

**NOES—contd.**

Nayar, Dr. Sushila  
 Ntgam, Shrimati Sevtizi  
 Niranjan Lal, Shri  
 Oza, Shri  
 Paliwal, Shri  
 Pande, Shri K. N.  
 Pandey, Shri R. S.  
 Pandey, Shri Vishwa Nath  
 Panna Lal, Shri  
 Paramasivan, Shri  
 Patel, Shri N. N.  
 Patel, Shri P. R.  
 Patel, Shri Rajeshwar  
 Patil, Shri S. B.  
 Patil, Shri T. A.  
 Patnaik, Shri B. C.  
 Pattabhi Ramana, Shri C. R.  
 Pallai, Shri Nataraja  
 Prabhakar, Shri Naval  
 Pratap Singh, Shri  
 Raghunath Singh, Shri  
 Raghuramaiah, Shri  
 Rai, Shrimati Sahodrabai  
 Raja, Shri G. R.  
 Rajdeo Singh, Shri  
 Raju, Dr. D. S.  
 Raju, Shri D. B.  
 Ram Sewak, Shri  
 Ram Singh, Shri

Ram Subhag Singh, Dr.  
 Ramaswamy, Shri S.-V.  
 Ramdhan Das, Shri  
 Rane, Shri  
 Rao, Dr. K. L.  
 Rao, Shri Krishnamoorthy  
 Rao, Shri Muthyal  
 Rao, Shri Rameshwar  
 Rawandale, Shri  
 Ray, Shrimati Renuka  
 Reddi, Dr. B. Gopala  
 Reddjar, Shri  
 Reddy, Shrimati Yashoda  
 Roy, Shri Bishwanath  
 Saba, Dr. S. K.  
 Saigal, Shri A. S.  
 Samanta, Shri S. C.  
 Samnani, Shri  
 Sarma, Shri A. T.  
 Satyabhama Devi, Shrimati  
 Sen, Shri P. G.  
 Shakuntala Devi, Shrimati  
 Shankaraiya, Shri  
 Sharma, Shri A. P.  
 Sharma, Shri D. C.  
 Shastri, Shri Lal Bahadur  
 Shinde, Shri  
 Shinkre, Shri M. P.

Shyamkumari Devi, Shrimati  
 Shree Narayan Das, Shri  
 Siddananappa, Shri  
 Sidheshwar Prasad, Shri  
 Singh, Shri R. P.  
 Sinha, Shri G. K.  
 Sinha, Shri Satya Narayan  
 Sinha, Shrimati Tarkeshwari  
 Sindhuan Singh, Shri  
 Sivapraghasan Shri K.  
 Sonavane, Shri  
 Subramaniam, Shri C.  
 Sumat Prasad, Shri  
 Surendra Pal Singh, Shri  
 Swaran Singh, Shri  
 Tiwary, Shri D. N.  
 Tiwary, Shri R. S.  
 Tyagi, Shri  
 Uikey, Shri  
 Upadhyays, Shri Shjva Dutt  
 Valvi, Shri  
 Varma, Shri Ravindra  
 Verma, Shri Balgovind  
 Virbhadra Singh, Shri  
 Vyas, Shri Radhelal  
 Wadiwa, Shri  
 Yadab, Shri N. P.  
 Yadava, Shri B. P.

*The motion was negatived.*

**Mr. Speaker:** I need not put the original motion. We take up the next item of business.

13.28 hrs.

**MOTION ON ADDRESS BY THE VICE-PRESIDENT DISCHARGING THE FUNCTIONS OF THE PRESIDENT.**

**Shri Sachindra Chaudhuri (Ghatal):** I beg to move:

"That an Address be presented to the Vice-President discharging the functions of the President in the following terms:—

"That the Members of Lok Sabha assembled in this Session are deeply grateful to the Vice-President discharging the functions of the President for the Address which he has been pleased to deliver to both Houses of Parliament assembled together on the 10th February, 1964."

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath (Hoshangabad):** What is the allocation of time for the debate?

**Mr. Speaker:** We will see to it later on.

**Shri Sachindra Chaudhuri:** While moving this motion, I wish to add my personal gratitude for the gracious Address that the Vice-President has been pleased to deliver.

Sir, I wish to add my own personal thanks also to the Vice-President for the gracious way in which it has been his pleasure to review the happenings of the last year and to invite us to our duties in Parliament. The speech has been distinguished for its clarity and its succinctness, and it is an entirely objective approach to the problems which are before us. There has been a warning that we have passed through difficult times and further difficulties are ahead of us. Equally, there has been a quiet optimism of the performances of this country and this Government. He has

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put before us and has rather reminded us that we are a democracy, a democracy which is wedded to socialism. Socialism can be given any meaning that we wish to, but the meaning I understand by socialism is this: that it is not enough that the means of production should be in the nation. In fact, it is not necessarily that they should be; there should be a more egalitarian approach between man and man. There should be equality of opportunity, and where it is a question of commodities, there should be a fair and equal distribution of commodities. In order that there may be a fair and free distribution of commodities, there has to be production. That production can be made either by the public sector or by the private sector or a combination of the two. In our country, we have accepted the amalgamation of the private sector with the public sector for the greater benefit of the people of the country and the country itself.

13:32 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER in the Chair].

Certain effects do arise when you give power or more power to a small group of people. It is almost a corollary to allowing only a small body of people to function in the field of economics of the country: that there will be more concentration of power concomitant with the means of production in their hands. And in order to stop that, means have got to be organised and means have got to be thought of. But if production particularly in our country has got to be maintained, then in that case, we have to think not only in terms of the position of the means of production—after all if you have got the money you can buy the machinery—but the administration of the business of production, the technical men and the technical know-how and the experience which is behind it. If we find that in this country which is meant for all alike, there

are some people in the private sector who can give us that experience, who can give us that technical know how and who would conform to the socialist principles of this country, I see no objection in their being entrusted with that task. By that I do not mean that the Government is to abdicate its function; I only relegate or delegate my powers to the private sector and do nothing more. The heavier means of production have to be in the hands of Government, and if Government needs assistance of the private sector, the private sector comes in with its assistance with this knowledge that if there is anything more left in its hands than is just as remuneration for its stewardship of the nation's wealth it has to be taken out. And having taken it out, it has got to be used for the purposes of the State.

When we think of production, the hon. Vice-President has told us that in the field of production, industrial production, we are better off than last year by seven to eight per cent. I do not wish to go into statistics in this matter. Statistics is not necessary. I accept that there has been progress in the matter of production. But I will also have to express my difficulties in this particular direction. That is, at what cost? Being a person concerned in commerce in an indirect way it always occurs to me that if I am to produce something, I would like to know if I am doing it at the minimum possible cost. If you produce coal, steel—other countries in the world also produce them—how do our prices compete or compare with those elsewhere? Are they competitive or are they not? Also, if they are being produced not for export but for the purpose of this country, do we with our national income have enough to be able to buy that which is produced? It is no use producing a ton of steel for Rs. 2,000 if the national income is not more than Rs. 500 a year. And in that, we do not know what the position is, whether the production is or is not

competitive. One of the reasons for which the price may go up, of any commodity, would be the absence of indigenous materials. By indigenous materials I do not mean only raw materials which come either from the mines or from the fields but also such manufactured materials as are necessary for the final fabrication of any product. If they have got to be imported, then in that case, the cost rises. Again, if we buy machinery along with spares, further spares should be necessary, and if you have got to go out to foreign countries to get those spares, our cost will go up; if you have got to get a higher technical know-how it will go up. How much of the technical know-how, how much of the spares and how much raw materials are being imported? I wish the Government, particularly, the Ministers in charge of this would give their attention more to the indigenous production, more to the production in smaller units for the purpose of feeding larger units than is probably done at the moment.

This brings me to the other aspect, namely, export. In the matter of export we have been told that our export situation is somewhat better than last year. Again, the question arises, and I am happy that that is so, and I thank the Government for that, and that is, at what cost are we exporting. We have got export bonuses, and export incentives and perhaps a certain amount of price support in the matter of export. All that costs money. The community contributes the money by way of taxation. If that money is expended for the purpose of earning the hard-earned foreign exchange, in that case, the foreign exchange is bought at a stiff price. Then again we come back to the same question: can we have production which is cheap enough to compete, and good enough to compete in the other markets by virtue of their own intrinsic quality rather than by reason of any pressure that is given to the sales by these inducements or incentives?

After the question of export, the question of the third Plan comes. And here a warning has been given by the hon. Vice-President. In the third year, still, in certain directions we are lagging behind. I am not pessimistic about it. When we plan, we plant forward and we plan for things which we have not seen or visualised. There may be a little defect here or there in planning. For that the Planning Commission cannot be blamed, nor need we turn our faces in the other direction simply because we find that we are lagging behind. Efforts and endeavours have got to be made, but along with that, may I suggest that we might also, if necessary, prune our Plan, cut off dead-wood, so that even the plant of the Plan may grow healthily? It may be that we shall not have the full achievement of what we had planned for, but at least it will be a healthy achievement which will not fail all along the line and which will not make any encroachment on the plans as we consider the fourth Five Year Plan.

In the field of production in agriculture, the position does not seem to be very happy. Of course, it is not necessary for me to say that agriculture is largely dependent on natural forces and blessings of nature in the shape of rain equable climate, absence of pests, and so on. But human ingenuity can help us there. As I represent a rural community given to agriculture, I may say what are the wants which are put forward by the agricultural community and I believe this is true all over India—irrigation, fertilisers, storage of crops and marketing of crops. We have got the largest scheme of irrigation where I come from, but this largest scheme will not bring any water into the fields for another three or four years. In the meanwhile the fields do not produce that much which we want to produce and the trouble is we have not got any scheme of irrigation. Can it be suggested that smaller schemes of irrigation which might

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come into being and which might be useful in the course of next year or so be thought of? If certain money is expended on that, at least we shall be free from this chronic difficulty about food.

So far as fertilisers are concerned, we are putting up further fertiliser plants. In the meanwhile, what have we to do about it? Having regard to the fact that the slant has now gone from industry to agriculture to a certain extent, may it be suggested that if importation of fertiliser is necessary, that should be done? So far as storage is concerned, again difficulty has come. We have got to provide storage. Although the warehousing schemes are there, I do not know if the benefits of these schemes have actually reached the remoter villages.

Above all, there is the question of finance. In my humble knowledge, not very great in matters of finance it seems that so far as rural credit is concerned, it has got to be based on the cooperative system. If we can have agricultural banks, so much the better. After all, the modern farm implements have got to be obtained and we are reducing the holding. It will not be possible for one individual farmer to pay for a large quantity of modern farm equipment. So, the cooperative movement, in my humble submission, is rightly conceived of and it should be pushed forward with greater vigour in the rural areas.

On the question of distribution and production, we have seen over and over again in this country that production might be sufficient, but there is no proper distribution. To illustrate my point, let me take sugar. There has been sufficiency in sugar production in this country. Maybe it is 4 per cent less this year than last year, but there has not been such a shortage that people could not have sugar. Yet, at one time last year, we were all here clamouring about proper distribution of sugar. If an as-

essment is made of what the production is likely to be and before the trouble comes, if some control or some direction is given as to how the commodity is to be distributed, perhaps we might escape the evils of sudden shortages.

So far as production is concerned, undoubtedly I agree with the most respect with the hon. Vice-President that after all, the ultimate end must be larger production. Larger production would facilitate the purveying of commodities to the community—agreed. But however large the production may be, if the production is not properly channelled, it will not reach the other end. So, distribution is a factor which has got to be taken care of.

An unhappy note is there in the speech—correct, but unhappy. I mean the question of corruption. Corruption, in order to be checked, has got to be considered from two aspects. One is remedial and the other is uprooting corruption altogether. This disease of the body politic today, having regard to the rumours we hear, has got far deeper roots and the cankerous growth in the body is far greater than is imagined or that can be eradicated by setting up a committee for the purpose of getting rid of corruption. A committee might function, but when it functions, it only has its attention directed to one, two, three or four individuals and in their cases they say "Aye" or "Nay", whether the person has been corrupt or not. But when we say that Mr. X or Mr. Y is corrupt, we forget that they are the people of the country. X is our brother, son or relative. Where is the wrong really? It is this in my humble submission that has brought down our national pride. Also, the vast differences in the resources of the people in this country makes for corruption. If one goes back into history, it will be found that never has there been a time at least in my memory which goes back for 50 years, when you found that an individual has the large means of production, the

large installations at his disposal where he can live like a prince. Nor do we find at any time this vast difference being exploited for the purpose of subordinating those who have been entrusted with public duties. Where that happens, it is not enough to punish the person who has been corrupted, but it is also necessary to punish the person who has been corrupt. One has got to think of instilling in our young men now a sense of national pride and a sense of integrity, which seems to have disappeared from most of them. It is a horrible confession we have to make, a confession which pains, but unfortunately if one hears the rumours, which if true even in part, this confession would be justified. Personally speaking, in my association with people, I have not found that much of corruption which makes me feel that it is a disease which is ineradicable. I feel it can be eradicated and every endeavour should be made to do so.

It is a matter of happiness that certain parts of the country have been given a larger measure of the democratic way of life by constituting them into States and giving them their own local parliaments. Equally happy am I that certain of our brethren in Africa have attained freedom and we welcome them to the brotherhood of nations of free people. May they prosper.

There is one thing which has been agonising us for over a year now. Friends turned into traitors—I mean the Chinese threat. The Chinese are there poised for an attack. We do not know what is there in their mind. Nor would they come and help us despite our holding out our hand of peace. But what one has not considered is this. Is there a sense of urgency or is it a cold war? If it is, then why do we have the curtailment of individual freedom by maintaining the Defence of India Act and the Defence of India Rules? If it is not, why do we not have that feeling of urgency which we had before, which

made everyone get together for the purpose of repelling the Chinese?

And, in this connection, we have to congratulate the Minister of Defence for stepping up the production of warlike materials and for having enlarged and made more efficient the army.

We are a peaceful nation, and we ask for nothing more than to be left alone to work out our own solution in the way we want to. We hold our hand of peace to every nation on this earth unaligned to any particular bloc or dogma or doctrine for the purpose of betterment of humanity. But while we do that, unless we do it from strength, if we do that with weakness, whatever we say would be considered to be the wail of a weakling nation. A nation of 440 million is not weak if it organises itself; not are we weak. We are happy that we are progressing in the proper path in the realisation that—*तहिमात्मा बलहोनेन लभ्यते* our freedom, our liberation cannot possibly be obtained except through strength, not for the purpose of oppression of others but strength for the purpose of giving ourselves and others protection when need be.

That, Sir, brings me to another rather sad state of things. I am talking of Pakistan. It has been debated so much here and at great length that it is hardly necessary for me to add anything more than to say that I congratulate the people of Kashmir who suffered from that heinous offence, the attempted desecration of the Holy Relic, and yet who in true Indian tradition did not seek to turn their sorrow into hatred. Unfortunately, it had the opposite reaction in some parts of Pakistan, I mean in Eastern Pakistan. No words of condemnation are sufficient for any nation, which says that they are the followers of that egalitarian, magnanimous religion of Islam, to try and pervert that Islam which shows forbearance into a machine for oppression, a machine

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which is used against the innocent, a machine which forgets that the duty of a State is to protect its citizens and not to set one set of citizens against another. The problem that is created for us has been debated here at great length. One thing seems to be absolutely certain. Certainly, it is not a problem for any particular part of India; certainly not West Bengal. It is a national problem, because these people who suffered today were offered up for the purpose of getting our freedom. Whether there was any written assurance given or not, one thing is certain, and that is, that we have a duty by them as human beings. When you find that the spirit of Cain is abroad, when you find that Abel is being murdered even today, the spirit of God will have to rise and settle it; not the vindictive God, not the God of passion, but the God that is kindness, the God that is human.

Talking of that, I must not omit to make a reference, if you will permit me to make a reference, to that little great man sitting there, Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri, who went to Kashmir and with such patience, with such kindness settled the difficulties there and established to the world that the Government of India was with the Government of Kashmir in restoring the sacred relic.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** Well done.

**An Hon. Member:** Why do you call him "little"?

**Shri Sachindra Chaudhuri:** I said: "little great man", little in stature and great in soul. I did not say: "little man", I said: "little great man". That spirit which our Government shows through its individual members, I am quite sure, is there in every member of Government, and when occasion arises, be it the Home Minister, be it the hon. Minister without portfolio or be it the Food Minister, be it anyone, I am sure in the

national cause such patience would be shown.

With that I feel in mind that we are all for the service of the nation, we work for the nation, we work for a society which is egalitarian, a society which does not seek any assistance in the spirit of begging but a society which seeks assistance and is offering assistance by way of friendship. We, Sir, progress with our task in this Parliament.

There is one final point which I feel I must make a reference to. That is, a time has come, when we are talking of aid and are thinking in terms of aid, for thinking in terms again of reorganising our house so that we do not have to depend more and more on foreign aid. We build things with foreign assistance, not only in technical assistance but also in the shape of money. If we have to go on depending on this it would depend on the mood and climate of those that assist us as to whether we get it or we do not get it or what is the quantum that we are to get. If we bank too much on this bank which is rather precarious, our material progress would probably be in some way or the other retarded.

Therefore, self-reliant, with the concept of the Vedanta, the body of Islam, the charity of Christianity and the calm compassion of Buddha in us let us combine together to perform the task that we have before us in this, in the next and in the years to come hereafter.

**श्रीमती सुभद्रा जोशी (बलरामपुर) :**

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, श्रीमती जो प्रस्ताव पेश किया गया है राष्ट्रपति का कार्य निर्वहन करते हुए उप-राष्ट्रपति को धन्यवाद पेश करने का, मैं उसका समर्थन करने के लिए खड़ी हुई हूँ।

उन्होंने अपने छोटे से अभिभाषण में तमाम वे चीजें सामने रखीं जो बतलाती हैं कि पिछले साल में हमारी सरकार ने मुल्क की कितनी तरक्की की। जिस कदर हम लोग आगे बढ़े उसका उन्होंने अपने अभि-

भाषण में जिक्र किया, और जो कमियां रह गयीं उनका भी जिक्र करने की कांशिश की। उस अभिभाषण से हमारी सरकार की माइस्टी और अपनी कमी को मानने की नीति साफ जाहिर हाती है, और साथ ही जो हमारा आगे बढ़ने का डिटरमिनेशन है वह भी साफ जाहिर होता है।

इसके पहले कि मैं देश की और बातों का जिक्र करूं, मैं यह जिक्र करना चाहती हूँ कि इस अभिभाषण में इस बात पर अफसोस जाहिर किया गया है कि हमारे मंत्री सरदार स्वर्ण सिंह जी की बहुत कांशिश करने के बावजूद—हम उनको, जिस तरह से उन्होंने बातचीत की, ट्रिब्यूट देते हैं—पाकिस्तान के साथ हमारे ताल्लुकात वैसे नहीं हो पाए जैसी कि हम तबक्को करते थे और पाकिस्तान का एटीट्यूड इस मामले में अच्छा नहीं रहा।

इसके साथ ही साथ हमारी सरकार को यह भी कांशिश रही कि दूसरे देशों के साथ हमारी सम्भावना बढ़े और हमारे सम्बन्ध अच्छे होते जाएं। इस बात की भी हमें खुशी है कि चीन का जो हमसे झगडा हुआ और उसने जो हम पर अटेक किया और जो सवाल उठे उनका हम लोगों ने मजबूती से सामना किया।

इस बात के लिए मैं अपने नए मंत्री, श्री लाल बहादुर शास्त्री जी, को मुबारक-बाद देती हूँ कि उन्होंने जल्दी ही इस बात को नाटिस कर लिया कि यूनाइटेड नेशन्स में उन देशों ने जिनको हम मित्र समझते रहे हैं, जैसे ब्रिटेन और यू० ए० ए०, हमारे प्रति अच्छा रुख नहीं दिखाया। चाइनीज आक्रमण के बाद ऐसा मालूम होता था कि ये देश हमारी मदद करना चाहते हैं, और बहुत कुछ उन्होंने मदद की भी, पर पाकिस्तान के साथ जहां तक हमारे सम्बन्ध हैं उस बारे में इन दोनों देशों का

शुरू से ही, जहां तक मेरा विचार है, बहुत अच्छा रवैया नहीं रहा है।

जब अंग्रेज हिन्दुस्तान से गये तो देश के दो टुकड़े करवा कर गये। जो जम्म हिन्दुस्तान और पाकिस्तान के लगे हैं वे अभी तक पूरे नहीं हुए हैं।

14-00 hrs.

उसके बाद जब चीनी हमला हुआ तो फिर जहां तक पाकिस्तान का ताल्लुक था, हम लोगों ने देखा कि अंग्रेजों का उस मामले में एक सौफ्ट कीरनर था और बहुत खुले दिल व दिमाग से वे हम लोगों की तरफ से नहीं बोलते थे। मालूम ऐसा होता है कि अभी तक उन को यहां से जाने का फोस है और अभी तक वह हमको ऐसा ही समझते हैं जैसा कि पहले हम लोग गुलाम थे। अभी तक उन्होंने हमें गुलाम समझना बंद नहीं किया है। इसी तरीके से जब फिर पाकिस्तान और हिन्दुस्तान में फसाद करवा दिये गये तो ऐसा मालूम हुआ कि जैसे इन महान शक्तियों के सिर पर बोल कर, उन की हिमायत पर चल कर पाकिस्तान वही नकशा पैदा करने की कांशिश में था जो कि सन् १९४७ में पाटिशन के समय पैदा हुआ था। दोनों देशों में ऐसे-ऐसे वाक्यात हुए जो कि दोनों देशों के लिए बहुत शर्म की बात है।

हमारे यहां कुछ साधियों ने कहा कि ऐसा मालूम हुआ कि हमारे यहां जो कुछ घटनाए हुई हैं हम लोग उन को कहना नहीं चाहते हैं या बर्ताना चाहते हैं। मैं ने उपाध्यक्ष महोदय कल भी अर्ज किया था और आज फिर अर्ज करना चाहती हूँ कि हम दोनों देशों का कोई मुकाबला नहीं करते हैं पर हमारी नीति इस प्रकार की है कि अगर यहां पर एक भी अल्पसंख्यक मनुष्य के ऊपर अत्याचार होता है तो हम उसे अपने देश के लिये एक शर्म की बात समझते हैं। हम पूरी कांशिश करते हैं कि जहां तक हो सके उस चीज को रोकें। मैं यहां पर अपने उन अल्पसंख्यक

[श्रीमती सुभद्रा जोशी]

भाइयों और दूसरों को यह कहना चाहूंगी कि यह माइनरिटी, मेजरिटी का सवाल या फिरकेवाराना सवाल नहीं है। यह उनका झकेला सवाल नहीं है बल्कि यह सारे देश का सवाल है। अगर फिरकेवाराना ज़हनियत वाले लोगों के साथ मुकाबला करने का सवाल है तो देश के तमाम लोग उन के साथ हैं। गांधी जी ने सुप्रीम सैक्रीफाइस करके इस देश में इस बात को इस्टैबलिश किया कि हम लोग फिरकेवाराना ताकतों का मुकाबला करने के लिये सब उन के साथ हैं। यह कोई सिर्फ अल्पसंख्यकों की बात नहीं है।

मुझे इस बात का अफसोस है कि क्यूनाइटेड स्टेट गवर्नमेंट का, जहां तक अमरीका के भाइयों का सवाल है, उनका भी एटीच्यूड, कश्मीर के सवाल को लेकर, सिंब्युरिटी कौंसिल में जो बहस हो रही है, उसमें अछछा नहीं है। पहले भी जब यूनाइटेड नेशंस में काश्मीर का मामला चला था तो हमारे देश के लोग हम से पूछते थे और आज तक पूछते हैं कि यह काश्मीर का मामला वहां पर सुरक्षा परिषद् में क्यों भेज दिया? भारत सरकार ने अगर यह मामला वहां पर न भेजा होता तो शायद यह कश्मीर की समस्या इस रूप में खड़ी नहीं होती और होती भी तो उसका जल्द इलाज हो गया होता।

आज सुरक्षा परिषद् में कश्मीर के मामले को लेकर फिर बहस करायी जा रही है आज भी मुझे अफसोस के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि हमारे पश्चिमी मित्र राष्ट्रों अर्थात् ब्रिटेन व अमरीका का रुख भारत के प्रति अमैत्रीपूर्ण और द्वेषपूर्ण होकर पाकिस्तान जो कि वास्तव में एक हमलावर की स्थिति में है और जिसने कि जबरदस्ती और गैर कानूनी ढंग से कश्मीर के एक हिस्से पर जो कि भारत का एक टुकड़ा है, अपना कब्जा जमा रखा है, उसके प्रति वे अपनी हमदर्दी जाहिर कर रहे हैं।

जब पिछले साल हमारे देश पर चीनी आक्रमण हुआ था तो उन लोगों ने अर्थात् ब्रिटेन व अमरीका ने चीनी आक्रमण का सामना करने के लिये हमको हथियार व अन्य आवश्यक सैन्य सामग्री प्रादि दी और जरूरत पड़ने पर और भी मदद देने का हमसे वायदा किया था। उस दक्त से मालूम ऐसा हुआ कि जैसे पाकिस्तान का जहां तक ताल्लुक है, वह हमारे देश के साथ रिजर्वेशन के साथ बात करते हैं। अब बाहरी सहायता लेने के सम्बन्ध में हमारी सरकार की नीति यह थी कि उन्होंने बाहर से जो मदद या हिमायत ली उस के साथ भारत सरकार ने कोई स्टैंडिस स्वीकार नहीं कीं। उस विदेशी मदद के साथ हमारी सरकार ने यह नहीं स्वीकार किया कि हम अपने देश के अन्दर की या बाहर की पालिसी बदलें। मैं अपनी सरकार को इस बात के लिये मुबारकवाद देती हूं और मैं उन जमातों से उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, सविनय निवेदन करती हूं, मैं प्रजा-सोशलिस्ट पार्टी, जनसंघ के लोगों और स्वतन्त्र पार्टी के लोगों से, जो कि कहते थे कि अमरीकी फौजी हिन्दुस्तान में बला लेने चाहियें (इंटरप्शंस)

**Shri Nath Pai (Rajapur):** She must withdraw it.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** We have never said it. (Interruptions).

**Shri Surendranath Dwivedy (Kendrapara):** We have not said anything like that at any time.

**Shri Nath Pai:** She should not be allowed to proceed.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Order, order. I must first see what she said.

**Shri Bade rose—**

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Will the hon. Member please resume his seat? Let me first see what she said.



श्री बड़े (खारगोन) : हमारी ओर से कभी ऐसा नहीं कहा गया।

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Order, order. Please sit down.

श्री नाथ पाई : हम ने आज तक कभी यह नहीं कहा कि अमरीकन फोरसेज यहां पर आ जाय।

What is this? This is slander. Our party has never demanded any foreign forces to be stationed in this country.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Then she will apologise to this House.

श्रीमती सुभद्रा जोशी : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, अगर मैंने किसी जमात का नाम गलती से ले दिया है तो मैं उस जमात से क्षमा चाहती हूँ।

श्री नाथ पाई : जमात के नाम का सवाल नहीं है। उन्होंने जो यह कहा है कि अमरीकी फौजें रखने की यहां तजवीज कर रहे हैं, यह बहुत गम्भीर मामला है। या तो वह बतलायें कि वह कौन पार्टी है जिसने यह कहा है या अपने इस रिमार्क को फौज वापिस लें।

We do not want any lessons from her.

श्रीमती सुभद्रा जोशी : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, अगर मैं किसी जमात का नाम गलती से ले गयी तो मैं इस के लिये क्षमा चाहती हूँ लेकिन मह हाउस में कई बार कहा दि है और कई लोगों ने कहा है, कुछ सदस्यों ने कहा कि भारत सरकार की यह नौन एलाइनमेंट की पालिसी गलत है.....

**Shri Nath Pai:** After accusing us, we do not want any lessons from her. हम आप से देव भक्ति में सबक नहीं चाहते हैं।

श्री रामेश्वरानन्द (करनाज) : माननीय सदस्या को यह समझना चाहिये कि यह कोई स्त्रियों की जमात नहीं है जिसको

एड्रेस कर रही हैं बल्कि यह भारत की लोक सभा है इसलिये जरा सोच समझ कर बोलें।

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** It should be treated as closed when she has apologised.

श्रीमती सुभद्रा जोशी : यह कहा गया कि खाली बाहर से हथियार मंगाना और उनको चलाना सिखाना ही काफी नहीं है बल्कि उन की फौजों को भी हमें भारत में मंगवाना चाहिये। यह बात कही गई इसमें कोई गलती नहीं है.....

श्री हरि विष्णु कामत : यह कहां कहा गया बिल्कुल गैर जिम्मेदारी की बात कह रही हैं।

**Shri Surendranath Dwivedy:** This is a very serious matter. We want to know whether in this House, in this Parliament whenever we have discussed the question of the defence of our country, any member of this House has ever made this remark that we want foreign forces to be stationed in our country. She says that this remark has been made by some Member. We want to know whether any single member has made this suggestion or not.

श्री बड़े : माननीय सदस्या ने बिल्कुल गलत बात कही है। कोई भी यह बात नहीं कह सकता।

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** I hope the hon. Member will withdraw her words. She has already apologised to the House. What more do they want?

**Shri Surendranath Dwivedy:** Never was such a demand made by any member. It is a slur on the country. No patriot has ever made that remark.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** She has apologised to the House. So, it should be treated as closed. There should be some finality for it.

श्री नाथ पाई—

श्रीमती सुभद्रा जोशी : मुझे यह अर्ज करना है . . . . .

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** She may resume her seat.

**Shri Nath Pai:** Mr. Deputy-Speaker, the courtesy that is due to a lady Member of this House is not a licence to be used to malign other parties in this House. May I point out it is nothing but political slander to speak in this House that a political party has demanded the stationing of American forces in this country. We want her to identify that party and state the occasion when it was made. If she is not in a position to do so, she should not proceed with her slanderous remark.

श्री हरि विष्णु कामत : भाननीय सदस्या ने यह शर्मनाक चीज कही है ।

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** She has apologised for that.

**Shri Nath Pai:** She has not.

श्री हरि विष्णु कामत : फिर से वह बात दुहरा रही हैं ।

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Can the hon. Member name the party or the member who has made that remark? Otherwise, I would ask the hon. Member to withdraw that remark.

श्रीमती सुभद्रा जोशी : मैंने पहले ही बाब्रदव अर्ज किया है कि मैंने जिन जमातों का नाम लिया है, अगर उन में से किसी जमात ने यह बात नहीं कही तो मैं उस पार्टी से पहले ही माफी मांग रही हूँ लेकिन यह कहना कि हाउस में किसी ने यह बात नहीं कही, यह बात सही नहीं है । अगर आप मुझ को मौका देंगे तो मैं उन तक्रारियों से पढ़ कर बता दूंगी जो कि हाउस में की गयी हैं . . . .

**Shri Surendranath Dwivedy:** Nobody has said like that in the House.

श्रीमती सुभद्रा जोशी : मैं उन सदस्यों से या कोई जमात एसी है तो उन से वा

अदव अर्ज करूंगी कि यह मौका है कि जाकर हमारे जो दोस्त हैं, यूनाइटेड स्टेट्स और ग्रेट ब्रिटेन वाले, उन से जाकर कहा जाय, प्रोटेस्ट की जाय, दरख्वास्त की जाय कि इस वक्त हिन्दुस्तान की सिर्फ इज्जत का ही सवाल नहीं है बल्कि यहां पर इंसानियत पर हमला हो गया है, इन करतूतों की वजह से हमारी टैरीटोरी पर हमला किया गया है । हम अपने कश्मीर का कोई भी हिस्सा किसी को भी देने को तैयार नहीं हैं । कश्मीर हिन्दुस्तान का एक अटूट हिस्सा है और वह सदैव के लिये हिन्दुस्तान का हो चुका है । इसलिये पश्चिमी मित्र राष्ट्रों का कश्मीर के प्रति जो रवैय्या है वह बहुत गलत है । मैं शास्त्री जी को शुरू में इस के लिये मुबारकबाद दे चुकी हूँ उस रवैय्ये के लिये जो उन्होंने इस मामले में अख्तियार किया कि उन्होंने पश्चिमी मित्र राष्ट्रों अर्थात् अमरीका व ब्रिटेन के राजदूतों को बुला कर उनको अपनी नीति से साफ़ तौर पर अवगत करा दिया और ऐसा करके उन्होंने बहुत मुबारक कदम उठाया है ।

अब इस के बाद उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं आप से एक दूसरी बात निवेदन करूंगी । हमारे राष्ट्रपति ने अपनी सेनाओं को साज सामान से लैस करने की दिशा में किये जाने वाले प्रयत्नों का जिक्र किया । मैं राष्ट्रपति जी की इस चिन्ता के लिए मुबारकबाद देती हूँ जो उन्हें है कि जहां बाहर से सैन्य साज-सामान की मदद मिल रही है वहां यह बहुत आवश्यक है कि हमारी रक्षा सेनाएं साज-सामान से पूरी तरह लैस रहें, इस के लिए हम चाहते हैं कि उस का ज्यादा से ज्यादा उत्पादन हमारे ही अपने देश में हो । एक वक्त वह भी था जब हमारे यहां डिफेंस के जो कार्यकर्ता थे वह दिन रात रिट्रेंच किये जाते थे और बाहर से ज्यादा से ज्यादा सामान मंगाने की कोशिश रहती थी । आज मैं पुराने मंत्री महोदय को मुबारकबाद देना चाहती हूँ, जिन्होंने इस बात की

Let me

कोशिश को कि हमारी आर्डिनंस फ्रैंचटरीज और डिफेंस सम्बन्धी कारखाने अच्छे से अच्छे हों और हमारी डिफेंस फ़ोर्सिज से ताल्लुक रखने वाला ज्यादा से ज्यादा काम देश में ही हो। मैं वर्तमान डिफेंस मिनिस्टर साहब को भी मुबारकबाद देती हूँ कि पिछले साल उन्होंने इस विषय में बहुत तेज़ी से काम किया। इस के साथ ही मैं डिफेंस फ्रैंचटरीज के वर्कज को भी मुबारकबाद देना चाहती हूँ।

हम देखते हैं कि जो देश अपने डिफेंस के सम्बन्ध में विदेशों पर डिपेंड करते हैं, उनकी पालिसी बदलती रहती है। उन की पालिसी कभी इधर रहती है और कभी उधर रहती है। हर एक देश की पालिसी ज्यादातर उस के नेशनल इन्ट्रेस्ट के लिए होती है। लेकिन जो देश दूसरे देशों पर निर्भर हैं, उन की पालिसी कभी कुछ होती है और कभी कुछ होती है। इस बात को देखते हुए यह बहुत जरूरी है कि इस बात की कोशिश की जाये कि हम अपनी डिफेंस फ़ोर्सिज का ज्यादा से ज्यादा सामान अपने देश में ही पैदा करें। इसलिए हमारे देश में हवाई जहाज और दूसरा सामान बनाने के लिए जो प्रोजेक्ट्स बन रही हैं, उनके लिए मैं मंत्री महोदय को खास तौर से मुबारकबाद देना चाहती हूँ।

हमारे राष्ट्रपति ने बहुत अच्छी तरह से हमारी तवज्जह इस तरफ़ दिलाई है कि हम लोकतंत्रीय तरीकों से समाजवादी समाज की स्थापना अपने देश में करना चाहते हैं। उन्होंने अपने भाषण में इस बात को दोहराया है कि हमारी सरकार की पालिसी है कि हम अपने देश में समाजवादी समाज की स्थापना करें। पीछे कई बार इस बात का जिक्र हुआ कि हमारे देश में प्राइवशन बढ़ा है और नेशनल इनकम भी बढ़ी है। लेकिन इस बारे में हमारे प्राइम मिनिस्टर साहब ने कहा कि जो नेशनल इनकम बढ़ी है, वह काहें गई है और लोगों के स्तर में

जो फ़र्क है, उसकी खोज करने के लिए कमेटीज बिठाई गई। मैं सरकार से प्रार्थना करूंगी कि जितनी कमेटीज बनती हैं उनकी रिपोर्ट्स जल्दी से जल्दी हम लोगों के सामने आनी चाहिए। ऐसा कुछ खयाल पैदा हो गया है कि

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** The hon. Member's time is up.

**Shrimati Subhadra Joshi:** Sir, you have given me only ten minutes.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** She has taken 15 minutes.

**Shrimati Subhadra Joshi:** They took 5 minutes out of my time.

**Shri Surendranath Dwivedy:** Nobody took up her time.

**Shrimati Subhadra Joshi:** Sir, this is very unfair.

इसलिए मैं सरकार से यह निवेदन करूंगी कि महालनवीस कमेटी की रिपोर्ट और काका कालेलकर की, बैंकवर्ड क्लासिज कमीशन की, रिपोर्ट को वह जल्दी से जल्दी हाउस के सामने रखे। वह इस बात की ज्यादा से ज्यादा कोशिश करे कि हमारे देश में जो कन्सैन्ट्रेशन आफ वैल्यू है, वह कम हो।

हमारे राष्ट्रपति ने इस बात का भी जिक्र किया कि इंडस्ट्रीज का उत्पादन ज्यादा से ज्यादा बढ़ रहा है और हम को उम्मीद है कि अगले साल ७ से ८ परसेंट तक प्राइवशन बढ़ जायेगी। हमारी सरकार के लिए यह सचमुच बहुत मुबारकबाद की बात है। कोशिश यह होनी चाहिए कि हमारे यहां तरक्की करने के जो मीन्स हैं, उत्पादन बढ़ाने के जो मीन्स हैं, डिस्ट्रिब्यूशन के जो तरीके हैं, उन को सरकार ज्यादा से ज्यादा अपने हाथ में ले, ताकि उत्पादन में भी वृद्धि हो और फ़ेयर डिस्ट्रिब्यूशन की भी व्यवस्था हो सके। हमारे यहां आमदनी में जो फ़र्क है, उस को ज्यादा से ज्यादा कम करने की कोशिश की जानी चाहिए।

[श्रीमती सुभद्रा जोशी]

हमारे राष्ट्रपति ने यह भी जिक्र किया कि गल्ले की कमी की वजह से चीजों के भाव कुछ बढ़ गए। मैं सरकार को बधाई देती हूँ कि जो कीमतें बढ़ी हैं, उस का उस ने नोटिस लिया और यह महसूस किया कि इस के कारण हिन्दुस्तान में कितनी परेशानी है। जहाँ तक सरकारी कर्मचारियों का ताल्लुक है, उन के डीयरनेस एलाउंस बढ़ा दिए गए हैं। लेकिन हमारे देश में सारे लोग तो सरकारी कर्मचारी नहीं हैं। चीजों की कीमतें इतनी बढ़ गई हैं कि ४०, ४५ परसेंट तो गल्ले की कीमत बढ़ गई है। मैं निवेदन करना चाहती हूँ कि सिर्फ पैदावार का कमी की वजह से ऐसा नहीं हो गया है। इसकी वजह यह भी है कि डिस्ट्रिब्यूशन का तरीका भी डिफेक्टिव है और इसलिए सरकार को उसे अपने हाथ में लेना चाहिए। खाद्य मंत्री महोदय यहाँ पर नहीं हैं। मैं निवेदन करूँगी कि चीजों की कीमतें तब कम होंगी जब सरकार गल्ले और एसेंशल कामोडिटीज का कारोबार अपने हाथ में ले लेगी।

इस बारे में मैं हाउस को यह बताना चाहती हूँ कि कई बरस हुए यहाँ पर एक को-ऑपरेटिव सोसायटी बनी। उस की तरफ से जा कर गवर्नमेंट को कहा गया कि हम चीनी चार आने कम पर बेचना चाहते हैं। इस पर एक अंडर सेक्रेटरी ने कहा कि तुम कौन होते हो चीनी सस्ती बेचने वाले। खुद मुझे यह बात कही गई। उन्होंने ने कहा कि तुम कौन होते हो अपने मेम्बरों को कहने वाले कि चार आने कम पर चीनी बेचो। उस के बाद उस सोसायटी का कोटा काट दिया गया। अब जब कि चीनी के बारे में हाहाकार मचा है, तो सोसायटी की तरफ से कहा गया कि हम चीनी सस्ते दाम पर बेचना चाहते हैं। उस को कहा गया कि अगर चीनी सस्ती बेचोगे, तो तुम्हारी दुकान पर रस हो जायेगा और फिर तुम चीनी

ज्यादा मांगोगे। यह भी कहा गया कि कम कीमत पर चीनी बचने से हमारा ताल्लुक नहीं है, सरकार की तरफ से जो कीमत मुकरर की गई है, उस पर बेचो।

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** The hon. Member has taken 20 minutes now.

**Shrimati Subhadra Joshi:** I was told that I will get 20 minutes at least. The hon. Mover gets 30 minutes and I get 20 minutes.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** The seconder gets only 15 minutes. She should close now.

**Shrimati Subhadra Joshi:** You must give me some time from my Party's time. 15 minutes will be given to everybody.

**The Minister of Health (Dr. Sushila Nayar):** Sir, they took a lot of her time.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** I have given her that time also. She should wind up now.

**Shrimati Subhadra Joshi:** I will try to wind up.

श्री श्रीकर लाल बेरवा (कोटा) : माननीय सदस्या ज्यादा टाइम ले कर चेयर का अपमान कर रही हैं।

श्रीमती सुभद्रा जोशी : मैं कह रही थी कि सरकार को डिस्ट्रिब्यूशन का काम ज्यादा से ज्यादा अपने हाथ में लेना चाहिये।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय : मैं सब स्पीच काट कर अपना आखिरी प्वायंट कहना चाहती हूँ। हम होम मिनिस्टर साहब को इस बात के लिये मुबारकबाद देते हैं कि उन्होंने ने विजिलेंस कमेटी मुकरर करने की बात कही है। मैं उन से प्रार्थना करूँगी कि करप्शन को रोकने के लिये वह विजिलेंस कमेटी फौरन कायम करें। मैं बापूदब अर्ज करूँगी कि करप्शन के केसिज को डील करने के

लिये ऐसी अदालतें कायम की जायें, जोकि डे-टु-डे हीर्यारिंग करें। आज हम देखते हैं कि एक केस जनता के सामने आता है और फिर पांच छः साल के लिये गायब हो जाता है और पता नहीं चलता कि क्या हुआ है। मैं इसके बारे में इन्स्टेंसिज नहीं देना चाहती हूं, लेकिन मालूम होता है कि मुंदड़ा साहब अपील कर के घर में खुले घूम रहे हैं, क्योंकि उन्होंने जो अपील की हुई है, उसकी हीर्यारिंग नहीं हुई है।

इसी तरह बिजली की कोई कम्पनी है, जिसने दस स्टेट्स के साथ फ्राड किया है, लेकिन अब भी उस के पास सब स्टेट्स के ठेके मौजूद हैं। इसकी वजह यह है कि जब तक फ्रंसला नहीं होता है, तब तक वे लोग मौज करते हैं। हम लोग अचानक एक दिन सुबह बड़े-बड़े अखबार उठा कर देखते हैं कि किसी बड़े आदमी के खिलाफ, या किसी मंत्री या आफिसर के खिलाफ अचानक करप्शन का चार्ज लगा दिया जाता है और उस की डीटेल्ज दी जाती हैं। मैं निवेदन करूंगी कि इस बारे में सरकार को चुप नहीं रहना चाहिये। या तो क्रौरन उस की कन्ट्राडिक्शः होनी चाहिए, नहीं तो अखबार वाले पर मुकदमा चला कर उस को जेल में डालना चाहिये। रोज आफिसर पकड़े जाते हैं, रोज करप्शन के केसिज सामने आते हैं और उस के बाद मामला खत्म हो जाता है। इसलिये ऐसी कोर्ट्स बनानी चाहिए, जोकि करप्शन के केसिज की डे-टु-डे हीर्यारिंग करें और उनका फ्रंसला जल्दी लोगों के सामने और इस सदन के सामने आ जाये और पता लग जाये कि उन केसिज के बारे में क्या हुआ।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, समय के अभाव के कारण मेरी बहुत सी बातें छूट गई हैं, लेकिन अन्त में मैं सरकार और राष्ट्रपति जी को मुबारकबाद देती हूँ कि इस छोटे से एड्रेस में जहाँ उन्होंने यह बताया है कि हमारे

देश ने क्या तरक्की की है, वहाँ हमारी कमियों को भी उन्होंने सामने रखा है।

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Motion moved:

"That an Address be presented to the Vice-President discharging the functions of the President in the following terms:—

"That the Members of Lok Sabha assembled in this Session are deeply grateful to the Vice-President discharging the functions of the President for the Address which he has been pleased to deliver to both Houses of Parliament assembled together on the 10th February, 1964."

There are many amendments notices of which have been given. One is by Shri H. P. Chatterjee.

**Shri H. P. Chatterjee (Nabadwip):** I move it.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Shri Tridib Kumar Chaudhuri...He is not here. Shri N. C. Chatterjee...He too is not here. Shri Sivamurthi Swamy.

**Shri Sivamurthi Swamy (Koppal):** I move it.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Shri Surendranath Dwivedy.

**Shri Surendranath Dwivedy:** I move.

**Mr. Deputy Speaker:** Syed Badrud-duja...He is not here. Shri Muzaffar Husain...He too is not here. Shri Ranga.

**Shri Ranga (Chittoor):** I move.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Shri Muhammad Ismail.

**Shri Muhammad Ismail (Manjeri):** I move.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Shri Dinen Bhattacharya . . He is not here. Dr. Ranen Sen.

**Dr. Ranen Sen (Calcutta East):** I move the amendment.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Sri Ram Sewak Yadav.

श्री राम सेवक यादव (बाराबंकी) :  
उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मेरा एक निवेदन है.....

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय : बाद में सुन लेंगे ।

श्री राम सेवक यादव : इसी के सम्बन्ध में है, बाद में सुनने का नहीं है । यह जो भाषा का प्रश्न है इस को बार बार उठाना कुछ अच्छा नहीं लगता है । हम संशोधन हिन्दी में देते हैं लेकिन वे हिन्दी में छपते नहीं हैं जबकि यहां पर अध्यक्ष महोदय ने कहा था कि इस तरह की व्यवस्था होगी । अच्छा होता यह होता कि अंग्रेजी में जो संशोधन अते हैं, उनका भी तर्जुमा हिन्दी में दिया जाता । लेकिन ऐसा नहीं होता है । हमें दुःख है कि जब हम हिन्दी में देते हैं तो उस को अंग्रेजी में छाप दिया जाता है और उस को सक्प्लेट नहीं किया जाता है । मैं आप की इजाजत से हिन्दी वाले को रखना चाहूंगा ।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय : देखूंगा

Shri Lahri Singh ... he is not here;  
Shri Y. S. Chaudhary . . . he too  
is not here. Shri Bade.

**Shri Bade:** I move.

**Mr. Deputy Speaker:** Dr. L. M. Singhvi.

**Dr. L. M. Singhvi (Jodhpur):** I move.

**Mr. Deputy Speaker:** Shri Sezhiyan . . . he is not here; Shri Manoharan . . . he too is not here.

All these substitute motions will be taken as moved.

**Shri H. P. Chatterjee:** I beg to move:

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

“but regret that in the Address there is no mention of the total failure of the policy of solving the minority question by a division of the country and no mention of a permanent policy which can save the millions of minorities in the divided countries from utter destruction and ruin.” (1)

**Shri Sivamurthi Swamy:** I beg to move:

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

“but regret—

(a) that there is inadequate reference to the communal holocaust directed against minorities in East Pakistan in Khulna, Narayanganj, Dacca and other places and to the dire plight confronting the harried minorities there on account of the total disregard by the Government of Pakistan of its obligation to the minorities undertaken in terms of the Nehru-Liaquat Agreement of 1950 and also to the necessity of reorientating the country's policy towards Pakistan and invoking international sanctions for safeguarding the democratic and human rights of minorities there;

(b) that no mention has been made in the Address that the state of emergency proclaimed in November, 1962 immediately after the Chinese invasion need not be continued any further as there is no apprehension of a renewed Chinese offensive immediately;

(c) that the Address fails to direct the political leaders to come together to share the responsibilities of good and clean administration of the country to

establish a strong democratic but national government especially during the emergency and planning period;

(d) to note that the Address has failed to call upon the members to sink their social, economic, and political differences in the matter of defence planning and development programme of the nation by establishing a strong national government in the country;

(e) and also regret that the Address has failed to announce any definite policy towards—

(i) the minorities in India;

(ii) increase in prices of necessities of life, especially foodgrains; (iii) budget policy to increase the expenditure to more than fifty per cent for the productive purposes; (iv) reasonable taxation policy specially removing burden on the common man through indirect taxation; (v) cottage and handloom industry which is facing life and death situation for survival and (vi) removing corruption, nepotism among the high officials and leaders in the ruling party." (2)

**Shri Surendranath Dwivedy:** I beg to move:

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

"but regret—

(a) that there is no mention of the measures to be adopted by the Government to secure complete vacation of the area occupied by the Chinese and to take full control over the area vacated by them through the proper utilisation of the state of National Emergency for

mobilising moral and material resources of the nation;

(b) that no firm steps have been indicated in the Address for stopping the infiltration of Pakistani nationals in Assam, Tripura and West Bengal;

(c) that no mention has been made of the facilities to be given for the planned migration of East Pakistan minorities to India and also to the refugees who have come to India from Pakistan under duress;

(d) that no steps have been indicated in the Address for full and complete integration of Kashmir with the Indian Union;

(e) that the Address does not enunciate any coherent policy to hold the price line and to mitigate the hardships caused to the people by ever-increasing costs of living;

(f) that no steps have been indicated in the Address to combat corruption at the political level; and

(g) that there is no mention in the Address of the hardships of Schedule Castes and Scheduled Tribes, nor are any welfare measures indicated to ameliorate their conditions."

(3)

**Shri Ranga:** I beg to move:

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

"but regret—

(a) the absence of a reference to specific measures to ameliorate the lot of agriculturists and provide incentives for increased agricultural production;

(b) that the Address does not, in its reference to developments in Africa, contain a single word of sympathy or support to the people of Indian

[Shri Ranga]

origin in Zanzibar and other countries of East Africa in regard to racial discrimination practised against them and to attacks on their lives, properties and employment;

(c) that, in its reference to recent developments in Kashmir, there is no indication of an awareness of the breakdown of law and order, no announcement of the release of Sheikh Abdullah and other political detainees and no expression of a readiness to institute a judicial inquiry into the recent unfortunate happenings in Kashmir;

(d) the absence of an announcement of the withdrawal of the Seventeenth Constitution Amendment Bill pending before Parliament and the additional threat to introduce yet another Bill to amend the Constitution for the eighteenth time so as to further restrict the Fundamental Rights of the citizens;

(e) the failure to refer to any measures for the amelioration of the conditions of Scheduled Castes and Tribes and backward classes;

(f) the failure to take note of insecurity of life and person in Punjab and to suggest measures for restoring confidence;

(g) that the Address fails to mention the need to immediately revoke the declaration of the State of Emergency, to repeal the Defence of India Act and to restore the fundamental rights of citizens suppressed under the provisions of that Act;

(h) that the picture of economic progress and achievement painted in the Address does not reflect the harsh realities of the country's economic plight and the distress and hardship caused to the people by the

wrong policies of the Government; and

(i) that the Address fails to disclose any policy or strategy designed to recover our lost territory from Chinese communist occupation." (6)

**Shri Muhammad Ismail:** I beg to move:

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

"but regret—

(a) that sufficient notice has not been taken in the Address of the recent disturbances and violence in parts of West Bengal and that no mention is made of the large scale relief measures that are needed for relieving the sufferings of the riot victims; and

(b) that no mention is made in the Address of the serious hardships caused to the backward communities in various parts of the country especially as a result of the judgments of certain High Courts nullifying reservation of certain benefits to the said backward communities". (7)

**Dr. Ranen Sen:** I beg to move:

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

"but regret—

(a) that the Address has not given indication of (i) the policy of the Government to give unhindered facilities to the minorities of East Pakistan who want to migrate to India; (ii) responsibilities of the Government to rehabilitate the immigrants from East Pakistan; (iii) the need to rehabilitate fully the displaced persons who have come to India from East Pakistan since the partition of the country; (iv) the damages done by communal forces in India against secular character of



India, thereby becoming a constant threat to the peace, prosperity and democracy of our country;

(b) that the Address has failed to mention the continuous rise of prices of essential commodities especially rice and sugar during the last one year and to suggest any remedy to meet the situation;

(c) that the Address has failed to mention the growth of monopolies in India, which undermines the basis of democracy in India;

(d) that the Address has failed to note that the emergency powers are being used against the people by the authorities and the need to revoke the state of Emergency declared in October, 1962;

(e) that the Address has failed (i) to mention the absence of fair deal to the working class and denial of trade union and democratic rights to them; (ii) to mention the need of taking action against employers who had violated their part of the tripartite agreements in relation to provocations against the employees and the consequent hampering of production; (iii) to make any assessment of the misery and destitution of the toiling masses; (iv) to give any direction towards giving protection to agriculturists who are more and more pauperised and driven into unpayable debts;

(f) that the Address has failed to take note of the progressively deteriorating political and administrative situation in almost all States; especially Kerala and Kashmir; and

(g) that the Address has failed to take into account the growing corruption in the Government and administrative circles". (8)

श्री राम सेवक यादव : मंसद के समक्ष भारत के राष्ट्रपति का कार्य-निर्वहन करते हुए उपराष्ट्रपति अभिभाषण पर धन्यवाद प्रस्ताव के अन्त में निम्नलिखित शब्द जोड़ने की कृपा करें :—

प्रस्तुत खेद है कि :

- (१) भारत सरकार जीवनोपयोगी वस्तुओं के बढ़ते हुए मूल्यों को रोकने के लिए निश्चित दामनीति अपनाने में असमर्थ रही है।
- (२) भारत सरकार भ्रष्टाचार के कारणों तथा समाज के ऊपरी लोगों में व्याप्त भ्रष्टाचार को दूर करने में असमर्थ रही है।
- (३) भारत सरकार कहीं शीतलहरी पाला, कहीं अतिवृष्टि, और कहीं अनावृष्टि से हुई नष्ट फसल से प्रभावित किसानों को सहायता देने में असफल रही है।
- (४) भारत सरकार छोटी और बड़ी आमदनी का भारक अन्तर दूर करने में असमर्थ ही नहीं रही वरन् उसने उस ओर प्रयास भी नहीं किया।
- (५) भारत सरकार देश की पिछड़ी जातियों, हरिजनों, आदिवासियों तथा महिलाओं को समान स्तर पर लाने के लिए विशेष अवसर प्रदान न कर उनकी दशा सुधारने में असमर्थ रही तथा वर्ण व्यवस्था पर आधारित जाति प्रथा और साम्प्रदायिक भेदभावों को दूर कर सभी देशवासियों को एक सूत्र में बांधने में असफल ही नहीं रही वरन् उसने अपने कार्य-कलापों से इसे बढ़ावा ही दिया है।
- (६) भारत सरकार मातृ भाषाओं को तिष्ठित कर अंग्रेजी के 'सार्व-

[श्री रामसेवक यादव]

- जनिक प्रयोग को समाप्त करने में असफल ही नहीं रही वरन् उत्तर-दक्षिण के सवाल को खड़ा कर उसने भाई भाई को आपस में लड़ाया है।
- (७) अभिभाषण में प्रधान मन्त्री की लम्बी तथा गम्भीर बीमारी के फलस्वरूप प्रशासन में आई ढील तथा अनिश्चितता और नेतृत्व विहीनता से उत्पन्न स्थिति को दूर करने में भारत सरकार असफल रही, इसका जिक्र नहीं है।
- (८) अभिभाषण में भारत सरकार द्वारा भारत रक्षा कानून के दुरुप-योग तथा विरोधियों को दबाने में उसके प्रयोग का कोई जिक्र नहीं है।
- (९) भारत सरकार भारत भूमि को चीन के अधिकार से वापिस लेने में असमर्थ रही है।
- (१०) भारत सरकार ने चीन के प्रधान मन्त्री को भारतीय वायु मार्ग के प्रयोग करने की आज्ञा देकर देश के सम्मान एवं मर्यादा को आघात पहुंचाया है।
- (११) राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण में सातवें समुद्री बड़े से सम्बन्धित भारत सरकार की कमजोर, दुर्लभ नीति, जिससे लाभ होने के बजाय हानि हुई है, की चर्चा नहीं है।
- (१२) पाकिस्तान और चीन दोनों ही मोर्चों पर तनाव तथा युद्ध की स्थिति है, जो भारत सरकार की विदेश नीति की असफलता, अनिश्चितता तथा सिद्धान्तविहीनता का परिचायक है, अभिभाषण में इसका भी जिक्र नहीं है।" (१)

Shri Bade: I beg to move:—

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

"but regret—

(a) that (i) the assurance given to the Hindus of East Pakistan at the time of partition that the Government of India will not remain indifferent to the protection of their life, property and dignity has not been reiterated; (ii) no mention has been made of the steps that are essential to force Pakistan Government to do justice to the minorities in that country; (iii) the decision to ensure the safe transit of Hindus from East Pakistan and their rehabilitation in India has not been expressed; and (iv) there is no mention of the fact that Government propose to raise this issue before the United Nations or the International Court of Justice in order to mobilise world opinion against the inhuman atrocities perpetrated on the Hindus in East Pakistan;

(b) that the determination to liberate one-third of the Pak-occupied Kashmir has not been reiterated;

(c) that (i) a declaration has not been made for imposing the President's Rule in Kashmir by accepting the demand to this effect of the people of Jammu & Kashmir for intervention by the Central Government after the Hazarat-bal incident; and (ii) nothing has been said about the appointment of a special Parliamentary Committee to probe into the expenditure of huge amounts given in the form of grants and loans by the Centre to Jammu and Kashmir State;

(d) that (i) no declaration has been made by the Govern-

ment of India to free itself from the obligations of the Colombo proposals even after their rejection in toto by China; and (ii) no declaration has been made regarding the decision not to carry on negotiations so long China does not withdraw its armies from Ladakh and also regarding sending Indian troops upto Macmahon line;

(e) that (i) there is no mention of wide-spread damage caused to the rabi crops due to recent cold wave; it also does not mention of the steps to be taken to offer relief to the peasants; (ii) no mention has been made of the severe economic crisis caused due to the continued rise in prices and neither any announcement has been made about measures for affording relief to the people of all categories in the society affected by high prices;

(f) that no indication has been made to end the state of emergency;

(g) that no mention has been made of the scheme to adopt stringent measures to check the activities of fifth columnists in the country;

(h) that no announcement has been made accepting the clear verdict given by the people of Goa for its merger with Maharashtra State during the recent general elections in that territory; and

(i) that no announcement has been made regarding the setting up of a Committee of Experts for determining the cost of living index through scientific method." (10).

**Dr. L. M. Singhvi:** I beg to move:

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

"but regret—

(a) that the Address does not contain any satisfactory explanation of the shortfalls in achieving Plan targets, and has omitted to outline the ways in which it is proposed to resuscitate our planning from indifferent implementation and unrealistic assumptions;

(b) that there is no mention in the Address of the dire and distressing famine conditions prevailing in Rajasthan and Punjab and to the measures proposed to be taken to alleviate the sufferings of the famine stricken people of the country;

(c) that there is no mention of the need to establish Desert Development Authority, with extensive powers and ample resources, to formulate, pursue and co-ordinate a massive programme for the economic development of desert regions of Rajasthan, Gujarat and Punjab;

(d) that there is no reference to the failure of the Government to formulate and implement schemes covering the whole country with a view to ensure safe and adequate water supply in the rural and urban communities, and the need to accelerate rural electrification programme in the country;

(e) that there is no mention in the Address of the utter inadequacy in the availability of trained medical personnel particularly for rural areas, of the steps being taken to improve the situation and the need to establish more medical colleges in the near future and to foster medical research by allocating more resources and by accelerating existing activities;

(f) that the Address has made no mention of the failure of the Government successfully to launch a comprehensive slum-

*discharging the  
functions of  
the President*

[Dr. L. M. Singhvi]

clearance programme in the country;

(g) that the Address has made no mention of the continuing and increasing regional imbalances in the distribution of national economic resources;

(h) that the Address does not contain any reference to the urgent need for streamlining administrative procedures in order to curtail bureaucratic delays and to shorten the red-tape, which give rise to all-round corruption;

(i) that it does not contain any expressions of disapprobation and regret that several countries of the West have completely failed to understand the Indian stand on Kashmir and have taken an unjust stand unduly favouring Pakistan;

(j) that the Address makes no reference to the situation obtaining in Jammu & Kashmir and the steps taken to secure closer integration of Jammu & Kashmir with the Indian Union;

(k) that there is no reference to the recent fire at the Heavy Engineering Corporation at Ranchi, the causes leading to it and the investigations and inquiries held in the matter; and

(l) that no mention has been made about India's sports policy and the participation of Indian sportsmen in international sports including the Olympics." (11)

**Mr. Deputy Speaker:** The motion, the substitute motions and the amendments are before the House.

**Shri A. K. Gopalan** (Kesergod): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I am sorry to say that the Address of the Vice-President discharging the duties of the President is a totally disappointing one. It completely evades the crucial and urgent issues facing the people as well as our economy. Only

a little over a month ago, the ruling Party passed a resolution declaring that democratic socialism, whatever it might mean, was its objective. After the brave speeches made in that session and grand declarations and promises made to our people, one would naturally have expected that the Vice President in his Address would touch upon the crucial problems and indicate what steps the Government was contemplating to take. It is in this respect that the Address has once again belied whatever hopes some people might have entertained about this Government.

In his Address, the Vice President says:

"In spite of difficulties and distractions, we have continued to move forward towards our objective of a democratic and socialist order at home."

This is indeed a bold statement to make for anyone in this country. The concentration of wealth that has gone on under our planning is well known that even the President of the Congress had to decry it. We have even today heard about the report of the Mahalanobis Committee. That Committee was appointed four years ago and the report has not seen the light of the day. It is understood, however, that the report makes, according to paper reports, some shocking revelations on the state of our economy. It is said that only 20 families control as many as 1073 companies with a share capital of Rs. 352 crores and with a gross capital block of Rs. 1102 crores. A small coterie representing a fraction of half a per cent of share holders accounted for 56.5 per cent of the total value of shares and 70 major companies. These companies had a paid up capital of 212 crores. Their market price today is about Rs. 420 crores. Even within the 20 houses, one house alone controls 108 crores. The Government cannot escape the responsibility for this unprecedented growth of concentration during its regime of 17 years.

Nearly Rs. 45 crores, that is, 45 per cent of the 128 crores given as loans by the Government from the taxpayers' money went to these giant companies. The Life Insurance Corporation had by 1960 advanced to these big business houses Rs. 92 crores, and on top of it the bulk of the advances from the banks went to these big business houses.

Contrast this unprecedented concentration of wealth with the conditions of the masses in this country. It is not accidental that the Vice President did not say a word about the conditions of the masses in this country. The biggest single factor which depresses the living standards of the entire people of our country is the issue of prices. Even the mid-term assessment of the Plan admitted the rise of 9 per cent in whole-sale prices. The price rise has been particularly steep since the last budget. We have heard not only reports but also during the discussion in this House that sometimes in Calcutta the rice was selling at Rs. 40 and Rs. 45 per maund. Newspapers report a rise of over 200 per cent since last year in Madras. As far as the working class, the peasants and middle-class employees are concerned, if they want to buy the same amount or quantity of foodstuffs and other materials, then certainly over and above the salary which they got last year, they would have to get at least 25 per cent more as far as their emoluments are concerned in the shape of increase in wages or in the shape of dearness allowance according to the rise in the cost of living.

The Bhubaneswar session of the Congress passed resolution on democratic socialism and shed copious tears over the plight of a large section of society as a result of this price rise. But what does our Vice President say about this in order to bring down the prices? The address says:

"Through larger release of foodgrains from Government stocks, the setting up of additional fair price shops wherever

feasible and appropriate regulation of movements, and through credit policies, every effort has been made to prevent prices of foodgrains from shooting up."

This is what the Address says. So, the address says only of making efforts. But the Address does not speak about the result of these efforts. Why is it that despite these efforts, the prices are rising and what are the measures that the Government is proposing to take in this regard? The only answer the Address has given is:

"The stability of prices can only be achieved through higher production to match the rising level of consumption."

This is the refrain that has been sung by the Government for the last 17 years. There is nothing new in this. Is there any hope that we will have such a super-abundance of agricultural and industrial production as long as the present anti-people policies of the Government continue? None whatsoever and, therefore, prices will continue to rise and the Government will do nothing about it except singing the same refrain. What has socialism got to do with this refrain which every capitalist economist right from the time of Adam Smith has been singing?

As early as in 1958, the All India Congress Committee passed a resolution and it declared that in order to bring about reduction in prices, it was necessary for the State to have monopoly of the foodgrains trade. The entire trade union movement in the country, as well as the progressive opinion even from inside the Congress Party has been demanding that the wholesale trade in foodgrains must be taken over by the Government and private wholesale trading must be illegalised. Even this demand has been turned down by the Government. Why? I want to know why this has been turned down when this is an accepted policy of the ruling Party even from 1958.

[Shri A. K. Gopalan]

The simple fact is that despite the tall talk of socialism on its lips, the Government is actually building capitalism in our country. Inflation and rise in prices is a specific weapon by means of which increasing slices from the common people's share of profit are forcibly taken away from them in order to make the capital of our big capitalists. The Government, because it is interested in this capital formation, dare not take this powerful weapon away from the hands of our big capitalists, that is why it refuses to lift its little finger in the matter of holding the price line. There have been promises for the last whole one year that the Government is trying to hold the price line. But the price line is holding the Government and not the Government is holding the price line.

Similarly, everyone knows that the banks play a vital role in both speculation and in accentuating the concentration of wealth. The monopoly houses who control the banks utilise the money for making big advances out of the people's sufferings to their own industrial concerns. So, that is the reason why rightly the demand became powerful for the nationalisation of banks. This demand for nationalisation which was first put forward by the Communist Party has now become more widespread. Even some sections of the Congress Party have raised it, and even in Bhubaneswar it was raised. Yet Government refuses to accept it. Why Does Government refuse to accept it? In the absence of these two vital steps it is futile to talk of reducing the disparities in income or preventing the growth of monopoly. When the Government refuses to take the elementary steps necessary for preventing the further growth of monopoly, all its talk of socialism is nothing more than an attempt—to put it bluntly—to humbug the people. Because, the most important thing necessary, if we talk of socialism, is to curb the mono-

poly. And if even a step like nationalisation of banks is not taken and they only talk about it, certainly there is no question of taking any action to curb monopoly.

On the one hand prices are rising, for no fault of the workers. As far as the workers are concerned, Government refuses to accept its obligation to see that the real wages of the workers are not depressed by accepting the principle of full neutralisation of the increased cost of living. What about the public sector? Even in the public-sector industries it refuses to accept the principle of linking up Dearness Allowance with the cost of living index. Big working-class actions have taken place in the country in the last six months and they are also continuing to take place. It is a warning to the Government against continuing this attitude, and I think the Government will certainly take note of these actions of the working classes that are going on in the country.

The Government refuses to eliminate the exploitation by the already entrenched British and other foreign capital. They offer them liberal concessions, guarantees and new opportunities for fresh big inflow. What is the effect of this on our economy? As a result, foreign investment, especially British investment, has doubled since independence. Not only that. There are also the joint companies. There is also increasing penetration of foreign private capital and collaboration with Indian big business. It is also encouraged and backed by the State. Such collaboration agreements in the private sector sanctioned by the Government were only 71 before 1958. But now it has increased to 1,442 by 1962. And today it has become impossible to get a licence before one gets proof of foreign collaboration. If there is no foreign collaboration it is impossible to get a licence.

As far as agrarian reforms are concerned, the Bhubaneswar session of

the Congress has promised the completion of land reforms within two years. But I want to point out to them that in 1958 at Nagpur the AICC passed a resolution directing the State Governments to complete land reforms during the year. What was its fate? Now, six years later, at Bhubaneswar the ruling party promises completion of the land reforms within two years. How can it be done? The National Development Council also has passed a resolution to that same effect. The Planning Commission in its *Mid-Term Appraisal* has admitted that despite land reforms legislations and ceilings, landlords have been enabled to evade the ceiling, with the result that no land was available for distribution to the peasantry. As far as panjar or waste lands are concerned, crores and crores of waste lands or fallow lands have not even today been distributed, and in Andhra there is a satyagraha going on for reduction of land tax as well as distribution of the panjar lands. This is because of the way in which these legislations are framed and implemented.

The only effective legislation on land reform was the one passed by the Communist Government in Kerala in 1959. What has happened to it? For this crime the Congress Party in alliance with the dark forces of feudalism led a violent movement against the Government, and the Central Government obliged the movement by removing the Government. And today the Kerala Congress Government has replaced the Communist Government's land reform legislation by a new legislation which takes away many of the rights that had been conferred on the peasants. According to the Planning Commission there are three important things that should be considered as far as land reform legislation is concerned. One is fixity of tenure; the other is reduction of rent; and the third is distribution after the ceiling. As far as this is concerned, the old Bill fixed a fair rent according to the re-

commendation of the Planning Commission as well as the President. And now it is increased. The President gave the assent to the Bill only after two years. And now for the new Bill the President has hastened to give his assent within a week. Anyhow, whatever legislation had been passed, when it was implemented it was implemented not only by the Communist Ministry but also by the Congress and the other Coalition Ministry. While it was implemented there was a judgment by the High Court and the Supreme Court, and in order to see that the obstacle created by the High Court and the Supreme Court was removed, Parliament had a Select Committee and the Select Committee said that the obstacles would be removed. It was at that time that the State Government, getting the opportunity that the Bill was not there, wanted to change the Bill. So it hurried through within a month and wanted to see that the old Agrarian Relations Act that was there was removed and this Bill was placed. If there was any defect in the old Act the State Government had a right to change it or plug the loopholes. Instead of that they rushed hurriedly through this, taking away some of the most important rights of the peasants and agricultural labourers. They rushed through that Bill and passed it.

In the face of this action of the ruling party how can anyone in the country take seriously at its face value the declaration of the Congress Party that it is going to implement its promises of real land reform? What has happened in Kerala really makes one understand that if there is any real land reform legislation giving the maximum benefits to the peasant labourers and others, when the ruling party gets an opportunity it will take that opportunity and undo what had been done even by a non-Congress Government.

As long as this land monopoly and feudal and semi-feudal fetters con-

[Shri A. K. Gopalan]

tinue, all talk of overcoming food and agriculture shortage will be a mirage. The Government looks at agricultural production only as a problem of fertilizers and better agricultural techniques, manure, etc. It refuses to see the human element in it. It refuses to see that as long as the actual tillers of the soil do not have a stake in agriculture, their creative energies cannot be mobilised. It also refuses to see that as long as they continue to be crushed by the burdens of taxation, high prices and also debts, our agriculture cannot provide the capital needed for both our agriculture and industry. So long as the Government persists in this attitude, the country can never reach self-sufficiency as far as food and agriculture are concerned.

Nobody can dispute the fact that the tax burdens on the people have become intolerable. I am not going into the details about it, because if you examine from 1951 to 1962, the last budget, you can see how much percentage of increase was there every year as far as taxation on essential commodities like kerosene, tobacco and other things is concerned. Every year it was increasing, one can see. The Finance Minister himself recently admitted that Rs. 200 crores every year cannot be collected. Whose fault is it that Rs. 200 crores every year cannot be collected? It is obviously the Government's. It is for the Government to explain to the people why for their inefficiency and inability to collect Rs. 200 crores every year they should penalise the people by imposing more and more burdens on them. Already peasant struggles and satyagraha have taken place, as I have said, because the land tax is very high and in many States struggles have taken place for the reduction of the land tax. Just now, the satyagraha has entered the second week in Andhra Pradesh. In demand that all the new imposts imposed last year at least should be

withdrawn. Nothing short of this will be acceptable to the people.

As regards the taxation on tobacco last year, it is not only the small peasants who cultivate country tobacco who have gone out of employment, but even the workers in the cigar factories are going to be unemployed. In every State in India, the cigar factory managers are reported to have said that if the taxation on tobacco is not reduced, they will have to close down the cigar factories, and if that happens there will be a lot of unemployment affecting the workers working in these cigar factories.

In order to hide this fact of growing concentration of wealth and of continuing land monopoly which have been brought about by the policies of the Government, the Congress talks of democratic means to achieve its aims of socialism. Actually, many of its policies have nothing to do with democracy and are actually negation of democracy. For instance, I may point out that even after fifteen months after the border war and cease-fire, the state of emergency still continues. The declaration of emergency was used primarily against the workers and the peasants. We had discussed it in the House. Nothing was done to curb their activity, but over a thousand people were detained without trial. Even today, when I am speaking, two Members of this House from Tripura, Shri Dasratha Deb and Shri Biren Dutt, the beloved leaders of the people of Tripura continue to be inside jail. Why is it that when all the others have been released, these two people are kept inside jail? What justification have Government got to keep these two people inside jail? Scores of people continue in detention in Tripura, Assam, Maharashtra, UP and Bihar. When the workers fight against the monopolists, the DIR are immediately resorted to for detaining



hundreds of them in jails as happened in Bombay and Goa. In Bombay and Goa while there had been a working class struggle, so many people were detained under the DIR. Even ten days back, in Bombay, so many detenus were released, but as soon as they were released, and they were coming out, Government rearrested them. That was a disrespect to the judiciary also. They had released the persons, but those persons were immediately rearrested. Yesterday, a newspaper reported that many workers had been detained under the DIR in Indore in an industrial dispute. Thus, the state of emergency continues only because Government want to prevent the common people from fighting against the attack of the monopolists and speculators. It is clear that there is no justification whatsoever for the continuation of the state of emergency. Therefore, I request that the emergency should be immediately lifted, and those arrested should be released immediately.

There is now talk also of the Constitution (Eighteenth Amendment) Bill. After illegally detaining a number of people, Government propose without any qualm of conscience to legalise the illegal acts in the teeth of the Constitution and its authoritative interpretation by the Supreme Court by the proposed eighteenth amendment to the Constitution. This raises an issue which is of fundamental importance for the citizens of this country. This shows the scant respect that Government have for the Fundamental Rights which are paraded before the world as an example of our democracy. Government should not be allowed to escape the consequences of their illegal acts, and when the time comes, I am sure Parliament must reject this new attempt at legalising the patently illegal acts.

In his Address, the Vice-President has at many places talked about

democracy which is functioning in this country. I do not know whether the Vice-President discharging the functions of the President does not know of what is happening in some parts of India, especially in my State of Kerala, for instance. In Kerala, the Minister in charge of law and order himself has broken the law, and even the case against him was not registered for two months. He misused his authority, and he got the district collector to issue a statement. And he has been allowed to continue still in Government. There is no security for the lives and properties of even the Congress MLA's belonging to the ruling party.

In this connection, I would only like to point out the editorial that was written by Mathrubhoomi, and what this Congress paper had said about this thing only the day before yesterday. The Mathrubhoomi, dated February 11th, writes as follows:

"The Peechi affair did create considerable commotion all over the country. Following this the demand that Chacko should resign was strongly voiced by certain newspapers and many public men. We now learn that Chacko had offered to resign from the Ministry but the Chief Minister Shri Shankar felt that such a step was not necessary. If this is true, then, attitude of the Chief Minister is not compatible with any democratic traditions."

Then, it further says:

"It was in this situation that Congress President Kamaraj arrived in Trivandrum to enquire in person the State of affairs in Kerala. It is only with utter shame and regret that one can recall here the unseemly rowdiness exhibited by Chacko's followers both at the airport and at the MLA quarters. It is certain that those who witnessed these scenes must

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have wondered: 'What kind of democracy is this? Where will it all lead us to?'

Sir, it is not a communist paper which has written this, but it is widely circulated Congress paper which has written this editorial. And in ends the editorial by saying that the President take up the role which the Ministers cannot.

Another widely circulated paper in Kerala, namely the *Kerala Kaumudi* has written the following in its editorial. I am reading out these things because they represent the public opinion in the country. The *Kerala Kaumudi*, dated the February 8th, writes as follows:

"What the events that took place in Trivandrum the other day proclaim is the general feeling of insecurity of life and property—should this Ministry be allowed to continue in power. If for no other reason, this Ministry has forfeited its right to administer the State by this single incident alone. What right has this Ministry, believing as it does in methods of violence in the pursuit of its aims, which has so well demonstrated that it is free from any responsibility to protect the life and property of even elected representatives of the people, to continue to rule over this State? That this Ministry, willing as it is to achieve its aims by the resort to the methods of violence and threats, will continue to rule over the State, including during the period of the coming elections is a thought too frightening even to contemplate. Is it at all conceivable that free and fair elections in an atmosphere of peace can even take place under this Ministry which has demonstrated its utter contempt for all values of truth, decency and fair-play? If anyone believes that it is possible, he is indeed living in a fools' paradise."

I do not want to go into the other editorials, because they may have been written by other papers. But I would only like to point out that the whole Opposition walked out in the Kerala Assembly; the whole Opposition had stated that a certain Minister had forfeited the confidence of the people. Further, a member belonging to the ruling party inside the Assembly went on fast, and many Congress MLA's joined him. And what did the Government do? They did not even respect the public opinion. After all, what does democracy mean? Democracy means respecting public opinion. But we find that public opinion has not been respected at all. It was not merely the opinion of the united opposition, but even the members of the ruling party went into action inside the Assembly saying 'Either I must die or this Minister must go because his action is bad.' Even after all that, we find now that the Congress ruling party has said that the portfolio of the Minister may be changed and that if that is done, things will be all right. What does democracy mean if there is no respect for public opinion? When the papers in the country, when the whole Opposition in the State Assembly, and when even a big cross-section of the Congress Members themselves say like this....

**Shri Tyagi (Dehra Dun):** Is my hon. friend discussing the politics of the party or the Government?

**Shri A. K. Gopalan:** My hon. friend can speak what he wants when he gets his chance. Now, let me have my say. I know that my hon friend will be wounded when I say all these things.

**Shri Tyagi:** As a member of the party.

**Shri A. K. Gopalan:** When a member of the ruling party goes on a hunger-strike inside the Assembly, it is not a very small thing. The next day when the Congress President goes there we find that three thousand people come and stage a demonstration saying

that Chacko should not resign; they went before the Congress party office, and also entered the MLA's quarters and entered his room and did all these things. If these things are not taken note of, then I do not know what will happen.

I might say that as far as Kerala is concerned, it has been not the interest of the nation or the country but the interests of the ruling party to perpetuate their power, which have reigned supreme, and it is because of this that so many things have been done in this State. The Communist Government had been dismissed unconstitutionally there. Then, there was the question of corruption charges against the Chief Minister and another Minister. Instead of having a judicial inquiry in other places, there was absolutely no judicial inquiry at all. Now, we find that the whole country says that a Minister has acted badly, and the public opinion is there in the country against him, and even then, because the elections are coming, in order to perpetuate their power, the ruling party does not want him to resign.

With such things happening, how can we talk of democracy? If the Minister in charge of the Home portfolio and other Ministers behave like this, what will be the position? In a place called Kottikulam, near Kasergod, about 200 persons have left that village. The police ran riots in that village. There was some fight between one man and the police. For that, they went there from house to house and beat every man and woman. According to the papers, those who go to the Fishery school, the students, are given identity cards so that they may not be beaten. If there is murder, the people responsible for it will be punished. But if the police go from house to house and beat everyone, man, woman, and create terror, what is to happen? The result is that hundreds of people leave the place. These are the things happening under that Ministry. People take the law into their own hands; the police do as they like.

2045 (ai) LS—7.

**Shri Tyagi:** On a point of order. It may be made clear whether in the discussion on the President's Address, the action of a State Government or of any member of the ruling party can be discussed. Only the factual policies of the of the Government are under discussion. Will my hon. friend relate these stories to those policies?

**Shri A. K. Gopalan:** I am not discussing any individual. I am discussing how democracy is functioning in this country. Democracy is represented by public opinion—of the Opposition as well as of the ruling party. But that is not reflected in what is happening there.

**Shri A. P. Sharma (Buxar):** What your ruling, Sir?

**Shri Nambiar (Tiruchirapalli):** The Congress Government in Kerala must be dismissed—that is the ruling.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** There is no point of order.

**Shri A. K. Gopalan:** There is another thing. This is about police verification. I do not know about other parts of India, but what is the state of affairs in my State? We discussed this matter two years ago in this House. After election, a number of people, about 2,000, employed under the Central and State Government, are out of employment for the last three-four years. After every election, there is a police verification. Everyday I get letters. I have sent them to the Prime Minister and other Ministers saying that this is what is happening. I can understand this happening in a government which is not democratic. Here a man has worked for 12-13 years and he has a good record. Police verification also shows that his conduct is very good. So if any charges are levelled against him, he must be given an opportunity to defend himself.

It was only 15 days ago that the Supreme Court gave judgment about those who had been discharged in 1948 under the National Security Rules in

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the railways. If charges are brought against a person for which he is to be discharged, he should be given an opportunity to state his case. The charges must be investigated by a tribunal. If he is indisciplined or inefficient, that must be gone into by that body. But here what happens? One fine morning hundreds of people are told that their services are no longer required. They cannot appeal. They cannot go anywhere. They can only go to the Supreme Court, which it is not possible for everyone to do. This is how things are happening so far as Kerala is concerned. I do not know about other States.

**Shri Nambiar:** Still worse.

**Shri A. K. Gopalan:** In the face of all this scandalous state of affairs, in the face of this continuing emergency, in the face of the Government's attempts to legalise its unconstitutional acts, in the face of the negation of the right to agitate and to fight against the attacks of the monopolists and speculators of the common people, all this talk of democracy is sheer hypocrisy. It is an attempt to raise false issues and continue its policies of helping the monopolists.

Coming to Kashmir, the present state of affairs there is very deplorable. The regime of Bakshi and the present regime of his nominee, Mr. Shamsuddin, alienated the sympathy of the people of the State. Corruption in the State is universally talked about. It is well known that the people cannot utilise democratic methods to improve their standards of living. Many a time, attention has been focussed on the nature of the regime there by people from Kashmir as well as from outside. The Government has refused to heed these warnings. It is necessary to root out corruption there and guarantee the people's democratic rights so that they may be enabled to struggle for improving their living standards. For all this, in my opinion, it is necessary that a broad-based government should be formed in Kashmir.

In the matter of foreign policy, the President has done well to reassure the policy of non-alignment. But of late, on many issues, particularly those affecting colonialism, the Government seems to be sounding a discordant note. In South Viet Nam, the USA is openly intervening with arms. It shamelessly engineered a coup about four months ago when it wanted to change the Government, though that government was a satellite. Within three months, it engineered another coup. We have a responsibility there, because India is the Chairman of the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Viet Nam. Yet we do not raise our voice of protest against this blatant and open interference by the United States with force of arms in the internal affairs of S. Viet Nam.

Many countries of South East Asia including Ceylon, have raised their voice of protest against the proposed patrolling of the waters of the Indian Ocean by the US Seventh Fleet. It is well known that this extension of the patrolling is an attempt by the USA to intimidate the freedom-loving countries of S-E Asia and dictate from a position of strength. Yet our Prime Minister has refused to raise his voice of protest against this open intimidation by the United States on the ground that we cannot do anything about it. We know the Prime Minister raised his voice of protest against the military pacts entered into by the USA by some countries of Asia. At that time, we were certainly not more powerful than we are now, but that did not prevent the Prime Minister from coming out against these moves of the US. Why this timidity today? There is a feeling that our Government has actually acquiesced in the US move regarding the Seventh Fleet. This is reinforced by the fact that at Bhubaneswar, the leadership of the ruling party did not allow any reference to this question in its resolution on foreign affairs. Newspapers are full of reports that as a result of all this, our prestige in Asia and Africa is suffering.

Why this slipping away from the firm positions we took up only a few years ago? Has it got anything to do with the fact that we look to America more and more for economic aid? If so, this will spell disaster to our independent policy, internal and external, and India's prestige abroad will suffer.

I do not want to say anything about the subject matter of the debate that has taken place yesterday and today. We devoted one full day for it and today there were questions and answers. It has been made clear in yesterday's debate that the riots in East Bengal were inspired by the Pakistan Government. The Government with its reactionary, communal and chauvenistic ideology must be held directly responsible for this terrible tragedy. What happened in Calcutta and other places is also shocking, because it strikes at the very root of democracy and secularism. What is necessary today is to tackle the question of rehabilitation. It will have the support of all sections of people in this country.

I regret to say that on all these important issues facing our country, both external and internal, the Address keeps total silence. It is, in fact, an attempt to camouflage the Government's present policies by repeating the mantram of democratic socialism. This cannot fool the people for long, and the rising prices and the struggle of the people against these policies will, I am sure, be a warning to the Government and compel the Government to accept a change in these policies immediately.

15.00 hrs.

**Shri Ranga:** My hon. friend Shri Gopalan has taken the Congress to task for not being very sincere about what they said regarding democratic socialism. My hon. friend supports, on the other hand, what is known as people's democracy. Whatever commonness there is between people's democracy and democratic socialism can be studied and explained not by me so

well as by hon. friends of the Communist Party and of the Congress Party, but to me both appear to be sailing in the same boat, although pretending to belong to two different opposite groups and creating a kind of atmosphere of mock opposition and fight also between themselves.

**Shri Tyagi:** But you are sailing in a submarine.

**Shri Ranga:** This Address does not breathe any optimism at all. It looks as if it is drafted by a Government which is suffering from jaded spirit, from spiritual depression and political bankruptcy. They have been in power for such a long time that they have taken power for its own sake, as if it is their own birth-right, and they do not seem to be anxious to justify whatever they do before the people. Whatever is possible for them to say, they seem to think, should be enough to pass for the President's Address. That is how the President's Address is before us. Why has it happened? It is so because they have been in power for such a long time, and they have not found any effective challenge to their power. They have come face to face with failures almost on every front, and they do not at all see a way out of this failure, but at the same time, they are not afraid of the consequences of their failures. Hence this Address that has been presented to both Houses of Parliament by the Vice-President on behalf of the President, rather acting as the President.

What is our position in the world? With all sense of responsibility I say that we find ourselves more isolated today than ever before, and our political and international opponent and enemy, China, is improving her position. A great statesman once talked of one precious year lost. I personally feel those words apply to what has happened during last year. This Address does not say anything at all as to what this Government proposes to do, or has done, in order to recover the lost territory on the Hima-

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layan front. They may say that they have never conceded any right at all to the Chinese to remain where they are, but by efflux of time, the Chinese are likely to gain ground. As they themselves have stated, in regard to various other matters, by efflux of time their own rights have become strengthened. Have we ever taken any step, first of all, to take charge of Longju and to go beyond, to go beyond Chushul on this side anywhere—one step at least in order to establish our right, as a precedent to recover the lost ground? We have not done so. On the other hand, we have given an assurance privately, or at least we have given those people who are interested in these matters to understand, that we are not going to trespass into the so-called no-man's-land that has come to be demarcated there as a result of China's withdrawal. I take very serious objection to this procedure of the Government, to this failure of the Government.

Secondly, they talked about the stepping up of defence production. They have been saying that they are going to reach a target of Rs. 100 crores worth of production. What that Rs. 100 crores is in terms of our defence materials and equipment and abilities, we do not know, in view of the rising spiral of prices and inflation and in terms of real equipment itself. They would like to keep it all a secret, let them but where is the assurance that our Government has really made the best possible use during the last one year of the money that we have placed at their disposal and the people who have offered their services for defence, in order to effect this accretion. We have had no assurance at all, not a mention in this Address.

Thirdly, China, on the other hand has improved her position. One of their spokesmen, fortunately now out of office, was saying some time ago that it was China that has come to be

isolated. We contested that statement at that time. Events have proved that we were right and he was wrong. China has improved her position. It is proper for the Government to realise the significance of the recognition of People's China by France. It has world repercussions. A number of African countries were till recently French colonies. They have become free. They were contacted by the Chinese Prime Minister. When he was going through the African countries, our Embassies as well as our press correspondents there were luring us into complacency saying, he was not cutting much ice. Actually, he has paved the way for the recognition that he has obtained from France. First of all, he went to canvass all these African countries, as many of them as he could and then he achieved this big result, and this result is going to have its repercussions all over the world, in regard to SEATO as well as NATO, and that I consider to be a great accretion of strength to China. Compared to that what is it that we have been able to achieve? Nothing, except that we mention here a number of the dignitaries who visited India, and certainly, our Government has woken up and developed a new definition of dignitaries by including in that term these astronauts also. It is a wonder why they did not also regale us with stories of the visits made by some of the representatives barring the President and the Vice-President, whom they have sent to East African countries. Why did they send them, on what basis, with what credentials, except that they belong to the inner coterie of their social entourage? Beyond that, what achievement have they got to their credit? Is Ceylon more friendly with us or Burma, except for that visit recently by one of their leaders? Even in Malaysia what is our position? What is the stand that we are taking in regard to the fight that is going on between the communists and others in the former Indo-

China area? What is the positive stand that we are able to take in order to strengthen the democratic case of all these people in these areas?

What is the kind of protection that we have been able to give our own nationals in all these countries, Burma, Ceylon and Malaysia? More than that, what is the fate of all those thousands of Indians who have been affected so very badly—some of them have been murdered, several people's properties were sequestered—in Zanzibar and other places also in East Africa? We have not been told what our Government has been able to do and proposes to do in order to use its own good offices with all these various independent Governments that are coming into shape in Africa, to protect and promote the interests of our Indians there, who went over there just as they have gone over to various other countries, in a spirit of adventure, in order to develop those countries and also find employment for themselves and become rich and prosperous. There is not a word here about the steps we are taking to protect their interests and promote their interests though in some parts of India our economy is closely inter-linked with their fortunes. What steps have we taken to minimise their sufferings?

Kashmir is now being discussed in UN. When it was taken to the UN, who asked our Government to offer to hold a plebiscite? Now they say: we are not going to hold a plebiscite. Why? By efflux of time. Well and good. They have put the whole of our country in the wrong box. You may give a number of explanations but you have committed that blunder. You want to retrace that blunder. Well and good. But what steps are you taking in Kashmir to see that the people are assured of a better Government a saner and less corrupt Government Corruption seems to have become the order of the day so far as

Governments in India are concerned—State level or Central level. Only yesterday, we put a question and the Home Minister was not prepared to answer. The Leaders of the National Conference did not seem to be very popular; the National Conference is itself in tatters though it controls the Government and it does not hold its own in Jammu or in Kashmir. It was the People's action committee or whatever they may call it which maintained law and order for a number of days among the ordinary people. It is wrong to think that all these happened only because of the unfortunate happening regarding the prophet's possession. So many other things had contributed which reached their culmination at this happening. Why does not the Union Government take some drastic action? My hon. friend Shri Shastri tried to bring about some peace there. Why not they take charge of the administration there for at least six months and help those people to achieve a more democratic leadership and have a less corrupt administration. As long ago as 1958, speaking from the Congress Benches, I had the honour of saying to this House:

“So far as Kashmir's internal politics is concerned, I would like some thought to be given by the hon. Prime Minister and also by the Government as to whether we cannot possibly do some thing in order to bring into existence an organised party or leadership which would be co-operative, which would be able to win the co-operation of all the groups and parties. I do not know whether there is any such possibility but an effort ought to be made because otherwise we hear only of one party and we do not hear of any other party.”

As a result of the one party rule in our country, the same horrible consequences are likely to follow in our country, if our people are not able to throw up an effective opposition to be able to control the ruling party. There-

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fore, I say that the time has come for reorientating our policy towards Kashmir. How long are we going to keep Sheikh Abdullah in jail? Even a life convict convicted for life imprisonment has an opportunity of being released from jail after ten years. Sheikh Abdullah has been in jail for nearly ten years, except for a short interval of 2-3 months. My hon. friend and others have been talking about abuse of power given to Government under the Preventive Detention and the various other Acts. He is one of their leaders and why should he be kept in jail for so long? If he were to be released and given an opportunity in the present circumstances to find his own side, it is quite possible for us to have two effective, democratic parties, one having a majority and the other having a minority or they may be able to form a people's democratic coalition Ministry or a national ministry so far as that area is concerned. Therefore, I urge the immediate release of Sheikh Abdullah.

**Shri Bade:** There will be more trouble.

**Shri Ranga:** Trouble will always be there. The Opposition has to create trouble for the ruling party in a democracy and democracy can function well only when all the leaders are given an opportunity to make their appeal to the masses.

Is there any law and order in our country? My hon. friend Shri Gopalan just now gave a lot of detailed information about Kerala. It was said that a Minister was able to take law into his own hands. There was another Minister in my part of India who used power in his own way, in his own individualistic, personal, egoistic and vindictive manner. The Supreme Court had to give a judgment. The Supreme Court gave another judgment against another Chief Minister in Punjab. There is then a Ministry in West Bengal whose failure is writ large

during the present crisis in spite of the certificate given by the Home Minister this morning. Every one talks of the prevalent corruption at the topmost levels. What sort of corruption? If I happen to be the Chief Minister or Minister or some big guy and if I do not like such and such a person, I have ways and means by which I can get those people hounded out, almost murdered and even butchered and yet escape. This is what is happening in Government. I do not want to mention names though I have the names before me. Some of these complaints are coming to the Home Ministry and for a number of years nothing has been done. Several times when asked whether any action has been taken against such Ministers or Chief Ministers or officers, the Home Minister had to say: we are not able to take any action. Later on they attempted to take party action here and there but we are not interested in party action. We are interested in the constitutional manner in which the Central Home Minister functions from here to assure the social, economic and political freedom of those people who are opposed to those in authority. It happens that there are many people within the Congress itself who have had the courage to resist this kind of vindictive spirit and personal egoism and along with the Opposition people, they also resisted such things so that there could be sufficient safety and freedom for all the people who had the guts to resist this kind of Mussaloniism and Nazism. Is there such an assurance today?

**Shri Tyagi:** There is.

**Shri Surendranath Dwivedy:** Even rebel congressmen have been detained.

**Shri Ranga:** The time has come for the Home Ministry to take effective steps.

Now, they are bringing an eighteenth amendment to our Constitution because the Supreme Court has questioned their right to do such arbitrary things



as they have been doing during the last one or two years, in detaining so many people. They have fallen foul with the Supreme Court. Thank God there is a Supreme Court. The framers of our Constitution were foresighted and courageous enough to provide this third wing of our democracy. Because in this so-called Parliamentary democracy, it has become possible for the executive and the legislature to combine and then begin to do things in such a way that the liberties of the people could be endangered. Under these circumstances, they thought that there should be the Supreme Court in order to question their right and authority and test all that they do on the anvil of the Constitution itself. Therefore, my hon. friend the Prime Minister, from the very beginning, almost the next day, I think, after the Constitution was passed, began to say that the Constitution is not sacrosanct: there is nothing sacred about it; it can certainly be altered.

If you look into the records, you will be able to find justification for what I am saying. Not once but many times he has said so. He has proved it to the hilt by all these amendments to this Constitution which they have brought forward.

They are talking of the failure on the agrarian front. How could there be success on the agrarian front when this Government goes out of its way to place before this House the Constitution (Seventeenth Amendment) Bill over the Joint Committee of which you have the honour to preside? They have brought forward that Bill which threatens the security of the self-employment and the land-holdings not only of the agriculturists and the peasants but also the agricultural workers, artisans, etc., without giving them any right of a reasonable compensation, without any right of going in appeal to the Supreme Court. Where is any security for any of these agriculturists in our country? Which agriculturist would be so foolish as to invest even Rs. 10 of his hard-earned money in

agriculture, while this Damocles' sword is being held over his head? Not being satisfied with it, they are going to bring forward this new amendment to the Constitution. My hon. friend Shri Gopalan was talking about satyagraha against the land revenue enhancement. Yes. That kind of satyagraha movement is going to be organised over the whole of India. Why? Because these Agriculture Ministers and Finance Ministers at the State level as well as at the Union level have become mad enough to go against all the assurances that have been given by the British Government and earlier by the Moghual and other people also, and begin to raise the land revenue, not according to the particular settlement records or reports over a period of 30 years—without any change over that period—but from year to year whenever they like. And to what extent is this done? When the British were here, they used to put a ban on themselves, beyond 183/4th per cent enhancement.

But here are the people who call themselves Parliamentary democrats now, socialists on top of it, and they want to raise it to 100 per cent. In some cases, the Ministers themselves admitted that it would even go up to 800 per cent. In this manner they want to deal with the very foundation of the social economy of the peasant masses of this country who form more than 70 per cent of the population. No wonder their agricultural front is failing.

When the agricultural front fails, how could there be any success of their industrial front? They have come now here, giving the names of a number of projects. Why? It is something like my going to my father and asking, "Give me a house." He says, "Yes, the house is coming later on; but now you look at the beams, look at the walls, look at the window panes; all these things are coming up." For how many years are they going to build up in this manner? "Outhouse is ready," he says. You may go and

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live there if you like. All other conveniences will be found in the five elements! It is in this manner that they have brought in and provided for their planning here.

They have listed a number of things. One can also list a number of their failures also. What about the output of mill cloth? Here is an extract from the report. For instance, in 1962-63, it was 4,921 million yards against 5,100 millions yards in the preceding year. Year after year, it is the same. About sugar, it is 2.3 million tons now, whereas it was 2.7 million tons in 1960. Because of the slow progress in the first two years, it is feared that the third Plan will end with a big shortfall in many industries like steel, pig iron, aluminium, industrial machinery, automobile, fertilisers, paper and cement. The steel output in 1965-66 will be of the order of 5.8 million tons against the target of 6.8 million tons, Pig iron, 1.2 million tons against 1.5 million tons; nitrogenous fertilisers, 500,000 tons against 800,000 tons. A shortfall of about one million tons in the cement target is also expected and in paper and paper-board also a similar fate is going to overtake them. One can go on like that. It is no good simply cataloguing a number of projects and saying, "Oh, look at the great achievement of ours."

What is this achievement? Have we not achieved such things earlier? The British also used to do it. But at whose cost? At the cost of the people. Here are my Communist friends who supported the Government in their Plan, and now they complain against the new taxes and additional taxes. Therefore, they want those taxes to be withdrawn. I want these new taxes to be withdrawn. True, I want the kerosene tax to go; the Gold Control Order also to go, and several other taxes, especially the tax on diesel oil to go and also so many other excise duties to go. But all this additional taxation has come in the wake of their Plan. Their Plan is

lopsided and centrally oriented, and fit only for a totalitarian State and not for the kind of a democratic federal State that we have.

What is the fate of the State Governments today? They have been converted to the status of District Boards. Each State Government—can you believe it—has got its own senior civilian representing that Government before these great Secretaries of the various Ministries and also their Ministers. They hold separate meetings of these M.Ps, and go on begging us, all parties, to put in a word for their Governmental projects. Here is a big bundle which I have received from the Andhra Pradesh liaison officer. My hon. friend was talking about the big business. These Governments have got their Public Relations Officers. The State Governments have their—not High Commissioners but—Public Relations Officers; they are ICS and IAS officers. The State Governments have been reduced to that plight. We raise our voice against it. We want all their powers to be resuscitated and given back to them. And this plight has come about because the same ruling party is ruling over the States as well as here. Therefore, it is stewing in its own juice. The State Governments are being degraded in this fashion, so much so that, as you know, some of the Chief Ministers are prepared to come here as Ministers of State. This sort of thing has got to be ended.

So I say that this planning has got to be reoriented in such a way that they would give priority to water-supply, to shelter, to food, to clothing and to schooling. These are the most elementary things. Instead of that, they want me to feel happy about these three great steel project.

This Government warns us against "big monopolists". Who are the monopolists? Is not that officer who is controlling the National Steel Corporation a monopolist? Is he not

controlling an investment which goes beyond Rs. 600 crores? My hon. friend Shri Gopalan said, "Beware of all these people; But how much paid-up capital they have all got? Only Rs. 200 crores each." Over them all, we have got the Central Government as well as the State Governments and the legislatures also. But here are those great statist monopolists, neo-Mussolinis, administrative Mussolinis, bureaucratic Mussolinis, who are at the head of these great State enterprises. Where is anyone to whom we can appeal? The Public Accounts Committee! Ask my hon. friend what kind of control he has got over them. The Estimates Committee! Ask them also how much power they have got. Ask yourself and various other people also who are presiding over the various Select Committees what power, what strength and what control they have got over all these Corporations. Very little. If I were to accept the advice of my hon. friend Shri Subramaniam, the Parliament will have much less control than what they have at present. Thank God, there is still a Railway Minister and a Railway Ministry coming here with a railway budget. We have an opportunity of catching hold of him whenever he goes wrong and taking him to task. But we have no such opportunity of taking other people to task at all. Not a bit. All those people have been thrown up now as a result of Stateism. We are opposed to it. True; we do not want monopolists even in the private sector. Therefore, let us have necessary legislation to control the powers and vagaries of these monopolists, whether they are in the State sector or in the private sector. It is in that fashion that we have got to work.

Finally, I want to make one point. When my hon. friend Shri Chavan stood in Maharashtra for a Lok Sabha seat, one of my local leaders wanted to stand there. Whether we win or not is another matter. My people certainly were very keen on contesting that election, but we withdrew our candi-

date. Why did we do it? Because we have begun to feel not only because this is emergency, but also because of the national consciousness, of our sense of unity that so far as foreign affairs and defence are concerned, as far as it is possible, we should try and see that those people who become incumbents of those Ministries or posts should be agreeable to all the political parties. At least to the democratic parties, if not to my friends here who will never be reconciled to any democratic way of life. We should also make it possible for them to function here easily and effectively without being worried about their own seat.

**Shri Tyagi:** Thank you; a good idea.

**Shri Ranga:** The time has already come, as I said last time, when we should have a separate Foreign Minister apart from the Prime Minister. As God would have it, it has now become necessary for the Prime Minister to begin to realise the wisdom of what I have been saying since 1949 that he should divest himself of the responsibility of the Foreign Ministry. If he does so and if he thinks of appointing somebody, I am not going to ask him to consult us. But let him keep in mind which person, which choice, would be most agreeable not only to his own party and to the various groups within his party—one group of his party has become a projection of the communist party—but also to the other democratic groups. There has been some talk unfortunately that all those people who are grouped around him have been anxious to please him and to persuade him to think of somebody who is not very far from his own so-called political background and who is not too much divorced from his own personal affections. I wish to give this warning in advance and I hope he would desist from accepting any such bad advice.

**Shrimati Renu Chakravartiy (Barrackpore):** Why not mention the name?

**Shri Ranga:** It is not necessary. I wish to warn him and the Government to desist from it, because it is easy to go on trying to please the demigod of the day forgetting national interests. But I hope there are sufficient number of Ministers as well as other friends of the Prime Minister on that side who have the moral courage to be able to tell him and prevent him from accepting such a bad advice.

My hon. friend, the Prime Minister, has fallen suddenly ill. We are all very sorry; I am personally sorry. We have worked together for more than 30 years in fair season as well as bad season. We differed very violently but yet we also learnt to like, love and respect such other. He was good enough to express similar feelings about us. Therefore, we want him to recover as soon as possible. He does not believe in God, but I do. Therefore, I pray to God that he should recover very soon.

At the same time, I give him the warning that it is time for him to prepare his party to go into the opposition and help us, the democrats in the country, to go to the other side; and he should be prepared to sit in my place, as the leader of the opposition, to help us, assist us and guide us. It is only in that way that democracy can be made a success. If he does not like a parliamentary system in that manner, let him at least think in terms of the Swiss system wherein there will be scope for all parties in the committee government. The committee government will be responsible for the whole of the administration. If it is not too late for him, let him pay heed to my advice. If he does not do so, he will go the way of all those great men of history who have gone with a very bad epitaph

**Shri Mahatab (Angul) Sir,** the two speeches which have preceded make me wonder whether we are using the opportunity given by the President's Address properly or not. We have

heard too much of democracy and all these theories. We have also seen how the minds of these two speakers are working for cross purposes in themselves. I do not know whether the two speakers were prepared to speak something or they were so much obsessed with their dislike for the Congress that they did not see logic in what they were saying. For instance, my immediate predecessor, Shri Ranga, told us that he asked the Home Minister to take charge of the law and order situation in the States. He asked, why not the Central Government exercise authority over the States and ensure law and order and safety? At the same time, he says that the State Governments have been reduced to the status of district boards and have their liaison officers. He wants complete autonomy for the States. How the two go together, I do not understand. (*Interruption*). The conception of democracy requires that we must have respect for other opinion also. That is the crux of the whole thing. The leader of the communist party said something about Kerala. There is nobody from Kerala here to represent the other side of the thing. We do not know whether the facts are correct or not and still we are called upon to pass our judgment and proceed on that basis. Is it democracy or something else?

Here probably the mistake arises out of their notion that the party and the Government are the same. In fact, they are not the same in democracy. Copious references were made to the Bhubaneswar Congress and various party conferences. Fortunately they have got an opportunity to refer to our conferences because they are open ones. But we have no means of referring to their own conferences.

**Shri Tyagi:** They are held in purdah.

**Shri Mahatab:** So, how can we meet them on their own ground? So, this is not the platform where we have to discuss party resolutions and party

manifestos. Here we have to perform a constitutional work. The President has delivered an Address which contains the policies and programmes of the Government of the day. That Government no doubt is a party Government. Whatever happens in the party conferences, it is their look-out. We are not here to refer to party conferences. They cannot expect any reply to those references because I do not know what is passing on in their conferences.

**Shri S. M. Banerjee (Kanpur):** Both are given in newspapers.

**Shri Mahatab:** So, it is very wrong to refer to those party conferences on this occasion. Of course, opposition parties have got plenty of opportunities and plenty of other forums—their own newspapers for instance—where they can criticise as much as they like. I have nothing to say about that. They are perfectly entitled to have their own opinions about the resolutions which we have passed. It is open to them to oppose them and call them reactionary. But on this occasion they cannot expect a reply. From whom can they expect a reply? I do not know.

**An Hon. Member:** Not from you but from the Minister.

**Shri Mahatab:** The Minister is nobody in the party. The Minister is something different from the party. It is not the communist government where the party and the government are the same. Here it is a different Government altogether. It is a democratic system. That system has to be understood. Democracy has got a wide meaning now. It means everything now. There is people's democracy, bourgeois democracy and so on. But in the democracy which we are following here, the crux is that the party is different from the Government. Here the Government has to be criticised or supported on the merits of their proposals and their work. That is my first submission.

**Shri Tyagi** raised a point of order. I do not know whether it is a point of

order or not. But to talk of the State Governments here on this platform seems to me not quite proper for this simple reason because none of us has felt aggrieved by anything done by the representatives of the State Governments. We do not know the facts. This is an opportunity for having anything published. But there is no means of verifying whether those facts which are stated here are correct or not. That should be borne in mind. Whenever we say something, as democrats, we should keep in view that another judgment is possible. There may be another version of the whole thing. Unless that mind is developed, I do not think we can work out properly parliamentary democracy.

Having said that, I come to the Plan which has been so much criticised by **Shri Ranga**. Of course, their opinion is well known. They do not like this Plan. But they have not yet produced a substitute Plan. They are perhaps hoping that a substitute Plan will be produced by the Prime Minister when he comes to this side, the Opposition. They are perhaps hoping that the Prime Minister will give them the opportunity to formulate another substitute Plan. It is a curious way of thinking. To think of the leader of the majority party to form the Opposition is something curious. I do not know the particular logic in it. That shows how the thinking process goes. This is a curious way of thinking. I would respectfully suggest to **Shri Ranga** that for the sake of a healthy opposition which is needed in parliamentary democracy there must be consistent and logical thinking all round. Unless you do that you will not have followers. You may have individuals as followers but you cannot have a large scale following. That is the difficulty. When you have no followers you cannot have a majority here. Therefore, in order to have a majority following there must be consistent and logical thinking all round. Illogical thinking will lead us nowhere.

[Shri Mahatab]

Now I come to the Address itself. As the House well knows the Address has been prepared in circumstances which are well known. Probably there was much time or much thought given to it. The custom has been to give the Address in order to give the Parliament an opportunity to know the mind of the Government as to what they are proposing to do. Here is an Address which has stated all facts frankly, and I must congratulate the framers of that Address for the frankness which they have displayed in stating all the facts as they are. But they have not given their mind as to what is proposed to be done on those facts.

Take, for instance, this emergency. I would most humbly submit to Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri whom, on this occasion, I welcome most heartily for the job which he has undertaken, that the people should not be made acclimatised with the emergency. That is the fundamental basis of all administrations. If people get acclimatised with an emergency, at the time of real emergency nothing will happen. That is the danger. Many others have said, many statesmen have said that an emergency should not be continued for a long time. If it has to be continued, then there must be some visible signs of the existence of an emergency and there must be some preparations to show the existence of that emergency. That fact has to be taken into consideration. There is no doubt that the Chinese threat is there. Reference has been made to that in the Address itself. But that threat also should make us do something. What we do should be visible so that the population will know that there is an emergency and something is being done. I do not accept the argument of Shri Ranga that something should be done immediately to throw out the Chinese and we should go to Longju or any other place. These are all talks which are not realistic. We must

take a realistic view of the whole thing. The fact is there that the Chinese are still in occupation of some parts of our territory and we are committed, the Parliament has taken an oath, the Government and all Members of Parliament and the people are committed, to the expulsion of the Chinese from our territory. The question is, what steps are being taken. Some reference should have been made to those steps saying that such and such steps are being taken in that direction. Of course, it is not possible for the Government to lay bare all the facts. But some indication as to the steps that are being taken in that direction should have been given.

Similarly, a reference has been made to the midterm appraisal and the drawbacks. Of course, I am not replying to those who do not agree to the Plan.

**Shri Ranga:** Which Plan? This Plan has failed.

**Shri Mahatab:** Even in a Plan which will be made by Shri Ranga there will be some reverses. Even in our domestic plans we sometimes meet with reverses. In any plan, whenever reverses take place that does not deter us from thinking that the Plan is there. Therefore, merely saying that we are wrong, that everything is going wrong or some other things are happening is not enough. Some reference should have been made as to the steps proposed to meet these reverses and the reasons why the mid-term appraisal has shown some drawbacks should have been there. What is being done to meet that challenge should have been mentioned. Then we could have known as to what are the steps that are being taken. For instance, production in several spheres has gone down. In agriculture and in other spheres the production is not satisfactory. What is going to be done

about it? Had these points been mentioned in the Address it would have enabled us to judge the whole thing as to whether the thing is going in the right direction or not.

Probably, because of the attitude which the Opposition takes these Addresses are written in this manner. Whatever criticism the Opposition offers, it is so desultory and so destructive that I do not think anybody in charge of framing an Address of that type would care to bring before the whole House all details. I am a man of details. I am, therefore, precisely stating as to what are the precise steps to be taken.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** What about the Governor's Address in Bombay during your time?

**Shri Mahatab:** That was a detailed Address, you should know.

**Shri Ranga:** He did not draft it. His Ministers prepared it.

**Shri Mahatab:** Similarly, there is the question of Pakistan. Of course, we have spent several hours over that debate. The Home Minister gave us the final reply only this morning. But I would very humbly ask both the Home Minister and Shri Shastri whether it is enough to say that our people here should keep themselves under control. That is very good. That has to be done. Every citizen of India is entitled to have safety and protection. Law and order must be maintained in this country. At the same time, what is being done to put an end to the provocation on the other side? That also has to be stated. Nothing has been stated so far as to the steps taken to stop the provocation there. If anybody asks me as to what is my suggestion to stop that provocation I can only tell him this. It has almost been proved during the debate here and also from outside—I have some personal knowledge of that—that this was engineered by people from Pakistan. There is no doubt about it. That being so, that provocation will always be there. How to stop that

provocation. A firm attitude, in my opinion, should be taken about Pakistan. Pakistan should be finally told that if they go on doing like this some other steps, in the words of the Prime Minister, will be taken. Those other steps include many things. We must come to a decision that we will not tolerate this kind of provocation. To call upon our own people to be controlled and at the same time to do nothing to stop this provocation is unrealistic. That is my humble opinion.

Then I come to these various projects. There have been references to various projects. With regard to one project I wrote to the Planning Commission. I wrote to the Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission and other members of the Planning Commission. I say it here, on this platform also, that whenever projects are undertaken the advice given by the Public Accounts Committee in 1955 should be borne in mind. The economics of the project, the estimates of the project should be very closely examined, worked out and then only the project should be started. If you start the work in anticipation of these things, ultimately some wrong things may be done and the project may prove to be uneconomic. I think it is for that very reason that in some of these projects the cost of production has gone up. I am very glad that the mover of motion, Shri Sachindra Chaudhuri, referred to the cost of production. He has sufficient knowledge of commerce and industry and out of his knowledge he referred to the cost of production. Why is it that the cost of production is going up? An estimate which starts with, let us say Rs. 50 crores, ultimately ends in Rs. 300 crores. There cannot be so wide a gap between the original and the final estimates. Why has this happened? The Public Accounts Committee in 1955 gave the advice that the economics of projects should be properly worked out and examined before the work is started. Many things are

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started in anticipation. I am particularly referring to a project which is proposed to be started in my constituency. According to the preliminary report about 6 lakhs of people are going to be displaced.

**Shri Tyagi:** What is the name of that project?

**Shri Mahatab:** Tikkerpara project.

**Shri Surendranath Dwivedy:** But the Minister says that detailed investigation has to be done and the report is yet to come before any action can be taken.

**Shri Mahatab:** I have received the letter from the Minister today that detailed investigation has not been done. That has to be done. No work should be started before that is done. Otherwise, it may land us in difficulties, as it has done in the case of several other projects.

**Shri Tyagi:** Has the Centre advanced any money for this project?

**Shri Surendranath Dwivedy:** No.

**Shri Mahatab:** I now come to the Dandakaranya Project, which is vitally connected with the problem which we were discussing yesterday and today. The Dandakaranya Project is intended to accommodate the refugees from Bengal. Now, it has been stated by Shri Atulya Ghosh, Congress leader of Bengal in a press statement that the work of that project is not satisfactory. He has openly stated in the press that drinking water is not available there. My information is that sub-soil water there is so much below the surface that tanks and wells cannot be sunk easily. So, the main problem is to supply drinking water to the people who live there or who go there.

Secondly, the yield in the reclaimed land is not up to the mark. I am told that the production per acre in Dandakaranya is only 9 maunds, whereas in Orissa, where the production is the lowest in India it is about 25 maunds. When that is the

position, how do you expect families to go and live there especially when water is not available and the yield is very poor? Therefore, that project should also be very carefully examined.

It is no use saying that large forest areas can be reclaimed and people can stay there. That is all poetry; it is not a realistic statement. I had discussion with Shri Khanna on this subject. He is trying to do his best; there is no doubt about it. These are the real problems which are facing the refugees who have to go there. It is very easy to say in Parliament that all the refugees coming from East Pakistan will directly be sent to Dandakaranya. But where is the accommodation, food and other amenities for them? How will they live there? These things should be very closely thought of, because they are matters of detail. All general talk should cease. As we are in the 16th year of our independence and in the midst of the Third Plan, all general talk has to disappear. We are in the midst of execution of many things. Therefore, we must be very detail-minded persons. So, we must closely examine all the details and then come to conclusions. Unless the details are gone through and discussed, all our schemes will go astray and what is not desirable will happen.

15.53 hrs.

[SHRI THIRUMALA RAO in the Chair]

Coming to foreign policy, Shri Ranga said that our foreign policy has landed us in isolation. Factually, it is not correct. He complained and asked why China was recognised by France. Does he expect India to go and beg of France to recognise or not to recognise a particular country? How can India go and interfere in the internal affairs of another country? How can we ask any particular country not to recognise China? That



is not our look-out. So far as India is concerned according to me, our foreign policy has been very successful and it has settled down. By "settled down" I mean that we are in a settled place and we are not moving here and there.

So far as friends are concerned, I think we are having them at the time of need. There is no doubt about it. Then he was saying that we should have influenced the policies of Burma, Ceylon and other countries? Are we thinking in terms of the old imperialism? What are we thinking about us? I am not able to appreciate his argument. These are independent countries. He also referred to East Africa, Zanzibar and other countries. We have all the sympathy for those Indians who are being displaced from those countries. They are being displaced because of the new independence which those countries have achieved.

I have my own personal experience in this matter which I will narrate. When I was the Central Minister here, the Prime Minister of Burma came to see me. At that time, Madras handloom cloth was mainly being sold in Burma and Burma had stopped its import. I took up this matter with the Burmese Prime Minister and told him "Look here, you should allow our handloom cloth to go there; otherwise, there will be so much of unemployment". He immediately replied "Dr. Mahatab, did you not stop British cloth from your country when you were fighting for your freedom? We are doing the very same thing." Then, after prolonged negotiations they agreed to take yarn from our country but they refused to take manufactured goods. Similarly, the Burmese Government displaced Madras and Orissa people who had their lands there. These problems arise when colonies becomes independent.

At the same time, these problems are the problems of our own people.

We cannot say: let them suffer. We cannot afford to say that we have got to do something to relieve their sufferings. These Indians who were in very good positions are now being displaced from the newly-independent Asian and African countries. That has created a new problem for us. We cannot blame those Governments. Neither can we blame our own people. I am very sorry to say that one of the representatives of Government has criticised the Indians overseas. Therefore, there was some criticism in Bombay of that statement. There is a feeling that the Government of India is not sympathetic towards those people. That feeling is wrong. The Government of India has full sympathy for those Indians and whatever is possible should be done to mitigate their distress at the present moment. This matter should be taken up with the new Governments which have been formed in those countries. It cannot be taken up at other levels. It is only in a friendly and amicable way that all these problems can be solved.

**Shri U. M. Trivedi (Mandsaur):**  
 Mr. Chairman, when I heard and later read this Address of the President, it struck me as a very incongruous piece of document. We have been having these Addresses from the time the first Parliament came into existence. This is the first time we have taken shelter behind the provisions of article 65 for delivering this Address to the Houses of Parliament. This is a peculiar document in which the President has not identified himself with the Government. There are three different identities visible from this document viz., the President, the Vice-President and the nation. The Government does not come into the picture at all. It is a very peculiar document. Generally, the Address of the President is always meant to be the address by the Government through the President about the legislative piece of work to be undertaken during the

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ensuing session. I will not use a disrespectful word because, after all, it is assumed to be coming from the President but I will not hesitate to say that this piece of document is a drab document.

The peculiar nature of infiltration that has been going on into India for the last nearly 5 or 6 years has not been mentioned in this whole document. Why have we closed our eyes to this infiltration? It is the protest to this infiltration which, in my opinion, has been the cause of the present riots in Pakistan. The riots were engineered for a long time and when they found that there is some sort of opposition here to this infiltration the riots were undertaken. It was engineered and sponsored by the Government of Pakistan. This argument of reaction for the commission of a particular offence with reference to a particular article of respect for the Muslims was an eye-wash, an absolute eye-wash. One has on relation to the other. It was sponsored in a manner which can only befitt the mad persons who are controlling the destiny of Pakistan.

16.00 hrs.

How far has this infiltration proceeded? Have we ever looked into this aspect? We have not been able to give the figures as to whether there are five lakhs who have infiltrated or whether there are ten lakhs or thirty lakhs who have infiltrated. But infiltration has been going on and we have not been able to check it so far. When we attempted it, a hue and cry was raised that we are driving out the Muslims from India. Can we not ask a simple question of Pakistan to show us a single big officer belonging to the Hindu Community or to the minority community in the whole of Pakistan? There is not a single big appointment in India which cannot be held by anybody irrespective of caste, creed or religion. We, as a secular state, have thrown

open the doors of every form of employment in India to all. But can the Pakistanis say so?

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** It is an Islamic State.

**Shri U. M. Trivedi:** Yes, it is an Islamic State and because it is an Islamic State the natural corollary follows that those who are non-Islamic must be slaughtered, butchered, killed and driven out. If that is the Islamic State, we must all grid up our loins and try to fight out the menace that is there. It is a menace for the whole world; it is an international menace which tries to destroy and commit genocide upon a whole community of one crore and sixty lakhs. Seventy lakhs have been destroyed leaving ninety lakhs only. If we cannot do that, we must be ashamed of calling ourselves a big nation. Is there any country which can say that? Here even the little choice of a citizen holding a franchise in India, even that is now being taken by Pakistanis. Has it been brought to the notice of the hon. Home Minister here that Pakistani nationals have stood for elections and have been elected also? And such persons have been elected for whom deportation orders have been passed by the District Magistrate and by the Chief Ministers of the States concerned! Yet, those people have not gone out and they get themselves elected. Can there be such a thing in any part of the world? Can any country say this? Do you think that we are doing this simply by virtue of the fact that we chose to call ourselves tolerant? No, Sir, it is not tolerance; it is the complacent nature on our part where we close our eyes and do not watch the danger that is lying ahead of us. This infiltration that is going on is a source of very great danger to us. The danger to Assam is patent; the danger to Tripura is patent and the danger to Rajasthan is patent. I may give illustrations of Rajasthan. More than 2,000 Pakistani nationals

are there and are not moving out from Jaipur even after notice. More than 600 are there in Bhilwara and not one is moving out. More than 600 are there in Udaipur and nor one is moving out. Ajmer has got an influx of infiltrators and that is going on.

What about the borders? Time without number our borders are raided; cattle are lifted; men are killed and we are not able to do anything by way of retaliation. What we do is that we send a strong protest note.

**Sri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** Very strong.

**Shri U. M. Trivedi:** What is the strong protest note? How many times shall we protest? There must be some end to this protesting. We must make up our minds that no protest but slaps are necessary. If we cannot give slaps, protest will not help us. There has been enough of these protests.

May I ask a question to myself and to this House? Are we the only people in this world who are afraid of war and for our lives, or are there other people also in the world who are afraid for their lives and want to save their lives? Small countries like Israel, Egypt, Iran and even Cyprus stood up, with the net result that there was no war. Nobody likes war. Even the mightiest United Socialist Soviet Republic was not able to put its bluff through because Kennedy called the bluff. Nobody wants war, much less Pakistan. But we are the only persons who think in terms of "There will be a war, a world war and the world will be destroyed" as if we are the only custodians of the happiness of the world and nobody else. Why should we be afraid? Why should we not call a spade a spade and tell Pakistan, "So far and no farther; we are not going to tolerate the infiltrations that you are carrying on"? That has been the reason why we had to hang down our heads in shame when

China attacked us. It is this fear of war. They thought that we are all cowards living in this country and that these cowards will never fight; so, push them back. And we have been pushed back.

How many persons have been killed in these riots? Have we got an estimate of it? It was very kind of an American reporter who was able to tell us that hundreds and hundreds have been killed and have been found dead in one hospital in Dacca. But can we give an estimate of how many were killed in Dacca, in the villages near about Dacca, in Narayanganj, in Barisal and in Khulna? Have we got an estimate? Were they only 10,000 or 15,000 or 50,000? Children, women, old men, young men—all were butchered. Such a butchery has never been noticed in any part of the world. And here we are. Who are we? It is our kith and kin who have been killed and we are sitting here and sending protests. What else do we do? We control ourselves. Let us control ourselves. I am also one of them who feel that it is an ugly aspect that for the sake of those who have become mad in Pakistan we should become equally mad and torure or do wrong to innocent persons. No, Sir; that is not my idea. But we must not be afraid to punish the guilty. We must be prepared for that eventuality. Why do we want to hand over Berubari and have 10,000 more to be killed and handed over for being killed? There is no question of parochialism here; there is no question of communalism here. Communalism is in the heart of the governing party. They still go on thinking in terms of Hindus and Muslims. This idea of Hindu and Muslims should go. But the promise that we gave at the time of partition of this country must be upheld by us. Was Sardar Patel an ordinary man? Was the promise made by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru when partition took place was the promise of an ordinary man? Jawaharlal it was who

[Shri U. M. Trivedi]

said, "I made a promise to name this country Nagaland"; therefore the suggestion made by my hon. friend, Shri Kamath to name it Naga Pradesh was turned down. Even the promise to keep the word 'land' was maintained and it was so maintained because it came from the Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. This promise was made on the floor of this House and outside to the whole country at large to the minority, namely, that your life and liberty will be protected by us even when there be partition, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel said, "We will rush to your succor if you are troubled." What were those words? Were they empty words? Are we going to eat and swallow those words and keep quiet about it? We have simply to hang down our heads in shame that the promises made by us, by a great nation are not kept. What faith can those people put in our assurance that we will settle them and bring them to Dandakaranya? Those are not words which will carry any solace to them.

Then, Sir, this Address is entirely mute on the question of Kashmir. It is unfortunate that a particular incident has happened there. But have we realised the duty that we have to do by Kashmir? Are we going to consider even today that in Kashmir there is Muslim majority and Hindu minority? If Article 1 of the constitution of India applies, the whole of the territory of Kashmir is an Indian territory. What right have we even after 15 years, after two or three general elections have been held, to say that Kashmir has not decided to join us? How long can we continue this friction? How long can we keep this Article 370 over our heads? Prof. Ranga was telling us that we should take a very realistic view. In his realistic view, he says that Sheikh Abdullah should not be kept in prison. I for one would not like any man to be detained in prison without crime. But are

we making a farce of this trial or are we really sincere about this trial? The sins committed by Sheikh Abdullah were such that two or three witnesses were enough to get him in the neck. Why that particular procedure has not been followed and why is he being allowed to carry on propaganda and why is he being furnished with funds to carry on propaganda passes my comprehension. The sooner this trial is over, the better it is for this country. Unfortunately, in our country, we have felt that anybody can threaten us; Phizo can threaten us; Ayub Khan can threaten us; Sheikh Abdullah can threaten us. Anybody who does not love this country has got the right to threaten us and we humbly bow down to those threats.

What prevents us from dropping out Article 370 now? A resolution can be passed. Those people are prepared to pass the resolution. The Assembly is prepared to pass the resolution. Let us say: we have committed a mistake and let us abide by the mistake. We had no business whatsoever to say that the plebiscite is to be held. But since a mistake has been committed let us abide by the mistake. Even that mistake can be rectified by getting this resolution passed that Article 370 shall no longer apply to Kashmir. Why should we not do it? The question of the refugees would have been solved long ago. Thousands and thousands of acres of land are lying fallow. Hundreds of crores of rupees have been spent by Kashmir without deriving any benefit whatsoever except that of hatred and allowing a handle to Pakistan to always carry on propaganda against us.

Our propaganda machinery has miserably failed. We cannot even tell the truth. Although Pakistan can carry on propaganda with untruth, we are afraid of telling the truth to the world. This is what I have notic-

ed in the foreign countries. Whenever I had an opportunity of going, I found this one thing. It is not possible for a single hand, for any Member of Parliament, to carry on propaganda. It requires a huge Government machinery for the purpose of doing it. One talk with one officer or one talk with one Minister or one talk with a particular Secretary will not help the propaganda that is to be carried out in favour of India. It is an agonizing fact.

Coming nearer to the affairs of the country, I ask: Where are we? I do not want to enumerate all the shortfalls that are there in our country. I for one have never understood this obsession of having a Plan with an investment of Rs. 8300 crores which, I say, has been drained down the gutter. We have not been able to realise anything. Plans or no plans, we would have still got the various projects put through. It does not require any Plan. It may require planning; it may require an estimate; it may require a foresight to carry on the progress of the country. But why have this Five Year Plan business? Why have this Planning Commission and why have this Planning Minister? What is all this for? This could have been carried on even without the Planning Minister or without the Planning Commission or without these so-called big Plans where money has been wasted. What is lacking entirely is foresight.

Very recently, I had occasion to go along the railway line to Moradabad. It was contemplated to build a double line there. Once, one type of signalling was carried out. Then, there was another type of signalling carried out, and then, there was a third type of signalling carried out. Three types of signalling were carried out there. For the first type, about Rs. 60 lakhs were spent; that Rs. 60 lakhs went into water; then another Rs. 120 lakhs were spent; that also went into water; then, another Rs. 200 lakhs are going to be spent in order

to have the signalling system installed. What does this show? It shows that there was no foresight, and we could not realise six years back what was to be done and what ultimately we had to achieve.

The same is the story everywhere. D.C. engines are being built, but A.C. traction is being laid out. Then, we realise that D.C. engines will not work on A.C. traction, and, therefore, we must have A.C. engines; then we say that the others are having A.C. traction, and, therefore, we must also have A.C. traction, and, so, A.C. engines must be built and the D.C. engines must be put in the stores. Is this planning? This planning without foresight is no planning.

Therefore, I say that there must be some re-orientation about this idea of planning. Then, let us take the case of production. Agricultural production has gone down. The production of cereals has gone down; the production of wheat has gone down; the production of rice has gone down; the production of sugar has gone down; the production of steel has gone down, the production of fertilisers has gone down, and so on. How many things can I enumerate here?

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** Corruption is up.

**Shri U. M. Trivedi:** The only thing that is going up is corruption. It is ever on the rise and it is ever on the increase. Whom to point out?

Just a little while ago, Shri Ranga was praising our Supreme Court, and he was happy that there was the existence of the Supreme Court. I belong to the Supreme Court Bar, and I also praise the existence of the Supreme Court. But what has it brought about? Look at Part III of the Constitution, dealing with Fundamental Rights. Article 13 has no force. Article 14 has no force. Article 16 has no force. Article 19 has no force. Article 32 has no force. And Article 31 has no force. What is this Constitution for?

**Shri Surendranath Dwivedy:** The emergency is there.

**Shri U. M. Trivedi:** Article 31 has been taken out, article 16 has been taken out, article 19 has been taken out and article 14 has been taken out, and then the Supreme Court exists. What are those rights actually? Notwithstanding the Supreme Court, here is a mighty Government which does not feel ashamed of bringing forward a validating Act. As soon as the Supreme Court pronounces a judgment that this is a colourable piece of legislation, or that this is a wrong legislation, or that this is a legislation which is *ultra vires* up comes the mighty Government which says 'All right, we shall validate what has been invalidated.'

**Shri P. K. Deo (Kalahandi):** Shame!

**Shri U. M. Trivedi:** Very recently, I came across a case where Rs. 45,000 had to be realised from one man. When it was found that the particular Act did not provide for the realisation of that amount from him by Government, and when the defect was found in the Supreme Court, immediately, a retrospective Act was enacted. For the sake of Rs. 45,000 can a Government rush like this? Is this a Government of the rajas or maharajahs or Thakurs or Nawabs or what else is it?

**An Hon. Member:** It is Wajid Ali Shah's Government.

**Another Hon. Member:** It is the Government of all.

**Shri U. M. Trivedi:** Why do they want to create this type of Government? It is a Government which validates invalidated laws.

If we get an opportunity of looking at the railways in our country, we say that we have achieved a lot of progress. But what is the progress that we have achieved? Look at the total mileage of the railways.

**Shri Surendranath Dwivedy:** The railway budget is coming up shortly.

**Shri U. M. Trivedi:** I know that it

is coming up and we shall discuss it later on. But I may point out that today in this country, there are places in Orissa, in Andhra Pradesh, in your constituency as also in my constituency, where for a distance of 150 miles, you cannot reach any railway station at all; sometimes, you have to go about 200 miles, in order that you may get into a railway train. What is all this progress for? Sometimes, the Railway Ministry talks and says 'Ours is a commercial undertaking'. At other times, it says 'No, no, we are also a public utility concern.'

**Shri Surendranath Dwivedy:** The Railway Minister is not here. What is the inspiration for my hon. friend to refer to the railways?

**Shri U. M. Trivedi:** One Deputy Minister of Railways, whom I know, namely Shri Shahnawaz Khan is here. So, I can talk about the railways. My hon. friend has forgotten him, but I remember him.

**Mr. Chairman:** There is a railway budget and there will be a separate occasion for discussing it.

**Shri U. M. Trivedi:** I know that it will be coming up. But then, the President's Address is also meant for it. Unfortunately, when we are discussing about projects, we have not discussed about any project relating to the railways. Why have we kept quiet? The project must be there. Look at the map, draw the line and tell the people that 'railways will come here to serve you'. That also is lacking. I will not touch more on the railways because very soon an opportunity is coming for me to expose the whole administration of the railways.

Now I come to the postal department. Have we progressed in this direction? I have received a letter which says that in a village called Harsol, letters do not reach that place even from six miles in eight days. How long will this state of affairs continue in our country? We do not know. Yet we have got the

complacency to say here that we are going up and up. I respectfully submit the Address is lacking in the true picture of the country which is before us in the year of grace 1964.

One thing is very patent. This emergency is continued in the country. Why is it there? Is it continued only to authorise the making of laws without bringing them before Parliament? Is that the only function for which the emergency was created? The emergency was proclaimed to meet the Chinese menace. But what has the Chinese menace to do with making rule 125B? I do not know. What has the Gold Control Order to do with the Chinese menace?

**An Hon. Member:** Sugar Control Order.

**Shri U. M. Trivedi:** That is another thing.

We are only arming ourselves with laws which we can make according to our wish and choice, without coming before Parliament.

**An hon. Member:** Chini and cheeni!

**Shri U. M. Trivedi:** Therefore, if there is no emergency, do not keep the people in suspense. Have no emergency. We have lost territory. We have lost face. We are hanging down our heads in shame. Let us keep them hanging down for some more time. There is no harm. We have been keeping them hanging down for so long. But do not call it emergency any longer.

**Shri Surendranath Dwivedy:** Hang yourself!

**Shri U. M. Trivedi:** The only object is that we must hang ourselves (*Interruptions*). I am prepared to do that with all of them.

Some very pinching remarks were made by one of the Deputy Leaders of the Communist Group. A suggestion has been made that the riots in Calcutta were created by the Hindu community. This ought not to have come from a man of that great learning like the Communist Member who spoke. What has it got to do with

the Hindu community? Reaction is always there. Our law recognises provocation and says that under circumstances of provocation, even commission of assault is excusable. It is a very good thing that in India although there was provocation, it did not spread far and no great mischief was done. But somehow when you cannot fight with the enemy across, you always want to beat your own child.

मन जाओ उधर, मैं वह रास्ता नहीं हूँ।

You tell the child not to go there. You cannot go and fight the enemy. That you cannot do. If you cannot do that, you go and slap the child. The Communist leader wants to advise us that we must not do this, we must not do that. This they do when the communists find that the only party which can today oppose them, and which will not allow them to grow in this country, is the Jan Sangh. When it comes to that, the Communist party always comes round and throws mud at the Jan Sangh. Wherever Jan Sangh is strong, communists are wiped out, they cannot come up, we will not allow them to come up. That is the reason why the reaction of the Communist Party became very apparent in that speech. I am not concerned with any particular person. All of them are respected friends of mine. Individually, they are very good persons, but as a party that reaction is there.

One word more. I do not know whether in joke or in seriousness Shri Mahatab suggested that we must come out with substitute plans. My reply to that is: why should we come out with substitute plans? I cannot understand it. If a man who runs a business, a shop, a company or a limited concern, cannot manage his own affairs, let him get out, file an insolvency, and I will appoint a liquidator and then run it. Till that time comes, it is no function of mine to come out with substitute plans.

श्री प्र० प्र० शर्मा : सभापति महोदय,  
 राष्ट्रपति का कार्य निर्वहन करते हुए उपराष्ट्र-

[श्री अ० प्र० शर्मा]

पति जी ने जो दोनों सदनो की संयुक्त बैठक में अभिभाषण दिया उसका स्वागत करने का जो प्रस्ताव सदन के सामने उपस्थित किया गया है, मैं उसका समर्थन करने के लिए खड़ा हुआ हूँ। जैसा कि श्री हरेकृष्ण मेहताव जी ने बतलाया, उन्होंने अपने अभिभाषण में भारत सरकार द्वारा योजनानुसार जो भी प्रगति देश में की गयी है और तीसरी योजना के आने वाले दो वर्षों में जो कार्य वह करना चाहती है, उसका उल्लेख करते हुए जो भी सुखद या दुःखद घटनाएँ देश में हुई हैं उनका ईमानदारी से सही-सही उल्लेख किया है।

लेकिन उस अभिभाषण को हमारे विरोधी दलों के कुछ दोस्तों ने समझने की कोशिश नहीं की। अगर ठीक से समझते तो शायद उनको इससे नुकसान होता। उन्होंने उसकी सराहना न करके बहुत सी ऐसी बातों का इस सदन में जिक्र किया है जो कि उनकी दलगत राजनीति से मतलब रखती हैं। खास तौर से कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी के नेता श्री गोपालन ने जो बातें सदन के सामने रखी हैं उनके सम्बन्ध में मैं अन्त में दो-एक बातें सदन के सामने रखूंगा।

तीसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना की तीन वर्षों की प्रगति का जो मूल्यांकन इस अभिभाषण में दिया गया है, उससे मैं बिल्कुल सहमत हूँ। साथ ही साथ मैं यह उम्मीद करना चाहता हूँ कि जो कुछ भी खामियाँ हमारी नजर के सामने आयी हैं, उनको इस योजना को बचे हुए समय में हमको तेजी और मुस्ती से काम करके पूरा करना होगा। अगर हम ऐसा नहीं करेंगे तो मेरा ख्याल है कि हमने जो इस योजना का लक्ष्य रखा है उस तक नहीं पहुँच सकेंगे। इस लिए आवश्यकता इस बात की है कि आज जो योजना देश के अन्दर चल रही है उसमें सभी लोग, हर पार्टी के लोग, इसको देश की उन्नति का काम समझ कर उसमें मिल-जुल कर योग दें और इसको आगे बढ़ाएँ, न कि यह समझ कर कि यह कांग्रेस या कांग्रेस सरकार की

योजना है, इस काम में खींचतान करके इसके लक्ष्य की पूर्ति के मार्ग में बाधाएं डालें।

जैसा कि मैंने आपसे कहा, खास तौर से कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी, उन कामों में जो हमारे सामने आते हैं, उनकी पूर्ति की तरफ ध्यान न देकर उस काम को उलझाने के चक्कर में बराबर रहती है।

मैं इस बात की ताईद करता हूँ कि देश में चीनी आक्रमण के कारण संकट की स्थिति होते हुए भी, सरकार ने देश को औद्योगिक उन्नति की तरफ काफी बढ़ाया है। और मेरा खयाल है कि यह बहुत ही सराहना का काम देश के अन्दर हो रहा है।

जहाँ तक सार्वजनिक क्षेत्रों का सवाल है, मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि चित्तूरंजन में जो बिजली के इंजन बनाने का जिक्र किया गया है, उस कारखाने में बिजली के इंजन बन रहे हैं। इसी तरह भूपाल के हैवी एलेक्ट्रिकल प्लांट का उत्पादन बढ़ गया है। वहाँ पर जो चीजें बनाई जा रही हैं उन से देश को बहुत फायदा होगा और जो विदेशी मुद्रा हमारी उन चीजों को मंगाने पर खर्च होती थी उस में काफी बचत होगी।

उप-राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने भाषण में खास तौर से खेती की पैदावार के सम्बन्ध में जो असन्तोष प्रकट किया है, उस सम्बन्ध में मैं भी अपना असन्तोष प्रकट करना चाहता हूँ। मैं तो व्यक्तिगत रूप से मजदूर क्षेत्र में काम करता रहा हूँ लेकिन जिस क्षेत्र से मैं इस सदन में चुन कर आया हूँ वह खास तौर से देहाती इलाका है और वह बहुत पिछड़ा हुआ इलाका है। राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने भाषण में यह जिक्र किया है कि ६० लाख एकड़ नई जमीन की सुविधा अभी तक प्रदान हो चुकी है और चालू वर्ष में ५५ लाख एकड़ जमीन की सिंचाई की सुव्यवस्था होगी। राज्यों को उन्होंने १६.१५ करोड़ की सहायता देने का भी जिक्र किया



है। लेकिन मैं इस मौके पर, खास तौर से पूर्वे बिहार और अपने क्षेत्र का जिक्र करना चाहता हूँ कि गंगा के किनारे बक्सर से लेकर आरा तक लखों एकड़ जमीन ऐसी है जहाँ पर सिंचाई की कोई व्यवस्था नहीं है और यहाँ पर जो बड़ी-बड़ी योजनाएँ तैयार होती हैं, मेरा यह खयाल है कि सिंचाई की कोई भी व्यवस्था हो तो वह उत्पादन दुगना हो जायगा और खास तौर से उन इलाक़ों में मैंने सारे देश का भ्रमण करके देखा है कि कोई ऐसी जगह नहीं है जहाँ वर्ष में ६ महीने तक आवागमन विःकुल बन्द रहता है। लेकिन यह ऐसी जगह है जिस का कि मैं जिक्र कर रहा हूँ। वह विःकुल जलमग्न रहती है पानी से भरी हुई रहती है। आने जाने का कोई व्यवस्था वहाँ पर नहीं रहती है। इसलिए मैं आशा करूँगा कि गृह मंत्री और भारत सरकार इस बात के ऊपर ध्यान रखेंगे और अगर देश में सचमुच समुचित रूप से एण्ड इन्वैलिटी की बेसिस पर, एण्ड यूनिकॉन्फिडेंसी की बेसिस पर देश का विकास होना है तो उन इलाकों की तरफ़ विशेष रूप से ध्यान देना है जिनका कि पिछले १५ वर्षों में अभी तक कोई विकास नहीं हो सका है। चेअरमैन महोदय, मैं इस बात को इसलिए कहना चाहता हूँ कि उस इलाके का जो यहाँ पर प्रतिनिधित्व इस सदन में होता था, वह रूढ़िवादी विचार रखने वालों द्वारा होता था, जो रंगा साहब की पार्टी के सिद्धान्तों के समर्थक रहे हैं। इसलिए वहाँ पर जमींदारी उन्मूलन के बाद सिवाय लोपों का शोषण करने के अलावा उन साधारण लोगों की प्रगति करने की तरफ़ कोई उन का ध्यान नहीं रहा है।

मेरे मित्र श्री गोपालन ने बढ़ती हुई महंगाई का जिक्र किया है। ठीक है, देश में महंगाई बढ़ रही है लेकिन इस के साथ ही साथ मैं इस बात को मानता हूँ कि हम लोग चाहते हैं कि सरकार बढ़ती हुई महंगाई को रोके लेकिन मेरा विश्वास है कि सरकार

महंगाई को नहीं रोक सकती है चाहे जितनी भी कोशिश की जाय क्योंकि एक तरफ़ जो खरीदने वाले लोग हैं वह गल्ला और खाने पीने की चीजें सस्ती दर पर अवश्य चाहते हैं लेकिन जो उत्पादन करने वाले हैं, खेतिहर लोग हैं उनको यदि लोहा, कोयला और इस्पात आदि आवश्यक चीजें महंगी दर पर मिलती हैं तो उनकी उत्पादित चीजों अर्थात् गल्ले की कीमत बढ़ेगी और इस को कोई रोक नहीं सकता है अगर प्रजातंत्री सरकार इस देश में चलाना है। इसलिए मैं समझता हूँ कि जहाँ तक मजदूर या सरकारी कर्मचारी हैं, उनके महंगाई भत्ते में हाल में जो वृद्धि हुई है वह नहीं के बराबर है और उसमें कोई फ़ायदा नहीं हो सकता है। इसलिए हमारे संगठन की तरफ़ से हम बराबर इस बात पर जोर दे रहे हैं कि सरकार को चाहिए कि वह सस्ती दर पर गल्ला मुहैया करे। सरकार हर एक जगह लोगों को सस्ती दर पर गल्ला आदि खाने पीने की चीजें मुहैया करने का बंदोबस्त करे ताकि महंगाई का असर उन पर न हो सके। मुझे खुशी है कि राष्ट्रपति जी के भाषण में इस बात का जिक्र है और उन्होंने कहा है कि सस्ते अनाज की दुकानें देश में और अधिक संख्या में खोली जायेंगी ताकि लोगों को सस्ते दाम पर अनाज आदि मिल सके। लेकिन मैं चाहता हूँ कि इस काम को पूरा करने में तेजी बर्ती जाय ताकि अभी बीच में जो नाजायज़ मुनाफ़ा कमाने वाले लोग हैं उन को गरीब मजदूरों और कर्मचारियों का शोषण करने का मौक़ा न मिले।

मैं इस मौके पर एक बात और कहना चाहता हूँ और वह दुःख के साथ कहना चाहता हूँ कि राष्ट्रपति जी के भाषण में देश में जो बढ़ती हुई बेकारी है, किस तरीके से उस बेकारी को हल किया जायगा, अनइम्प्लायमेंट की प्राबलम को हल किया जायगा, उसका जिक्र नहीं किया गया है। इसमें उन पार्टियों के लोगों को जो राजनीतिक स्वार्थों के कारण

[श्री अ० प्र० शर्मा]

ग्राम लोगों को भड़काते हैं और इस गवर्नमेंट के खिलाफ़ उकसाना चाहते हैं, उनको अपनी नाजायज़ हरकतों को जारी रखने का मौका मिलता है। बेकारी की समस्या राष्ट्र के लिए एक गम्भीर सवाल है और इस बेकारी की समस्या को किस तरीके से दूर किया जाय इस का जिक्र राष्ट्रपति के भाषण में न होना बहुत खटकता है और न उस समस्या को सुलझाने का ही कोई जिक्र है।

जैसा मैंने आप से कहा भ्रष्टाचार के सम्बन्ध में माननीय गृह मंत्री ने जो विजिलेंस कमिशन बनाया है उसका मैं स्वागत करता हूँ और मैं चाहता हूँ कि देश की सभी जमाअतें, सभी लोग, भ्रष्टाचार के निवारण के हेतु यह जो विजिलेंस कमिशन बनाया गया है उसको मदद दें और उसके साथ सहयोग करें। लेकिन साथ ही साथ इसके मैं कहना चाहूँगा, मेरा व्यक्तिगत विचार है, मेरे साथियों का विचार है जो कि हमारे साथ मजदूर आन्दोलन में काम करते हैं कि भ्रष्टाचार का सवाल जो है वह कोई विजिलेंस कमिशन या कोर्ट के जरिए हल नहीं किया जा सकता है। भ्रष्टाचार तब तक देश और समाज के बीच से दूर नहीं किया जा सकता है जब तक समाज के अन्दर जो भ्रष्टाचार फैलाने वाले लोग हैं वह भ्रष्टाचार वयों फैलाते हैं उसके कारण क्या है उसका पता न लगाया जाय। एक ऐसा आन्दोलन देश के अन्दर चलाया जाय कि जो लोग समाज के अन्दर भ्रष्टाचार के लिए मञ्जा पाते हैं या पकड़े जाते हैं उन के प्रति उपेक्षा की दृष्टि से देखा जाय। लेकिन सभापति महोदय, अ.ज हालत यह है कि अ.म तौर से जो लोग कुछ पैसा वर्गवहा कमा लेते हैं, किसी तरह से धनी बन जाते हैं, सम्पन्न बन हैं, देखा जाता है कि समाज में उन्हीं लोगों को अधिक से अधिक इज्जत और प्रतिष्ठा मिलती है और दूसरी तरफ यह कहा जाता है कि भ्रष्टाचार

मिटाना चाहिए। ऐसे लोग जिनको कि आज तक समाज में इस बात के ऊपर मान, मर्यादा और इज्जत मिलती रहती है कि उनके पास धन दौलत है, मकानात आदि सम्पत्त बहुत अधिक है और इसलिए उनको इज्जत मिलती रहती है, जब तक इस बात को खत्म नहीं किया जायगा तब तक देश में से भ्रष्टाचार दूर नहीं हो सकता है। इसके विपरीत इस बात के ऊपर जोर दिया जाय कि गरीब से गरीब आदमी हों लेकिन अगर वह ईमानदारी के साथ अपने कर्तव्य का पालन करता है, देशभक्ति के साथ काम करता है तो उसको समाज में इज्जत मिले। अगर समाज में उसे इज्जत मिलेगी तभी भ्रष्टाचार का उन्मूलन देश में से किया जा सकता है।

मैं एक बात और सदन के सामने अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ और वह यह है कि जहां तक इन सवालों का सम्बन्ध है, देश के अन्दर बहुत अधिक ऐसी प्रतिश्रियावादी शक्तियां काम कर रही हैं जो कि विदेशी देशों से बराबर परामर्श करके उनकी नीति पर चलती रहती हैं। उन पाटियों और उन लोगों की तरफ सरकार जब तक कड़े से कड़ा कदम नहीं उठायेगी तब तक मैं समझता हूँ कि देश के अन्दर जो बुराई व्यापक रूप में फैली हुई है और जिसके और बढ़ने का खतरा है वह खतरा दूर नहीं हो सकता है।

अभी एक सवाल के सम्बन्ध में खास तौर से श्री त्रिवेदी ने जो सभ्यता कहा मैं कुछ कहना चाहता हूँ। यह तो ठीक है कि रेलवेज के सम्बन्ध में रेलवे बजट पर बहस के अवसर पर विस्तार से बात की जायगी। लेकिन मैं आपसे कहना चाहता हूँ कि उन्होंने कुछ सिंगल लाइन्स और डबल लाइन्स की बातें कही हैं मैं इससे इंकार नहीं करता कि उनको रेलवेज के सम्बन्ध में पूरी जानकारी है। यह जाहिर ही है कि जहां पर सिंगल लाइन है अगर वहां पर डबल लाइन बनाई जायेगी

तो कुछ परिवर्तन जरूर करने होंगे। उसमें कुछ चीजें जैसे सिंगल और प्वाइंट्स आदि बदले जायेंगे। वह सारी चीजें परिवर्तित होंगी। अब अगर डबल लाइन न बनाई जाय तब तो दूसरी बात है लेकिन अगर डबल बनाई जायेंगी तो यह सिंगल और प्वाइंट्स आदि के परिवर्तन करने होंगे। सभापति महोदय, आप रेलवे एक्सीडेंट्स कमेटी के एक सदस्य होने के नाते एक बात अवश्य जानते होंगे कि सिंगल लाइन और डबल लाइन में क्या फर्क होता है। इसलिए मेरा निवेदन है कि इस तरह की बातें महज आलोचना के विचार से सेदन के सामने नहीं करनी चाहिए।

आखिर में मैं एक बात और कहना चाहता हूँ और वह यह जो माननीय सदस्य, श्री रंगा, श्री माननीय सदस्य, श्री गोपालन, कांग्रेस और कांग्रेस सरकार के सम्बन्ध में कहीं उनका मैंने नोट किया है। श्री गोपालन ने कहा कि इस देश में ब्राड-ट्रेस गवर्नमेंट होनी चाहिए और श्री रंगा ने कहा कि हम लोगों को इस तरफ आने के लिए मौका मिलना चाहिए। इससे यह साबित होता है कि श्री रंगा और श्री गोपालन, दोनों एक दूसरे के बहुत नजदीक हैं। फर्क सिर्फ इतना ही है कि गोपालन साहब की जो नीति और पार्टी है, वह एक गिरोह बना कर, एक ग्रुप बना कर, लोगों का शोषण करना चाहती है, जब कि रंगा साहब पूंजीवाद की जिस नीति का समर्थन करते हैं या जिसके वह प्रतीक हैं, उस का उद्देश्य एक व्यक्ति विशेष के लिये लोगों का शोषण करना है। इसके अतिरिक्त इन दोनों में कोई अन्तर नहीं है।

इसलिए मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि ये दोनों पार्टियां परस्पर विरोधी होते हुए भी कांग्रेस का विरोध करने के लिए एक रास्ते पर आ जाया करती हैं। उनके कहने में कोई तथ्य नहीं है। वे सिर्फ कांग्रेस और कांग्रेस की सरकार को बदनाम करने के लिये

और देश में गड़बड़ी पैदा कर के अपना उल्लू सीधा करने के लिए इस तरह की बातें किया करती हैं।

मैं आपको धन्यवाद देना हूँ।

Mr. Chairman: Dr. Singhvi.

Dr. L. M. Singavi: I will be speaking tomorrow, Sir. Mr. Yajnik is leaving tonight and he may be allowed to speak now.

Mr. Chairman: All right. Mr. Yajnik.

श्री याज्ञिक (अहमदाबाद) : चेरमैन महोदय, राष्ट्रपति जी का भाषण सुनते और पढ़ते हुए मेरे दिल में कुछ रंज होता है, कुछ दर्द होता है। छोटी-छोटी बातें तो उसमें बहुत लिखी गई हैं, लेकिन आज देश में जो गम्भीर और मुश्किल परिस्थिति पैदा हुई है, उसका कोई गच्चा विश्लेषण उस भाषण में नहीं किया गया है। इस मुसीबत का निराकरण करने के लिए और इसके बारे में कोई नया कदम उठाने के लिए कोई बात उसमें मेरी नज़र में नहीं आती है।

जहां तक काश्मीर का प्रश्न है, यह बात तो सही है कि अब काश्मीर को हिन्दुस्तान के साथ पूरी तरह जोड़ देना चाहिये। इस के बारे में संविधान में जो सेक्शन है, काश्मीर के बारे में एक अलग व्यवस्था करने की जो सुविधा उस में दी गयी है, वह जरूर मक्कलम-रद्द होनी चाहिये और काश्मीर का जो सारा राजतंत्र है, वह पूरी तरह भारत के साथ जोड़ दिया जाना चाहिये। मगर उस के साथ साथ हम को बराबर यह ख्याल में रखना चाहिये कि वहां पर आज जो मंत्रि-मंडल है, वह बहुत बदनाम हो गया है। उस ने बहुत बुरी कार्यवाहियां की हैं और काश्मीर में बड़ी अव्यवस्था फैलाई है। माननीय मंत्री, श्री शास्त्री, वहां हो कर आए हैं। मगर इस बारे में तेजी से जो कदम उठाना चाहिये, ऐसा कोई कदम नहीं उठाया गया है। मैं बड़ी नम्रता के साथ कहना चाहता

[ श्री याज्ञिक ]

हूँ कि इस सम्बन्ध में बराबर निश्चयात्मक दृष्टि से निर्णय करना होगा। वहाँ पर इस समय जो मंत्रि-मंडल है, उस को हटाना होगा। वहाँ पर जो ऐक्शन कमटी बनाई गई है, उस ने वहाँ पर अच्छी तरह से व्यवस्था रखा है और काश्मीर की शान का बचाव भी किया है। उम ऐक्शन कमटी को हुकूमत में कोई स्थान देना होगा।

माननीय सदस्य, श्री रंगा ने इस सम्बन्ध में जो एक बात कही है, उस की भी मैं तालिद करता हूँ। शेख अब्दुल्ला हमारा पुराने जमाने का दोस्त और साथी भी था। दस साल से ज्यादा वक्त से वह जेल में है।

एक माननीय सदस्य : शोरे-काश्मीर।

श्री याज्ञिक : उस को शोरे-काश्मीर कहा जाता था। सारे हिन्दुस्तान में उस का बड़ा आदर था। कई संयोगों से वह दस साल से जेल में पड़ा है। मेरे ह्याल मे आज एक मौका है उस को रिहा किया जाए और उस की सजाह और सहकार से काश्मीर के लिये एक नई व्यवस्था सोची जाए। मैं समझता हूँ कि हमारे लिये और काश्मीर के लिये यह बड़ी अच्छी बात होगी, क्योंकि यह बात बराबर समझनी चाहिये कि जो नेता इतने सालों से जेल में पड़ा है, उस का नाम सारे काश्मीर के लोगों के दिलों में है। जब तक शेख अब्दुल्ला को रिहा नहीं किया जायगा और उस के सहकार से वहाँ पर एक नई व्यवस्था स्थापित नहीं की जायेगी, तब तक काश्मीर में पूरी शांति और सुव्यवस्था नहीं हो सकती है।

Shri Sham Lal Saraf (Nominated—Jammu and Kashmir) : Question.

श्री याज्ञिक : इस समय भारत में जो स्थिति है, उस को देख कर मुझे गांधीजी की एक बात याद आती है। गांधी जी ने एक दफा कहा था कि अंग्रेज सरकार, जो शिमला से हुकूमत चला रही है, पांच सौ-मंजिले पर बैठी है। आज मुझे मालूम होता है कि सरकार तो हमारी स्वदेशी है, मगर वह पांच सौ नहीं,

बल्कि एक हजार-मंजिले पर बैठी है। वह क्या देखती है, किसी की तरफ अच्छी दृष्टि रखती है और किसी की तरफ बुरा दृष्टि रखती है, किसी को प्रधान स्थान देती है और किसी को कम स्थान देती है, जब मैं यह देखता हूँ, तो मुझे कहना पड़ता है कि आज इस हुकूमत की नजर अपनी सत्ता के सिवाए दो वर्गों की तरफ है—एक तो बड़े-बड़े पूंजीपति और दूसरे उस के दफ्तर में काम करने वाले बड़े सत्ताधिकारी। इन दोनों पर उस की नजर केन्द्रित है। इन दोनों को ही वह देखती है और बाकी सब जो सवालता हैं, और जो सारी जनता है, उन को वह गौण स्थान अपने दिमाग में देती है।

मिसाल के तौर पर आप रेलवे बजट को ही देख लीजिए, जो कि परसों हमारे सामने रखा गया। उस को जब मैं देखता हूँ, तो सोचता हूँ कि रेलवेज की आय में वृद्धि हुई है, उस का मुनाफा बढ़ा है, मगर रेलवेज का सब काम कौन चलाता है? बारह लाख रेलवेज के कर्मचारियों के पुरुषार्थ ने रेलवेज का काम तेजी से चलता है। इस सारे के सारे बजट में उन बारह लाख आदमियों का कहां जिक्र है? उन के बारे में कुछ लफ्ज इधर लिख दिये गये हैं और कुछ लफ्ज उधर लिख दिये गए हैं। रेलवेज का मुनाफा हुआ। उस की आय में वृद्धि हुई। इतने ज्यादा, लक्षावधि लोगों की यात्रा हुई, इतना ज्यादा माल सामान इधर से उधर रेलवेज से ढोया। तो यह किस का काम है? जिन लोगों ने, जिन बारह लाख कर्मचारियों ने यह काम किया है, रेलवे मंत्री जी आखिर में दो लफ्जों में उन को धन्यवाद तो जरूर देते हैं। लेकिन उन्होंने उन को क्या दिया है? उन्होंने उन को क्या उन्नेजन दिया है? यह ठीक है कि एक कोने में कोई इन्सेन्टिव स्कीम डाल दी है। लेकिन मैं दावे के साथ कहना चाहता हूँ कि जब ऐसा कोई बजट हम तैयार करते हैं, जब सारी व्यवस्था हम सोचते हैं, तो उस में एक बड़ा प्रधान स्थान कर्मचारियों को देना चाहिये और उन के बारे में पूरा जिक्र होना चाहिये

कि कर्मचारियों के काम से हमारी रेलवेज की प्रगति हुई है और उन के लिये यह किया जायेगा, वह किया जायेगा, उन के लिये मकान, पानी, दवाई, तनख्वाह, वोनस और महंगाई भत्ते वगैरह का प्रबन्ध किया जायेगा। इन सब बातों के लिए केवल दो चार लपत्र नहीं लिखने चाहियें, बल्कि पूरी तरह से बराबर समझाना चाहिये कि हुकूमत कर्मचारियों के हित के लिये क्या-क्या कदम उठा रही है। हुकूमत को यह समझना है कि इस जमाने में रेलवेज में कितना रुपया इन्वैस्टमेंट किया जाता है, कितना रुपया लगाया जाता है, उससे अधिक बड़ा स्थान रेलवेज के कर्मचारियों के पुरुषार्थ को देना है। एक तो है तंत्र और दूसरा है—मनुष्य। मैं कहता हूँ कि तंत्र से मनुष्य और इंसान को ज्यादा बड़ा और अप्रणी स्थान दिया जाना चाहिये। मनुष्य का स्थान तंत्र से ऊंचा होना चाहिये। उसको क्या फायदा होगा, उसको क्या दिया जायगा, उसको उत्तेजन क्या मिलेगा, कितनी तनख्वाह उस को ज्यादा मिलेगी, कितना महंगाई भत्ता ज्यादा उस को मिलेगा, कितना उस को वोनस मिलेगा, ये सब बातें सोचने-विचारने की हैं। जो बातें लिखी गई हैं वे सोच समझ कर लिखी गई हों, ऐसा नहीं कहा जा सकता है। मैं तो कहूंगा कि इन सब बातों को सोचा भी नहीं गया है।

अभी दूसरा बजट, जनरल बजट, आने वाला है। बजट आने से पहले हमारे ज्जना मंत्री ने, हमारे वित्त मंत्री ने सेंट्रल कर्म-चारियों के लिए महंगाई भत्ता बढ़ाने का निर्देश किया है। उन्होंने बताया है कि कितना उन का महंगाई भत्ता बढ़ाया जायगा . . .

श्री स० भो० बनर्जी दो रुपया बढ़ा है।

श्री याज्ञिक : मराठी में कहावत है—

“राजा उदार झाला तर भोपला दिला”

राजा बहुत उदार हो गया तो कहूँ दिया। हमारे नाना मंत्री जो नए हैं, खुश हो गए

और उन्होंने कह दिया कि कर्मचारियों ने बहुत अच्छा काम किया है। बजट आने के पहले ही उन्होंने उदारता का परिचय दिया है और कर्मचारियों को उन्होंने कह दिया है कि कितना उनको ज्यादा महंगाई भत्ता दिया जायगा। लेकिन आप देखें कि कितना दिया है। अभी तो दो रुपया ही दिया है। हमारे वित्त मंत्री जरूर जानते हैं कि आज महंगाई कितनी बढ़ी है। मैं तो कहूंगा कि वह २५, ३० परसेंट जरूर बढ़ी है। सारी चीजों के दामों में इतनी बढ़ोतरी जरूर हुई है। इतना होते हुए भी हमारे नाना मंत्री महोदय केवल दो रुपया महंगाई-भत्ता बढ़ाने की बात करते हैं। दो रुपया भी वह कब देंगे? उनका कहना है कि दस प्वाइंट्स तक आगे दाम बढ़ें तब देंगे। उनका कहना है कि वेतन पंच की यही सिफारिश थी और उसी के अनुसार वह महंगाई भत्ते में वृद्धि कर सकते हैं। आप देखें कि कब वेतन पंच बना था और उसको अपनी सिफारिशें दिये कितने साल हो गए हैं। अब तो नया जमाना आया है, नए कर लग गए हैं और महंगाई बढ़ रही है, आसमान को छू रही है, सारी जनता उसके नीचे पिस रही है, कुचली जा रही है। आप देखें कि टैक्सटाइल मिल में जो काम करता है उस को कितनी तनख्वाह मिलती है और कितना महंगाई भत्ता मिलता है। उस के मुकाबले में दूसरे जो कर्मचारी हैं, उन को क्या मिलता है। अहमदाबाद की मिलों के कामदारों को सी रुपया मिलता है और वहां पर उनको सात रुपया महंगाई भत्ता ज्यादा मिला है और इधर दो रुपया ही महंगाई भत्ते में वृद्धि की गई है। मैं नहीं कहता हूँ कि इतनी कम वृद्धि का कारण यह है कि हमारे ज्जना मंत्री महोदय कंजूस हैं। इसका कारण यह है कि जो सारी व्यवस्था है और जिस ढंग से सोचा जाता है उस में इंसान को, कर्मचारी को, जो काम करने वाला है, उस को गौण स्थान प्राप्त है, उस को गौण गिना जाता है और इस तंत्र में, इस स्टील फ्रेम में जो बड़े-बड़े अधिकारी हैं,

[श्री याज्ञिक]

उनको प्रधान स्थान दिया जाता है। जो गुमाश्ता है, जो कारकुन है, जो टाइपिस्ट है, जो गरीब से गरीब लोग हैं, हजारों और लाखों की संख्या में जो कर्मचारी हैं, जो केन्द्रीय कचहरियों में काम करने वाले लोग हैं, उनको गौण स्थान दिया जाता है, उनकी ओर पूरा ध्यान नहीं दिया जाता है। अगर आप समाजवादी ढंग से आगे बढ़ना चाहते हैं तो आपको यह सोचना होगा कि जो काम करने वाले हैं, जिन के ऊपर यह तंत्र टिका हुआ है जिन की वजह से यह तंत्र चल रहा है, जो मजदूरी करते हैं, और जो तीन चार सीज़न में, जाड़े के दिनों में, गर्मी के दिनों में, बारिश के दिनों में खाली मजदूरी करते हैं, उनका ध्यान रखा जाय, उन को प्रधान स्थान दिया जाय। किस तरह से उनको उत्तेजन दिया जाय, इसको आपको सोचना चाहिए। अगर आपने ऐसा किया तो भ्रष्टाचार भी कम हो जायगा।

आप देखें कि भ्रष्टाचार क्यों होता है। हमारे अहमदाबाद में पुलिस वाला मुझे कहता है कि सत्तर रुपया उसे मिलता है महीने में और पांच सात आदमी उसके घर में खाने वाले हैं और आप सोचें कि किस तरह से उसका सत्तर रुपये में पूरा पड़ सकता है। ऐसी हालत में अगर वह भ्रष्टाचार न करे तो क्या करे। सब से बड़ा सवाल भ्रष्टाचार समाप्त करने का है, रिश्वतखोरी किस तरह से कम की जाय, इस का है। हमारे नंदा जी जो बड़ी-बड़ी योजनाएँ बनाते हैं, इस से यह कम होने वाला नहीं है। जो गरीब से गरीब लोग हैं, उनको अधिक तनख्वाह मिले, उसके निर्वाह के लिए काफी तनख्वाह उसको मिले। अगर आप ऐसा करेंगे तब तो भ्रष्टाचार खत्म करने में आपको कुछ सफलता मिल सकती है, वरना नहीं मिल सकती है। अगर ऐसा नहीं किया जाता है तो जब जनता तैयार होगी, जनता संगठित

होगी, तभी भ्रष्टाचार खत्म हो सकता है। यह बहुत बड़ा सवाल है और हुकूमत को जिस ढंग से वह आज तक इस सवाल को सोचती रही है, उससे भिन्न ढंग से सोचना चाहिये अगर वह सच्चाई से ठीक रास्ते पर कदम बढ़ाना चाहती है तो।

दूसरा जो बहुत बड़ा सवाल है वह महंगाई का है। गुजरात में अहमदाबाद में अभी एक जांच हुई थी और उस चाली की जांच से पता चला कि ८८ परसेंट लोग कर्ज में हैं। ६१ परसेंट लोग अपने बच्चों को शाला में नहीं भेज सकते हैं। इसके दो कारण हो सकते हैं। एक कारण तो यह हो सकता है कि उनको उन बच्चों की कमाई की जरूरत होगी और दूसरा कारण यह हो सकता है कि किताबों और दूसरे साधनों के लिए उनके पास पैसे नहीं होंगे। महंगाई अहमदाबाद में भी बहुत बढ़ी हुई है। वहां पर महंगाई २५ से ४० परसेंट बढ़ गई है पिछले कुछ महीनों में ही। आप देखें कि किस किस चीज में बढ़ी है। ऐसी बात नहीं है कि सिर्फ चावल और गेहूं में ही बढ़ी है। तूर, मूंग, उड़द, चना, तेल, वैजीटेबल आयल, सभी के दाम बढ़े हैं और बढ़ रहे हैं। इससे लोगों को बहुत परेशानी हो रही है। क्यों भाव बढ़ गये हैं इसको आप देखें। क्या कोई दुर्भिक्ष हो गया है, कोई अकाल पड़ गया है, कोई चीज ऐसी हो गई है, जिसको अकस्मात कहा जा सकता हो? क्या हो गया है कि महंगाई एकदम बढ़ रही है और कई चीजों के दाम बढ़ रहे हैं। हमारे यहां मूंगफली का काफी उत्पादन होता है। वहां पर मूंगफली के तेल के भाव बढ़ने का कोई कारण नहीं है। आज सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट ने इंडायरेक्ट टैक्स जो लगा रखे हैं सब चीजों पर, उससे भी जरूर महंगाई बढ़ी है। लेकिन अभी पिछले थोड़े से महीनों में ही महंगाई इतनी ज्यादा क्यों बढ़ गई है, इसका क्या कारण है, इसको भी आपको देखना होगा।

सट्टाखोर आज बड़ी शौतान लीला आचर रहे हैं। एक जगह पर मैं गया और मुझे एक आदमी ने बताया कि मूंग में सट्टा हो रहा है और एक आदमी ने सब जो मूंग की दाल थी सारी की सारी अपने हाथ में कर ली और उसके बाद भाव बढ़ा दिये। जो दूकानदार थे उनको नया माल तो कहीं से मिलता नहीं था क्योंकि उन्होंने सब माल को हाथ कर लिया था, इस वास्ते भाव फौरन बढ़ गये। तूर की दाल के भाव हमारे यहां १३-१४ रुपये से ज्यादा कभी नहीं हुए, लेकिन अब २२-२३ रुपये हो गये हैं। सारी जिनदगी में इतने ऊंचे भाव तूर की दाल के नहीं हुए हैं। यह सट्टाखोरी का ही नतीजा है। आप देखें कि सट्टाखोरी करने के लिए लोगों के पास पैसा कहाँ से आता है। पूँजीपति का कोई रिश्तेदार होता है तो उसके पास एक दो लाख रुपया तो बैंक ही होता है, लेकिन बाकी पैसा कहाँ से आता है, इसको आप देखें। दूसरे जो लोग हैं, जो पैसों का लेन देन करते हैं, साहूकारी करते हैं, उन्होंने मुझे बताया है कि पैसा बैंक देता है। यह जो उल्टा व्यापार चलता है उसको करने के लिए ६० परसेंट पैसा बैंक देते हैं। बैंकों की बात आ गई तो दो बातें उसमें हैं। एक तो नफा खोरी की है। ऐसी जो सट्टाबाजी होती है इसका बन्द करने के लिए सरकार ने क्या कभी खयाल किया है या नहीं किया है कि यह बन्द होनी चाहिये? मैं कहना चाहता हूँ और दावे के साथ कहना चाहता हूँ कि देश में अग्र भावों पर अंकुश रखना है तो एक ऐसा कानून बनना चाहिये कि जो सट्टाखोरी करने वाला है, जो अन्न जमा करके उसके भावों को बढ़ाने का व्यापार करता है, जनता को भूखा मारता है, उसको फाँसी होगी और अग्र फाँसी की सजा आप उसको नहीं दे सकते हैं या देना नहीं चाहते हैं तो दूसरी सजा उसको जरूर होगी . . .

श्री यशपाल सिंह (कैराना) : गोली से उड़ाया जाए।

श्री याज्ञिक : बात . . . करना ठीक है लेकिन यह आपको मानना पड़ेगा कि नफा-खोरी की वजह से, सट्टाबाजी की वजह से, यह जो काला बाजार है, इसकी वजह से भावों में बढ़ोतरी होती है, महंगाई बढ़ती है। महंगाई को हम काल राक्षस कहते हैं। उसके पीछे बड़े भस्मासुर हैं। उनमें से एक सट्टेबाज है, दूसरा पूँजीपति है और तीसरा बैंक है। बैंकों का राष्ट्रीयकरण करने की बात मैं कोई थियरी से नहीं कहता हूँ। मैं सट्टा व्यापारी से बात करता हूँ तो वह कहता है कि सट्टेबाजी होती है। सट्टेबाजी करने वाले लोग काफी होते हैं। बैंक पैसा देते हैं इसलिये सट्टेबाजी चलती है, नहीं तो सट्टेबाजी नहीं चलती। इस तरह से बैंकों के राष्ट्रीयकरण की बात हमारे लिये जरूरी हो जाती है। बैंकों में काफी अग्रवस्था चलती है, अष्टाचार चलता है। बैंकों के कर्मचारियों ने खुद हमें बतलाया है। बैंकों के कर्मचारी भी कहते हैं कि बैंकों का राष्ट्रीयकरण होना चाहिये। आज जो सट्टेबाजी चलती है और जो भाव बढ़ते हैं उनके ऊपर अंकुश रखने के लिए सब से बड़ा रचनात्मक काम यह है कि बैंकों का राष्ट्रीयकरण किया जाय।

17.00 hrs.

आखिर में मैं एक बात और कहना चाहता हूँ। हमारे अग्रसदावाद में जो मिलों में काम करने वाले लोग हैं उनको महंगाई भत्ता मिलता है। महंगाई भत्ता सब मिलों में मिलता है, कारखानों में मिलता है, मगर कितना मिलता है। हमारे यहां गुजराती में एक कहावत है। "खोटी डुंगर, काढ़यो उन्दर।" सारे डुंगर को खोटी, और निकला क्या। उन्दर अर्थात् चूहा। कमेटी बैठी। कमेटी ने जांच की चीजों की महंगाई के बारे में। लेकिन नतीजा क्या आया। नतीजा यह निकला कि आज जो महंगाई भत्ता मिलता है उसमें ७ रुपया ज्यादा दिया जाय। अरे भाई, ७ रुपया क्यों दिया जाय? हिसाब

[श्री यज्ञिक]

की गिनती करो। हमने २५ रुपया मांगा है। मैं सिर्फ सरकारी काम करने वालों के लिये नहीं कहता हूँ। मैं दावे से कहता हूँ कि जो भी कर्मचारी हैं, चाहे वे कारखानों में काम करते हों, चाहे दुकानों में काम करते हों, चाहे सरकारी आफिसों में काम करें, सभी सरकारी आफिसों में काम करें आटोनोमस बाडीज में काम करें, सारे भारत में आज की महंगाई के हिसाब से कम से कम २५ रुपया ज्यादा महंगाई भत्ता उनको दिया जाना चाहिये। नहीं दे रहे हैं इसलिये भूखमरी होती है, असन्तोष होता है, और फिर जब उत्पादन नहीं बढ़ता है तो उसके लिये आप चिन्ताते हैं। सीधी चीज यह है कि सब कर्मचारियों को, चाहे वे केन्द्रीय सरकार के हों, राज्य सरकार के हों, दुकानों के हों, कारखानों के हों, मिलों के हों, मौजूदा महंगाई का हिसाब लगा कर पूरा पूरा २५ रुपया ज्यादा दिया जाना चाहिये। मैं एक लभज में कहना चाहता हूँ कि अगर आप नहीं देंगे तो बड़ा असन्तोष होगा और आन्दोलन होगा, और उसके फलस्वरूप जो कुछ होगा उसकी पूरी जिम्मेदार दृक्कमत होगी।

17.03 hrs.

#### BUSINESS ADVISORY COMMITTEE

#### TWENTY-THIRD REPORT

**Shri Rane (Buldana):** Sir, I beg to present the Twenty-third Report of the Business Advisory Committee.

#### RURAL WATER SUPPLY\*

**Dr. L. M. Singhvi (Jodhpur):** Before I begin, I would like to reiterate my request that a little more time may be allocated to this discussion.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** This is only a half-an-hour discussion. You can take 15 minutes.

**Dr. L. M. Singhvi:** Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, my purpose in raising this discussion this afternoon is to show how the governmental policies and programmes for adequate and safe supply of water particularly in the rural areas of our country have suffered from lack of integrated approach, from lack of coordinated implementation of programmes and from all-round confusion. My purpose is also to elicit some clarifications and relevant information and also to ascertain whether it is possible even now for us to entertain a ray of hope in the matter of adequate and safe rural water supply in this country. The horizons of rural water supply programmes in this country have often contained nothing but a magnified mirage. I find that the sufferings, the sorrow, the misery, the pathos and the despair of the rural population in the matter of obtaining adequate and safe water supply have gone completely unnoticed in spite of the tall claims of compassion and concessions to democratic processes that are made in our body politic. I feel that those parts of the country which are stricken with chronic and perpetual water famines have not been helped adequately and have been neglected in a manner which can only persuade us to believe that Government have taken a wooden attitude towards their sufferings. I feel that this has tended to shake our faith in the exaggerated claims of democracy and socialism which it appears the party in power is never tired of repeating *ad nauseam*, in spite of the fact that the actual performance on this all-important front has been very poor indeed.

I make bold to say that the performance on this front stands out as the gravest indictment of the Administration in the field of providing the essential utility services in the country.

To illustrate this, I shall take this august House to the Question Hour on the 21st November, 1963. When

\*Half-an-hour discussion.