاں دو زبانوں کا صوبہ بدلانی ہے ۔ اس میں دقت کیا ہے ۔ دقت تو وہاں پڑتی ہے جب یہ شک پہدا ہوتا ہے کہ جو ایک زبان اسکو موجود ہے اسکو اکھاڑ کر پہلک دیا جائے گا ۔ تو اگر دو زبانوں کا صوبہ بدلتا ہے تو صوبہ بدلے ۔ اس میں کوئی خرچ نہیں ہے ۔ لیکن وہاں دونوں ہی زبانوں کے متعلق سہنگارنس ہونے چاہئیں ۔ ان دونوں کو ہی بروہی اور پہلوہی کا موقع ہونا چاہئے ۔ اگر ایسا ہو جائے تو اس میں کوئی خرچ نہیں ہے ۔

دیچمل کونسل کی بات بھی اج کل زیادا چل رہی ہے ۔ اگر کسی جگہ دیچمل کونسل بللے سے یک جہتی قائم ہو سکتی ہے اور کوئی ملابس بات ہو سکتی ہے تو میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ اس کے کر لے میں کوئی خرچ نہیں ہے ۔ صرف ایک بات کا ہی خیال رکھدا ہوا طوری ہے ۔ جو سما کہ میں نے پہلے کہا اور پوکار کی مثال دی کہ ہمارا سہیتو قائم ہو ۔ ہمارا کمپلینڈر قائم ہو اور دیہن کسی یک جہتی میں کوئی فرق نہ پوتا ہو تو کوئی بھی مصالحت کی بات کو لے لے میں کوئی خرچ نہیں ہے ۔ کسی بھی ڈھنگ سے اپنے اسکو کو نہ جائے ۔ اب کو کسی بھی طریقہ سے اس سے بہتھے نہیں ملتا چاہئے ۔

[*English Translation of the Speech]...*

**Gianni G. S. Musafir** (Amritsar): With your permission Sir, I like to say a few words in support of the motion of thanks on President's Address.

The President has made clear in his well prepared Address both internal and external affairs in a very appropriate and comprehensive language and drawn conclusions on the basis of conditions obtaining these days.

As far as external affairs are concerned, one thing stands out quite clearly in the Address that our Government have given a right lead to the cause of peace in the world. I agree to it. Last year I myself experienced it that India's foreign policy is being appreciated everywhere. It is also a fact that our foreign policy is in accordance with the principles laid down by the Father of Nation. This was very essential for this age of construction.

Some of my friends have raised the question of Goa and other places and have stated that our policy of peace will not prove to be helpful so far as these problems are concerned. We shall have to take some strong steps in this respect. There is no doubt that such situations arise when we may feel the necessity of taking some strong action but we should follow one policy at a time.

Long ago, while talking to Gandhiji at Sevagram I had said to him "You are giving us the weapon of non-violence. In case it fails can we use other measures". He replied, "so far, I have given only one weapon to my countrymen. If I were to suggest some other weapon then my followers would not be able to use it in an effective manner. So, I do not believe in asking my soldiers to use another weapon in time of war." What I mean to say is that we should at present follow the policy of peace and should carefully note whether we are working according to that or not.

The President has also spoken against the military Pacts that are being concluded these days because they provoke people to collect arms and create distrust and suspicion which later on leads to serious quarrels. Otherwise it is quite evident that India's Policy of Peace has proved to be very successful. The admission of sixteen countries to the United Nations and the efforts

that are being made for the admission of others are living proofs of the success of our policy. We find that even those countries who were always talking of wars have begun to realise that war can serve no useful purpose in this age of construction and war does not suit all times.

Speaking on internal affairs President has laid greater stress upon cottage industries. The activities of the Government in this sphere are also of utmost importance. Undoubtedly, States Re-organisation Commission's Report has been the main subject of the speeches delivered in the Lok Sabha and it has occupied the major part of the discussion but the question of removing unemployment is of no less importance and towards which the Congress and the Congress Government are paying full attention. Those who may have seen the cottage industries exhibition in the Congress Session at Amritsar must have realised that the huge amounts that were spent towards the display and propaganda of these articles, clearly indicate that we are heading towards progress. I realise that no hon. member can help mentioning the burning question of the day i. e. the report of States Reorganisation Commission. I have also to make a few observations in this respect. In my opinion this problem is really important but it is not so complicated as it has been made to appear, and at the same time I am also aware of the fact that this problem cannot be resolved merely by delivering speeches in this Parliament. The solution put forward by the Congress High Command is the only correct and reasonable solution. I am very much pained to confess that the question of the reorganisation of States has been based on personal, communal and a religious background and this is very unreasonable. After achieving independence we did not give any place to communalism in our constitution and made provision for joint electorate. We did our best to avoid the creation of communal atmosphere at the time of elections but I find that some people have aroused communal feelings in our country on the question of the Reorganisation of the States. The main purpose of the reorganisation should be to facilitate the administration. There is no harm in considering the question of language if it is convenient in the interest of the administration to do so. But I am unable to understand as to

why there should be any quarrel in this respect. After all the entire country is one. We may however discuss the question of including a particular area in some particular State and the other in another State. What difference would it make if an area is included in a particular State or taken away from it. The entire country is one and we belong to the same country and if a certain area belonging to a State is transferred to another it is not going to harm anybody in any way. It is true that the State should comprise of a big area. I agree to it. It is quite clear that the people who have created troubles are incited by provincialism and religious feelings. In Punjab also the struggle is going on between two communities. Both of them want that the State may be reorganised in such a manner that these may be able to form majority power. I think the right step is being taken to solve this problem. The opposition has accused the Government of changing its decisions very frequently but I see no harm in making changes if they deem necessary and are reasonable. It is not a crime. Moreover our Government is being run on democratic lines and it consists of human beings who can make changes if they feel the necessity of doing so. Another objection has been raised that the Government have compelled the people of Bombay to accept their decision and act accordingly. On one side they say that decisions are frequently changed while on the other they say that decisions have been rigidly enforced and Government have resorted to violence in enforcing their decisions. This situation reminds me of a complete : Oh-where should we take our hearts to it is in hardship everywhere, on one side is a congregation of fairies while on the other of beautiful maidens. On one hand they say that Government changes their decisions frequently while on the other they are accused of enforcing them rigidly, that is why I feel that the best solution is that which has been suggested in the President's Address. He has clearly stated therein that "the reorganisation of States is an important subject and we must apply all our wisdom and tolerance to it; but in larger perspective of India and of India's future it is a small matter what administrative boundaries we prescribe for a State".

What he means by this that there are more important matters besides this. The President has rightly said that most

of us generally forget that this great country is our mother land and it is our common heritage. When a student of Geometry wants to draw a circle, first of all he fixes a centre and then he can draw it well, and only then all the radii will be equal to each other and if the end of the compass lose its position then neither the circle would be drawn properly nor the radii would be equal. Hence it is necessary to fix the centre. For this purpose, Government have to be very careful to see as to how the authority of the centre and the unity of the country could be maintained. I do not know why languages have become the bone of contention between us. Fourteen languages have been mentioned in our Constitution and I think that every one of them is our national language. If we start thinking in that light then there would be no conflict at all. In other countries I have seen that people respect the language, culture and civilization of others. In our country we raise such slogans as "Hindi Cheeni Bhai Bhai" and "Hindi Roosi Bhai Bhai" but it is quite absurd that the Hindus and Sikhs in Punjab, the residents of Bengal and Bihar and the Maharashtra and Gujratis cannot live side by side like brothers. In such a stage of affairs our slogans are quite meaningless. First of all we should try to improve our own relations. As a matter of fact it is true that the Hindus and Sikhs in Punjab have lost faith in each other and they suspect each other.

**Acharya Kripalani** (Bhagalpur cum Purnea) : Not the Hindus and Sikhs but the leaders of both the communities suspect each other.

**Giani G. S. Musafir** : Shri Kripalani has rightly said that their leaders have created such suspicions. Therefore these leaders should avoid delivering such speeches here as may create misunderstanding amongst our masses. They should try to remove these misunderstandings. This reminds me of a beautiful couplet :

If the heartless beloved was not, yet was in the embrace of enemies,

But my misunderstanding kept him there for years.

These misunderstandings should better be removed. I do not agree with the hon. member who has suggested that

[Giani G. S. Musafir]

Reorganisation Commission's Report may be postponed for some time. We should face it boldly.

Regarding the method of negotiations, adopted recently, Acharya Kripalani has remarked that the Government changes their decisions very frequently. But in my opinion there is no harm in making changes because the Government make changes only when they consider it reasonable and useful and this is but natural. But if the Government make changes under the influence of threats, violence and disturbance then it is not proper. The Government have adopted the method of negotiations and mutual decisions and are always prepared to act likewise. I agree with Shri Kripalani that decision may be taken after mutual negotiations. Just as leaders negotiate and discuss things for the benefit of the people and then take decisions; if similar method is adopted then there is hardly any chance of any disturbances. Therefore, in my opinion it will not be proper to postpone this issue.

There is no obstacle in forming unilingual and bilingual provinces if we think it proper to do so. The trouble arises only when it is doubted that efforts would be made to root out the existing languages. There are no complications in a bilingual state if both the languages are given safeguards and they get equal opportunities as regards their study and progress. I see no harm in it. So far as the regional councils are concerned, I feel that if we succeed in forming a strong centre and our unity does not suffer then it is immaterial whether we establish regional councils or not. The benefit of the people should be the main consideration.

**Shri Tulsidas (Mehsana West):** I wish to thank you, Sir, for giving me an opportunity to make a few observations on my amendment to the Motion of Thanks to the President's Address. On this occasion I should like to draw the attention of the House to some important missing links and lacunae in the Government's economic policy which, in my humble opinion, should have been included in the aforesaid Address.

At the very outset let me make it clear that in my observations on the missing links and lacunae in the Government's economic policy, and parti-

cularly in my reference to the Second Five Year Plan, the draft outline of which has been recently published, I wish merely to make broad observations rather than make a detailed examination of the Government's economic policy and the Second Five Year Plan. This is largely so because I believe the House will have several occasions during this session, at the time of the two Budgets and also the various important Legislative measures such as those concerning the nationalisation of life insurance to make a threadbare examination of the various problems.

I find from the hon. Members' speeches made yesterday that the Members' attention is largely focussed on questions of secondary importance such as the States Reorganisation Report. So many aspects have been put forward, I do not wish to say anything more. Only yesterday my friend Mr. Asoka Mehta made certain observations. I agree with him fully in this respect that this reorganisation has brought a disgrace to this country not only internally but outside the country also and the sooner this problem is solved the better it will be for this country so that we can all think in terms of concentrating our attention on the constructive side of our next Five Year Plan which we are now embarking upon.

As our distinguished President has put it in his Address, it is the economic progress in the future years which is of paramount importance to the country rather than other issues like the reorganisation of States' boundaries. I am constrained to feel that the President in his Address should have dwelt more on domestic, economic and other urgent issues rather than devote half of his Address to foreign or international affairs. I do not wish to underrate the importance of international affairs but I would like to stress the recent developments on our economic front which, I feel, have perhaps not received the necessary attention of the Government and the people at large.

The President's Address is wanting in a fuller appraisal of the philosophy of the Second Plan and the socialist policy. It has also failed in its proper appreciation of the remarkable performance of the different elements such as the private sector in the First Plan. You know very well and whatever is put in the President's Address, it is clearly visible that it is very much due

to the efforts of the elements in the private sector; in fact, if I may say so, the public sector has completely failed in achieving the targets in the First Five Year Plan and, unfortunately, we find in the Second Plan again the responsibility is thrown much more on the public sector than on the elements which are responsible for the success of the First Five Year Plan. Its another shortcoming consists in under-estimating the great potential of those elements in actively participating in the task of rapid industrialisation set out in the Second Plan. I must submit that the President's Address fails to draw attention towards the weaknesses of the public sector in so far as it has fallen short of fulfilling the targets laid out for it in the First Plan.

Coming to the Second Plan, I fully appreciate the Government's anxiety to double the national income in the course of the next decade, its laudable objective of providing employment to 8 to 10 million men through large scale industrialisation. I also endorse the ideal of the socialistic pattern of society which has become the principal objective of Government's economic policy. I do not think there can be any quarrel as regards this ideal of socialism, as commonly understood in this country. In the draft outline of the Plan it is described as "an economic and social order, based upon the values of freedom and democracy, without caste, class, privilege, in which there will be a substantial rise in employment and production and the largest measures of social justice available". I do not mind by what name this ideal called by our friend on the Government side. To me what matters is the pattern of society concept of socialist pattern of society and also the means and methods by which this goal is to be achieved. All of us in this country who have learned the teachings of Gandhiji on ends and means will remember that the means we employ in attaining the aims should have greater importance because it is the means that will lead us to the ends. Gandhiji always had said that right and proper means all can lead us to the desired end in view. Use of incorrect or improper means will never take us to the ideals set forth.

Reading through the second Plan one gets bewildered because it is more of a discourse on economic philosophy and less of a down-to-earth plan for raising the country's living standards. It bears

an impress of the ivory tower dwellers more than that of the people who are intimately connected with field and factories. The draft outline of the Plan excels, in its masterly effort to compress in a skilful way, in a number of contradictions and inconsistencies in the Plan.

Let me deal with the first contradiction of the Plan. The Government's spokesmen including our hon. Prime Minister and the Finance Minister have often admitted that the private sector has done an excellent job in so far as it has over-reached the targets of production and investments set out for it in the first Plan. It has also been admitted by the Planning Commission and the Government that due to a variety of reasons the public sector has been lagging behind in the fulfilment of its targets in the first Plan. Besides, the private sector has also been giving invaluable help to the State by providing talents for pushing through some of its schemes in the public sector and for implementing a number of projects which the State has in view. While this commendable action of the Indian private sector has reflected its spirit of patriotism, it is a pity that it has encouraged the Government to expand the sphere of public sector in a spirit of complacency. This is evident from the allocations of resources and targets of production and investments set out in the draft outline of the second Plan. Ignoring this fundamental fact which reflects the capacity of the two sectors at this time, the second Plan gives to the public sector double its load in the first Plan as well as more than double the load it accords to the private sector. It thus inverts capacity. One really does not understand the logic behind the working of the Government's mind.

It is said that the greater importance to the public sector emerges from the desire to prevent concentration of economic power. I am one with those who seek to create a social democracy which provide a prosperous society based on the ideals of equality of opportunities to all. Other countries who have solved their problem of production have also faced the problem of distribution. They have also sought to bring about the ideal system of distribution by various means. Democracy and socialism have been the twin goal which have been accepted by not only India but many other freedom-loving people

## [Shri Tulsidas]

of the world. Various experiments have been made to achieve these twin objectives. In our efforts to achieve these ideals, we must so proceed as not to attain one by sacrificing the other. It must be very clear to all thinking people in this country that socialism without democracy will mean bread without freedom just as democracy without socialism will mean freedom without bread. Therefore, we must see that in the process of development we do not sacrifice one or the other. We must collectively attempt to bring about a society which provides opportunities to all, to work and labour, to earn one's own living through honest means, and at the same time, enjoy the freedom, or, what Professor Harold Lasky has said : "enjoy the variety of freedoms which includes the freedom to enjoy the fruits of one's labour through ownership of property rights".

We all know the British Labour Party in England tried the experiment of socialism in the post-war period and how they learnt, by trial and error, from the mistakes they committed. I would like to read from a recent article which has been published in *The Economist* of London and in which Mr. Richard Crossman has made some observations. It says :

"Socialism in practice has come to mean immense irresponsible public corporations and a state bureaucracy which Mr. Crossman calls "a grave potential threat to social democracy". Nationalisation is too often "a perversion of the socialist ideal" : it "has not changed the lives of the workers," but has added to "the steady concentration of power in the hands of the managerial class". And, as well as the crack of the party whip, there are unending examples of the ways in which trade unionists, in pursuance of an industrial battle that "has been won and the enemy forced to come to terms," persist in overriding the liberties (and, it should be added cramping the output) of individuals and minorities."

In the light of these lessons from abroad, what should be the ingredients of our economic policy ? To my mind, top precedence to production must be given. Egalitarian distribution in the absence of a higher level of production will simply mean the

distribution of poverty rather than the distribution of future prosperity. Decentralisation or democratisation of economic and political power should be the *sine qua non* of our future development. Dangers of political and bureaucratic centralisation are too well known to be emphasised. I feel that there should be an achievement of equality by creating a property-owning democracy. The place of nationalisation and controls should be such that the governing factor in this respect should be whether there is expansion of human freedom, initiative for social good and common prosperity or whether nationalisation and controls lead to annihilation or destruction of valuable human rights.

Another important consideration should be that the least possible compulsion should be used in achieving the process of equality. I commend the Bhoojan movement which today is achieving good results, because it is a question of property owning democracy, and there is no question of having centralisation of power and thereby creating more centres of power both with regard to the political and economic spheres. What I would like to stress is that the President has not given us a clear picture of what society is supposed to be in future : whether it is going to be a society of regimentation to the extent of losing all the human rights and values or whether it is going to be a society which will have democracy, a free democracy, where the expression of views by the public and a free press would be possible. I only hope that in our future Plan, this is going to be the basis especially when we have always said from the top of our houses that the country is wedded to democracy and in every respect, whatever the consequences, democracy must be made to function.

I have broadly indicated the points that should be taken into account particularly when we take the different aspects at the time of considering the second Five Year Plan and the Budget. But, as we are now on the threshold of the second Five Year Plan, it is but necessary that the people should pay attention to what is going to be our aim about the future society of this country.

I have another amendment to the President's Address and that is with regard to transport. This is an important question and, as you know, I have

brought to the notice of the Lok Sabha even before how important transport is to the development of our country. Whatever be our plans, transport is going to be the most important factor which is either going to mar our progress or going to increase the pace of our progress. In my opinion, the importance of transport has not been taken note of so much either in the President's Address or in the second Five Year Plan. I find that the condition is getting from bad to worse with regard to transport. You must have recently heard about the stoppage of gas in Bombay for residential quarters on account of coal shortage. There have been stoppages of factories. One cotton mill was closed in Ahmedabad on account of lack of coal supply and on account of transport difficulties. I do not know how they are going to solve these difficulties. Unless and until all modes of transport are encouraged as much as possible and unless full freedom is given to all modes of transport, this problem cannot be solved. We should not rely merely on the railways, but encourage all modes of transport; only then it will be possible for us to solve this transport problem. No matter how much money is spent on railways, the railways are not, in my opinion, going to solve the problem of transport in this country. I feel that this very important aspect has not been taken note of in the President's Address.

I have brought these two important points to your notice because, I feel that in the present context of the situation when people's minds are focussed more on the re-organisation of the States, it is much better that we think of doing something constructive and not merely put forward narrow views of State re-organisation. The country is faced with very serious problems today and Mr. Asoka Mehta and Acharya Kripalani have pointed out how serious they are. I feel that unless and until this problem is solved in a way which would be satisfactory to everybody, it is much better to postpone this issue for some time when people will have a little more sober views to express and act dispassionately.

**श्री राधा रमाण (दिल्ली नगर):** उपाध्यक्ष जी, हमारे साथी ने जो प्रस्ताव राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण के सम्बन्ध में सवन के सामने रखा है, मैं उस का समर्थन करने के लिये बड़ा हुआ हूँ। मैं यह देखता हूँ कि राष्ट्रपति ने अपने अभिभाषण को छव्वीम लड़ियों में पिरोया है, और हर

लड़ी में उन्होंने एक विषय की चर्चा की है। साल भर में एक बार हम को ऐसा अवसर मिलता है कि जब हम राष्ट्रपति के मुख से अपने देश में हुए कार्यों का कुछ वर्णन सुनते हैं और हमें यह भीका मिलता है कि हम उसकी आलोचना करें या उसका समर्थन करें। अगर हम इस अभिभाषण को—इस वार्षिक उपहार को, जो कि इस वर्ष उन्होंने हम को दिया है—निष्पक्षता से आद्योगिक पढ़ें और उस में ब्रिटिशों ने दूँड़ने लग जायें, भारतवर्ष में जितनी भी घटनायें घटी हैं, उन सब को बहां टोलने न लग जायें या उस में उन अपने स्वार्थ के विषयों को देखने न लग जायें, जिन से हम को कुछ ज्यादा मुहब्बत है, तो हम इसी परिणाम पर पहुँचेंगे कि राष्ट्रपति का अभिभाषण हमारे देश की आज की स्थिति का एक बहुत अच्छा नक्शा हमारे सामने पेश करता है।

इस अभिभाषण में चौदह या पन्द्रह ऐसे विषय हैं, जिन्हें हम बैदेशिक नीति से सम्बन्ध रखता हुआ पाते हैं। हमारे कुछ भाइयों ने इस बात पर आपत्ति की है कि राष्ट्रपति ने अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय विषयों को इतना महत्व दिया है, जितना कि शायद उन को महीं देना चाहिये था, बल्कि उन को घरेलू मामलों पर अधिक प्रकाश डाला गा चाहिये था। मैं उन की इस बात से सहमत नहीं हूँ, क्योंकि मैं यह समझता हूँ कि अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय और हाष्ट्रीय विषयों को एक दूसरे से गहरा लगाव होता है। इस के अतिरिक्त, जो अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय मसले हमारे सामने आज आ रहे हैं, उन की गम्भीरता को सामने रखते हुए जितनी भी चर्चा उम की की जाय, उस से हमें संतोष ही होना चाहिये। हां, यह देखना जल्दी है कि अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय विषयों की चर्चा करते समय यही हम घरेलू मामलों को भूल तो नहीं जाते, या जिस की चर्चा नहीं करनी चाहिये, जिस की कोई विशेषता या महत्व हम को नज़र नहीं आती, वह तो उस में भीजूद नहीं है। मैं यह अर्ज करूँगा कि थोड़े दिन पहले मुझे कुछ पढ़ीसी देशों में जाने का भीका मिला था। बाबूजूद इस बात के कि हमारे घरेलू मामले और अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय मामलों में बहुत सी उलझनें हैं, जिन को हर एक आदमी स्वीकार करता है, और बाबूजूद हमारी सब कमज़ोरियों के, जिन को छिपाने की हम ने कभी कोशिश नहीं की है और जिनका ऐलान हम ने स्पष्टता से न सिर्फ अपने देश में बल्कि देश के बाहर भी किया है, आज हमारी अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय नीति के कारण दुनिया में भारतवर्ष का बहुत बड़ा नाम है और कोई भी दूसरा

## [ श्री राजा रमेश ]

इस तथ्य को मानने से हक्कार नहीं कर सकता। अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय अंतर्वर्ष में भारतवर्ष ने जो काम किया है, वह एक ऐसा काम है, जिसकी भारतवर्ष के दृश्यमन श्री सराहना और प्रशंसा करते हैं। यह ठीक है कि हम चाहते हैं कि गोप्या का प्रश्न जल्दी से जल्दी हल हो। हम यह भी चाहते हैं कि पाकिस्तान के साथ हमारे सम्बन्ध और भी ज्यादा धनिष्ठ हों, मैत्रीपूर्ण हों, हमारे बीच में इस बहत जो उत्तराव हों, वे सुलझें। हम यह भी चाहते हैं कि संका, नेपाल और हमारे दूसरे पड़ोसी देशों के साथ हमारी जो उलझने हैं, वे दूर हों और इस सम्बन्ध में हम सतत प्रयत्न कर रहे हैं। हमारी सरकार ने इस बारे में जो प्रयत्न किये हैं, वे सराहनीय हैं। आज भी वे प्रयत्न बन्द नहीं हुए हैं। हम में से हर एक जानता है कि हमारे देश के नेता और विशेष कर हमारे प्राइम मिनिस्टर साहब (प्रधान मंत्री) उस के लिये इन्तहाई फिक्र रखते हैं और कोशिश कर रहे हैं।

हमारे कुछ भाई बाज और कात यह कहते हैं कि हिन्दुस्तान की सरकार की नीति बहुत ढीली है, वह ऐसी खोलखली नीति है कि उस से ये प्रश्न किसी सूरत में हल नहीं हो सकते और वे हमारे लिये हमेशा परेशानी का कारण बने रहें। परन्तु मैंने इस सदन के किसी भी सदस्य को एक भी ऐसा मुझाव देते नहीं सुना जिस के अनुसार हम अपनी उस सत्य और अहिंसा की नीति पर चलते हुए कोई और कदम उठा सकें, जिस के कारण हम इस मंजिल पर पहुंचे हैं, और जिस की बदौलत हम आगे की मन्जिलों को भी तय करेंगे। कोई भी बात कह देना निहायत आसान होता है। मैं अब करना चाहता हूँ कि हिन्दुस्तान के ३६ करोड़ लोग और उन के नुमांग दे हम लोग, सभी यह चाहते हैं कि गोप्या जल्दी से जल्दी हिन्दुस्तान का अंग बने और उस में शामिल हो। लेकिन साथ ही हम यह भी चाहते हैं कि जो नीति हम ने, हमारी सरकार ने, अब तक प्रस्तुतयार कर रखी है, जिस पर चल कर हम ने पांडिचेरी और चन्द्रनगर को अपने साथ मिलाया, उसी नीति पर हम चलते रहें और उसी पर चलते हुए हम गोप्या को हिन्दुस्तान का अंग बनायें। मगर जो आलोचक यह बात कहते हैं कि यह नीति गलत है, और कोई कदम उठाना चाहिये, वे हम को यह नहीं बतलाते कि सत्य और अहिंसा की पालिसी के बल पर और कौन सा कदम उठाया जा सकता है जिस ने गोप्या एक-दो दिन में, या बहुत जल्दी हिन्दुस्तान

का अंग बन जाये। मगर किसी बड़े काम को पूरा करने में हम धैर्य से काम नहीं लेंगे और अपनी नीति पर आरूढ़ नहीं रहेंगे तो हम ने जो कुछ भी पाया है उसे भी लो देंगे। यह बात व्यापार में रखने की है।

इसी तरह जो और अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय मसले हैं उनको हल करना हमारा फ़र्ज है। उनके हल करने की दिशा में हमारा सतत प्रयत्न है। हम अपने मार्ग पर दृढ़ हैं, और हमें इस बात का विश्वास है कि इस नीति के बल पर हमें इस काम में सफलता मिलेगी चाहे थोड़ी देर भले ही लग जाये। मैं समझता हूँ कि हमें यह बात भूलनी नहीं चाहिये।

राज्य पुनर्गठन आयोग की सिफारिशों के बारे में जब से उसकी रिपोर्ट प्रकाशित हुई यहां और सारे मुल्क में तरह-तरह की बातें हो रही हैं, और उन बातों को सुन कर मुझे अफसोस होता है, मायूसी होती है, और परेशानी होती है। बात सीधी है। हमारा मुल्क बहुत तेजी से आगे बढ़ता जा रहा था और मुझे विश्वास है कि वह आयन्दा भी आगे जायेगा। इस में कोई शक नहीं है। लेकिन इस आयोग ने हमारे रास्ते में कुछ रुकावटें डाल दी हैं। यह सही है कि प्राज हमारे देश में अधिकांश सूबों ने आयोग की रिपोर्ट को मंजूर कर लिया है। लेकिन, मैं यह कहने के लिये तैयार हूँ कि जो हमारा देश तेजी से प्रगति कर रहा था उस में इस आयोग ने रुकावट डाल दी है। यह ठीक है कि हम ने इस आयोग की सिफारिशों की बिना पर बहुत से मसलों को हल कर लिया है और जो मसले बाकी हैं उन्हें भी हम हल कर लेंगे। लेकिन मैं देखता हूँ कि आज हम अपने नेताओं की श्रद्धा के कारण, या कुछ उन के डर के कारण बहुत सी बातें स्वीकार कर रहे हैं, लेकिन हमारे दिल में एक चोर है और वह चोर चाहे जब निकल सकता है। बम्बई में जो घटनायें हुईं, उड़ीसा में जो घटनायें हुईं, और उन से जो देश को हानि पहुंची और जो सारी दुनिया में उसके सम्मान को धक्का लगा, मैं समझता हूँ कि मुझे उसको बताने की जरूरत नहीं है। इस सदन में एक सदस्य भी ऐसा नहीं होगा जिस ने इस को अनुभव न किया हो। जब बम्बई में ये घटनायें हो रही थीं, मैं उस समय बर्मा में था और मुझे इन घटनाओं के कारण बही शर्म पाई और अफसोस हुआ। बर्मा लोग भेरे पास आते थे और मुझसे कहते थे कि आप के देश में तो सत्य और अहिंसा की नीति बरती जाती है, वे महात्मा बुद्ध का भी नाम लेते थे और महात्मा

गांधी की भी याद दिलाते थे और कहते थे कि तुम यह चाहते हो कि मुनिया को सत्य और अहिंसा का पाठ पढ़ाओ, अगर यह बम्बई में क्या हो रहा है। मैं उन के इस सब्बाल का कोई जबाब नहीं दे पाता था और शर्म से मेरा मस्तक नीचे झक जाता था। आज भी हम यहां पर लोगों के तरह तरह के विचार सुनते हैं। जहां एक तरफ यह कही जाता है कि हिन्दुस्तान एक हो, हिन्दुस्तान के ३६ करोड़ लोग एक हों, उनमें अमन और प्रेम हो और सहयोग हो, लेकिन दूसरी ओर हम यह देखते हैं कि यह सब कहते हुए भी जब यहां बोलते हैं तो ऐसी ऐसी बातें कहते हैं जिन से मालूम होता है कि जैसे जले पर नमक छिक रहे हों। ये बातें दिलों को और भी जदा करती हैं। इस बहत बहरत इस बात की है कि हम ऐसा प्रयत्न करें कि हमारा मुल्क मजबूत हो, हमारी सरकार मजबूत हो और हम प्रगति करते चले जायें। मैं निहायत अदब से इस सदन के सारे सदस्यों को कहूँगा कि बहुत काफी हो चुका। राज्यपुनर्गठन आयोग ने जो सिफारिशें की थीं वे बहुत सोब विचार के बाद की थीं। वह ऐसे तीन व्यक्तियों द्वारा की गई थीं कि जिन पर सारे देश को विश्वास था। सब यह महसूस करते थे ये लोग जो कुछ भी करेंगे और जो कुछ भी सोचेंगे वह मुल्क के लिये निहायत अच्छा होगा। आज क्यों उन परसे यह विश्वास हट रहा है। क्यों हम आयोग की आलोचना करते हैं और क्यों हम उस की रिपोर्ट के कुछ हिस्सों पर इतना लड़ते हैं कि आपस में मार-काट पर उतार हो जाते हैं। ऐसा करने से हमारे काम को हानि पहुँचती है और सारी मुनिया में हमारे मुल्क का नाम बदलाम होता है। मैं निहायत अदब से तमाम सदस्यों से प्रार्थना करूँगा कि अगर आयोग की सिफारिशों के परिणाम स्वरूप कोई सूबा कटता है तो किसी सूबे में कोई ऐसी घटा-बड़ी होती है जो उन को पसन्द नहीं है तो वे उस को देश के हित को ध्यान में रखकर स्वीकार कर लें। इस उम्मीद पर कि ऐसा करने से हमारा मुल्क तेजी से आगे बढ़ेगा। इन्सान वही है जो बहत पहने पर कुर्बानी करने को तैयार होता है। जो सूबा आज सारे हिन्दुस्तान को एक रखने के लिये सारे हिन्दुस्तान को आगे बढ़ाने के लिये कुर्बानी करेगा, वह हिन्दुस्तान की तारीख में अमर रहेगा और हमेशा उस का नाम सुनहरे हरफों में लिखा जायेगा। मैं चाहता हूँ कि आज चाहे वह बंगाल और विहार का प्रश्न हो, चाहे संयुक्त महाराष्ट्र का प्रश्न

हो और चाहे विशाल आनंद का प्रश्न हो, हमें इन छोटे विचारों को छोड़ना चाहिये और हिन्दुस्तान की एकता को विशेष रूप से अपने सामने रखना चाहिये और हमें आयोग की सिफारिशों को ही मंजूर कर लेना चाहिये। यह हमारी बदलिस्तानी है कि हम एक कमीशन बनाते हैं, उस पर हम को पूरा विश्वास होता है, लेकिन जब वह एक रिपोर्ट पेश करता है तो उसे हम स्वीकार नहीं करते और आपस में ही छोटी-छोटी बातों के लिये झगड़ते हैं।

मैं अपनी सरकार से भी एक बात कहना चाहता हूँ। मैं यह नहीं कह सकता कि यह कहां तक ठीक है लेकिन आम लोगों को हमारी सरकार के बारे में यह स्वाल है कि यह एक छोटी सरकार है, जो फैसला करती है उसको बदल भी देती है। लेकिन इतना मैं अपेक्षा करूँगा कि अगर हम आयोग की सिफारिशों को आहिस्ता आहिस्ता बदलने लगते हैं, तो इस का नतीजा यह होगा कि अगड़े बड़े और हमारी ताकत कमज़ोर होगी और जो हम एक मजबूत मुल्क देखना चाहते हैं वह नहीं बन सकेगा। इसलिये मैं सरकार से प्रार्थना करूँगा कि जितनी जल्दी हो सके इस मसले को खत्म करें, इधर करें या उधर करें ताकि सारे देश के ३६ करोड़ लोग उस फैसले के पीछे चल सकें। देश के ३६ करोड़ इन्सानों को इन फैसलों से कुछ ज्यादा लेना-देना नहीं है। उनकी दिलचस्पी और जलाई हसी में है कि वह लुशाहाल हों। उन्हें बीमारी से, गरीबी से और तरह तरह के कष्टों से निजात मिले, जन साधारण की तकलीफें दूर हों। हमें इन सब बातों की ओर ध्यान देना चाहिये।

हमारी पहली पंचवर्षीय योजना अब समाप्त होने जा रही है। उस की सफलतायें हमारे सामने हैं। उस से हमें कुछी भी होती है और कुछ असंतोष भी है। कुछी तो इस बात की होती है हमने कामयादी हासिल की है और असंतोष इस बात का कि जितना हम करना चाहते थे वह नहीं कर सके। लेकिन फिर भी हमें संतोष है कि हम ने जो कदम आगे उठाया था वह आगे ही बढ़ता जाता है। हमारी आंख इस बात पर लगी हूँह है कि कब हम उस मंजिल पर पहुँचे कि हमारे देश के ३६ करोड़ लोगों की गरीबी दूर हो। हम चाहते हैं कि हमारे देश में ऐसी ताकत पैदा हो कि हम अपनी हालत को सुधारते हुए तेजी से मुल्क को आगे से जायें। मैं जानता हूँ कि हमारी बड़ी बड़ी आकांक्षाएँ हैं और हमारी

## [ जी राजा रमेश ]

आखरी मंजिल भी हूर है। परन्तु हमारा विश्वास है कि हम जल्दी ही वहां पहुँचेंगे। ऐसी हमारी आकांक्षा होनी चाहिये। हम ने जो पहस्ती योजना में कामयादी हासिल की है उस को देखते हुए भूमि पूरा विश्वास है कि हमारी दूसरी योजना उस से कहीं ज्यादा कामयाद होगी। लेकिन मैं दो-तीन बातों की तरफ सबमें का और उपाध्यक्ष महोदय का व्यायाम दिलाना चाहता हूँ। मैं नहीं जानता कि आज से १५ या २० साल पहले हमारे देश में भ्रष्टाचार और धूसखोरी की लोगों को कितनी आदात थी। मेरे पास पैमाना नहीं है, मेरे पास कोई तराजू नहीं है कि, मैं यह देख लूँ कि पलड़ा ब्रब भारी है या जब भारी था। लेकिन, मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि ज्यों-ज्यों हम आये बढ़ते हैं, हमें यह विश्वास नहीं होता कि हमारी जनता आज भ्रष्टाचार रहित हो गई है और हमारे मुल्क में धूस नहीं है। अगर हम यह चाहते हैं कि हम अपनी अगली पंचवर्षीय योजना को कामयादी की मंजिल तक पहुँचा सकें, तो याहिर है कि हमें कोई न कोई मजबूत क़दम इस भ्रष्टाचार को और धूस को रोकने के लिये उठाना पड़ेगा।

आज हमारे सामने बहुत सारे ऐसे विधेयक आते हैं कि जिनके जरिये हम आम लोगों की हालत को बेहतर केन्द्रना चाहते हैं और इस में कोई शक नहीं है कि उन विधेयकों पर अमल करने से मुल्क की हालत बेहतर होगी और मैं यह भी जानता हूँ कि वे जरूरी हैं, लेकिन मैं यह देखता हूँ कि जिन हाथों के जरिये उन विधेयकों को अमल में साया जाता है, वे इतने कमजोर और इतने हल्के हैं कि उन विधेयकों से जो नतीजा निकलना चाहिये वह नहीं निकलता और जो उन का असर होना चाहिये, वह नहीं होता।

अभी कल या परसों हमारे पूजनीय आचार्य कृपलानी ने एक बात अनटचेलिटी (अस्पृश्यता) के बारे में कही और जो उन्होंने कहा वह असाधारण रहा होगा क्योंकि मैं यह कहने को तैयार नहीं हूँ कि आज देश में छाप्राकृत पहले से ज्यादा है या पहले से कम नहीं है। मैं तो यह मानता हूँ कि आज हमारे देश में छाप्राकृत बहुत कम है। आज से पन्द्रह वर्ष पहले इसी दिल्ली शहर की गलियों में अगर कोई भगी या चूड़ा निकलता था तो उस के साथे से आदमी भागते थे, आज ऐसी हालत नहीं है। आज हमारे मुल्क से छाप्राकृत बहुत कम हो चकी है। आज अस्पृश्यता किंवारण के हेतु हमारे देश में कानन मौजूद

है तब फिर असाधारण क्षम से भी किसी हरिजन के साथ असमान व्यवहार होता चलता रहता है। तब जब इस प्रकार की घटनाओं की चर्चा सुनते हैं तो हमें आश्चर्य होता है कि कानन के मौजूद रहने पर भी इस प्रकार की घटनायें हो जाती हैं। और हरिजन और गैरहरिजन एक साथ मिल कर नहीं रह रहे हैं। विधेयक के मौजूद होते हुए, कृपलानी जी ने जैसा बतलाया अगर वैसा व्यवहार किसी भी हरिजन के साथ किया गया तो वह अति निन्दनीय है और किसी को वैसा व्यवहार करने की हिम्मत नहीं होनी चाहिये थी। लेकिन, इस तरह का व्यवहार करने की हमारे लोगों को आज कानन के रहते हिम्मत होती है और यह हिम्मत उनको इसलिये होती है क्योंकि आज आम लोगों के अन्दर इस तरह की भावना फैली हुई है कि इन विधेयकों से होना जाना कुछ नहीं है, क्योंकि जिन कर्मचारियों पर इन विधेयकों के प्रभाव में ज्ञाने की जिम्मेदारी है, वह उतनी मजबूती और ईमानदारी से अपने कर्तव्य का पालन नहीं करते और अक्सर तजुर्बा लोगों को यह रहा है कि बहुत से काम जिन में कायदे कानूनों की पावन्दी करने में देर लगती है धूस जेने अथवा देने से काम आसानी से बन जाता है और जो आदमी सदाकात पसन्द हो और जो अपने बल पर ज़ड़ा होना चाहता हो, उस को सिवाय तकलीफ के और कोई चीज़ पल्ले नहीं पढ़ती और बहुत सी दुश्वारियों का सामना करना पड़ता है।

एक बात में इस सिलसिले में और कहना चाहता हूँ कि हम ने पहली पंचवर्षीय योजना में बहुत बड़े बड़े काम किये हैं और दूसरी आने वाली पंचवर्षीय योजना में उस से भी बड़े बड़े काम करना चाहते हैं, मगर मैं यह देखता हूँ कि देश के अन्दर आज जो नौजवान तबका (नवयुवक बांग) है, और जिन नौजवानों के ऊपर आपका भविष्य निर्भर करता है, उन नौजवानों की हालत आज बड़ी खराब है। हमारे मुल्क में शिक्षा दी जाती है वह नवयुवकों में इन मानुषिक गुणों को पैदा करने में समर्थ नहीं है। शिक्षा की पढ़ति के विषय में जितना भी कहा जाय, थोड़ा है। और मेरा तो यह विश्वास है कि हम लोग और बातों की तरफ तो काफी ध्यान देते हैं और हमने ध्यान दिया है, लेकिन शिक्षा की ओर जो बहुत सी महत्वपूर्ण समस्या किसी देश के लिये हो सकती है, उस की ओर जितना ध्यान दिया जाना चाहिये था, नहीं दिया है। अगर आप किसी भूम्ल को एक नये

दांधे में डालना चाहते हैं और उस को इस योग्य बनाना चाहते हैं कि जिस के बल पर वह बड़े-बड़े काम कर सके, तो सब से पहला काम आप का यह होना चाहिये कि आप इ वर्ष के छोटे बच्चे से लेकर कम से कम उस बक्त तक जब तक कि वह पर्याप्त शिक्षा प्राप्त नहीं कर सकता उस की शिक्षा का आप उचित तौर पर प्रबन्ध करें। आप को बालकों को सही और उपयोगी किसी की शिक्षा देनी चाहिये। आज अफसोस यह है कि हमारे बजट का बहुत योड़ा हिस्सा शिक्षा की मद पर खर्च होता है, जो कि बिल्कुल अपर्याप्त है। मैं तो कहूँगा कि शिक्षा का काम सब से पहला काम है, जो सरकार को करना चाहिये। अगर सरकार चाहती है कि हमारे देश में से भ्रष्टाचार आदि कुरीतियां दूर हों, तो हमें अपने देशवासियों को ठीक तरीके पर शिक्षित करने की ओर अग्रसर होना चाहिये। मुझे यह देख कर बाज दफा आइचर्य होता है कि हम से छोटे मुल्क जैसे वर्मा आदि में शिक्षा की ओर कहीं अधिक ध्यान दिया जा रहा है और वहां पर निःश्वल शिक्षा युनिवर्सिटी स्टैन्डर्ड तक दी जाती है, जब कि अभी तक प्राइमरी शिक्षा भी हमारे सारे मुल्क में अनिवार्य नहीं हुई है। यह हक ऐसी कमज़ोरी है जिस की तरफ हमें अधिक ध्यान देना चाहिये। अगर हम शिक्षा के ढंग को बदलेंगे, उस के अन्दर नया रस पेंदा करने की ताकत देंगे, तो म आप को यह विश्वास दिलाता हूँ कि आप की दूसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना कामयाब होगी और उस को कामयाब बनाने के लिये खुद व खुद उस के अन्दर एक ऐसी रवानी आ जायगी। जो हमें कामयाबी तक पहुँचा सके। ठीक शिक्षा एक ऐसी आवोहना (वातावरण) पैदा कर देती है कि समाज को बिना बहुत बड़ी शक्ति लगाये अपनी मंजिल पर पहुँचना भ्रासान हो जाता है जैसे भीड़ में घिरा हुआ आदमी बिना जोर लगाये आगे बढ़ता है अथवा पानी में तैरते हुए आदमी को अपनी शक्ति नहीं लगानी पड़ती और पानी का बहाव उसे आगे ले जाता है। इसीलये, शिक्षा-व्यवस्था में सुधार लाने की ओर सरकार को विशेष ध्यान देना बड़ा जरूरी ह, क्योंकि हम यह जानते हैं कि ऐसा करने से हमारा मकसद बहुत जल्दी पूरा होगा और हम अपनी मंजिल को पूर्व जायेंगे में आप का ज्यादा बक्त नहीं लेना चाहता। मैं जो धन्यवाद का प्रस्ताव श्री भागवत ज्ञ भाजाद ने रखा है, उस का समर्थन करता हूँ। भारत सरकार ने इस में कोई शक्ति नहीं है कि अपने काम को बहुत ही अच्छे तरीके से बलाया है

और भारत सरकार ने वेक नीमसी के साथ जनता की सेवा करने की कोशिश की है और जनता की जो सेवा उस ने की है उस के लिये हम सब लोगों को राष्ट्रपति को, जिन्होंने अपने अभिभावण में सरकार के उन कामों का व्यौरा दिया है, उस के लिये उन को धन्यवाद देना चाहिये। जब राष्ट्रपति हमारे बीच में आकर हमें कुछ अपना संदेश देते हैं, एक वार्षिक उपहार के रूप में, तो हम उन का शुक्रिया धन्दा करना ही चाहिये और उन का धन्यवाद भी करना चाहिये।

आखिर म में एक बात यह कहूँगा कि हम और आप सभी एक बीज के गुमाम से हो गये हैं और वह यह है कि हम जितना काम नहीं करते हैं उतना उस का दिलावा करते ह और दिलावे पर काफी बन खर्च कर डालते हैं। हम हैडलूम बोर्ड बनाते हैं, या बैंकबर्ड क्लासेज़ कमीशन बनाते हैं, और इसी तरह से और आयोजन करते हैं, तो हमें अनुभव ने बताया है कि जितना उम के द्वारा वास्तविक काम नहीं होता उतना साल व साल उन के सम्मेलन बूला कर और धन्य आयोजन करके सर्वनाथ डोल बौटा जाता है कि हम यह करने जा रहे हैं और इस प्रदर्शन पर बहुत सारा रुपया खर्च कर डालते हैं। मैं समझता हूँ कि प्रदर्शन करने के बाजाय अगर हम काम की तरफ ज्यादा तबज्जह दें, तो शायद हम कुछ ज्यादा काम कर सकेंगे और आम लोगों पर भी उसका प्रभाव ज्यादा पड़ेगा।

बस, अब मैं अपना भाषण समाप्त करूँगा। उपाध्यक्ष जी मैं आप का बहुत धनुग्हीत हूँ कि आप ने मुझे इतना समय बोलने के लिये दिया। अन्त में अपनी टूटी फूटी तुक बन्धी आप के सामने रख कर मैं बैठ जाता हूँ।

“कर्म को मानो सर्व प्रधान, कर्म ही हो हमारा जीवन-प्राप्त, कर्म में बसते हैं भगवान्, कर्म पर होना है बलिदान।”

इस भावना को ले कर हमें कर्म भाग में उतरना चाहिये, तभी हम सफलता प्राप्त कर सकेंगे।

شروع ایم - ابھی دھان (مودودی) قسٹر کیف - مہنگل (مودودی) کے اپنے دو دن سے میر مدد

[شروع ایم - ایچ - دھنیان]

دھنی ہے اور آج اس بحث کا توسرہ دن ہے - میں بھی اس موقع پر واشنگٹن پریس کو ان کے بھاشن کے لئے چو بدهائی کا پروگرام تھا ہے اس کے ساتھ کرنے کے لئے کہا ہوا ہوں -

کی طاقت یا شکاری نہیں ہے جس سے کہ ہم اس بیوی لہنی کو دوک دین بلکہ ہمارا وشواس اور بھروسے تو اس بات پر ہے کہ ہنہاں کے دہنے دوکھ سے کہیں ہیں لوانی دکنی نہیں ہے - وہ بوجھتی ہی جاتی ہے -

[PANDIT THAKUR DAS BHARGAVA  
in the chair]

اُس لمحے ہماری پالسی درحقیقت ایسی پالیسی ہے جس سے کہ یہاں کے سانہ کہا جا سکتا ہے کہ ہمارے ملک اور دیہن میں ہی نہیں دنیا کے تمام حصوں میں ہم شاہی اور امن لا سکتے ہیں - آج وہ وقت آگھا ہے کہ جب افتراض کرنے والے بھو اس پالیسی کی حمایت کرنے اور اس کو پسند کرنے پر مجبور ہیں - اور جو دوسرے بُوے بُوے ملکوں کے نیتا ہمارے بہان آئے انہوں نے بھی اسکی سواہلا کی اور آج تو اس کے انکار کی کوئی گنجائش ہی نہیں ہے جب ہم نے اس پالسی کو پلچھائی پر لا کر دکھا - اور ہم نے اپنے مقصد کو ان پانچ اصولوں پر دکھ کر پیس کیا جس کو کہ بُوئی بُوئی حکومتوں اور گورنمنٹوں نے اور بُوئی بُوئی طاقتوں نے بھی نسلیم کو لیا تب جو ہمارے گیر کے لوگ ہماری شاہی کی اس پالسی کا مذاق ادا نہیں کرے اور وطن کے ملکاں جو اس کو برا برا کہنے نہیں وہ بھی اسکا اعتراف کرنے کے لئے موجود ہونے - اس لمحے آج اس کو کوئی حاجت نہیں ہے کہ میں اس کی کوئی لمبی جوڑی تعریف کوں -

ایدھیس میں جن چھوٹوں پر توجہ دلائی ہے اور گورنمنٹ کی پالیسی کو جس طریقے سے نسایاں کہا ہے میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ آج اس کی بہت ضرورت توں کے ہڈیے سامنے ایک واضح پا لہسی صاف پالیسی آئے جس سے ہم اپنی سرکار کے معاملات کو زیادہ یہ زیادہ بہتر سوچ سکھنے اور ان پر عمل کو سکھنے - بالھری راجلیوں کے بارے میں چو کچھ ایڈرس میں کہا ہے وہ چیز ایسی ہے کہ جس کو ہم نے ہار بار دھوایا ہے اور مجھے یاد ہے کہ جس وقت ہم نے اپنی بالھری راجلیوں کو سامنے رکھا اور ہمارے لہتھو نے ایسے پیہن کیا تھا اس وقت پا را ہامیلٹن سے بالھری اور لوک سوہا کے اندر بھی بہت سے ہمارے بھائیوں نے اس کا مذاق اڑایا تھا - اور یہ کہا تھا کہ فھر جانہدلو ہونا کوئی اچھی بالسی نہیں ہوگی - یہ ایک قسم کی نیکیتھو اور نہیں کی پالیسی ہے - لیکن اس وقت لہتھو نے ہمارے سامنے قوت کے سانہ - طاقت کے ساتھ یہ بات بھائیوں کے یہ پالیسی نہیں کی پالسی نہیں ہے - بلکہ ہمار کی پالیسی ہے - امن کی پالسی ہے - اور ایک ایسا طریقہ کہ ہو گئے تو آئے والی لوانی کو دوک سکتے ہیں - ہمارے پاس کوئی ہتھیاروں

اس میں کوئی شک نہیں ہے کہ جس طرح سے ہندوستان نے اس تہسیلی جلگ کو دوکھ کی کمشن کی گرم اور سرد دونوں قسموں کی جلگوں کو جس طرح دو کا آج دنیا اس کو اس نے لئے بدعافی دے رہی ہے خوش آمدید کہی ہے۔ ہمارے داشت پریس کے ایک دریس میں خاص طور پر دو چیزوں پر تکلف کا اظہار کیا کیا ہے چنان طافر کی ڈی ہے کہ وہ چھوڑو، جلد سے جلد دو ہوئی چاہتہں ایک مسئلہ پر نکال کا ہے جتو کہ کووا سے تعلق رکھتا ہے اس مسئلہ کے بارے میں اس میں کوئی شک نہیں ہے کہ اکثر اس بات کا اظہار کیا کیا ہے کہ ہمیں اس سے تشویش ہے چلتا ہے لہکر یہ چیز تو ہمارے سامنے پہلے آجکی ہے اور گورنمنٹ اور سرکار کی پالیسی جس طرح واضح ہو چکی ہے میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ اس بارے میں دو دلائیں نہیں ہیں اور دلائیں نے اس بات کو تسلیم کر لیا ہے کہ کووا ہمارے ہندستان کے ہی اندر ہے اور ہمارے دیس کا ہی ایک حصہ ہے وہ چیز دو ملکوں کے معاملہ سے تعلق نہیں رکھتی ہمارے اپنے مکان کے اندر کی چیز ہے۔ لیکن اس میں کچھ ایسی انحرافیں اور اچھوں بھی ہیں۔ داکویں بھی ہیں جن کی وجہ سے ہمیں اس کو حاصل کرنے میں دیر مدد و مس ہو رہی ہے۔ لیکن جیسا ابھی ہمارے دوست رائے میں چیز نے کہا ہمیں اس بات کا پورا یقین ہے کہ جس طرح سے ہم نے اپنے دوسرے دو معاملوں کو طے کیا اور ان کو فرانسیسیوں سے حاصل کوئی اپنا جزا بنا لیا ہے اسی طرح سے کووا بھی ہمارا حصہ ہو کر دھی کا اور ہمارے اندر خوشحالی کی زندگی بس رکھے گا۔ لیکن کووا کے بارے میں میں ایک آزاد دلائی بھی دکھنا ہوں۔ پچھلے وقت میں جس طریقہ سے ہم نے کووا کے معاملے میں اگئے بڑھکر ہندوستان میں ایک ادولن کا ساتھ دیا تھا یہ مہمی آزادانہ دلائی ہے۔ مہماں فسیل اور ہونٹے اس بات کو پکار یکو کہا ہے۔

ہے کہ یقیناً وہ پالیسی اسی طریقہ سے قائم رہی چاہئے۔ جو کہ ہماری امن کی پالیسی ہے۔ اور جو ہماری شانستی کی پالیسی ہے۔ البتہ امن اور شانستی کی پالیسی میں بھی اہم استھانیں ہیں۔ ایسے درجہ جات ہوتے ہیں جو پسست دلقاری کی جگہ کئے جاتے ہیں کہ زیادہ تہذیب و فتاد سے حل کرنے کے لئے بڑھتے ہیں آج جدگ کا سوال نہیں ہے۔ ہتھیاروں کے استعمال کا سوال نہیں ہے انتہی نیشل از چلن کا بھی ہمیں پوچھی طرح سے صحیح اندازہ ہے۔ ہم کو پوچھا ہے کہ ہمارے امن اور شانستی کے ہتھیار نے جس کو سٹھاکر کہتے ہیں امن اور شانستی کی زندگی میں اپنے مقصد حاصل کرنے میں کہسے راستے بلائے ہیں۔ جن لوگوں نے سٹھاکر کی لوانہاں لئی ہیں وہ اچھی طرح جانتے ہیں کہ اسکے بہت سے ذہلگ بھی ہیں جن میں کہ امن اور شانستی رکھتے ہوئے بھی ہم اپنی منزل کو نیز کے ساتھ طے کر سکتے ہیں۔ اس لئے میں گورنمنٹ کو یہ توجہ دلانا ضروری سمجھتا ہوں کہ صرف اتنی ہی بات کافی نہیں ہے کہ ہم یہ سمجھے لیں کہ یہ چیز یقینی طور پر ہم کو مل کر ہی رہے گی۔ تھیک ہے وہ مساقیل کی بات ہے۔ ہماری از ہماری بات تو نہیں ہے۔ حالانکہ پوچھلکوئی مہرا کام نہیں ہے بہرہ بھی مہرا ہے، وہاں ہے کہ کووا ہم کو مل کر دھھا گا۔ مگر اس کے لئے عمل کی ضرورت ہے۔ عمل کے لئے شانستی اور امن کی پالیسی کو بلائے کی ضرورت نہیں ہے۔ جس طرح ہم شانستی اور امن کے ذریعے اپنے انحرافیں اسی طریقہ سے دخل دے سکتے ہیں اس طرح سے ہم ہتھے کر اس بات پر بھی غور کریں کہ کس طریقہ سے شم امن لود شانستی کو قائم رکھتے ہوئے اور پلچھلے کے اصولوں کو سامنے رکھتے ہوئے کووا نے مسئلہ کو حل کر سکتے ہیں۔ مہمی دلائی صرف مہمی ذاتی نہیں ہے۔ بلکہ بہتر ہے۔ ہمارے نئی پر اس کی چوت ہے اور ہمارا۔

[شروع ایم۔ اچ۔ دھ۔ ان]

دل چاہتا ہے کہ یہ مسئلہ جلد سے جلد طے ہو۔ پر تکال یہاں پر اس طریقہ سے قائم نہ رہے اور اس کے ہاتھوں ہمارے لوگوں پر ہلم نہ ہوتا رہے کیونکہ ہماری آنہوں کے سامنے یہ سب ہوتا رہے اس کو ہندوستان کے کسی کوئی مین بھی ہم کو ادا کرنے کو تباہ نہیں ہے۔ اس لئے ہم کووا کے معاملہ میں سب کچھ کرنا چاہئے۔

دوسری چلتا جو کہ راشٹرپتی کے ایڈریس میں کی گئی ہے وہ بغداد پیکٹ کے بارے میں ہے۔ آخر یہ ذکر کیوں کیا گیا۔ یہ چلتا کیوں کی گئی۔ دو حقیقت ہمیں اس سے کوئی بحث نہیں ہے کہ ایک حکومت دوسری حکومت کے ساتھ اپنے معاملات کس طرح رکھتی ہے۔ امداد اگر لہذا چاہتی ہے تو کس طرح کن لہذا چاہتی ہے۔ ہتھیاروں کی امداد لہذا چاہتی ہے۔ دوپتہ پیسے یا مال کن امداد لہذا چاہتی ہے اس سے بھی ہمیں کوئی بحث نہیں۔ بحث یہ ہے کہ بیانوں کا تکمیل میں جن قوموں نے جن حکومتوں نے حصہ لہا۔ جمہوں نے ہمارے اصولوں کو تسلیم کر لہا۔ بغداد پیکٹ اس کی توجیہ کرتا ہے۔ اس کا سامنا کرنا ہے۔ اور اس کی مخالفت کرتا ہے۔ اس تھلک پر ہمیں چلتا ہے۔ ہمیں دکھے ہے۔ ہم نفرت کے داستے سے کسی کے بارے میں نہیں سوچتے۔ کسی ملک کے کرتو۔ تشویہ نہیں کرتے۔ ہم دشمنی کے داستے سے بھی کسی حکومت یا قوم کے کام کو نہیں دیکھ لہا چاہتے اور دنیا کے معاملات کو دو دو اور کروڑ کے ساتھ نہیں دکھانا چاہتے۔ لیکن ہم یہ ضرور چاہتے ہیں کہ جو چیز یقین کے ساتھ صداقت کے ساتھ اور سچائی کے ساتھ کی گئی ہے۔ اس کے خلاف کوئی قدم نہیں اٹھانا چاہئے۔ جب ہم بیانوں کے میں بہت کر اس بات کا قصد کرچکے ہوں کہ ہمیں اس طریقہ پر چلتا ہے۔ یعنی پلچھلیں کے

ان اصولوں پر چلتا ہے۔ تو پھر ہم کوئی ایسا طریقہ اختیار نہیں کوئی کہ جس سے ہم اور طرف جا کر ہم کسی اور کے مخالف بن کر جلگ کو ترقی دیلہ کی مشکل پیدا کر دہیں۔ لوانی کے لئے کوئی ایسا داستہ بنا دیں جس سے لون والی طالبوں کو اور بتو قوموں کو اس کا موقع ملے۔ یقیناً ہمارے اصولوں کے خلاف ہے۔ جب ہم اس قسم کا مقصد رکھتے ہیں۔ یعنی ہم سچے اصولوں کی حفاظت کا مقصد رکھتے ہیں۔ اور جب ہمارے اصول ایسے ہیں جو کہ دنیا کی سرہ اور گرم دونوں قسم کی جمکنوں کو دوکھتے ہیں اور جن کی بدولت آج موافق اور مخالف دونوں ہی ہمیں عزت کی نکاہ سے دیکھتے ہیں اور ان اصولوں کو خوش آمدید اور لبیک کہتے ہیں۔ تو ان دو مسئلتوں کے اوپر خاص طور سے ہمارے ایڈریس میں چنان کا اظہار کرنا لازم ہے۔ میں سچھوتا ہوں کہ اس پارلیامنٹ کا فرض ہے کہ اس بات پر بہتھ کر فور کریں۔ ہمارے لیکر بھی فور کوئی اور ہماری گونoclت بھی فور کرے کہ یہ دونوں چیزوں جس طرح سے ہو رہی ہیں ان کے لئے ایسا کون سا داستہ اختیار کیا جائے جس پر چل کر ہم فلطا داستہ پر چل لے والوں کو صحیح دستے پر چلا سکیں اور خود بھی چل سکیں اور دنیا کے دوسرے ملکوں کو بھی وہ را دکھانی کے جس سے کہ ہم جارہ ہیں۔

چہرہ میں صاحب! جہاں تک ہمارے اندر کے معاملات کا تعاقب ہے اس میں دو ہی چیزوں کی اہمیت ذیادہ نظر آتی ہے۔ جن کی چرچا برابر تھن دن سے ہو رہی ہے۔ ایک ہمارو پنج سالا پروجنا ہے جس کے ایک جز کو ہم پہلے طے کر چکے ہیں اور دوسری کے داستہ تک ہم پہنچ چکے ہیں۔

دوسری پانچ سالہ پلان ہمارے سامنے ہے۔ ہم یہ مختسوس کر دیے ہیں کہ ہم اگئے بڑھ دیے ہیں ہم نے پچھلے جلد سالوں میں

ترقی کی ہے اس پر ہمیں فخر ہے - ہم جانتے ہیں کہ ہمارے سامنے کتنی دقتیں تھیں - ہمارے سامنے کتنی ازچلیں تھیں لیکن یہ ہی ان سب کو پاد کر کے ہم اگئے بڑھنے میں کامیاب ہوئے ہیں - آزادی ملکے کے جتنے تھوڑے سے سے عرصہ کے بعد ہم نے جنپی ترقی کی ہے اس پر ہمیں بھا طور پر فخر ہے اور میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ ہر ایک کو ہونا چاہئے - ہم نے پچھلے پانچ برسوں میں ایسا فوت پر اپنی حل کر لایا ہے - بھلی کی بڑی بڑی سکھیں شروع کی ہیں - بڑی بڑی پر اجتناس چائی ہیں بڑے بڑے کارخانے کوئی ہیں اور ہزاروں اور لاکھوں کو فائدہ پہنچانے کے لئے کہوں تھی پر اجتناس شروع کی ہیں سیلچائی کی ۴۰ لہن میہا کی ہیں اور ہم یہ قسم کہا کہ کہہ سکتے ہیں کہ جو کچھ ہم کہ پائے ہیں اس سب پر ہمیں فخر ہے - وہ سے تو کوئی بھی کام ایسا نہیں ہو سکتا جس کے بارے میں الگیاں کی ڈکھی چھٹی کرنے کے عادی ہیں ان کے سامنے آپ اچھی سے اچھی چیز دکھیجئے اس کی بھی وہ نکتہ چھٹی کریں گے - کوئی بھی حکومت ایسے اپنے کو فرشتہ نہیں بنا سکتی - کوئی بھی حکومت یہ نہیں کہہ سکتی کہ اس کے اندر کوئی کمی نہیں کوئی خاصی نہیں - لیکن دیکھئے کی چیز یہ ہوتی ہے کہ جیسے حالات ہیں کہا ان حالات میں اس سے ذیادہ کہا جانا کہا ممکن تھا - ہمیں یہ بھی دیکھنا چاہئے کہ جو حکومت ہے اس کی نہیں کہا ہے - اس کی پالیسی کہا ہے - اس کا کام کرنے کا طریقہ کہا ہے - وہ کس طرح سے ووک کرتی ہے اور کس طرح سے وہ اگئے ملک کو بڑھا دھی ہے اور کتنی تیزی کے ساتھ اگئے بڑھا دھی ہے - اگر ہم یہ دیکھیں کہ کہا ہمارے قدم اگئے بڑھ دھی ہیں یا پچھھے ہت دھی ہیں تو ہمیں ماننا پوچنا کہ ہمارے قدم اگئے بڑھ دھی ہیں اور بہت تیزی سے اگئے بڑھ دھی ہیں -

بقول پہنچت جواہر لعل نہرو یہ کہنا تو بہت آسان ہے کہ یہ کام نہیں ہوا اور وہ کام نہیں ہوا - لہن جو کہ اسے دیکھنا یہ ہے کہ امن تھوڑے سے وتنہ میں یہ سب کچھ حکومت کے قابل اور تعجب کے لائق ہے - اگر ہم انصاف پسند ہیں اور اگر ہم بغیر تعصب کے کسی چیز کی طرف دیکھنا چاہتے ہیں اور دیکھتے ہیں تو ہمیں یہ ماننا پوچنا کہ جو کچھ بھی ہوا ہے وہ قابل حکومت اور تعجب ہوا ہے - بڑی بڑی حکومتوں نے جو تجربے ۲۵-۳۰ اور ۳۰-۳۵ سال میں حاصل کئے ہیں وہ ہم نے یہ جو ۴۵ سال چھٹے سات سالوں میں حاصل کئے ہیں - وہ ہماری کامیابی کو دیکھکر حکومت ہوتی ہیں - تعصب کا اظہار کرتی ہیں - ہم کو منہار کہا دیتی ہیں - ہم اگئے بڑھ دھی ہیں اس میں کوئی شک کی بات نہیں ہے - جو کامیابی ہم نے پچھلے پانچ سالہ پلان کے دروں حاصل کی ہے - اس کو دیکھتے ہوئے ہم نے دوسرا پانچ سالہ پلان تھا کہ اسکے ایک ذاکر تھا کہا ہے اور ملک کے سامنے اسے پہش کہا ہے کہ دھی ہیں - اگر ہم ایسے دوسرے پلان کو ایک ہمکوت کرنے میں کامیاب ہو لکھتے تو یہ اندرازہ لکھا کہا ہے کہ ہماری قومی آمدنی ۱۵ فیصدی بڑھ جائے گی - ایک ملک کی قومی آمدنی میں دس برس کے اندر ۲۵ فیصدی اضافہ ہونا کوئی معمولی بات نہیں کہی جاسکتی -

ایک دیہیں جو ایسے اذاد ہونے کے دس اس کی پالیسی کہا ہے - اس کا کام کرنے کا طریقہ کہا ہے - وہ کس طرح سے ووک کرتی ہے اور کس طرح سے وہ اگئے ملک کو بڑھا دھی ہے اور کتنی تیزی کے ساتھ اگئے بڑھا دھی ہے - میں یہ نہیں کہتا کہ نکتہ چھٹی نہ کی جائے - ایک نیوکریٹک حکومت کو اسے پہلک کرنا چاہلے اور اگر اسے اپنی کوئی کمزوری نظر آئے تو اسے دو کرنے کی بھی

[شروع ایم-ایچ-حسان]

کوشش کرنی چاہئے ۔ لیکن میں یہ بھی چاہتا ہوں کہ جو نکتہ چیلی ہو وہ ایسانداری کے ساتھ کی جائے نہ کہ صرف نکتہ چیلی کرنے کی ہی خاطر کی جائے ۔ ہمیں نکتہ چیلی سے گھبراانا نہیں چاہئے ۔ اس کو سن کر ناراض نہیں ہونا چاہئے بلکہ اس سے فائدہ اٹھانے کی کوشش کرنی چاہئے ۔ یہ ایک گورنمنٹ کو دیکھنے کی تھی اس کو فرض ہے کہ اس کو سلے اور اس سے فائدہ اٹھائے ۔ میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ دوسرے پانچ سالہ پلان کا جو ناشہ ہمارے سامنے پہنچ کیا گیا ہے اسکو عمل میں پوری قوت سے لانے کی ہمیں کوشش کرنی چاہئے ۔ کیونکہ اسکو پوری طرح سے عمل میں  $11\frac{1}{2}$  سے ہم اپنے کئی پروابلیمز کو حل کر لیٹے ۔ ہمیں چاہئے کہ ہم دوسرے پلان کے ساتھ پورے وشوائی کے ساتھ اور ایسانداری کے ساتھ اس کو عملی جامد پہنچائیں اور جو تاریخیں فکسد کئے گئے ہوں اور ان کو کامیاب کریں کیونکہ اس کے پورا ہو جانے پر بہروزگاری بہت حد تک ختم ہو جائے گی ۔ پہکاری مت جائے گی ۔ فریبی کم ہو جائے گی ۔ اور جن لوگوں کو آج خودا کو اور کہیڑا نصیب نہیں ہو دہا ہے ان کو یہ چیزیں ملیں لگ جائیں گی جس طرح کہ ہم نے ملک میں سماج قائم کرنے کا اعلان کیا ہے اگر حقیقت میں ہم اس قسم کی سماج قائم کرنے میں کامیاب ہو گئے تو یہ ایک بہت بڑی کامیابی ہوگی جس پر کہ ہر ایک کو لختہ کر لے گا ۔

ایس-آڈ-سی-کی دیورٹ کا جواب تک تعاقب ہے اس کے بادرے میں پچھلی بار بہت چرچا ہو چکی ہے اور اس پر میں نے اپنی دلخواہ کی تھی ۔ میں نے اس وقت بھی کہا تھا اور آج بھی میں وعی بات کہتا ہوں کہ اگر ہم چہز کچھ بعد میں آئی تو اچھا ہونا ۔ ہم بڑی بڑی یو جٹائیں بدل دیں اور ان کو ایکسپریس دیورٹ کا آنا حالات میں ایک ایکسپریس دیورٹ کا خطرہ جس سے کہ دیھن کی ایکتا کو خطرہ پیدا ہوتا ہو تھا کہ نہیں سمجھا جاسکتا ۔ لیکن اب جب کہ یہ چیز سامنے آچکی ہے اور اس پر چرچا بڑی ہو چکی ہے اور کچھ نرنہیں بھی کوئی کئے ہیں اہذا اب اپنے قدم پیچھے ہٹانا مناسب نہیں ہوا ۔ میں اس بات کو مانتا ہوں کہ جو کچھ بھینٹی میں ہوا ہے ۔ جو کچھ ایسے میں ہوا ہے بہت برا ہوا ہے اور اس سے سمجھے بہت تکلف ہوئی ہے بہت دکھ ہوا ہے ۔ میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ اس قسم کی چہز کو دیکھ کر ہر ایک کو دکھ ہوا ہے ۔ ہم نے جس طرح سے ملک کو آزاد کرایا ۔ ہم ملک کی آزادی کو برقراہ دکھنے کے لئے جو قدم اٹھا دیے ہیں ۔ ہم جس طرح سے انٹرنیشنل معاملوں کو سلچھانے کے پریتیں کر دیے ہیں ۔ ہم جس طرح سے اپنی سکھیوں کو عملی جامد پہلادیے ہیں ۔ ان میں اس قسم کے والعات کا ہونا ہدیں شوپیا نہیں دیتا ۔ جب اس طرح مشکلات پیدا ہو جائیں ۔ اس طرح

کی الجھلیں پیدا ہو چائیں تو اس مسئلہ کا حل کہا جانا بہت ضروری ہو جاتا ہے۔ اگر حکومت نے کوئی فیصلہ کہا ہو تو اس کو بدالنے میں کوئی خرج نہیں ہونا چاہئے۔ اس میں کوئی پریستیج کا سوال نہیں ہے۔ ایک ودیہی حکومت کے لئے پریستیج کا سوال تو ہو سکتا ہے۔ لیکن اس حکومت کے لئے جو کہ لوگوں کی ایسی حکومت ہے پریستیج کا سوال پیدا نہیں ہوتا۔ ایسے معاملوں میں ہمیں جھوٹے پریستیج کا سہادا نہیں لہذا چاہئے۔ اگر ایک فیصلے کو بدل دیلے سے ایک ستیت کے باشندے اور دوسری ستیت کے باشندے دونوں ہی خوش ہو چائیں۔ دونوں ہی اس بات کے لئے واپسی ہو چائیں دونوں کے اندر مختتمت کا جزو ہے پیدا ہو جائے تو اس میں کسی کو بھی کوئی اعتراض نہیں ہونا چاہئے لیکن جب ایک بار حکومت کی طرف سے فیصلہ ہو جائے اور اس کا اعلان ہو پر مفہومی کے ساتھ عمل کیا جانا چاہئے۔ اگر ایسا نہیں ہوتا ہے تو حکومت چل نہیں سکتی ہے۔ لیکن فیصلہ دیلے سے پہلے یہ دیکھ لہذا ضروری ہے کہ ایسا ہی فیصلہ دیا جائے جس سے کہ ملک کی ایکتا مضمون ہو۔ ملک کی حکومت کے ہاتھ مضمون ہوں اور ملک کی بہتیوں ہو۔ حد بلڈی (پورٹ پر فیصلہ کرتے وقت ہمیں یہ بات دھیان میں رکھی چاہئے کہ جو بھی فیصلے کئے چائیں اسے

کئے چائیں جو کہ زیادہ سے زیادہ لوگوں کو تبول ہوں اور لوگوں کے درمیان سمجھوتو کروں کے کئے چائیں۔ پچھلی بار لوگ سبھا میں کچھ ایسا معلوم ہوا کہ ایک ستیت دوسری ستیت کو التیمیت دے دھی ہے یا کوئی اعلان جلک ہو دھا ہے۔ اس قسم کی چیز ہمارے مفاد میں ہو ایسا نہیں کہا جا سکتا۔ اس واسطے یہ ضروری ہے کہ جاد سے جلد فیصلے ہوں تاکہ ہم دوسری باتوں کی طرف ہی دھیان دے سکیں۔

اس کے ساتھ ہی ساتھ میں یہ بھی کہنا چاہتا ہوں کہ جو ذون بنا کی بات کہوئی تھی اس کو سہر یسلی کلستر کیا جائے اور اس کو عملی جامہ پہنانے کی کوشش کی جائے۔ اس سے جہاں تک ستیت کے نہ صب کا سوال ہے یہ پیدا نہیں ہوگا۔ اور اس سے دیہن کا بہت ذیادہ بہلا ہوگا۔ اس سے دیہن کی ایکتا مضمون ہو گی۔ اور حکومت کے ہاتھ مضمون ہونگے۔ اس کے ساتھ ہی ساتھ جو لہلگو یہ ہے کے بارے میں خدشات ظاہر کئے جا دھی ہیں وہ بھی ستیت چائیں گے اور ہمارے ملک کے اندر محیت کا جذبہ پیدا ہو جائے گا۔ اس لئے میں سمجھوتا ہوں کہ اس پورٹ کو عملی جامہ پہنانے کے لئے جو بھی طریق کار اختیار کیا جائے اس میں سمجھوئے اور کامپریمیس کی سہرت سے کام لہا جائے۔ اگر کسی مقام پر کسی بھی صوت میں انداق نہ ہو سکے تو وہاں پر حکومت جو بھی فیصلہ کرے اس پر ایماندلوں اور مظہروطی کے ساتھ مل کرے اور اس پر قائم رہے۔

[شروع ایام۔ ایج۔ رحیمان]

3 P. M.

ہمارے بھائی شری دادھا دمن نے  
ملک میں پہلی ہوئی دشوت کا  
بھی ذکر کیا۔ ہم کو بھی اس بات  
سے بہت تکاہیف پہنچتی ہے کہ ہمارے  
ملک میں دشوت کا باذلہ گرم ہے۔  
اس بات کو تولیت کی فرودوت نہیں  
ہے کہ یہاں پر دشوت کم ہے یا  
زیاد ہے۔ ہم کو یہ ماننا پوتا ہے  
کہ وہ موجود ہے۔ جہاں تک مہرا  
خیال ہے اسکی ایک وجہ یہ بھی  
ہے کہ بہروں نی حکومت کے زمانے  
میں انگریز کو دیکھکر اور اسکی اجلیہوت  
کو دیکھکر ملازمین سرکار کو خوف ہوتا  
تھا اور وہ دشوت بہت قرقرہ اور بوجے  
ایلچ پیلچ سے قبول کوتے تھے۔ لیکن  
آج وہ سمجھتے ہیں حاکم ہمارے  
ایلچ کوئی کے ہیں اور اس وجہ سے  
ان میں خوف اور دھشت بہت کم ہو  
گئی ہے۔ اس میں کوئی شک  
نہیں ہے کہ زندگی کے سب شعبوں  
میں ہم اپنے ملک کو تیزی کے ساتھ  
اکھے لے جا دھے ہیں۔ لیکن تعلیم  
میں ہم لوگ بہت پوچھتے ہیں۔ میرا  
خیال ہے کہ اس طرف بہت کم توجہ  
دی گئی ہے۔ آج ہمارے ملک

میں کتنے مود اور مودتمن ہیں۔  
کتنے بچتے اور بوزٹے ہیں جن کو ہم نے  
تعلیم دی ہے۔ ہم نے تجویزیں تو بہت  
سوچو۔ ہیں لیکن ان پر عمل نہیں ہو پایا  
ہے۔ آج فرودوت اس بات کی ہے کہ ہم اور  
باتوں کے ملادہ تعلیم کی طرف بھی کافی  
توجہ دہیں۔ تعلیم کے معاملے میں ہم  
جتنا زیادہ آئیں جانہلئے اتنا ہی زیادہ  
جمهوریت پر اعتقاد ہمارے عوام میں پیدا  
ہوا۔ آپ بیشک پلان بنائیں۔ لوگوں کی  
تکالیف اور دقتون کو زیادہ سے زیادہ دو  
کرنے کی کوشش کیجئے۔ بہروزگاری کا  
مسئلہ بھی حل کیجئے۔ مگر اس کے  
ساتھ ہی ساتھ تعاہم کو اتنا عالم کر  
کیجئے۔ اتنا وسیع کر کیجئے۔ اس کے  
ذہانچے کو اتنا بدل دیجئے کہ وہ  
مہلکا ہونے کے بجائے سستا ہو جائے۔  
فری اور مفت ہو جائے تاکہ لوگ جمہوریت  
کے اصل مقصد کو زیادہ اچھی طرح سمجھو  
سکیں اور سہی معلی میں وطن اور ملک  
کی خدمت کر سکیں۔

ان چند جملوں کے ساتھ میں اس  
تجویز کی تائید کرتا ہوں۔ یہ تجویز واقعی  
اس بات کی مستحق ہے کہ اس کی  
پیروی یادی تائید اور سر تھوں کیا جائے۔

## [English Translation of the Speech]

**Shri M. H. Rahman :** (Moradabad Distt. Central) : For the last two days we have been discussing the President's address and to-day is the third day. I also rise to support the motion of thanks to the President on his address.

I am of opinion that the matters towards which our attention has been drawn in the address and the way in which light has been thrown on the Government's policy are of the utmost importance to-day. I think it is urgent that a clear cut policy before us so that we may understand the affairs of our Government in the right perspective and act accordingly.

Whatever has been said in the address on our foreign policy, is in tune with what we have always been stressing repeatedly. I remember that when our foreign policy was introduced by our leader, several of our brethren both within and outside the Lok Sabha, had ridiculed it. They had remarked that to be neutral was not a good policy and that that would be a kind of negative policy. But at that time our leader had denied emphatically that it was a negative policy; instead, we had insisted, it was a positive policy—a policy of peace and an instrument with which we would be able to avoid war in future if only we could promote in the world. We have not got the power of armaments with which we might deter war. On the contrary, we believe that armaments do not help avert instead it comes nearer

[PANDIT THAKUR DAS BHARGAVA in the Chair]

and nearer. So our policy is in a fact one through which we can establish peace not only in our own country but in the other parts of the world. The time has come when our critics have also come to support and like our policy. The leaders of the other great powers, who visited our country, also commended it. There is no room for doubt in this connection. When we based our policy on *Panch Shila* and announced our objectives completely in accord with these five principles, not only did big powers and governments accept it, but our own countrymen who once used to laugh at and decay our foreign policy, were also compelled to support it. In view of this, I need not debate on this point. Nobody can doubt that to-day the world is paying tributes to India on the ways adopted by her to avert the third war, both cold

and hot. In the address, concern has been expressed on two matters in particular. It has been said that these should be attended to as early as possible. One is the problem of Portuguese Goa. Of course, this view has been expressed previously also that this problem is causing us anxiety and worry. The matter is already before us and the Government's policy in this regard is also clear. I think there can be no two opinions in this regard. The world has also admitted this fact—that Goa is within the Indian territory and is an integral part of our country. It is not a matter between two countries, but one which is within our country. Nevertheless, there are certain International hurdles and complications which are delaying its solution. As our friend Shri Radha Raman has put it, we are confident that as we have solved our other two problems and have taken back our territories from the French and made them a part of our country, similarly Goa will also become a part of our Union and will share its prosperity.

I have an independent opinion also regarding Goa. I strongly feel that the policy we had adhered to in the past in respect of the movement started in India, must be continued as before. That was our policy of peace. However, there are certain stages also in the policy of peace which are sometimes followed to give impetus where the movement is slow. To-day the question of war does not arise. The question of using the armaments is not there. We have full knowledge of the international hurdles. We knew that how our instrument and weapon of peace, that is Satyagraha, makes its headway in achieving its objectives in the peaceful manner. The people, who have fought the battles of Satyagraha know fully well that there are many ways in which we can stick to the path of peace and yet reach our goal quickly. Therefore I wish to draw the attention of Government to the fact that this is not enough for us to presume that we will be able to get this thing definitely. We may achieve our ends. But we leave it to the future. This is not a thing which is within our arrangement. Though it is my prophecy yet I am confident that Goa will be ours. What is required is action. It is not necessary for us to depart from the policy of peace when we talk of action. We should consider as to how we can solve

[Shri M. H. Rahman]

the problem of Goa in accordance with the principles of *Panch Shila* without disturbing peace. This is not my opinion alone but many others also share it. This is a sore in our hearts and we would like that this problem is settled as early as possible. The Portuguese should not remain here and our people should not suffer atrocities at their hands. We are not prepared to tolerate and let not these kinds of things happen before our eyes in any part of the country. That is why we should do everything possible in this matter.

The other matter about which concern has been expressed in the President's address relates to the conclusion of the Baghdad Pact. After all, why a reference has been made why some anxiety, has been expressed? In fact it is none of our concern as to how one Government keeps its relations with another. It is also not our concern whether the aid that a country receives is in the form of weapons or money or any other thing. The main issue is that the Baghdad Pact is a violation of the principles agreed to by the countries which participated in the Bandung Conference. This is a thing which is causing anxiety to us. We are pained about that. We have no hatred against anybody and, we have no enmity with any country. Our outlook on the world affairs is not born of anger and opposition. But we do wish to see that nothing is done against the steps that have been taken with the best of intention, faith, honesty and righteousness. When we resolved in the Bandung Conference that we would follow the principles of the *Panch-Shila*, in conducting our affairs. We should not follow a path which will lead us astray and create circumstances leading to war, and encourage such factors which end in war. We will not do a thing which will give a chance to big countries to be at war with one another. No doubt that is against our principles. When it is our objective to defend the true principles, when our principles are directed towards checking both cold and hot wars and when both our opponents and supporters look at us with respect and welcome due to these principles, it is quite natural that anxiety and concern should have been expressed in the President's address over these two issues. I think that it is the duty of this Parliament to consider this matter. Let our leaders and Government also put their heads together and decide the way which we should adopt in order to bring those

who are following the wrong path to the right one. We may also follow this path and also show it to others. Mr. Chairman! So far as our internal affairs are concerned there are only two subjects which look important. These are being discussed for the past three days. One is our Five Year Plan whose first phase we have already completed and we are on the threshold of the Second phase of it. Second Five Year Plan is before us. We feel we are marching ahead. We have made progress during previous years and feel proud of it. We know there were hurdles in our way, yet we have been able to overcome them and march ahead. The progress we have made during the start period after Independence, is a matter of extreme pride to us and I feel everyone should have that feeling. During the last five years, we have solved our food-problem, undertaken the implementation of big schemes, started huge projects put up large scale industries, started community projects to benefit thousands and thousands of the villages and also provided irrigation facilities. We can definitely say that we are proud of what we have been able to do. In a way every work is subject to criticism. Habitual critics would criticise even the best thing. No Government can make itself to be super human. No Government can claim that it is perfect in every respect. But what we have to see is whether anything more could be done in a particular set of circumstances. We should also see as to what is the policy of government; how it conducts its affairs, how it works; and how it is taking the country ahead and with what speed. If we look from this point of view we shall have to admit that we are progressing and that too with a good speed. As Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru said, it is very easy to say that this has not been done and that has not been done. But the thing that is to be seen is that the work done during this short period is amazing. If we are just and are prepared to look at the things without prejudice, we will acknowledge that whatever has been done is amazing. The experiences that big Powers have gained after twenty-five or thirty years, have been gained by us within five or seven years. It is because of this that big powers are amazed to see our achievements. They express their surprise and congratulate us. Undoubtedly, we are marching ahead. In the light of experiences gained, we drafted our Second Five Year Plan and presented it to the country. If we

succeed in executing our Second Five Year Plan, our national income would increase by twentyfive per cent. If national income of a country increases by twenty-five per cent within a period of ten years, this is certainly not an ordinary thing. This is a matter of which a country should be proud. I do not say that no criticism should be made. A democratic government should welcome it and if it finds out some drawback, she should try to overcome them. I do wish that the criticism should be healthy and not merely for the sake of criticism. We should not be afraid of it, we should not feel angry to hear it but should try to learn something from it. It is the duty of a democratic government to benefit from it. We should, I think, do our best to implement the draft Second Five Year Plan, as presented before us, because through its successful implementation we can solve our several problems. We should execute it with all faith and sincerity and try to achieve the targets fixed under it. Its implementation would result in eradication of unemployment to a great extent, poverty will be minimised and the hungry would get food and the needed would get clothing. If we could succeed in making the society of the pattern of which we have made a declaration, it will be a great success to us and everybody will have the chance to feel proud of it.

So far as the S.R.C. report is concerned, much discussion has already taken place on it and I have also expressed my views in this regard. I have stated and I repeat it again today that if this question would have been taken at a later stage it would have been better. We are framing and executing big schemes. In these circumstances the introduction of a report that create danger to the unity of the country, cannot be regarded proper. Now that this has been introduced and that some discussion has taken place and some decision have been arrived at, it is not proper to go back on it. I agree, whatever incidents have taken place in Bombay and Orissa, are very unfortunate. It has pained me much as it would have pained everybody. In view of the fact as to how we made our country independent, how the independence of the country is being preserved, how we are trying to solve the international matters and how we are giving practical shape to our schemes, this sort of happenings do not behove us. When such difficulties

and hurdles come in the way, it becomes necessary to tackle them. There should be no objection in amending a wrong decision taken by Government. There should be no question of prestige. It may be a question of prestige for any foreign government, but for a government which represents the people the question of prestige does not arise. We should not stand on false prestige in such matters. If by revising a decision the people of the concerned States become happy, and begin to love each other there should be no objection in affecting it. But once a decision is made and declared by the Government I feel, it should be implemented with firmness, otherwise Government cannot run. But before taking a decision Government should see that the decision that they are contemplating is such that it strengthens the unity of the country, and also the hands of the Government. While taking decisions on the S.R.C. report, it should be seen that the decisions are such as are acceptable to the largest number of people and that such decisions are taken by agreement. Previously, from the debates in the Lok Sabha it looked as if one State was throwing ultimatum to the other or was declaring a war on the other. Such things are not in our interests. Keeping this thing in view it is essential that decisions are taken as soon as possible so that we may divert our attention to other things.

Besides this, I would like to say that the question of formation of zones, as suggested, should be considered seriously and effort should be made to give a practical shape to it. As a result of it, the question of State rivalries would not arise. The country would be benefitted enormously and the unity of the country as well as the hands of the Government would be strengthened. Along with this, the fears that are being expressed about the languages, would remain no more and a feeling of love would prevail in the country. So I think, the procedure adopted to implement this reports should bear the spirit of compromise. Where there is not possibility of compromise regarding a particular place, the decision arrived at by Government in that regard should be implemented with faith and firmness and they should stick to it.

My friend Shri Radha Raman made a mention of the corruption that is prevalent in the country. It is really painful that corruption is so rampant in

## [Shri M. H. Rahman]

our country. There is no need to examine the extent of corruption. We have to admit its existence. During the British regime, the Government servants were afraid to indulge in corruption because they were afraid of the foreigners. But today, they think that officers are not foreigners but are from their own country. They have not fear from them. There is no doubt that we are taking quickly our country ahead in all walks of life, but in the field of education we are far behind. I think, very little attention has been paid to this problem. Today how many persons are there whom we have given education. We have thought out a number of plans but they have not been put into practice. The need of the hour is that we should pay more attention to education along with other things. The more we go ahead with education more faith in democracy would be strengthened in the country. There is no objection to your making the plans, to your making sustained efforts for removing hardships of the people and to your solving the problem of unemployment, but at the same time make the education so common, so extensive and so systematic that instead of being costly it may become cheap and free. It would help people in understanding the real meaning of the democracy. It would also help them to serve their country in the real sense of the word.

With these words I support the motion. It deserves our full support and approval.

**Dr. Laka Sundaram:** By a curious coincidence, I am the third man from Delhi to speak in succession in this debate. My hon. friends Shri Radha Raman and Maulana Hifzur Rahman represent Delhi City in this hon. chamber, but I happen to have lived here for 21 continuous long years as a citizen of Delhi. I have grown with the city of Delhi; I have seen from this place, from the press gallery, for a decade and a half the evolution of the government and political institutions, with the result that, I repeat, I am the third man from Delhi coming in succession in this debate. That is wholly a coincidence and, I take it, a happy coincidence. I make this remark in order to direct the attention of Lok Sabha to my convinced view that what we have inherited from the British, we are still cherishing—generically I have nothing against it—and not only

are we cherishing the British traditions in respect of the Presidential Address, but we are also embellishing it. The same old red carpet was there in the Central Hall, and more than that, when the Viceroy used to address the Joint Session of both Houses in the old days—and you, Sir, were a Member of this House then—there were no horsemen, mounted lancers, behind the Viceroy, behind the Speaker's chair. We are embellishing it now.

I make a reference to these two little bits specifically to underline the implication of my amendment No. 1 on the Order Paper, which runs as follows :

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

"but regret to note the growing imbalance in the approach of the Government to the problems of the country, international and national, as reflected in the Address, wherein several pressing questions of the people have received little or no attention at all"

I would like to say, in a preamble so to speak, that I have drafted this amendment not because that I am against the foreign policy of the Government of India, not because that I do not see my way, generally speaking, to agree with the basic approach of the Prime Minister and the Government of India to the foreign policy of this country. Let there be no mistake that I am not completely in conformity with the principles of *Panch Shila*, which have now become the sheet-anchor of the foreign policy of this land. In fact, I go a step further and say that little by little India is becoming the fulcrum of international affairs. The whole nation received recently with enthusiasm such honoured guests like the King of Nepal—the present King of Nepal—Mr. Bulganin and Mr. Khruschev, King Ibn Saud, the Shah of Iran who is still with us receiving ovation after ovation from every section of this land, and, very soon we are likely to receive the lion of Juda, Emperor Haile Selassie.

We have opened our guest-house to all irrespective of the politics of the country which they represent. I would say that by doing so, we not only affirm the fundamental secular character of the people of this country even after partition but also we represent the principal pivot of peace and co-existence in this trouble-torn world. I say this not to contradict what I sought to indicate in

my amendment, but to make the point clear that I am more concerned with the imbalance of the approach of the Government to the totality of the problems of this country, and the domestic situation which is not being dealt with in the manner in which the people expect the Government to deal with it.

I counted the other day that in the speech of the President 55 per cent. of the time taken to deliver it in the other place was devoted to foreign affairs. As I said at the opening of my speech, the old British tradition is still with us. I have, as I said, nothing generically to condemn the British approach, but I do say that after five years of the First Five Year Plan, as we are entering the Second Five Year Plan, what do we get from the Presidential Address ?

I will take the second portion first of the Presidential Address. I tried to discover, as the President was delivering his Address to both Houses of Parliament in the other chamber, some sort of a reflection of the glow of enthusiasm of the people, if there was any glow of enthusiasm of the people since attaining our freedom. I regret to say that it is not there. I thought the President, in his Address, which was naturally based upon the advice tendered to him by the Council of Ministers, would give a comprehensive statement dealing with the most important and urgent problems of the land. And more than everything else, I was trying to discover in it some sort of a mirroring of the attitude of the people to the Government. I concede that the President made a sort of a tabular statement of the achievements of the First Plan in terms of the production indices. The President also made a certain prognosis into the fundamentals of the Second Plan, and there he stopped.

My friend, Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad who moved his motion, to which my motion is an amendment, had tried to give a glowing picture of the land in which this republican freedom of recent origin is flowing with milk and honey. I wish I could sincerely share that sentiment.

I would straightforwardly go to one point which I regret, has not been touched so far in this debate over these three days on the Presidential Address, in order to pinpoint the implication of my amendment. Yesterday my friend, Shri Nanda, was subjected to a fusillade of

questions on the operation of District Development Councils. What has happened in this country ? Are the people behind the Government ? In 1952, participating in the debate on the Presidential Address just after the elections, I said that my friends opposite were returned to power with only 38 per cent. of the cast votes. I am not saying this for any polemical purpose, but I want them to remember—and very soon elections will be on in this country—that at that time in 1952 when we went to the polls, only 38 per cent of the total votes were cast in their favour. There are vast sections of the people who are not, what you may call, supporters of the Government. With the result, the question arises whether we in this country are stimulating people to co-operate with the Government. I will give you one or two examples to further sustain my point. Three years ago, the Prime Minister with a fanfare of trumpets inaugurated what was called the Committee on Public Co-operation, on which representatives and spokesmen of the Opposition Parties were invited to serve so that they can understand and back up the Five Year Plan. I may here say without any fear of contradiction that only one meeting was held of this so-called Committee. The Prime Minister, times without number, has declared his fundamental faith in the manner in which the Community Projects are being run. In fact, he said that these projects are the symbols of the advance of the country, especially of the rural side. I have served on these District Development Committees for four long years and have some experience of them. Each of my colleagues here will have had more or less similar experience. I wish to say in a debate of this character that I too have seen the manner in which the people of the rural areas have understood the First Plan and given their co-operation. I regret I have not seen sufficient evidence of the so-called enthusiasm of the people behind the Plan.

What is the manner in which the Bharat Sevak Samaj is sought to be run ? I am not a politician, but I put this straight question to this Lok Sabha and to my friends opposite in particular. Is it not being run on terms of patronage ? Take any district. I am prepared to go into the names. You will see that the so-called mobilisation of the people behind the Plan and the Government is not there; it has not been there. I regret to say that it is

[Dr. Lanka Sundaram]

not there now. Nor do I see any indication or possibility of its being there in the near future.

An Hon. Member : Question.

**Dr. Lanka Sundaram :** My friend questions. It is a question of heart-searching in a debate of this character. I can build up facts to show in this Republic of ours, while the First Plan is concluding and the Second is going to be launched, the people and the Government are farther apart than they were, say, five years go. I regret to say that. When I opened the debate on the First Five Year Plan Report here, I have made a sporting offer to the Prime Minister that he should become the Director of Manpower Mobilisation. Who is there as a link between the people and the Plan ? Is it not the Collector, who is the beast of burden ? He is the only man; he is the publicity officer of the Plan; he is everything. I am sure no one in this Lok Sabha, to whatever party he belongs, would like to see the country not progressing. All want this country to progress. Has any effort been made to mobilise the people by seeking the co-operation of those who do not happen to be members of the Party in power ? I wished to say that after the Five Year Plan which was going to be completed in a month's time, there would be a little more glow in the hearts of the people in the rural side. I regret that I see no indication of that. That is why I say that the Address which the President has given to us on the advice of the Council of Ministers has fallen flat. I regret to say this. We know the President is a man of tremendous eminence in this country, and has earned to himself the affection of people to whatever political party they belong.

Talking of this imbalance, let me come to the foreign policy. I am not totally against the fundamentals of the foreign policy sought to be pursued by the Prime Minister. Let us take Pakistan. This morning we had an adjournment motion which was sought to be moved. What are we doing in this country ? In 1948 parts of Tripura were under occupation by Pakistan for 48 hours. A little later, there was the Nekowal incident. The same thing has happened again, two days ago in Kutch. I do not want to give further data; it is not the matter for debate now. This morning the matter was raised in the

form of an adjournment motion. What happened ? Our people have gone in after the event and were ambushed. The same thing has happened everywhere in India on the borders. How long should this continue ? When we are framing the fundamentals of our foreign policy based upon co-existence and *Panch Shila*, what are we doing to protect our own national frontiers ? How long can our men be butchered in ambushes, even though warnings were available from various quarters ? I regret to say that even as regards the very limited question of the defence of the frontiers, Government is not alert, and I must say that every citizen wants the security of the country not to be imperilled by inaction on the part of the authorities.

Let us take Kashmir. What is happening there ? Across the cease-fire line, there is complete mobilisation of Pakistan forces; across the cease-fire line fortifications are being strengthened and a tremendous network of communications is set up by our neighbouring country. What are we doing ? Some of us have been recently and repeatedly in Kashmir. I am not here to discuss military matters, because it is not in the country's interest. But I do say that we are smitten with the complacency bug, that nothing more will happen and that everything will be all right because we have declared a policy. Our policy remains on paper. One or two eminent colleagues from Kashmir sit here. Today, I find more than ever, anti-Indian elements, belonging to Kashmir and India, are stirring up trouble in Jammu and Kashmir and also in India. I am here to give names freely if anybody wants them; I have got a complete record here of names of people who are instigating anti-Indian and deliberate pro-Pakistani feeling in the valley of Jammu and Kashmir. What are we doing in this country ? This sort of complacency should not continue. Let us take Goa. I entirely agree with what was said by Maulana Hifzur Rahman in fluent Urdu, in certain respects. What are we doing ? The Prime Minister intervened in the debate in December and said that he had drifted. From our experience on Goa, in the past one year in particular, I can say this. I did not want to intervene on the last occasion because the situation was very bad. I do say that ours is an attitude of pathetic, shall we say, looking-on, as the events in Goa are unfolding themselves. Two

days ago, we had a short notice question on Goa. Yesterday too there was something on Goa. Every day we try to bring this question before the Lok Sabha, with as much circumspection as possible in the present situation, because we find that the situation is explosive.

What are the "other methods" about which the Prime Minister was telling us repeatedly when this issue was raised? What is the approach, for instance, with regard to the release of our political prisoners in Goa and the care of prisoners like Shri T. K. Chaudhuri and others? I feel very sad, but I must say this that the flower of our Indian womanhood is now involved in this issue of Portuguese repression of Goa. What are we in this country doing to assist the uprising of the Goan people who have now taken recourse to arms and ammunition, to blow up power installations, etc., in Goa? You are not permitting the masses to go beyond a certain point. But I would say that in August last we were forced into a situation in this country, especially the people were forced into a state when they had to revolt against their own Government and do satyagraha against their own military and police forces. That was fortunately prevented. How long can Government hope to prevent this? What are the "other methods" which the Prime Minister repeatedly refers to whenever there is a debate on foreign policy.

Just as I complained about imbalance in the speech of the President with regard to the problems of the country, both national and international, with the greatest respect, I will have to say that the debate in this House so far, I personally think, has become a debate on States Reorganisation. I have a deep interest in this subject by virtue of my past and present associations with linguistic movement, but I will refrain from going into details. I know there may be opportunities coming before us when we take up the Bill eventually before the current Session ends.

**An Hon. Member :** If the Bill comes.

**Dr. Lanka Sundaram :** Yes, if it comes. I would like to make one or two small observations. I would say what I have said on an earlier occasion. The approach of Government to problems of States reorganisation has not been national. I complained about it

last time when I intervened in the debate here. I repeat the complaint. I only wish to say that it should have been a national approach. It has become a party approach. Barring Master Tara Singh, which of the non-Congressmen has been approached for consultation? What has happened to the numerous offers made by non-Congressmen to assist it in the solution of the problem? Have they been consulted by the Government? Even now I suggest it is not too late to do so.

My hon. friend, (looking at Shri Badridutt Pandey) who interrupted who knows politics better than I do and who had been in this chamber under the British, will understand exactly what I am trying to drive at.

I would like to make one other observation now. I want the House to take me seriously, and I want my friends opposite, of the ruling party, to take me seriously. I am sincere, and my heart bleeds when I say that it is all because the Congress High Command was unable to control its own partymen that the greater portion of this trouble in India—whether it is in Bombay or at Cuttack, has occurred. My friend Shri Gadgil was speaking yesterday, and I listened with the greatest amount of respect and attention to his speech. But what was his role in the matter, when he, in this hon. Lok Sabha, on the floor of the Lok Sabha, said that the matter would be settled in the streets of Bombay? Was there any little finger raised against the statement anywhere, from any quarter, either in the Congress or in the Government? (Interruption) I would say this: that because of the entrenched group politics, the politics of positional power, that the greater portion of the trouble about the linguistic reorganisation has come upon us. I am sorry to have to say that. The Lok Sabha will yield me the point when I say that I have no politics to play as far as I am concerned, and I do say, without any sense of shame or fear of contradiction that there was not any attempt made to control this.

I have only one more minute to go. And I now refer to the manner in which this question of linguistic States is sought to be solved with reference to Telangana. The Prime Minister said at one time that he was not in favour of disintegration of Hyderabad. Later on he appears to have changed his

## [Dr. Lanka Sundaram]

mind. Then they said Telangana has to be a separate State in terms of the Fazl Ali Commission's report. At one time they said it should be Vishalandhra, with the Andhra State and Telangana put together. Now, there is another idea, namely that Vishalandhra should be added on to Karnataka and so on and so forth. I would like to say here—and I regard it as an important matter—that because of the same manner in which, and the nonchalant, unthinking and unco-operative attitude in which, the people's representatives from the political parties concerned are functioning, it is going to give us a tremendous amount of trouble in the immediate future. I gather that there are proposals, almost completed, that Telangana would join with the Andhra State, but it would be called Hyderabad. I am here to declare that if this is going to be done—and I understand attempts are being made to finalise or it has been finalised last night—the wrath of three and a half crores of people in Andhra will be visited on the Government of India. I regret to say that. Nobody has a right to destroy the name of Andhra. I say it with all the sense of responsibility that I can command. I say that you cannot wipe out Andhra from the social, political and linguistic dictionary of India. If Telangana wants safeguards, let it have them. What was the record of Andhra in 1937? Twenty long years ago, there was a private pact between the politicians of Rayalaseema and the coastal districts. But why all this trouble now? If only guarantees were wanted, they could have got them. I want to say, the word 'Andhra' cannot be wiped out from the political map of India, and if that is attempted—I regret to say it—the answer will be given by the people.

Secondly, the Andhra language should not be suppressed, in the Telangana portion of the combined State. Why should it be suppressed? (*Interruption*) That is being attempted now.

**Mr. Chairman:** The hon. Member himself is criticising the attitude of Members that when Shri Gadgil spoke about decision regarding Bombay in the streets nobody raised a finger. But the hon. Member is himself imitating Shri Gadgil now!

**Dr. Lanka Sundaram:** I do not want to be chastised by any of my friends if

they can give one single reason for calling it Hyderabad State. I repeat this invitation. There is no question of Andhra being wiped out from the etymology of the people of India. I say, it is because politics of horse trading have supervened. I repeat it: group politicians have taken hold of the counsels of the Government of India and, with respect, I say, of the High Command of the Congress. That is the only thing I wanted to stress. It is still not too late. In the case of Bombay it is already over. In the case of Andhra it is going to begin, and let us stop it. It is still not too late in the day to prevent a catastrophe in this country.

**श्री गिडवाली (थाना) :** सभापति महोदय, राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण पर जो धन्यवाद का प्रस्ताव लोक सभा में आया है और जिस पर बाद-वाद चल रहा है, मैं उस प्रस्ताव का समर्थन करने के हेतु खड़ा हुआ हूँ। पहले मेरा बोलने का खास इरादा नहीं था, लेकिन मैं ने जब अपने मित्र डा० लंका मुन्दरम की स्पीच सुनी तो मैंने मुनासिब समझा कि मैं भी अपने स्थालात सामने रख दूँ। मैं जल्दी हूँ, और एक दफा का जल्दी नहीं हूँ बल्कि तीन दफा जल्दी हुआ हूँ। पहली मतंबा तो मैं तब जल्दी हुआ जब मेरे प्रान्त को जो बम्बई का एक हिस्सा था, बम्बई से अलग किया गया और यह बिना हमारी राय के किया गया, मेरी और श्री जयराम-दास दौलतराम की मुखालफत के बावजूद उस को अलग कर दिया गया। लेकिन हम ने उस को बदायत किया। और, आज मेरा प्रान्त कहां है? आज उसका नाम पाकिस्तान है। आज जब मैं कच्छ जाता हूँ और कच्छ से जहाज उड़ कर करांची जाता हूँ तो मेरे दिल पर जो बीतती है वह मैं ही जानता हूँ, और मैं उस का क्या बर्णन करूँ। हमारे प्रान्त का तो नाम ही भिट गया। जिस सिव्य प्रान्त ने देश को हिन्द नाम दिया वह आज पाकिस्तान में शामिल है, और यह मेरा दूसरा जल्दी है। इस के अलावा, अब बम्बई में जो कुछ हुआ उस से मेरे दिल को बहुत चोट लगी है, और उस के बारे में मैं आप से क्या बर्णन करूँ। दो बार मैं ने चोट को बदायत किया, लेकिन बम्बई में अपने राज्य के समय में भाइयों-भाइयों में जो आपस की लड़ाई देखी, स्वयं अपनी आंखों से देखी, उस से मेरे दिल को बहुत सदमा पहुँचा। उस ने मेरे हृदय को बड़ी पीड़ा पहुँचाई है। बम्बई में जो कुछ मैं ने देखा और भाई-भाई को आपस में झगड़ते देखा

उस से मेरा सिर भारे शर्म के झुक गया । और मैं ने जो डा० संका सुन्दरम् का भाषण सुना तो सुनकर हैरान हो गया । मैं कहता हूँ कि थोड़ी देर के लिये यह भी मान लिया जाये कि राज्यों का पुनर्गठन करते बक्त गत्ती से एक प्रान्त के किसी टुकड़े को किसी दूसरे प्रान्त में मिला दिया जाता है, तो कोई अनर्थ तो नहीं हो जाता, आखिर वह रहता तो इसी हिन्दुस्तान में है, मेरे प्रदेश की तरह वह पाकिस्तान में तो नहीं जाने वाला है । मैं प्राप को चेतावनी स्वरूप यह बतलाना चाहता हूँ कि इस तरह की मनोवृत्ति संकीर्णता की परिचायक है और वह बायमंडल जो हमें बम्बई में देखने में आया, हमारे देश के लिये बड़ा अहितकर है और राष्ट्र को उस से नुकसान पहुँचने वाला है । मैं तो कहता हूँ कि सब भारतवासियों को ऐसे स्वस्थ बातावरण का निर्माण करना चाहिये जिस से हमारे देश का हित हो और वह प्रगति-पथ पर अग्रसर हो । प्रापने देखा कि पाकिस्तान का हमारे प्रति क्या रवैया है? आपने ही बताया है कि काश्मीर में उस का रवैया यह है और ईस्ट पाकिस्तान में उस का रवैया इस प्रकार का है और आज कच्छ में उस का रवैया क्या है? आप को मालूम हैं कि हमारे सिन्धी भाई कच्छ के नजदीक कांडला में जा कर बसे हैं, वहाँ सिन्धियों के लिये एक टाउनशिप बनाया गया था और वहाँ जाते समय उनके दिल में यह डर था कि यह पाकिस्तान की सरहद पर स्थित होने से कहीं उन पर कोई मुसीबत न आये और उन्होंने अपनी यह आशंका और डर हम पर प्रकट भी किया, लेकिन हमने उन को विश्वास दिलाया कि तुम हरिगिज मत डरो और मजे में जा कर वहाँ रहो । हमारे द्वारा ऐसा विश्वास दिलाने पर वह बेचारे वहाँ जाकर बसे । अब वहाँ पर जो कुछ अप्रिय घटनायें घटित हुई हैं, न मालूम उन का क्या असर उन लोगों पर पड़ेगा । न केवल हमारे सिन्धी भाइयों पर, बल्कि कच्छी भाइयों के दिलों पर भी उस का बड़ा निराशाजनक असर पड़ेगा । अभी मुझ से श्री गुलाब चन्द, जो कच्छ के मेस्वर हैं, मिल और उन्होंने मुझ से कुछ बातचीत की । मैं चाहता हूँ कि हमारी सरकार इस मामले में अपनी पालिसी को बाज़े कर दे और साफ तौर पर घोषणा करे, ताकि कच्छ के निवासियों को तसल्ली हो जाये कि कोई ऐसी बात नहीं होने वाली है ।

राज्य पुनर्गठन के प्रश्न को लेकर देश के कुछ भागों में जो अप्रिय घटनायें जटी हैं, वे संदर्भनक हैं और मैं समझता हूँ कि प्रान्तों की

जगह राज्य और स्टेट्स का नाम देने से झगड़ बढ़े हैं । हमारा उन को स्टेट्स कहना गमत वा, उन को अगर प्राविन्सेज कहते तो शायद यह झगड़ा न होता । प्रान्तीयता की भावना से और संकीर्ण जातियता की भावना से देश को बड़ा नुकसान पहुँचा है और मैं तो चाहूँगा कि सरकार को इस के सम्बन्ध में सब पार्टियों के नेताओं को बुला कर और उन से बात चीत कर के इस प्रश्न का शान्तिपूर्वक हल निकालना चाहिये । आप को कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी के नेताओं को भी बातचीत करने के लिये बुलाना चाहिये । आज आप देख रहे हैं कि सोवियत रूस में क्या हो रहा है । जहाँ स्टालिन को देवता माना जाता था, आज वहाँ पर लोग स्टालिन को गिराने को तैयार हैं । आज संसार में इतने परिवर्तन हो रहे हैं और क्रान्तियाँ आ रही हैं और मैं नहीं समझता हूँ कि कोई भी कम्युनिस्ट भाई देश को कमज़ोर बनाना चाहता है । कोई कम्युनिस्ट भाई भी इस देश से अलग होने या इस पर आक्रमण करने को पसन्द नहीं करते हैं । तो इन सब पार्टियों को मिला कर और उन से सलाह ले कर इस मामले को हल किया जाये । इस हद तक मैं भी आप का समर्थन करने के लिये तैयार हूँ । लेकिन अगर कोई ऐसी बात हो जाय जो किसी को पसन्द न हो तो हम क्यों कहें कि अब ऐसा हो गया तो हम ऐसा करेंगे, और वैसा हो गया, जिस से बातावरण में और बायमंडल में डर पैदा हो, जिस से हमारे देश में कोई झगड़ा या फसाद पैदा हो । डा० संका सुन्दरम् ने ही तो ऐसे रवैये को गलत बताया था, उससे अब वे यों बदल रहे हैं? इस सिलसिले में, मैं इतना ही अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ ।

जिस बात को मैं पहले कहना चाहता था वह यह है कि हमारे राष्ट्रपति ने यह घोषणा की, हमारे यहाँ की कांग्रेस ने भी यह घोषणा की कि जब हमारा ध्येय इस देश में समाजवादी ढंग का समाज निर्माण करना है । बिल्कुल सही है, इस का अर्थ यही तो है कि जब समाजवादी ढंग पर समाज का निर्माण हो तो इस देश में न कोई नंगा हो, न कोई भूखा हो, न कोई बिना भूमि का हो, न कोई बेघर हो, और न ही कोई बीमार बेलाज हो । यहीं पांच बातें हीनी चाहियें, जैसा कि गांधी जी कहा करते थे । मैं यह मानने के लिये तैयार हूँ कि सब से बड़ा सवाल जो देश में है वह यह है कि बेरोजगारी और अन्दरएम्प्लियमेंट (अल्प-रोजगार) बढ़ता चा रहा है । मैं एक बात मानने के लिये तैयार हूँ, मैंने

श्री गिर्हानी]

नेहरू विषये साल, जब मैं पब्लिक एकाउंट्स कमेटी का मेंबर था, कमेटी के मेम्बरों के साथ सारे हिन्दुस्तान का भ्रमण किया। मैंने कम्युनिटी प्रोजेक्ट्स भी देखे, मैंने नेशनल एक्स्टेंशन सर्विस का भी काम देखा और उन बड़े-बड़े कारखानों को भी देखा जो कि बंगलोर और पेरम्पूर में हैं, और जो बड़े-बड़े काम हो रहे हैं हीराकुड़ और भालूड़ा नंगल में उन को भी देखा। कौन कह सकता है कि इस देश ने इतने धोड़े समय में उन्नति नहीं की। हम को अपनी आंखों को तो नहीं बन्द करना चाहिये। यह सही है कि १०० में से १०० आदमियों को काम नहीं मिला, उन को खाना नहीं पहुंचा, लेकिन यह बात कौन कह सकता है कि देश ने उन्नति नहीं की। देश के अन्दर बड़ा जबर्दस्त काम हो रहा है, जिस को हमारे सोशलिस्ट पार्टी के भाई भी देखते हैं। तो भगवर यह कहा जाये कि इस तरह से कुछ काम हो रहे हैं तो इस में हम को संदेह नहीं होना चाहिये। मैंने नेहरू अपनी आंखों से किसी जगहों पर आ कर देखा है, मेरा हृदय उन को देखकर प्रफुल्लित हो गया। जब मैं भोपाल गया तो सांची में, जो कि बुद्ध भगवान का एक स्थान है, मैंने एक जनता कालेज अपनी आंखों से देखा। मैंने देखा कि देहात के लोग किस तरह से उस कालेज में पढ़ रहे हैं। मैं बड़ा खुश हुआ, और किस देश के हितचिन्तक को उस को देख कर खुशी नहीं होगी। तो यह सब देख कर यह मानना पड़ेगा, और मानना चाहिये कि देश ने उन्नति की है और बराबर कर रहा है। लेकिन, हमारे सामने जो अहम सबाल है वह है बेरोजगारी का। हम ने बेरोजगारी के मसले को हल किया या नहीं। इसके आरे में जो हमारी पंच-वर्षीय योजना है उस में खुद माना गया है:

The following statement will show at a glance the number of jobs which should be created if unemployment is to be completely eradicated in the Second Plan period.

वह कहते हैं कि १५३ लाख लोग रह जायेंगे जिन को हमें काम में लमाना है अगर हम

कितने आदमियों को काम में लगा सकेंगे और बेरोजगार दिला सकेंगे, यह बड़ा भारी सबाल है। हमारी दूसरी योजना भी कहती है कि १०० लाख तक तो हम पहुंच जायेंगे, अब पहुंचेंगे या नहीं, यह नहीं कहा जा सकता। लेकिन, इस के साथ साथ एक बड़ा भारी सबाल है, 'शायद आप उस पर हसेंगे। वह सबाल है देश में मर्दुम शुमारी के बढ़ने का। आप को समझना चाहिये कि हर साल ४०-४५ लाख से लेकर ५० लाख तक आदमी देश में बढ़ते हैं। पिछली जनसंख्या के मुताबिक मैं आप को बतलाता हूँ कि सन् १९५१ में यहाँ की पापुलेशन (जनसंख्या) ३१ करोड़ और २८ लाख थी, और १९५१ में बही ३५ करोड़ ७० लाख हो गई। यानी कोई सांकेतिक कारोड़ हमारी मर्दुमशुमारी बढ़ी। अब आप खुद लेखिये कि अगर इस तरह से हिन्दुस्तान की मर्दुमशुमारी बढ़ती जाये और जो बेरोजगार पहले से बैठे हैं वह वैसे ही बैठे रहें तो कोई भी योजना कैसे सफल हो सकती है। जब तक कि कोई ऐसा कदम न उठाया जाये जिस से कि किसी तरह से जनसंख्या को बढ़ने से रोका जाये में इस बारे में एक बात कहना चाहता हूँ, भले ही आप लोग इस पर हसें। मेरी समझ में आप चाहें जो भी रास्ता अस्थार करें, आप चर्चा चलाइये, ग्रामोद्योग चलाइये, काटेज इन्डस्ट्रीज चलाइये, बड़े उद्योग चलाइये, लेकिन बावजूद इन तमाम बातों के जैसा कि आप ने अपनी दूसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना में भी कहा है, कि बेरोजगारी को रोकने में हम पूरी तरह से सफल नहीं हो सकते। आप के सामने जनसंख्या बढ़ने की एक दीवार खड़ी है, जो किसी तरह भी बेरोजगारी का मसला हल नहीं करने देती है। इसके लिये एक ही रास्ता देखने में आता है कि फैमिली प्लॉनिंग (परिवार आयोजन) की स्कीम को बढ़ाया जाये। मुझ जैसे आदमी से यह बात सुन कर शायद कुछ आदमियों को मजाक सा मालूम होगा, शायद यह बात उन को ऐसी लगेगी जिस को जल्दी ग्रहण करने में उन को कुछ मुश्किल हो, लेकिन मेरी समझ में सिवा इस के कोई रास्ता नहीं है।

यह मेरे ही विचार नहीं हैं, अभी पंडित जी आगरे गये थे।

At a meeting held in Agra recently under the auspices of the U.P. Pradesh Congress Committee, the Prime Minister, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru spoke. After referring to various major aspects of the projected Second Plan he referred to the need of family planning. He felt that family planning was absolutely essential to ensure a decent standard of living to the people. All efforts to solve the problem of unemployment would come to nought, if the population continued to increase at a rapid rate.

He said that a country's depended on the rate of investment and it would not be possible to raise the rate of national savings in India, unless, somehow, the increase in population is stopped.

यहाँसक बात है। यहाँ ही नहीं, मैं अभी जापान गया था, वहाँ भी जहाँ जहाँ पर यह देखा जाता है कि पापुलेशन बढ़ती जाती है वहाँ दूसरे दूसरे रास्ते अख्लायार किये जाते हैं, मैं उन में जाना नहीं चाहता। मेरे भाई न समझे कि यह मैं अपनी बात कह रहा हूँ, मैं ने आप को कई बार बताया कि न तो मैं ने दुनिया में कोई बच्चा पैदा ही किया और न आगे पैदा करने की इच्छा ही रखता हूँ, लेकिन चंकि मेरे पास पिछले आठ वर्षों से जिन लोगों की आप विश्वापित कहते हैं उन का काम है, उन के मसले के साथ मेरा सम्बन्ध है इस लिये कोई दिन भी ऐसा नहीं जाता कि जब सबेरे से लेकर शाम तक लोग मेरे पास नहीं आते ह। एक दिन मैं बैठा था कि मेरे पास दूक ६० या ६५ वर्ष का सिन्धी रिफ्यूजी आया जो कि कल्जू से आया था वहाँ बृहदों के लिये आश्रम है। वह कहने लगा कि मेरे साथ सरकार ने बड़ा जुल्म किया है। मेरे साथ बड़ा अन्याय हुआ है। मैंने पूछा कि आखिर क्या हुआ? कहने लगा कि हम चार आदमी हैं हम बृहदों के आश्रम में हैं, लेकिन खाना सिर्फ़ दो ही आदमियों का फी मिलता है। मैंने कहा कि यह कैसे हो सकता है? वह कहने लगा कि मेरी ओरत है और मैं हूँ, फिर कहा कि दो बच्चे हैं। मुझे बड़ी हैरानी हुई कि यह तो ६०-६५ वर्ष का बुद्धा है, इस के दो बच्चे कैसे हो सकते हैं। मैंने सोचा कि शायद कई-कई बरस के होंगे। एक दो-तीन वर्ष का होगा, दूसरा ६ या ७ वर्ष का होगा। मैंने पूछा कि क्या उम्र है दोनों बच्चों की? तो कहने लगा कि दोनों की उम्र दस महीने की है। अभी पैदा हुए हैं। मैंने कहा कि अरे कम्बलता, कैसे बच्चे पैदा करता है?

आप समझ सकते हैं कि यह कैसी चीज़ है। हमारा अजीब कानून है, आप सुन कर हैरान होंगे कि किस तरह से उस का पालन किया जाता है। कानून है कि जब बच्चा पैदा होता है तो जब तक वह दो वर्ष का नहीं हो जाता या शायद तीन का तब तक उस को फी राशन नहीं मिलता। मैं यह कोई कहानी नहीं कह रहा हूँ, एक हकीकत बयान कर रहा हूँ। इस तरह से अगर दो बच्चे हो गये तो उन की मुसीबत आ जाती है। पुराने जमाने में मेरे एक दोस्त थे जो एम० एल० ५० थे। उन की आमदानी साल की करीब ५०,००० रुपये थी, वह अच्छे खाते-पीते थे, तन्दुरुस्त थे। वह हर साल एक बच्चा पैदा करते थे, १८ वर्ष से उन्होंने बच्चे पैदा करने शुरू कर दिये। वह यहाँ आते हैं, मान लीजिये कि वह बराबर बच्चे पैदा करते रहते तो एक आर्मी (फौज) बच्चों की लड़ी हो जाती। और वह यहाँ आते, और कहाँ जा सकते थे? आप की पापुलेशन इस तरह से कितनी बढ़ जाती? लेकिन उस बेचारे शर्स ने आपरेशन करवा दिया। वह अब वहे आराम में हैं, तन्दुरुस्त है, खुद भी बिल्कुल सुखी हैं और ओरत भी सुखी हैं। मुझे कई मर्तबा मिलता है तो म समझता हूँ कि अगर हम इस समस्या को इतनी अहमियत देते हैं फिर भी इस तरह की कोई तरकीब नहीं निकालते हैं तो आप की सारी योजनायें खत्म हो जायेंगी और समस्या ज्यों की त्यों ही पड़ी रहेंगी। इस लिये हम को इस ओर बड़े ध्यान से बढ़ना चाहिये। इस में कोई इमारेलिटी (अनैतिकता) नहीं, इस में कोई बुरा पाप करने की बात नहीं, यह एक ऐसा काम है फैमिली प्लानिंग का जिस का आप को तर्जुआ करना चाहिये। आप हमेशा हजारों एक्स्प्रेसर्मेंट्स (प्रयोग) करते रहते हैं। आप को इस मामले को भी अहमियत देनी चाहिये। मुझे इस की बड़ी खुशी है कि हमारी गवर्नरमेंट ने फैमिली प्लानिंग के लिये भी ५ करोड़ रुपये रखे हैं। लेकिन मैं चाहता हूँ कि यह काम ऐसे लोगों के हाथों में हो जिन को इसमें विवादास हो। हमारे हैल्प मिनिस्टर साहब हैं, उनका कुछ कारणों की बजह से इस चीज़ में विवादास मालूम नहीं पड़ता है। फैमिली प्लानिंग का मसला ऐसा है जिसको कि सीरियसली (गम्भीरतापूर्वक) लिया जाना चाहिये। मैं तो यह भी कहूँगा कि जो स्टेट गवर्नरमेंट्स (राज्य सरकार) हैं, जो म्पनिसिपल कमिटीज़ हैं, जो डिस्ट्रिक्ट बोर्ड्स हैं या इसी तरह से दूसरे महकमे हैं, उनको भी चाहिये कि वे फैमिली प्लानिंग की स्कीमों पर अमल करें। मैं चाहता हूँ कि आप इस पर

[**श्री . गिडवानी]**

गम्भीरतापूर्वक विचार करें और इस को लागू करने के लिये कनक्रीट (ठोस) योजनायें बनायें।

**श्री ब० ब० पांडे** (जिला अलमोड़ा-उत्तर-पूर्व) : आपकी अपनी इस बारे में क्या राय है ?

**श्री गिडवानी** : मैंने तो न कोई गुलामी के जमाने में पैदा किया है और न आजाद होने के बाद पैदा किया है।

मैं कोई मजाक की बात नहीं कर रहा हूँ। यह बहुत सीरियस (गम्भीर) चीज है और इस को बहुत ज्यादा अहमियत दी जानी चाहिये। अगर यह चीज लोगों को बताई जाये और तरीके बतलाये जायें तो कई कुट्टब राजी खुशी अपना निर्वाह कर सकेंगे।

दूसरी बात जो मैं कहना चाहता हूँ वह है बचत के बारे में। यह भी इतना अहम मामला है कि इस पर भी मैं अपने कुछ विचार पेश किये बिना नहीं रह सकता हूँ। आजकल इस की बहुत ज्यादा चर्चा है कि लोगों को बचाना चाहिये। इस के बारे में अमृतसर में भी एक रेजोल्यूशन (संकल्प) पास किया गया है और लोगों से अपील की गई है कि वे रुपया बचा कर गवर्नरेंट को उधार दें। मैं अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ मिनिस्टर साहिबान से कि वे देखें कि उनके अपने डिपार्टमेंट्स में कितना ज्यादा फिजूल खर्च हो रहा है। उदाहरण के लिये मैं बतलाना चाहता हूँ कि यहां पर हम की तीन-तीन डायरियां सप्लाई की गई हैं। इस का क्या मतलब है ? क्या यह फिजूल खर्च नहीं है।

**श्री द्यामनन्दन सहाय (मुजफरपुर-मध्य) :** हमको तो एक ही मिली है।

**श्री गिडवानी** : नहीं साहब तीन मिली हैं। इस के साथ ही साथ हम को दो-दो कैलेंडर भी सप्लाई किये गये हैं। इन्हीं चीजों से अन्दराजा लगाया जा सकता है कि गवर्नरेंट डिपार्टमेंट्स (विभागों) में कितना ज्यादा फिजूल का खर्च हो रहा है। आज दिल्ली में जो कि भारत की राजधानी है स्कूलों की इमारतें बनाने के लिये जब इतने ज्यादा पैसे की जरूरत है तो क्या बजह कि इस तरह से फिजूल रुपया खर्च किया जा रहा है। मैं यहां पर दिल्ली में ही यह भी देखता हूँ कि लड़कों के लिये स्कूलों में बैठने के लिये जगह भी नहीं हैं और इस पर रुपया खर्च करने के बजाय गलत चीजों के लिये रुपया खर्च किया

जा रहा है। इसी तरह से हमें कितने ही कागजात दिये जाते हैं। जो कि किसी काम नहीं आते। मैं चाहता हूँ कि एक एक पाई का सदुपयोग हो और जहां पर रुपया खर्च करने की सब से ज्यादा जरूरत हो वहीं रुपया खर्च किया जाये। मैं आप को महात्मा गांधी की बात बतलाना चाहता हूँ। मैं भी उनके साथ ३०-४० साल गुजार हैं और उनको मैं पास से भी जानता हूँ। महात्मा गांधी पुराने कागजात को सम्भाल के रखा करते थे और उन को चिट्ठियां लिखने के काम में लाया करते थे। आप नाम तो लेते हैं गांधी जी का लेकिन उन के उसूलों पर नहीं चलते हैं। केवल गांधी जी का नाम ही ले लेना काफी नहीं है। हमें चाहिये कि हम उन के उसूलों पर चलें। सिलों के ग्रन्थ में यह आसा है :

और उपदेशे आप न करे ।  
आवत जावत जन्मे मरे ॥

यानी दूसरों को उपदेश देना पर खुद उस पर अम्ल न करना कोई मानी नहीं रखता है। इस वास्ते हमें चाहिये कि हम एक एक पैसे को बचायें और फिजूल खर्च न करें।

जहां तक राज्यों के पुनर्गठन का सम्बन्ध है इस के बारे हमें शान्ति से काम लेना चाहिये। हमें अपने राष्ट्र के हितों की सामने रखना चाहिये। और उसी के मुताबिक काम भी करना चाहिये। अगर एक प्रान्त का एक टुकड़ा इधर से उधर चला जाता है तो उस से क्या फँक पड़ता है, आखिरकार वह टुकड़ा रहेगा तो हिन्दुस्तान में ही। हम लोगों ने जो कि रिप्पूजीज हैं, इतनी मुसीबतें बदलित की हैं कि जिन को बयान नहीं किया जा सकता। हमारे दिलों पर जो जल्म लगे हैं उन की हम ही जानते हैं। हम अपने घरबार छोड़ कर यहां आये हैं फिर भी हम ने इस चीज की परवा नहीं की। अगर आज आनंद का नाम कुछ और हो जाता है तो इस में क्या हर्ज है। अगर आज बम्बई का शहर महाराष्ट्र में मिला दिया जाता है तो इसमें क्या फँक पड़ता है। हमें चाहिये कि हम भाई-भाई की तरह रहें और गांधी जी के बतलाये हुए उसूलों पर चलें। हमें अपने देश को मजबूत करने के लिये हर सम्भव उपाय करना चाहिये। आज जब कि शत्रु हमारे दरवाजे पर लड़ा है हमें अपनी एकता को कमजोर नहीं करना चाहिये। हमें संगठित हो कर समस्याओं को सुलझाना चाहिये और मामूली-मामली बातों पर लड़ना क्षगड़ना हम की शोभा नहीं देता। मैं यह भी चाहता हूँ

कि राज्यों के पुनर्गठन का मामला सभी पार्टियों के सहयोग के साथ सुलझाया जाना चाहिये। उनको एक जगह बिठा कर फैसले किये जाने चाहिये जिस से कि हम उनकी सप्पोर्ट (समर्थन) भी हासिल कर सकें और आगे बढ़ सकें।

**श्री आर० डी० मिथ (जिला बुलन्दशाहर) :** सभापति महोदय, मैं अपने मित्र श्री भागवत ज्ञा आजाद द्वारा पेश किये गये प्रस्ताव का समर्थन करने के लिये खड़ा हुआ हूँ। १९५५ में भारत ने जो उन्नति की है उसका नक्शा राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण में देखने को मिला है। जो बातें उन्होंने कही हैं मैं उन को बिलकूल सही मानता हूँ। उन्होंने सब से पहली बात तो यह कही है कि सन् १९५५ में दुनियाने यह समझना शुरू कर दिया है कि हिन्दुस्तान की जो वैदेशिक नीति है, जो फारें पालीसी है, वह बिलकूल सही है। जो लोग पहले हमारी वैदेशिक नीति का भजाक उड़ाया करते थे वे भी अब यह मानने लग गये हैं कि जिस पालिसी पर हम चल रहे हैं वही सही पालिसी है और दुनिया के राष्ट्रों को भी इसी पालिसी पर चलना चाहिये। अगर हम अपनी तारीफ आप करें तब तो कोई बात नहीं बनती। बात तो तभी बनती है जब कि विदेशी राजदूत, विदेशी नेता और दूसरे देशों के मंत्रिगण हमारी पालिसी की सराहना करें। विदेशी नीति तभी अच्छी कही जा सकती है जब विदेशी लोग उसे अच्छा समझें और यह कहें कि हां इस से दुनिया के देशों को कोई लाभ हुआ है। इस सम्बन्ध में मैं आप के सामने एक दो बातें रखना चाहता हूँ।

६ अक्टूबर, १९५५ को डा० अल्बर्ट बेरियो ने जो यहाँ पर इटली के राजदूत थे दिल्ली में हिन्दुस्तान की राजनीति के मुतालिक जो बयान दिया मैं उसे आप को पढ़ कर सुनाना चाहता हूँ। उन्होंने कहा था कि :

"India has become the symbol of new Asia. It is the first time in history that Asia is playing a very important part in the international sphere, and India is in the fore-front of the role. We in Italy very much admire the genius of your leader who is playing a big part in the international policy and we admire the efforts he has made to make India great in a few years since independence. He has succeeded in giving his country high prestige throughout

the world. We in Italy look upon India with great interest and sympathy because we are guided by the same principles. We both act in defence of peace and democracy and are against totalitarianism."

He further said that :

"India has become a big school for diplomats because at present she is the centre of a big movement from the point of view of international policies. We see here personalities from many parts of the world. India is so full of history, philosophy and monuments which are source of great knowledge."

इस बात को पढ़ने के बाद मुझे मनु की एक बात याद आ गई। उन्होंने कहा है कि :

रतददेश प्रसूतस्य सकाशाताम्र जन्मनः

स्वं स्वं चरितं शिक्षरेन प्रथिमा सर्वमानवः।

यानी इस देश के जो बड़े बड़े महान लीडर जन्म लेते हैं और जिन के पास काश रूपी श्रीबधि है, उन के पास आ आ कर समस्त दुनिया के आदमी अपने अपने चरित्र के बारे में शिक्षा लिया करते हैं। मनु का यह कहना था कि उन के समय में दुनिया के सभी देशों के लोग इस देश के नेताओं से आ कर यह पूछा करते थे कि उन को दूसरे देशों के साथ किस प्रकार का व्यवहार करना चाहिए। काश पित से उत्पन्न खांसी की बीमारी को दूर करती है इस का यह अर्थ है कि लड़ाई चर्चा से जो गर्भी उत्पन्न होती है उस को अद्वितीय रूपी श्रीबधि दूर करती है। इस देश के नेता शान्ति रूपी श्रीबधि की शिक्षा दिया करते थे। जो बात मनु ने अपने समय के सम्बन्ध में कही है। आज हमारे नेता पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरूजी ने भी उसी जमाने की फिजा पैदा कर दी है जब कि दुनिया के राजनीतिश भारत भूमि में आ कर शिक्षा लिया करते थे और पूछा करते थे कि हमें किस तरह से दूसरे देशों के साथ व्यवहार करना चाहिये। यही हमारी वैदेशिक नीति की कामयाबी है। आज रूस में, अमेरिका में, हिन्दुस्तान की पालिसी का बोलबाला है। इस पालिसी को देख कर दुनिया अब भी में पढ़ गई है। इस लिये अगर राष्ट्रपति जी ने यह कह दिया कि हमारी पालिसी कामयाब रही है तो इस में कौन सी गलत बात कही है।

[ श्री. आर. डी. मिश्र ]

इटली के विदेश मन्त्री डा० मारटीनो ने ५ जनवरी, १९५६ को जो कुछ कहा है उस को भी सुन लीजिये । इस के बारे में आप ने भी अल्पाचारों में पढ़ा होगा । उन्होंने कहा है:

"Today, the hope of mankind is for peace, that makes life possible and allows the solution of problems arising from life itself. Italians join with Indians in wanting peace which is essential for perseverance and progress in efforts for the development of civil life. The world has received from India the gift of a great example, the example of her tremendous faith in the peaceful solution of problems arising between nations, between classes and between men. Other countries have given birth to men who are remembered as heroes because they believed in force as the only means of solving social and political problems. The Indian nation, instead, has given birth to the Mahatma, the great soul of Gandhi who not only believed in peace, but used it as a means of solving the most difficult problems of his motherland."

इसी तरीके से और लोंगो ने भी व्यापार दिये हैं । मैं किस का व्यापार यहां पर पढ़कर सुनाऊँ? यहां पर ईंजिन्यर (मिस्र) के प्राइम मिनिस्टर आये, महाराजा नेपाल आये, चीन के प्रधान मंत्री श्री चाउ एन लाई आये और सब ने इस देश की नीति की प्रशंसा की । श्री बुलगानिन और ख्रुश्चेव ने सुप्रीम सोवियत के समाने यहां के दौरे के बारे में जो रिपोर्ट दी, वह भी आपने पढ़ी होगी । उन्होंने भी हिन्दुस्तान की राजनीति की तारीफ की । उन्होंने यहां पर हो रहे कामों को देखा । उन्होंने देखा कि यहां पर जनता की उम्मति के लिये काम किये जा रहे हैं, कम्युनिटी प्राजेक्ट चल रहे हैं, बड़े बड़े हैम बन रहे हैं और गरीबी को दूर करने के लिये कृदम उठाया जा रहे हैं । इन सब बातों का उन्होंने जिक्र किया और इस देश की नीति की प्रशंसा की । आपने मुंह मिया मिट्टू बनने से कोई फायदा नहीं है । आज दुनिया भर के राजनीतिज्ञ यह मानते हैं कि पंडित नेहरू दुनिया के माने हुए राजनीतिज्ञ हैं । इस हालत में मैं आपको आलोचना की राजनीति को क्रिटिसाइज़ (आलोचना)

करते हुए देखता हूं । विरोधी दल के सदस्यों से मेरा कहना है ज्यादा अच्छा हो आगर आप साहबान कोई सजेस्शन (सुझाव) सामने लाये, कोई रचनात्मक सुझाव पेश करें, लेकिन आप तो महज क्रिटिसाइज़ करने के लिये ही खड़े होते हैं ।

मैं देखता हूं कि सब लोगों के दिमाग में एस० आर० सी० (राज्य पुनर्गठन आयोग) समाया हुआ है । दिसम्बर में यहां पर एस० आर० सी० पर बहस करने का मौका दिया गया । जो नहीं बोल सके, उन को स्टेटमेंट (वक्तव्य) देने की इजाजत दी गई और कहा गया कि जितना बुखार है, जितना गूस्सा है, उस को निकाल लो । इस के बाबजूद लोगों की तसल्ली नहीं हुई और आज भी जिस को देखो, वह एस० आर० सी० की बात कर रहा है । आखिर यह क्या बीमारी है? किसी ने कहा कि इस रिपोर्ट पर अमल करना फिलहाल टाल दो । लेकिन यह राय ठीक नहीं है । हम ने हिन्दुस्तान की आजादी हासिल की है और अब हम सब का कर्तव्य है कि हम इस को बहुत मजबूत बना कर आने वाली सन्तति को दे जाय । यह जिम्मेदारी हम पर है । एक और बात का भी हम को स्थाल रखना है । हो सकता है कि आज से दस-बीस बरस के बाद आज की वह राष्ट्रीय भावना कमजोर पड़ जाय, जिस को महात्मा गांधी ने पैदा किया था और उस वक्त इस रिपोर्ट पर अमल करने से देश में गडबड़ पैदा हो जाय । मैं तो यह समझता हूं कि आज योड़े से आदमियों के दिमाग फिर गये हैं । उनकी लीडरी के लिये खतरा पैदा हो गया है और इसीलिये वे इस तरह की उल्ली बातें कर रहे हैं । हम को यह नहीं भूलना चाहिये कि राष्ट्रीयता का अर्थ है देश की एकता और उस को कायम रखना हम सब का कर्तव्य है । फिर भी लोग बातें करते हैं संयुक्त महाराष्ट्र की ओर विशालान्ध्र की । आप ने सुना होगा कि यहां पर गाडगिल साहब ने कहा था कि आगर संयुक्त महाराष्ट्र का सवाल यहां तय नहीं होगा तो फिर वह स्ट्रीट्स (गलियों में) तथ किया जायगा । उस के बाद हम ने देख लिया कि बम्बई में क्या हुआ । क्या यही हमारी राष्ट्रीय भावना है? मराठों और गुजरातियों में नफरत फैलाने की कोशिश की गई है, लेकिन मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि मराठों के दिलों में किसी के लिये कोई नफरत नहीं है और उन के दिमाग भी सही हैं । और इसी तरह गुजराती, बंगाली और हिन्दी बोलने वाले भी सही तरीके

से सोचते और काम करते हैं—सिफं लीडरों का दिमाग़ स्कराब हो गया है, मैं मानता हूं कि कांग्रेस में भी ऐसे लोग मौजूद हैं। कांग्रेस वालों का काम था कि वह मजबूत रहते और जनता की रहनुमाई करते, जिस तरह कि वे प्रधेज के जमाने में करते रहे हैं। उन को कहना चाहिये था कि ४१ प्रतिशत आदमी हमारे साथ हैं और तुम्हारे साथ ४६ प्रतिशत है—और शायद ४७-४८ ही हीं या इस से भी कम हों। इस लिये हम जनता का पथ-प्रदर्शन करेंगे। लेकिन उन्होंने अपनी लीडरी छोड़ दी और उस को कम्पनिस्टों और सोशलिस्टोंको दे दियाया थीरों को दे दिया। ये सा कर के उन्होंने संयुक्त महाराष्ट्र के नारे के आगे सिर झुका दिया। मैं यह मानता हूं कि संयुक्त महाराष्ट्र की बात करना बुरा नहीं है, भाषावार राज्यों का निर्माण किया जाये, यह भी बुरा नहीं है। कांग्रेस ने भी यही कहा था, लेकिन लिंग्विस्म (भाषावार) पर इतना जोर दिया गया कि कल्प हुए, खून हुए, गारतगरी हुई और लोगों में आपस में नफरत पैदा हो गई। फिर भी यहां पर कहा जाता है कि इन बातों की तहकीकात करने के लिये एक कमीशन बिठाया जाये। बम्बई में चार सौ दुकानें फूँकी गईं, बहां पर आग लगाई गईं, लोगों का नुकसान हुआ, लीडरों की बेड़ज़ती हुई—ये सब बाक्यात हमारे सामने हैं, कमीशन को किस लिये बिठाया जाय? किस ने बहां पर आग लगाई? 'हूँ इज़ रेसपासिबल फार इट'? (इस के लिये कौन उत्तरदायी है?)

**श्री कामय (होशंगाबाद) :** इस की एन्कायरी कराइये।

**श्री आर० डी० मिथ्य :** मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि जो लोग इन कामों के लिये जिम्मेदार हैं, वे अब अपने किये पर पष्ठतायें कि हम ने मूल्क को इतना नुकसान पहुँचाया है। आज इन बातों को देखकर विदेशी हस रहे हैं। असल बात तो यह है कि मुझे इस मामले में विदेशियों की भूमिका है। इस में उन का भी हाथ हो सकता है। उन्होंने इन बाक्यात के फोटो सीचे और उन को अपने मूल्कों के अखबारों में छापा। उन्होंने प्रचार किया कि अब हिन्दुस्तान टूट रहा है और महाराष्ट्र और विशाल आन्ध्र अलग हों रहे हैं। पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू का रवैया कितना काविले-तारीफ रहा है। कमीशन ने अपनी रिपोर्ट दी और पंडित जी ने कहा कि उस की कुछ बातें भेरी समझ में नहीं आई, आप गौर कर लीजिये। तो कहा गया कि पंडित जी ने ऐसा क्यों कहा। उस के बाद जब कुछ

फैसला किया गया तो फिर नुक्ता-धीनीकी गयी कि इस स्टेट से यह इलाका ले लिया गया है, उस स्टेट से वह इलाका ले लिया गया है, हम को देवीकुलम नहीं दिया गया है, हम से पुहलिया ले लिया गया है, बरीरह-बरीरह। हमारे चर्टर्जी साहब कहते हैं कि जस्टिस (न्याय) करो। जस्टिस तो सुप्रीम कोर्ट करता है। आप जा कर लोगों को बहकायें और कहें यहां कि जस्टिस करो। आप ने कहा कि पंजाब में अकालियों की कान्फेंस हुई और महा-पंजाब चाहने वाले हिन्दुओं की सभा हुई और कोई ग्रांगड़ा नहीं हुआ। मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि वहां पर ग्रांगड़ा इस लिये नहीं हुआ कि एक तरफ आप थे, दूसरी तरफ अकाली थे और बीच में कांग्रेस थी और अगर कांग्रेस न होती, तो वहां पर भी सिर फूट जाते। वह कहते हैं कि मैं ने पंडित नेहरू से अपील की। हम जानते हैं कि वहां पर आग लगा आये और महापंजाब का नाग खड़ा कर आये। उन्होंने कहा कि गुरुमुखी ठीक नहीं है, इस मामले को पंडित जी तय करें वहां आग लगाये और पंडित जी मामले तय करें। आखिर वह वहां गये थे। वह मास्टर तारासिंह से बात करते और कहते कि हम आपके गुरुग्रन्थ और आप की भाषा को मानते हैं आप महा-पंजाब के लिए राजी हो जाइए और तय कर लेते हैं इस में क्या एतराज था, वह मान लेते।

इसके बाद डा० संका सुन्दरसू की बारी आई। वह कहते हैं कि अगर विशाल आन्ध्र न बना तो मैं बैलेंज देता हूं कि बहुत बड़ा खतरा पैदा हो जायेगा। मैं हैरान हूं कि जिस को देखा, वहीं पाटेला हो रहा है—जिस को देखो, वहीं प्रकट रहा है। मैं गवर्नरमेंट से यह कहना चाहता हूं कि इस तरह हक्मत नहीं बलती है, हक्मत भजबूती के साथ होती है। पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू का माइन्ड हेलोक्रेटिक (प्रजातन्त्रात्मक) है। मैं देखता हूं कि इतने कल्प, खून और गारतगरी के बाद भी लोगों को यह हिम्मत है कि वे पालिमेंट में इस तरह की बातें करें।

इस मूल्क में त्रावनकोर-कोचीन के भाई हैं, बंगाली हैं, आसामी हैं, पंजाबी हैं, हिन्दी हैं, गुजराती हैं, लेकिन सब का साना-पीना, कपड़े और रस्मो-रिवाज अलग-अलग हैं—एक नहीं है। तो फिर उन में कौन सी भीज कामन (समान) है? उन में एक कामन भीज है एक कामन सैड (एक ही देश)। कांग्रेस ने यही बात सिखाई

## [ श्री. आर. डी. मिश्र ]

थी । उस ने सिखाया था कि हिन्दुस्तान हमारा है । उस ने तभाम हिन्दुस्तान में राष्ट्रीय भावना जागृत की थी । उस ने सिखाया था कि यह भूमि हमारी माता है—हमारी मातृभूमि है । उसने कन्या कमारी से लेकर काश्मीर तक, आसाम से लेकर पंजाब तक रहने वाले सब लोगों को एक किया । तब अंग्रेजों ने महसूस किया कि देश का दावा सच्चा है और वे इस को छोड़ कर चले गये ।

श्री इयामनदेन सहाय : वे भाग गये ।

श्री आर० डी० मिश्र : वे तो भाग गये, लेकिन आप तो डटे हुए हैं । आप ने यहां पर कहा कि पंडित नेहरू की गोमा के बारे में नीति शालत है, रूस के बारे में शालत है, कम्युनिटी प्राजेक्ट्स शालत है, बंगाल-बिहार का मर्जर (विलय) शालत है, पुरुलिया को शामिल करना शालत है, गरज कि सब कुछ शालत है । मैं उन से पूछना चाहता हूं कि क्या कुछ सही भी है ?

हम जिस को भारत कहते हैं, वह सब का है । उस की एक एक इच्छा जामीन यहां पर रहने वाले नागरिकों की है, ३५ करोड़ जनता की है । कहा गया है कि बम्बई भराठियों का है, गुजरातियों का नहीं है, लेकिन मैं यह पूछता हूं कि हम य० पी० वाले कहां गये ? गुजराती तो सीधे-साथे सीधावार लोग हैं, लाला लोग हैं, वे डर गये । मगर हम य० पी० वालों का हक्क कहां गया ? हमारे भी भाई वहां पर रहते हैं । इसी तरह बिहारी और बंगाली भी वहां पर हैं । मेरे कहने का भत्तख यह है कि हिन्दुस्तान पर सब प्रदेशों और सब जातियों के लोगों का हक्क है ।

4 P. M.

अपनी गवर्नरमेंट से मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि उस को इन मामलात में इतनी छिलाई से काम नहीं लेना चाहिये कि जिस को भौका मिले, वह आग लगा जाये । उस को कुछ कड़ाई से काम लेना चाहिये । हमें भारतवर्ष को ऐसा बनाना है कि जिस में सब लोग इज्जत से रह सकें, वे महसूस करें कि उन का जीवन सुखी है, सब आनन्द से रह सकें । ऐसा नहीं होना चाहिये कि एक छोटा सा इलाका नहीं मिला, तो झगड़े शुरू हो गये, देवीकुलम न मिला, तो छुरी बल गई ।

आखिर सारा देश एक है, इस का कोई इलाका कहीं उठ कर तो नहीं चला जायगा । इसी किस्म की घटनायें उड़ीसा में भी हुईं । इस में मिनिस्टरों की गलती भी है । मैं मानता हूं कि कांग्रेस ने यह तैयार किया था कि हमारे देश की एक कम्पोजिट स्टेट (सामाजिक राज्य) बने जिस में राजे भी हों, जमीदार भी हों, और सभी मिल कर एक डिमोक्रेटिक स्टेट (प्रजातन्त्रीय राज्य) बनावें । लेकिन आज लोग नाजायज फायदा उठा कर देश में आग लगाते फिरते हैं और यहां आकर पंडित जी से जस्टिस की बात करते हैं । अगर कहा जाता है कि बंगाल और बिहार का मर्जर किया जायें तो वे लोग कहते हैं कि नहीं ऐसा नहीं होना चाहिये । जिस बक्त कि देश में आग लगी हुई थी, रेलें तोड़ी जा रही थीं, बसों को आग लगाई जा रही थी, उस बक्त दो चीफ मिनिस्टरों ने एक समझौता पर दस्तखत किये और कहा कि हमारे दो सूबे मिलेंगे । इन दो आदमियों के दस्तखतों का होना था कि सारे हिन्दुस्तान में शान्ति की एक सहर फैल गयी । इस दवा ने बहुत जल्द असर किया । बिहारियों और बंगालियों ने जो अपने-आप को गले लगा लिया उस से देश को बड़ा फायदा हुआ । लेकिन जिन लोगों को झगड़ा कराना था वे उस के लिये अभी भी तैयार बैठे हैं । वे कहते हैं कि मर्जर ठीक नहीं है । इस झगड़े को तय करना चाहिये । मैं कहता हूं कि क्यों नहीं वे खुद इस को तय कर लेते और पुरुलिया बगैरह का जो झगड़ा है उस का आपस में क्यों नहीं फैसला कर लेते । क्या बिहार वालों पर गोली चला कर जबरदस्ती कर के जस्टिस की जाये ? कमीशन ने कहा कि विदंभ का एक सूबा बना दो और मध्य प्रदेश में मध्य भारत को मिला कर एक सूबा बना दो । अगर विदंभ का सूबा अलग बनता तो मराठों का ही चीफ मिनिस्टर होता और दूसरे मिनिस्टर उन के होते । लेकिन कहते हैं कि नहीं हम सब को मिला दो और संयुक्त महाराष्ट्र बना दो । अगर अलग अलग राज्य रहते तो क्या हो जाता ? पंडित जी ने कहा कि लालो इन की बात मान लें, तो वे बम्बई का सवाल ले आये । कहा गया कि बम्बई का अलग राज्य रहे । पंडित जी ने कहा कि ठीक है । फिर कहा गया कि नहीं यह सेंटर (केन्द्र) के आधीन रहे । पंडित जी ने कहा कि अच्छी बात है । लेकिन जब वे लोग यहां से बापस गये तो कुछ लोगों ने उनसे कहा कि यह तुम क्या कर आये, हम तो यह नहीं चाहते । अब कहा जाता है कि कांग्रेस हाई कमाण्ड ने महाराष्ट्र के साथ-न्याय नहीं किया । परन्तु इन कांग्रेसी नेताओं ने

जो किया है उस की वजह से महाराष्ट्र में गाडगिल साहब को और श्री शंकरराव देव को बोट नहीं मिलेगा । उन्हें सोचना पड़ेगा कि यह क्या ज्ञगड़ा कर बैठे । सरकार क्या करे । बम्बई को शामिल करती है तो मुश्किल है, अलग रखा जाता है तो मुश्किल है और जब ज्ञगड़ा हो जाता है तो यहां प्राकर कहते हैं कि कमीशन मुकर्रं करो । कमीशन के लिये तो मैं भी पंडित जी से कह रहा हूँ । मैं तो कहता हूँ कि कमीशन मुकर्रं कीजिये और जिन लोगों ने यह आग लगाई है उन सब को बन्द कीजिये चाहे वे कांग्रेस-मैन हों या गैर-कांग्रेसमैन हों और उन लोगों को छोड़ दोजिये जिन को पकड़ रखा है । एक बैचारे मराठे का नाम गुंडा कह कर बदनाम किया जाता है । पहले तो उस के अन्दर एक नफरत की भावना पैदा कर दी जाती है और उस से कहा जाता है कि दुकाने लटो और औरतों को पकड़ो । नतीजा यह होता है कि गुजराती और कच्छी बम्बई से भागते हैं । उन के अन्दर जो नफरत की भावना पैदा कर दी गई है उसी का यह नतीजा है । पुलिस को दोष दिया जाता है, लेकिन जब मिनिस्टर लोग तक इस में शामिल हों तो पुलिस क्या कर सकती है । बम्बई के मामले पर सेंटर तक के मिनिस्टर इस्टीफा (त्यागपत्र) देते हैं । मैं कहता हूँ कि डिस्ट्रेक्शन में तो कैबिनेट की जाइंट रेसपासिबिलिटी (संयुक्त उत्तरदायित्व) है । इस रेसपासिबिलिटी को उन को महसूस करना चाहिये, आँखें बक्त में लीडर को छोड़ कर नहीं जाना चाहिये । मैं किसी का नाम लेना नहीं चाहता लेकिन कृपलानी जी ने बताया कि उड़ीसा में भी इस मामले में एक मिनिस्टर शामिल थे । ऐसी हालत में पुलिस बाले क्या करें । पुलिस-बालों में देशभक्ति है और उन्होंने देश की रक्षा की, लेकिन जो कुछ गड़गड़ी हुई है उस के लिये पोलिटिकल लीडर (राजनीतिक नेता) जिम्मेदार हैं । सरकार को इन पोलिटिकल लीडरों पर निशाह रखनी चाहिये चाहे वे कांग्रेसमैन हों या गैर-कांग्रेसमैन हों । अगर वे लोय भारत की राष्ट्रीयता को गड़बड़ में छालते हैं तो उन के साथ सल्ली की जानी चाहिये । प्रजातन्त्र के माने यही है कि जो मैजारिटी पार्टी (बहुसंस्थक दल) है वह हकूमत करे और माइनरिटी पार्टी (अल्प-संस्थक दल) को इस चीज़ को मंजूर करना चाहिये, और मैजारिटी पार्टी को भी अपनी जिम्मेदारी को पूरा करना चाहिये चाहे ऐसा करनेमें उसे कितनी ही तकलीफ हो । ऐसा नहीं होना चाहिये कि मिनिस्ट्री की गही पर बैठ कर आराम उठायें और आँखें बक्त में इस्टीफा देकर

चल दें । इस तरह की हरकत नहीं करनी चाहिये कि मजे तो खुद लें और मुसीबत के बक्त पंडित जी को अकेला छोड़ दें ।

मैं अपने भाई चटर्जी से और कम्युनिस्ट सदस्यों से कहूँगा कि यह एक नेशनल मामला है । चटर्जी साहब कहते हैं कि उन्होंने गुजरातियों और मराठों से बात कर ली है, अब उन को बुला कर एक सम्मेलन किया जाये और उनकी राय मालूम की जाये । मैं नहीं समझा कि अगर वे लोग रजामन्द थे तो चटर्जी साहब खुद ही क्यों नहीं एक काशज पर उन के दस्तखत करवा लाये । वे उस काशज को पंडित जी को दे देते । न मालूम उन लोगों से चुपचाप क्या कहा होगा । बाहर जा कर तो आग लगा आते हैं और यहां प्राकर कहते कि है जस्टिस होनी चाहिये । इस बक्त हमारे सामने देश को बनाने का सबाल है । लिंगिज्म का कोई सबाल नहीं है । हम को सेंसस (जनगणना) का हवाला दिया जाता है । मैं ने सेंसस की किताब को पढ़ा तो मालूम हुआ कि हिन्दुस्तान में कुल ७२० जबानें हैं । मैंने सोचा कि अगर यहां ७२० जबानें हैं तो क्या ७२० सूबे बनेंगे । जब मैं ने पता लगाया तो देखा कि उन में से ७० जबानें तो ऐसी हैं कि जिन को सिर्फ एक ही आदमी बोलता है । न मालूम वह अप्रेल के से उस भाषा को बोलता होगा । १५ जबानें ऐसी हैं जिन्हें १५ आदमी बोलते हैं, २२ जबानें ऐसी हैं जिन को चार आदमी बोलते हैं और ३३ जबानें ऐसी हैं जिन को सिर्फ दो आदमी बोलते हैं । शायद भियां-बीबी ही आपस में उस जबान को बोलते होंगे । तो मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि इस तरह की चार-पांच सौ जबानें हैं । डाई सौ जबानें तो हैदराबाद में ही हैं और डाई सौ जबानें मध्य प्रदेश में हैं । अगर किसी ने कह दिया कि मेरी जबान आदिवासी हैं तो वैसा ही दर्ज कर दिया गया । किसी ने कह दिया कि मेरी जबान अगरवाली हैं तो वैसा लिख दिया गया । अब आप देखें कि अगरवाली क्या जबान ही सकती है । सेंसस की किताब में इस तरह की जबानें दर्ज हैं जैसे अन्सारी, वराची .....

**Mr. Chairman :** If the hon. Member begins and just recites the names of all these languages, it will take at least 15 minutes.

**श्री आर० श्री० लिल्ले :** मैं ज्यादा नाम नहीं गिनाऊंगा । इस तरह की भाषायें लिखी हैं जैसे खोदी, कापड़ी, शास्त्री, अहीरी बगैरह । मैं नहीं समझता कि क्यों सरकारी अफसरों ने जो बड़ी

[श्री आर० डी० मिश्र]

बड़ी तनाव्याहें पाते हैं इस तरह के गलत कागज बना कर हनारे पास भेज दिये हैं। इन किताबों को ठीक रखा जाना चाहिये।

अब हमारे भाई भोरे साहब कहते हैं कि तीन करोड़ मराठे हैं। मैं नहीं कह सकता कि यह कहां तक ठीक है। क्योंकि इन सरकारी किताबों पर मुझे विश्वास नहीं है। कहने का मेरा मतलब यह है कि हमें भारत को मजबूत बनाना है और यही आज हमारी नीति है जिस की ओर राष्ट्रपति ने अपने भाषण में संकेत किया है। राष्ट्रपति ने कहा है कि हमारे जो प्राचीन आदर्श हैं उन के ऊपर हम को चलना चाहिये। यह भी हम क्या तमाशा देख रहे हैं कि लोग बोली के बिना स्टेट्स मांग रहे हैं और कह रहे हैं कि वह प्रान्त हमें मिलना चाहिये। मैं ऐसे लोगों को बतला देना चाहता हूँ कि स्टेट्स की मांग बोली की बिना पर करना उचित नहीं है। उन को मालूम होना चाहिये कि हम ने ६०० रजवाड़ों को खत्म कर दिया, निजामशाही को खत्म कर दिया, जमीनदारी को हमने रहने नहीं दिया तब आप यह जो बोली की बिना पर प्रान्तों पर अपना दावा कायम कर रहे हैं, वह कहां ठहर सकता है। क्या कोई जमीदारी या जागीर बांटी जा रही है? इसलिये आज जो यह मांग उठाई जा रही है कि गुजरात हमारा है या महाराष्ट्र हमारा है, यह सब खत्म होना चाहिये और हमें भारत की एकता और उस की दृढ़ता को सब के ऊपर रखना चाहिये।

मैं आप से यह कह रहा था कि राष्ट्रपति ने यह कहा है कि हम इन समस्याओं को तभी सकलतापूर्वक हल कर सकते हैं जब हम ठंडे दिल से इन के बारे में सोचें। राष्ट्रपति ने हमें भारत के प्राचीन आदर्शों की याद दिलाई है और उन आदर्शों के सम्बन्ध में मैं ऋग्वेद के तीसरे मंडल का मन्त्र आप को सुनाता हूँ :

य इमे रोद्सी उभेऽहमिन्द्रम् तुष्टवम् ।  
विश्वामित्रस्य रक्षति ब्रह्मदेम् भारतं जनम् ॥

इस के अनसार एक भारत वासी इन्द्र महाराज से जो कि भारत के वैदिक काल में राष्ट्रपति थे प्रार्थना करता था आज भी सीधार्य से हमारे राष्ट्रपति का नाम इन्द्र पर है। उन का नाम राजेन्द्र है और जिन पर कि इन्द्र के समान सारे भारतवासीयों की रक्षा का भार है उस को यह मंत्र सलाह देता है कि आप लड़ाई की तरफ न सोच कर शान्ति और समृद्धि के लिये कार्य

करो। यह मंत्र विश्व मित्रता की नीति पर चलने के लिये कहता है। इस मंत्र का अर्थ है “मुझे अपने राष्ट्रपति इन्द्र को विश्व मित्रता के ज्ञान से संतुष्ट करना चाहिये जो भारतके जनों की संसार में राष्ट्रीय और अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय दोनों क्षेत्रों में रक्षा करता है। यही हमारा प्राचीन आदर्श है। विश्वमित्रता अथवा शान्ति की नीति पर चलने से हमारे देश का कल्याण है। हमारा हिन्दी चीनी भाई भाई और हिन्दी रूसी भाई भाई का नारा तभी सार्थक होगा जब अपने घर में भी वही भाईपते का बर्ताव रखें और भाई भाई की तरह मल कर प्रेमपूर्वक रहें।

**Shrimati Renu Chakravarty :** After having heard the speech of the previous speaker, one is quite clear in one's mind as to why it is that the ruling party has made such a mess of things, as far as the States reorganisation is concerned. Coming as the hon. Member does from State like Uttar Pradesh, where even in daylight murders have been committed, and even MLA's are not allowed to go about unmolested, he has indulged in a homily about violence and non-violence and in a big tirade on the whole idea of linguistic States. I think it is time that such ridicule is stopped, and we try to find out the real causes for the serious situation which has developed.

In spite of the fact that we are on eve of the Second Five Year Plan, and it is time that we should evaluate what the First Five Year Plan has achieved and has not achieved—that is something which it will not be possible for me to go into within the limited time at my disposal—we have all talked largely about the States reorganisation problem. And a whole chorus of voices has been raised over the events that have taken place in Bombay and Orissa. From these events, we are asked to deduce that the reason for them is the cry for linguistic States.

I would like the Lok Sabha to consider the question in its proper perspective. In those places where linguistic States have been conceded, has there been any trouble? Has there been any trouble in Kerala? Has there been any trouble in Karnataka? Has there been any trouble after the formation of Andhra Pradesh? That is what we have to consider. If there has not been trouble in those places, then where is it there

has been trouble? There has been trouble in those areas only, where linguistic States have not been conceded.

I should like to point out that it is the Congress High Command that has encouraged fissiparous tendencies. I, as a Bengali, could never understand why they encouraged people like Shri S. K. Patil to say that "We in the Bombay city cannot live with Maharashtrians". At the very time, I felt doubtful that perhaps this was the thin end of the wedge. Tomorrow, the *marwaris* who control the money bags in Calcutta will turn round and say: "We are not safe in Calcutta under Bengali administration, we want to be under Central Government, or we want to be in a bilingual State." That is what has happened.

I would like to tell my hon. friend from Bengal—I do not want to answer him in the terms in which he has answered Shri H. N. Mukherjee—who has said that we are given over to speaking lies and trying to mislead the Lok Sabha, this particular thing that certain vested interests have already raised the question of whether Calcutta should be a Centrally administered area or not. I would only like to say that this is the thin end of the wedge. I should like to draw his attention to a small pamphlet that has been written by one Prabhudayal Khaitan, coming from the marwari community and speaking on behalf of the marwari community, long before this entire question of States reorganisation came up. And what is it that he says? He says that after the passing of the official resolution in the West Bengal Legislature on 7th May 1953 on the basis of the linguistic principle, there comes before them the question of turning Calcutta into a separate State. I have no time to quote everything that he has said, but he goes on to say:

"If we have to accept the principle of linguistic States, then Calcutta has got to be a separate State. Its care has to be undertaken by the Central Government. Those Bengali agitators who are impatient about annexing contiguous areas to West Bengal cannot ignore these important arguments."

He further goes on to say:

"I have explained that the commercial community predominates in the city of Calcutta."—They are largely Hindi-speaking.—"In

September 1946, in my published statement, it was explained that in Calcutta, there is a large section of people whose welfare and protection cannot be afforded by Bengali administrators. The truth is that the viewpoint of the Bengalis is so narrow and constricted that it does not at all bother about the welfare of others. Their trust and faith in the principles of *Amar Sonar Bangla* (our golden Bengal) is unshakable."

He says that: "Our golden Bengal" is the unshakable ideal on which they put their trust and faith". Therefore, he appeals to the Prime Minister and the Rashtrapati :

"Therefore, to protect the interest of the commercial community, I earnestly appeal to the President of India and the jewel of the country, Dr. Rajendra Prasad and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, that they should seriously consider this problem and immediately take such measures that Calcutta is formed into a welfare State, and its care remains in the hands of the Government of India. Through the fulfilment of this demand, the welfare of all will be achieved."

This is the thin end of the wedge. We are frightened about it, because we cannot understand why it is that the Gujarati community cannot live side by side with the Maharashtrians in a Maharashtra State, the *marwari* community and the other communities in the city of Calcutta can live in a Bengali State. That is a thing that we have not been able to understand. We could have understood if the Gujarati community had come forward before the country and said: "We are afraid of our minority rights, we want minority rights". If they had said that, then we would have been the first to support their claim, because we know that minority rights in the borders of the bilingual States have been protected by the Government of India. We know how then the Manbhum agitation was going on, time and again, we went and the Lok Savak Sangh went to Pandit G. B. Pant and put before him various cases, but he said "I cannot do anything, it is for the State Government". This is what has happened in many other areas also.

## [Shrimati Renu Chakravarty]

That is why the question of the protection of minority rights is something that is very legitimate. Those rights ought to be guaranteed. And we of our party say that those rights are something that we must guarantee. And that is what we have done in the great *hartal* on 21st January. In the Lok Sabha, we talk so much of violence, civil war and so on. But not a person has got up and congratulated the people of Bengal on the perfectly peaceful way in which they agitated their demands on 21st January. In *The Statesman*, which is not very friendly to the Leftists, this is what we find. In the editorial on 22nd January 1955, we find :

"By the standard set for it, Saturday's *hartal* in Calcutta was a remarkable success....the unaccustomed calm of the city was something to marvel at. Though the State Government deprecated it....they prudently made no effort to interfere."

That is the crux of the problem. They did not interfere and that was why there was peace. Whenever they interfere there is no peace. The movement can be considered as a challenge to them and the Centre.

"There is little doubt that the vigorous efforts of the *hartal*'s organisers to prevent any outbreak were the chief cause of quiet."

In my State we have one of the biggest non-Bengali proletariats to be found anywhere in the whole of India. We have a Bihari proletariat and only in one case there was trouble and we sat the whole night and protected the minority community. That was why we were able to keep peace. We know the value of minority rights. But, we cannot understand how the Government of India could have gone on encouraging fissiparous tendencies which were boosted by men like Shri S. K. Patil when he said : We Gujeratis cannot live side by side with Mahashtrians in the city of Bombay. Today, what is the alternative that is given before us ?

You talk about violence and non-violence. I say, we in Bengal have shown the way. But did we get one word of greetings from the Prime Minister for the non-violent way in which

we have protested ? It is only when there is police on the streets when the police strike down the people that people are driven to desperation and do such acts. After that exaggerated accounts are put before the people so that the rest of India may also be misled. That is why I feel that this question of violence and non-violence, all these things are there just to hoodwink the people and to mislead them.

I would like to say that many friends here have talked about the unity of India. We believe in the unity of India. When the Goa *satyagraha* was going on, the entire India rose as a man. Nobody thought in terms whether one was a Bengali or a Bihari, a Mahashtrian or came from the city of Bombay. When we think of our economic plans, when we were discussing these a few weeks ago, each of us coming from the various States in the Consultative Committee, we put before the Government and the Planning Commission our collective wisdom. We did not think in terms of Bengalis or Biharis. We believed in a Central Plan. But, today we hear unity is in danger. Has the Central Government abdicated its power ? Is there no Union Centre ? I do not understand how this question of the disunity of India comes. We try to ape the West; we try to think that only the type of unity there is in Great Britain and France ought to be the unity which must be the standard here. In India there has been a historic growth. In our Constitution there is the ideal of the Union of States. We have embodied in our Constitution that there are 14 great languages of India. In which country in the world have you this problem of integrating 14 well-developed cultures into one unity ? That is the problem. That is a thing for which there is no precedent in the world. That is our special contribution to unity in India. How are we going to integrate them ? Or are we going to steam-roller them into one ? In spite of unity, the essence of unity, do we not have diversity ? I am proud to be an Indian; I am proud to be a Bengali. When Bengal falls I feel that India is the poorer. It is the same with every State. That is why I feel that this merger movement which is being extolled, which is being put forward is an ideological counterblast to the demand for linguistic States. I think it is a reversal; it

is a sad reversal. Why is it? Certainly, if I was convinced that it stood for the unity of India, for the economic development of India or for the economic development of my region, I would welcome it. Let us see what it really means.

Before I proceed further, I should like to bring forward why we feel suspicious as to whether this merger proposal is going to be to the good of Bengal or Bihar or to the rest of India and specially to the unity of India. It has been stated that we have made certain false statements about Dr. Roy's statement in Calcutta. I put before the Lok Sabha an official West Bengal paper. I am very much surprised that hon. Shri Barman should have stated that we were not quoting the paper aright or that we were misleading the House. This is an official version of a press conference which appeared in every paper in the whole of West Bengal on the 24th January, 1956. Earlier there had been an ugly scene of a West Bengal Minister and West Bengal Congress demanding completely fantastic areas from Bihar and Bihar stating that they want certain portions of Jalpaiguri and certain other parts of Bengal—fantastic claims. In that background this is what Dr. Roy said. A question was put to him.

"Some people have given their opinions on this issue. Some leaders have said that this proposal will be suicidal for West Bengal."

He said that development would be easier if it is in one State—in the case of Ajoy Dam etc. Then another question was put.

"The main fear is about numerical superiority, the fear is about domination."

Mark, the word used is domination. In answer to that he said:

"In human affairs it is the quality and not the quantity that counts. One man can dominate 100 men, provided he has the quality."

A question was put about Assam:

"What is happening today in Assam, because Bengalees are minorities there."

This was with reference to the Golpara incident.

**Shri Barman** (North Bengal—Reserved—Sch. Castes) : Will you kindly read the latter portion of the same?

**Shrimati Renu Chakravarty** : Do you want me to read the entire thing. I think I will not have the time but I shall place it on the Table, [Placed in Library. See No. S—57/56.] and let the hon. Member and the Lok Sabha see it.

Dr. Roy's answer was:

"I know more about Assam than you do. In Assam, I blame the Bengalees for not asserting themselves. We were in minority in the old Senate. We were only 12 as against 88. But were we subordinated? We asserted and we won in every matter. It is the quality that counts and, as I said, the Bengalees who are in Assam, if they have suffered from any disabilities, it is because of their own sense of frustration and lack of confidence."

I do not want to deprecate anybody. I do not want to say that there is this idea of domination of Bengalees over Biharis. I have also read some of the discussions in the Bihar Assembly. I do not remember, the name—but an hon. member I specifically remember, said : What have we to fear ; we are 4 crores and the Bengalees are 2 crores. What does it show ? It shows the same feeling. This will not bring about the unity; it will bring about more disunity ; it will lead to a great deal of danger.

I would also like to state what are the arguments that have been brought forward about this merger. It is said we will have economic development. I am in the Power and Irrigation Consultative Committee of Parliament. I believe it is said there that Inter-State River Boards will be up to make for better management of certain river projects for irrigation and power. I say, have we no central plans ? But Dr. Roy says that there was some difficulty about the catchment area of the Ajoy River. If you argue on this basis, then the river Kosi starts in Nepal, and are we going to bring in Nepal into India ? There are fantastic arguments. These are the beginning of *Lebens raum*, which brought so much danger to Germany. There is the question of mineral resources. If we are not able to properly explore the mineral resources of Bihar, then, I say that in the context of the unity of India, it is necessary that we should have nationalisation of

[Shrimati Renu Chakravarty]

coal mines. The Centre must help and Centre should help all the States of India, entire India. The resources of coal and iron do not belong to Bengal or Bihar only. They apply to the whole of India. That is the national outlook with which I would like the Lok Sabha to consider this question.

Lastly, we talk about refugees. I am more closely associated with the refugees than many others in this House. I admit that the refugee problem is a national problem; it has to be tackled at a national level. It is the Union Government's responsibility to see that those who have come from East Pakistan and whose lives have been thwarted because of partition are looked after. It is the nation that has to look after them. Today you are going to send them to Mysore, Vindhya Pradesh and all sorts of places. Do you propose to bring all of them into this merger? These are problems that you have to consider. We are *Bhai Bhai*. Who says we are not *Bhai Bhai*? But, I believe that in keeping our identities we will be able to grow more and more united. What has been the progress of our development? What has been the direction of our development during the course of years when the British were here and we were lumped together and they were following the policy of divide and rule? At that time the Congress advocated linguistic provinces. But today my Congress friends say that we do not have any need to have linguistic provinces. To me it is a just the contrary. When the British were here, the idea of nationalism was not integrated with the idea of your own government. Today the idea of the Government is integrated with the idea of nationalism, the idea of a welfare State. That is why today we want these areas to develop in such a way that the people of the area become more and more integrated with the Government, they are able to understand what you are telling them, and they are able actually to participate in the same government. That is the idea of democracy; that is the idea of nationalism. That is why we say that this merger move cuts against the grain of the national movement, goes against the tenets of democracy. This is the idea that the people of the soil should participate in their own mother tongue in the State for the government of India. This is the idea of the linguistic States. How can you say that it goes against unity? It does not go against unity. It

is the unprincipledness which we have applied in the reorganisation of the States that has brought about so much trouble.

Again I say let us not force this type of merger, unprincipled merger. Take the question of jobs, what will happen? You will again apply double standards. At one time you will tell us that the question will be dealt with only on the basis of qualifications. If it is on the basis of qualifications, I can say that the Bengalis will gain. At another time you will say that it is on the basis of the reservation of seats or at least on the basis of the proportion of the population. In that way, certainly Bihar will gain. There will be friction between the two. We know what had happened before Pakistan was formed. We know the bitter experiences of Muslim League Politics—labour population. When I heard Shri Gidwani talking about the sorrows and about his experiences of partition let me tell him that the leading Muslim League paper *Azad* in Bengal says that they are the people who have welcomed this merger because by this they can tell the people of Pakistan that they must agree to the unitary constitution against which the people of Pakistan are fighting. Today Abdul Gaffar Khan is fighting against the Pakistan Government's decision; he is fighting against this principle itself. Today we have heard in the Lok Sabha impassioned speeches telling us that the only way to unity is to lump all Provinces together. I would only like to quote here what our great leader, Rabindranath Tagore, said :

"India has tried to bind together in close relationship even that which was varied and different. It is only possible to imbue with unity that which is different by recognising the difference and giving its distinctiveness full opportunity to develop and express itself with circumspect care. Just by passing an Act and declaring that all are one, unity is not achieved. To establish good relationship between those that are different, the way lies in giving them the right to independent development. If you force unity upon that which has distinctiveness, one day they must separate and at that time of separation that explosion will bring trouble, death and destruction."

That is why plead not for the putting off of the implementation of the S.R.C. Report but the application of principled linguistic redistribution of Provinces. Boundary disputes can easily be settled. Let us meet together, let us put our heads together and then the question of boundary disputes can easily be settled. It is the principled approach that is wanted, not the idea which many of my friends over here have advocated of talking from positions of strength. Talking from a position of strength in international affairs is a dangerous thing. So too here the idea of talking from positions of strength is dangerous. Let us not be forced into a position where again the disastrous things that had happened in Bombay will happen elsewhere. I feel that we are treading on very very dangerous ground. Unless we apply the principle of linguistic States which has been advocated by the Congress—and that is the direction in which our entire national movement and national growth have led us today—we cannot solve this problem satisfactorily. Let us apply that principle, and if we stick to that principle and not bring forward various unprincipled arguments in order to try and annex this territory or that, if we can try and give the right to the minority communities to live in peace and in safety and guarantee them their rights, I am sure that it is redistribution of the States on the basis of languages, on the basis of culture, which will weld together India into that unity which is our distinctive trait, the type of which has not been seen in the rest of the world.

**The Minister of Planning and Irrigation and Power (Shri Nanda):** I wish to say a few words touching some of the observations made by hon. Members in course of this debate. The Address delivered by the President contains some mention of our economic policy. It has some reference to the economic situation in the country, it has to something about the achievements of India in the course of period of the First Five Year Plan, and it also gives some indication of our programmes for the Second Five Year Plan period. On these subjects several hon. Members have expressed their viewpoints, asked questions and raised doubts. Some others have expressed deep appreciation of what has been done. I welcome this expression of opinion. My only regret is that enough has not been said about the

Plan; enough attention has not been given to the Plan. Other things have engrossed the minds of hon. Members and those things are very important, but I believe what we hope to do through our Plan will ultimately count for much more than all these things.

**Acharya Kripalani (Bhagalpur cum Purnea):** There will be a discussion on the Plan separately.

**Shri Nanda:** Regarding the question of a discussion on the Plan to which Acharyaji has drawn my attention, I wish to say that we were very keen that discussion should take place at a very early date. We hoped that this draft outline of the Second Five Year Plan which all Members have would come up for discussion soon. It appears that owing to exigencies of the business of the Lok Sabha, owing to several other pressing claims or the time of the Lok Sabha, it is not going to be possible to have this discussion soon. Of course, the Plan is going to be discussed in the Lok Sabha before it becomes a Plan, but by that time this draft might have developed into something bigger and the Plan as a whole will be discussed of course. But whatever advantage we can take of this opportunity of expression of opinion by hon. Members on various aspects of the Plan and its contents will certainly be useful to us in the process of making the draft Plan which will later on come up before the Lok Sabha. Therefore, it is not my intention to take up the time of the Sabha in expounding the Plan, and giving its implications, but certain points or certain observations which have been made ought to be clarified and I thought it was my duty to clarify those doubts and answer some of those questions. I am thinking of what Acharyaji stated on the subject. He said that there is an increase in the national income in this period. There is an increase in production. It may be so. But what about the masses; they do not appear to have derived much benefit from it and therefore, what is the use of this Plan to us? It is a very pertinent question. So far as figures go, this volume and the Address have given the barest facts and those facts have certain meanings. If agricultural production has increased by 15 per cent. and industrial production by 43 per cent. where have these gone? The common man is really very common and others, the very rich people, are not very many.

[Shri Nanda]

They are very few in numbers. Therefore, if actually we have produced more cloth, food etc., they have all certainly gone to the common man. It is not merely statistics; I do not depend upon statistics. We can look to the facts of life. What is the common, everyday experience of people?

As everyone knows, we were confronted with a serious food shortage. Everybody said "What are you doing if you are not able to get rid of dependence of foreign imports of food?" There was rationing; there were controls and restraints in every direction. Apart from any figures, therefore, one proof of the success of the Plan should be to ask: Have we got rid of those conditions? I hope we have. In those terms the answer is forthcoming. It is also in terms of the expenditure incurred in rural areas. Most of our people live in rural areas. What have we done for the rural areas? I find that in the course of the last four years, out of a total expenditure of Rs. 1318 crores, a sum of Rs. 623 crores was spent on agriculture, irrigation etc. Apart from that expenditure on roads and other social services is also in a certain proportion distributed over the rural areas too. The consumption of foodgrains in the course of the last four years had increased from 12.9 ounces to 14.9 ounces about two ounces more. With respect to cloth it has become 15 yards from 8.9 yards. These are basic things for the common man.

I can of course mention all that has been done in the matter of improving the drinking water supply in the rural areas, control of malaria and various other things but these are details. But the chief thing is that the direction of the expenditure has been and was intended to be very largely towards the common man during this period.

Still, I will be told that the common man suffers in so many ways today. True. That is not denied; we know it too well. It was never claimed that as a result of what we proposed to do in the five year period, we would have abolished poverty and brought economic sufficiency to the country. That was not the claim. That was not possible during this brief period. Whatever we set out to achieve in this period has very largely been achieved and that has been, to a fair extent, for the benefit of the common man, although the

common man still suffers as was said. In so many ways his wants have not been satisfied and his life is certainly below the standards which may be considered the minimum. That may all be true.

It is in the same context that Shri Asoka Mehta said that in this country, while production was increasing on the one side, there was stagnation in the other sector. That is also true. It is a vast country and the expansion on account of the Plan has certainly created a process of development and change which might not have yet extended to all parts of the country and to all sectors of the economy. Here again, the limitation is that we made a start after a long period during which India suffered cumulative results of negligence. We have made a start and I am sure we have made a good start. But if anybody points out the deficiencies, there they are; we know them.

Shri Asoka Mehta pointed out several shortcomings in the First Plan. What did he do? He took up this volume and read out from various paragraphs and chapters. That means that we are fully aware and fully conscious of these deficiencies and shortcomings and we do not look to others to know what those deficiencies are. We welcome any information which may help us in that way but we know them and we propose to remedy and remove those shortcomings and deficiencies.

In the same connection, Shri Asoka Mehta told us that there was legislation but implementation lags behind. It is true in certain cases and for that purpose it is quite certain that we have to do much more to strengthen our machinery of administration and to create new agencies of administration and new institutional arrangements have to be made in order to achieve those large objectives which we have set before ourselves, particularly in relation to the Second Plan.

The other question he asked was: "Is it only the ruling party which is interested in the success of the Plan?". No. A Plan of this size and magnitude, a Plan of this ambitious level is not a Plan for a single party; it is for everybody in the country. All parties and sections of the community should combine and co-operate to their utmost. Then alone it is possible to achieve the results which we anticipate in respect of the Second Plan.

Some other points were made by some hon. Members. The question of employment was stressed again and again. Unemployment in the country—we have not been able to do much to improve the position in that respect. I acknowledge the fact that unemployment has been a weak aspect of the economic situation in the country. We have been struggling to improve this as much as possible. There are certain priorities. In the case of the First Plan, the highest priority was, as I indicated before, to have sufficiency in food so that there was no starvation in the country and sufficiency of raw materials so that our factories might run to their full capacity. A good deal of expenditure during that period, therefore, was incurred in the rural areas, for irrigation schemes and things of that kind and also for the basic development *i.e.*, power, transport, etc. So far as this expenditure in the rural area is concerned, it will not emerge in figures in the course of the five year period. The estimate is that jobs to the extent of 4.5 million would have been created directly as a result of the programmes and the activities of the Plan. The creation of jobs in the tertiary sector, trade, etc., is not included in that figure. This has been done during this period. As I pointed out, a large part of the expenditure in rural area is not reflected in the figures of employment because there is no way of interpreting it in any precise terms.

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

More irrigation, more agricultural production—that is there. But we can only say that income has arisen in the rural areas and also the scope for employment. It may largely be in the form of reduction of under-employment. But that is also a matter of very great importance to this country because in this country—the problem of unemployment is there, of course, and to an extent in the urban areas the unemployment of educated persons—the much more serious problem is under-employment for very very large numbers. Therefore, whatever we attempt and whatever we achieve in regard to diminishing under-employment should not be minimized. It should be considered as an important development, as an important achievement made. So, in connection with the situation which we are facing now, it is true that we have not been able to solve the problem of unemployment in

the course of the First Five Year Plan period. Though it is difficult to make a precise estimate it appears that we were not able during this period to deal with, to provide employment for the entire labour force, the new labour force that arose in the course of these years. It looks like that.

Now, what was the remedy? We have been trying to explore, to discover all remedies that may be available to us for meeting the situation. The immediate remedy is to step up the level of investment to increase the scale of development because ultimately it is the level of investment and the tempo of development which will create increased employment. I am not unaware of the other fact that it is not simply the amount of money that we spend or invest that matters. It also depends on the character of that investment. It is quite possible that in heavy machine-building industries, large-scale mechanised industries, we may spend large amounts. 25,000 rupees may be required to give employment to one person. Therefore, having spent 4,800 crores of rupees also we may find that we are not very much better off in the matter of employment and we have still a difficult problem to face. Therefore it was necessary for us considering the conditions in this country, while we have to strengthen the basis of our economy, while we have to create conditions which will enable this country to move forward more rapidly later on, we have also to think of those people in the country who today are in that difficult and piteous situation. The remedy was to lay stress on cottage industries and the decentralised sector of our economy.

**An Hon. Member:** Ambar charkha.

**Shri Nanda:** And Ambar charkha. Very much more so. I shall explain that also. Therefore, what did we do? In the course of the First Five Year Plan period all the money that we could spend was just about 31 crores of rupees on cottage industries and village and small-scale industries. And now what do we propose to do? In the Second Five Year Plan period the proposed expenditure is over 200 crores of rupees. Now the Karve Committee Report, that is, the report of a Committee which was specially assigned the task of finding out what could be done in this direction, has made proposals totalling up to about 265 crores of rupees.

## [Shri Nanda]

This 265 crores of rupees includes working capital. We are going to provide 200 crores of rupees just for normal expenditure, exclusive of working capital which may be more than Rs. 65 crores. What I am explaining is that in relation to the needs for dealing with the problem of unemployment the best that could be thought of now is being done, that is, through these various recommendations. And that is not all. We know that through these means about 8 million jobs will be created in the non-agricultural sector and, as I said, in the agricultural sector it is not possible to compute in any accurate manner, though we believe that with all the new irrigation and having a certain basis for computation another about two million people may also get full time employment in the rural areas also. So, on the whole, it will be possible in the course of these five years to just provide employment opportunities to the new entrants in the labour force. That is not enough. We are still thinking of other possibilities of finding more employment and I personally believe that the Ambar charkha does provide the helpful possibility. It holds out the promise of furnishing substantial new employment to large numbers of people in this country. This will be a very substantial addition to the figures of employment that we have given in this Plan. That is about employment.

Other things also arise. There is the question of land reform. An hon. Member, possibly it was Mr. Asoka Mehta, said that we have made very slow progress in the matter of land reform. The position of the agricultural labour, he said remains what it was. During the first three years of the First Five Year Plan I too was feeling very uncomfortable, conscious of things not moving rapidly enough. But I must say that during the last two years, the situation has improved a very good deal. I have got with me figures but I would rather let that information be shared with the hon. Members later on. Now in general terms I may state the position.

There are two major aspects of this question of land reform—security for the tenant and his share in the produce of the land. In both these matters, during the last two years particularly, advance has been made fairly rapidly and I can say that in many of the States now, over a larger part of the

country, security exists and steps have been taken in the case of the other States to improve the position of the tenant. There is some protection extended to him and temporary measures also have been taken; Ordinances have been issued so that pending a proper scrutiny into the problem—the tenants do not suffer harassment.

So far as the rents are concerned, I find that in about 40 per cent. of the area of the country rents have been reduced to one-fifth of the produce. In about 60 per cent.—that is, 14 States—it has been reduced to one-fourth of the produce. In another four States, which covers 10 per cent. of the area, the rent has been fixed at one-third. It is true that we have not attained a uniformly low level of rents in all parts of the country. But this advance is gratifying.

There are other aspects of land reforms. I do not propose to take up the time of the House now for those matters. Among other things which have been urged in the course of this discussion there was one matter on which one might like to speak at length. But I would like to resist that temptation. That matter concerns the question of the socialist pattern. An hon. Member, Acharya Kripalani said: you are talking of the socialist pattern and you say we have to wait for that till production increases, till wealth increases; then we can think of the distribution side. I think there was some misunderstanding on that point. He was basing his remarks on something which he thinks the President has said. I have gone through the text of the Address again, and I do not find any warrant for that kind of inference, namely, the aspect of equitable distribution of social justice is to wait till the country has become economically strong. That is not there. The President says:

5 P.M.

"We have a long way to go before we reach our objective of a socialist pattern of society and the national income has been raised to an adequate level and there is equal opportunity for all. But we are well set on the road to progress."

This is very clear and unambiguous. Regarding these three things we have a long way to go. That is true, but we are well set on the road to progress in

all these things. Maybe it is in different proportions and in different ways. I may make it clear that it will be certainly a misinterpretation of our aims and intentions even to entertain and harbour any kind of doubt on that score. To my mind, the priorities are, firstly, employment. Before anything else is done, everybody must be employed. What is Welfare State in this country to a person who has no employment? What is increase in the national income to a person who has no income at all? Therefore, employment comes first. Secondly, it should be production, because without increased production, there cannot be progress. After all, we do not want everybody to be equally poor. That is not the aim. We do not want to wait for making the lot of the large masses of people better before we have raised the national income to a certain preconceived level. That is not so. After all we want to raise standards and that has to come through increased production. The idea of social justice and equality has its place. We have to increase production and we have to go to the utter most in the matter of social justice. Every opportunity has to be made use of for that purpose and we should not wait except for the consideration that the idea of getting social justice and equal distribution should not come in the way of increase in production so that the very ultimate objective should not be defeated. That is all. But I have never maintained that true social justice and establishment of greater equality do in fact come in the way of production. We have to judge these proposals on merits, but, by and large, I think every effort to make greater equality in the country is going to release the energies and the initiative of large numbers of people in the country and will make for more production. That is my stand in regard to the question which was raised by Acharya Kripalani.

I learn—I was not present then—that the hon. Member Shri Tulsidas said something about the private sector and the public sector. That is an attack on the policy of Government from the opposite side. What does he say? He says socialism is all right, but you do not expand the public sector; do not have regulation; do not interfere with the private sector. That is another conception of socialism. It is true we are not wedded to any kind of dogmatic view about the socialist pattern. But certain ends have to be achieved. If

these ends could have been achieved through the endeavours and exertions of Members like my hon. friend Shri Tulsidas, possibly the situation today may not have arisen. But he believes firstly on the achievements of the private sector during this period. They say that the private sector has done very much better and the public sector has failed. In the first place, on facts, I do not admit that it is so. That public sector is getting on its feet. We are making a beginning and we are learning to do things and in a large part of that work we have succeeded and we have done fairly well, and we are going to do better and better. Even if we have failed in some ways, we are going to do better later on. That is our determination and I am absolutely sure that we are going to succeed in that. I have been very close to the private sector—on the labour side. I know all their doings and their failings. I know that although there are very good and capable people there, how much of the other things go on there. In the public sector, if a few rupees are wasted, somehow the whole world knows it, and knows it day after day. But there, in the private sector, lakhs of rupees may be misused, but it does not come to anybody's notice. All the same, it is public money. It may be in the hands of a private person. But it is the nation's resources which are being misused. So, I say there is nothing at all to fear about the public sector.

The hon. Member Shri Tulsidas made the other plea that there should be no regimentation. My conception of the socialist pattern is not a regulated, regimented, economic life of the country. I personally believe that regulation and regimentation should be kept down to the minimum. But still, freedom to me will not mean the freedom of a person to starve and remain unemployed. That is no freedom. Therefore, when freedom and regimentation are being contrasted, I am going to say that starvation is not there, that unemployment is not there, and if it could be achieved to the fullest extent, it should be on a basis of unregulated and uncontrolled economy. Therefore, the essence of the socialist pattern in our mind is to develop the co-operative sector and to decentralise the big units, so that people could manage their own affairs in small-scale units. I am imagining that kind of co-operative structure in the country. Somebody mentioned it also, namely, why not manage

[**Shri Nanda**]

the factories on a co-operative basis. It is quite possible. It is being, done in Sweden, I saw some of the very big factories there working on a co-operative basis.

**Shri Syamnandan Sahaya** (Muzaifarpur Central): In India also, there are the sugar mills and the ginning mills.

**Shri Nanda**: Yes; it is being done. More and more of it will be done. I am not really very happy about removing those few industrialists and putting in their place a few officers. I do not think that is really a very much better position. But we can devise ways where the people's participation even in big things would secure a good result. There should be the delegation and distribution of not only wealth but also of responsibility for the management and administration of the economy of the country.

I have dealt with some of the principal things which arose in the course of the debate and, as Acharya Kripalani pointed out, there are going to be further opportunities for a very close discussion of the Second Five Year Plan. So, I shall not take up any more time of the House.

**Shri Kamath**: The opening week of this session has cast a lengthening shadow of gloom and sorrow over this House. We have lost two of our great colleagues; the Speaker is reported to be seriously ill, and let us hope and pray that he will recover soon. It has cast here sorrow and gloom. Outside, the atmosphere is ominous. The atmosphere is more surcharged with base passions than at any time since 1947. If we do not control this state of affairs, I am afraid there will be a blaze up, a flare in 1957, the centenary year of 1857.

There is profound indignation in Bombay and Maharashtra. There is grave discontent in Tamilnad. There is volcanic unrest in Orissa. There is towering rage in Bengal. There is explosive irritation in the Punjab. There is peace of the grave in Goa and in Jammu and Kashmir, that problem State, the lights of civil liberty and fundamental human rights are being slowly extinguished. Taking first Jammu and Kashmir, one of our colleagues here, Sofi Mohd. Akbar, was arrested and detained when he was on his way to attend this session of Parliament. I am told he was beaten before

he was arrested under the Preventive Detention Act. He has been detained under a harsh Act. It is almost a lawless law that a citizen can be detained for 5 years without the grounds being supplied to him. In a recent case, the Supreme Court commented upon this, and they said it was not within their power to do anything in the matter. It is all because of lack of integration of Kashmir State with India that this sort of regime has been established in Kashmir. We want that the provisions of the Indian Constitution relating to the Supreme Court, Auditor General, Public Service Commission, Scheduled Castes, Backward Classes etc., be extended to the Jammu and Kashmir State forthwith and elections to the State Assembly and Parliament held under the supervision and control of the Election Commission of India at the earliest opportunity. The failure to apply the constitutional provisions and especially the authority of the Supreme Court has given a handle to the State Government to deprive the people of their fundamental rights and civil liberties with impunity.

Recently municipal elections were held in Srinagar. In Kashmir the elections were held in midwinter, on the 21st of January; and in Jammu they will be held in midsummer, on the 15th or 16th April. It should have been in the reverse way. The elections should be held in Jammu in January and in Srinagar in April. That would have been more reasonable, but deliberately the elections were held like this. The municipal elections were held after 18 years and they were held in this manner. The Act provided for 45 Members for the Srinagar Municipality; but, it has been recently amended and there is provision for only 15 Members in the Srinagar Municipality for a population of nearly 2 lakhs. In Jammu also, the same number of 15 is provided for, though it has only a population of 80,000. Many of the voters—there were women among them—were prevented from going to the polling booths and were even beaten up. Beating has become such a common feature in Jammu and Kashmir. We have not forgotten how our colleague, Shri Asoka Metha, was assaulted in Srinagar last year. I am told there are 7 bridges and 7 Bakshis in Srinagar. One Bakshi is, of course, the Prime Minister. He is really the Chief Minister, but he is wrongly dubbed as Prime Minister. There cannot be two Prime Ministers in one and the same country. India is the

only country which has the unique distinction of having two Prime Ministers; there is no other country in the world with two Prime Ministers. There is another Bakshi in charge of the Peace Brigade. The third Bakshi is in charge of "big business" in Jammu and Kashmir, and the fourth one is going to be the Municipal President in Srinagar. Unless Parliament intervenes in the affairs of Jammu and Kashmir, I am afraid it will grow from bad to worse in that State. It will become more and more difficult for that State to be completely integrated with the rest of India.

I referred to the peace of the grave in Goa. The Goa liberation movement has been completely sabotaged by the Government, whose apathy and indifference have become supreme. I will recall what happened in the last session. When Portugal was about to celebrate the Portuguese conquest of Macao 400 years ago, the Chinese Premier Chou En-lai protested against it through the British Governor at Hong Kong. But, in respect of Goa, our Prime Minister said, "We cannot do anything about it, because we have no relations with Portugal." China has no relations with Portugal, but still China protested against it with success. But here the Prime Minister did not even protest against the celebrations. Yesterday we heard the Parliamentary Secretary say that the Egyptian Embassy official was denied access to the prisoners in Goa on the ground that they were not Indian nationals. But, do we accept this position? If we accept it, it would mean that Goa is a part of Portugal. We accept that Goa is not part of India which is the Dulles-Cunha thesis. That is what we do; otherwise, we would have protested against the Portuguese authorities refusing permission to the Egyptian Embassy official to see the prisoners in Goa, and we would not be sitting quiet like this doing nothing about the matter. I will have to say more about it when the foreign policy debate comes up. I am racing against time, and I do not want to dilate on any one particular matter.

The worst aspect of the political picture in the country today is that democratic traditions are not being promoted; their growth are deliberately hampered. While we are running after global glamour, we forget that our home fires are becoming dimmer and dimmer. The Prime Minister has been

a very good salesman of Panch Shila in the world market and many countries have subscribed to it. One of the biggest countries, U.S.S.R. also accepted the Panch Shila recently, but through the Communist Party Congress held at Moscow a few days ago, the U.S.S.R. declared first that the Cominform would continue to function and secondly that their aim was to make communism a world system. Do they really accept co-existence? Co-existence postulates and presumes that there are disparate political, social and economic systems. Definitely co-existence presumes that proposition. How can they subscribe to it and also say that their aim is to make communism a world system? I suppose they have gone back to the Trotsky thesis, after repudiating Stalin. Therefore, we should take all these professions of Panch Shila by other nations with more than a grain of salt. I do not know how far our Government has been taken in by the various declarations of certain countries regarding Panch Shila. I hope the Prime Minister will take a lesson from what happened at the recent Party Congress in Russia. The one-man cult is developing in this country and we should take a lesson from what has happened and is happening in Russia. In his megalomania, at Amritsar recently, to the Prime Minister, what his own party did was a good enough thing, but when some other party did it, it became a "tamasha". If it is his party, it titillates him, but if it is any other party, it irritates him. That is very unfortunate and that is a danger signal. We are straying from the democratic path. In live issues like Goa and States Re-organisation other parties have not been taken into confidence, and they have not been consulted. In passing, I may refer to another matter. In those democratic countries which we know, a Minister against whom there is even suspicion of some scandal, resigns. Here, not only has no Minister resigned, but the jeep and allied scandals have given birth to a new Minister, a roving Minister without portfolio who flies from China to Chicago in search of peace and promotion of Panch Shila. I wish that this roving Minister or some other colleague or the Prime Minister himself had gone to Bombay or Orissa last month. The Prime Minister, instead of yesterday, should have gone to Bombay last month and tried to bring about peace and harmony in Bombay. He went yesterday which was not at all very necessary. He had

## [Shri Kamath]

gone to see some tamasha. If he had visited Bombay and Orissa last month, he would have served a national purpose.

On this States Reorganisation issue, I am not personally much excited. Permit me to strike a personal note. I have no pride, or prejudice or passion on this linguistic issue. My mother tongue is Konkani; I learnt Kannada at school. I know Marathi. I have been elected from a Hindi constituency. I feel equally at home in any part of India.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** The hon. Member read at Madras and knows Tamil also.

**Shri Kamath:** Very little. All languages are equally dear. But I would be failing in my duty to my colleagues in the Lok Sabha and thousands of comrades outside if I do not state what the stand of the party to which I have the honour to belong, the Praja Socialist Party, is.

First of all, permit me to say that the way in which the ruling party has gone about this matter has really been responsible for all the tragedy in Orissa, Bombay and in the rest of India. They have made a mess of the whole matter. Right from the day when, before the report was out the Prime Minister and the Home Minister, I believe, declared at some public meeting or press meeting or in some other connection that the unanimous recommendations of the Commission will be accepted by the Government, to the latest newfangled, escapist, diversionary proposals for these mergers of States, there has been no consistency. It has been vacillation *in excelsis*. The Prime Minister in his first broadcast in October said that he was surprised at some of the recommendations. In his broadcast of the 16th January, he invoked the Blessings of the Buddha, and said that that was an irrevocable plan as if the Government had any power under the Constitution to take final decisions in this matter at all. It is completely unconstitutional and *ultra vires* of the Constitution that the Prime Minister should have broadcast as decisions of Government the proposals of this four-man committee, two Pandits, one Maulana and a Dhebar.\* These four people arrogated to themselves not merely the powers of the Government, but also of Parliament. I understand that

these conclusions were broadcast without even a formal meeting of the cabinet, and were palmed off as decisions of the Government. Therefore I say that these decisions so-called, which are really proposals, are *ultra vires* of the Constitution.

This has been bedevilled,—I am referring to the States Reorganisation proposals—by an original evil, an omen in the sky. The Constitution Amendment Bill to expedite reorganisation, was taken up when there was a lunar eclipse. I do not want you to take it very seriously, but to just note it. Secondly, the States Reorganisation debate commenced when there was a solar eclipse. The shadows of these two eclipses have been cast on the entire matter. Whatever may be the other reasons these too may have had little effect. From Bombay and Orissa I have got reliable documents to show that it was the police who prevented and then provoked peaceful demonstrations and processions in the streets. If the streets are not meant for peaceful processions, what are they for? Are they for the Ministers to drive along in their limousines, the traffic being stopped, or held up? If the streets could not be used for peaceful processions in a democratic set up, democracy would go to the wall. You make a mockery of democracy if you prevent the people from taking out peaceful processions. It is the police who used tear gas and provoked the people and used the lathi and the bullet. The Prime Minister invoked the blessings of the Buddha. Perhaps, Buddha did not bless. It is the fashion to invoke the name of the Buddha and of Gandhi time and again. It is like the old Hindi saying, adapting it, in all humility, I may say—

मुह में बुद्ध बगलमें बुलेट  
मुह में गांधी बगलमें लाठी

Here, the Prime Minister has written a very lengthy Foreword to a book by Professor Dinkar. The book is entitled, *Sanskriti ke Char Adhyaya*. Here he says something which is very opposite in this context.

"It is extraordinary how our professions run counter to our practice. We talk of peace and non-violence and function in a different way. We talk of tolerance and

\*Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

construe it to mean our way of thinking only and are intolerant of other ways. We proclaim our ideal of a *sthitapragna* but we act on a far lower plane and a growing indiscipline degrades us as individuals and as a community."

And he goes on to say that we shall continue to suffer from this split personality if we do not reform ourselves. Here Buddha's name was invoked, and even the President's Address ends on this Buddha note, but the number of firings resorted to by the police in Bombay has beaten the blackest record of British imperialism—one hundred firings in one day.

**Shri Raghavachari (Penukonda) : 114.**

**Shri Kamath :** And on the morning before the Prime Minister's broadcast, not after but before the broadcast was made, 600 persons were arrested in Bombay City. In Orissa where our colleagues Shri Sarangadhar Das and Shri Deo were arrested, people were taking out a peaceful procession. First of all, Congressmen including the Chief Minister egged on the people to stage this demonstration. The wife of the Congress Chief Minister of Orissa has described the police firing as thoughtless and pitiless. And after our colleagues here Shri Sarangadhar Das and Shri Deo, were detained they filed a petition in the High Court. The High Court gave Government time to frame charges against them. It was only when the Orissa Government said they had no charges against them, that they were released. And this state of things is going on.

I would conclude now in one or two minutes, unless you let me continue tomorrow.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker :** He has already had 20 minutes.

**Shri Kamath :** No, Sir. Fifteen.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker :** I am noting down the time. The hon. Member started at 5-10.

**Shri Kamath :** 5-15. Other colleagues have taken half an hour.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker :** He has already taken 20 minutes. Let him take two minutes more.

**Shri Kamath :** I have the greatest respect for my leader Acharya Kripalani and my able colleague Shri Asoka Mehta. While I hold the view that nothing would be lost if we postpone the question of States reorganisation, yet, if the question is taken up, our party stands for reorganisation of States on a linguistic basis subject to considerations of viability, economic development and administrative efficiency. Our party also stands for the creation of Maharashtra with Bombay as its capital. As regards the Punjab, our party stands for the creation of three States, Punjabi-speaking, Hindi-speaking and a separate Himachal Pradesh, with a common Governor, a common High Court, a common Public Service Commission and a common cadre of services. And we have suggested that so far as the boundary disputes are concerned, the most effective, the most popular and the most acceptable solution would be to hold a plebiscite in the areas concerned. Do not arrogate to yourself the right, whether it is the four-man committee or the Congress Party, to decide it. Let the people decide it in a democratic manner as to where they want to go.

I would conclude on this note, that parliamentary democracy is in peril. The ruling party is putting party above country. The party is putting itself not merely above the country, but it is putting itself above Parliament. Parliament session was originally scheduled, I understand, for the 1st February because it was going to be a long session but because there was a session of the Congress, that *tamasha* in Shaheednagar, they postponed it to the 15th February after the Congress session.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker :** Parliament started on the 15th.

**Shri Kamath :** Originally it was scheduled for the 1st February, a tentative decision had been taken.

**Shri A. M. Thomas (Ernakulam) :** Was there any such schedule ? Where ?

**Shri Kamath :** I will not mention names here, but that is my information. The Congress session was originally to be held in January. Then floods came in the Punjab and therefore it was postponed to February. Therefore, Parliament was also postponed. The party is thus taking precedence over country

[**Shri Kamath**]

and over Parliament. The small caucus, the clique to which Acharya Kripalani referred to is taking decisions on vital national issues. The biggest national issue at present is being decided in this way. I would therefore appeal to all parties, and particularly to the ruling party which is responsible for the deterioration in the political and economic situation during the last year. That party should make up its mind whether it is going to be a democratic party or an autocratic, and authoritarian, a dictatorial party. Will it invite other parties even now, it is not too late, to a round table conference—I do not know if the Prime Minister believes in a round, square or a multi-angular table—for deciding this pressing problem of States reorganisation. If it does not do that, the Opposition will take it that the Prime Minister is not interested in promoting real democracy in this country and that will be a bad augury for the country.

And finally, may I say it is no use invoking the names of Buddha and Gandhi. It is a piece of sanctimonious

humbug if you go on invoking the names of Buddha and Gandhi when your practice is contrary to your professions. In the language of St. Paul it is just 'sounding brass and tinkling cymbal'. Let us not take their names in vain. Let our practice conform to our professions, with the tenets of Buddha and Gandhi. Let it not be said by generations later on, by history, that just as Buddhism left India, so also Gandhism, because of this Congress party, because of the practice of these Ministers here, their misdeeds, mal-administration, their inept handling of affairs, had to find a home outside India.

**Deputy-Speaker:** Dr. Sinha.

**Dr. S. N. Sinha** (Saran East) : Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** The House will now adjourn.

*The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Thursday the 23rd February, 1956.*

5-38 P.M.

[Wednesday, 22nd February, 1956]

**COLUMNS**

**COLUMNS**

**MOTION FOR ADJOURN- 571-74  
MENT**

In view of the statement made by the Prime Minister, the Deputy-Speaker withheld his consent to the moving of adjournment motions given notice of by Shri K. M. Vallatharas and Shri M. S. Gurupadaswamy regarding the incursion by the Pakistan Army into the island of Chhad Bet in the Rann of Kutch.

**PAPERS LAID ON THE 574-76  
TABLE**

- (1) A copy of the agreement dated the 14th May, 1954, entered into between the President of India and the Government of Jammu and Kashmir under Article 306 of the Constitution as applied to Jammu and Kashmir by the Constitution (Application to Jammu and Kashmir) Order, 1954.
- (2) A copy of the agreement dated the 14th January, 1956, entered into between the President of India and the State of Jammu and Kashmir under articles 278 and 295 of the Constitution as applied to Jammu and Kashmir by the Constitution (Application to Jammu and Kashmir) Order, 1954.
- (3) A Notification No. AR/ 1937/(10), dated the 17th November, 1955, together with the Explanatory Note, under sub-section (3) of section 5 of the Indian Aircraft Act, 1934, making certain further amendment to the Indian Aircraft Rules, 1937.

(4) Prevention of Food Adulteration Rules, 1955, published in the Ministry of Health Notification No. S. R.O. 2106, dated the 12th September, 1955 under sub-section (2) of section 23 of the Prevention of Food Adulteration Act, 1954.

(5) A copy of each of the following papers, under Article 151 (1) of the Constitution—

- (a) Appropriation Accounts of the Defence Services for the year 1953-54 and Commercial Appendix thereto.
- (b) Audit Report, Defence Services, 1955 (including Report on the Appropriation Accounts of the Defence Services and the Commercial Appendix thereto for the year 1953-54).
- (6) Jute Textiles (Control) Order, 1956, published in the Ministry of Commerce and Industry Notification No. S.R.O. 326, dated the 15th February, 1956, under sub-section (6) of section 3 of the Essential Commodities Act, 1955.
- (7) A copy each of certain further statements containing replies to certain memoranda received from members in connection with Demands for Grants (Railways) for 1955-56.
- (8) A copy of the West Bengal Weekly, dated 26th January, 1956.

## COLUMNS

**REPORT OF COMMITTEE  
ON PRIVATE MEMBER'S  
BILLS AND RESOLU'S  
TIONS PRESENTED**

Forty-fourth Report was presented.

**ELECTION TO COMMITTEE** 577

The motion to elect two Members to serve as members on the Delhi Development Provisional Authority was adopted.

## COLUMNS

**MOTION ON ADDRESS BY 577-710  
THE PRESIDENT**

Further discussion on motion on Address by the President was continued. The discussion was not concluded.

**AGENDA FOR THURSDAY,  
23RD FEBRUARY, 1956.**

Presentation of the Railway Budget and further discussion on Motion on Address by the President.