

12.29 hrs.

**MOTION ON PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS—contd.**

**Mr. Speaker:** The House will now take up further consideration of the following motion moved by Shri Harish Chandra Heda and seconded by Lt. Col. Maharajkumar Dr. Vijaya Ananda of Vizianagram on the 19th February, 1965, nemely:—

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

“That the Members of Lok Sabha assembled in this Session are deeply grateful to the President for the Address which he has been pleased to deliver to both Houses of Parliament assembled together on the 17th February, 1965.”

Out of 20 hours allotted, one hour and 55 minutes have already been taken.

**Shri Shinkre (Marmagoa):** Sir, I rise to a point of order.

**Mr. Speaker:** No, Sir.

**Shri Shinkre:** Yes, Sir. When I raised during the Question Hour you were pleased to say that you will take it up after the Question Hour.

**Mr. Speaker:** No point of order at this stage. When he gets an opportunity he can raise it.

**Shri H. N. Mukerjee (Calcutta Central):** Mr. Speaker, Sir, we are having this annual ritual of a debate on the President's Address and this time, I am afraid, it is more than usually painful on account of the peculiar self-satisfaction, in today's circumstances rather extraordinarily irritating and almost perverse, which characterises the speech put in the President's mouth by the Cabinet.

The President's Address is supposed to be a document that sets the tone to the budget session. Yet, it is a little more than a dull, spiritless report, quite insensible to the character and the dimensions of the crisis that seems to have made a permanent settlement on our land. We seem to be having to pay the price for having purchased our independence in August 1947, with a coin which was morally counterfeited, without a revolution that is to say, and by way of a compromise that involved partition and many concomitant evils. Yet, in the President's Address, 18 years after independence we see that the government takes a supine view of things, speaks almost in an aside and airily “our difficulties and apprehensions” that would be overcome. I consider this to be most extraordinary since we are where near getting out of the horrid mess into which the unexplained, half-hearted and often arrogantly-implemented language policy of government has landed this country.

The language imbroglia followed up on and was undoubtedly embittered by government's disastrous failure in handling the problem of food availability and of spiralling prices, a failure which is nowhere near being rectified. Our people today suffer, whether they work in fields or factory or office, or whether they are teachers or doctors and, what is more, our people do not seem today to have a sense of direction, a consciousness of perspective, a certitude that if things are worse today, they must soon be better. They do not seem to have a conviction that whatever our weaknesses, our country is likely to be set on a course that will lead us to happiness. Growingly our people are getting fed up with the whole lot of us; it is not a crisis of confidence only relating to the government and the Congress Party, but of all parties and groups and trends in politics. It is a situation which calls for responsibility and hard thinking but the government, the kind of Government which we have, is unable to set its tone, is much more than merely inept.

Neither in the Address, nor in the Home Minister's speech—I am sorry I miss him in the House at present—neither in the Address nor in the Home Minister's speech was there any indication of immediate and long-term measures, decided by government or in contemplation, to repair the ravages of the linguistic upsurge. We have heard not a word from government about judicial investigation into the firings on the citizens in the South, which would be the first step towards peace in Tamil Nad and elsewhere. We have not had a word about “re-thinking” on the language issue which, one of the Cabinet Ministers, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, rightly said was called for. Meanwhile, the Prime Minister seems to have performed a retreat from leadership. Ministers speak in different voices, particularly to pressmen with whom they have confabulations from time to time, and the so-called “Syndicate” in the Congress an ominous innovation in our political set-up, carries on with the devil knows, that kind of schemings and what kind of peculiar conversations.

It is not by manoeuvres, it is not merely by holding Chief Ministers meetings, it is not merely by issuing administrative ukases and similar means, but by extensive and understanding consultations with all sections of our people, at political, intellectual and other levels that we can solve the official language problem. If the recent troubles have a lesson for us, it is that we can only make haste slowly, much as many of us would like to move more rapidly and end the unfortunate and unnatural, but historically determined, thralldom of an alien language on this country.

Unable to see its way clearly and riddled by its internal disputes and difficulties, Government seeks vainly to divert people's minds away from real problems by performing a few political stunts from time to time and offering scapegoats for the people's anger. Thus, throwing all democratic

principles, of which Government prates so much, to the winds, the Home Minister ordered the detention of nearly a thousand leftist political leaders and workers, obliterating in the process the representation in Parliament of a group of Left Communists, led by our friend, Shri A. K. Gopalan, who had broken away from the parent party, the Communist Party of India. Even papers like the *Hindustan Times*, which speaks for the Government—I am quoting these words from its issue of the 6th of January 1965—says:

“Government acted in arresting these Communists primarily to divert attention from the worsening food and prices situation and, secondly, to avert an imminent Congress debacle in the elections in Kerala.”

Sir, we shall have an opportunity, I hope, to discuss that dark document, not a white paper, which Shri Nanda placed on the Table of the House the other day and I reserve my comments for that occasion. But, in all conscience, in this regard Government has done an ugly job, petty-minded, malicious and utterly undemocratic. Shri Nanda's report is completely unconvincing, a symptom of the increasing degradation of our political life, and a mischievous and ironic pointer that the Home Minister, perhaps frightened by some of his enemies calling him “soft” towards Communists, is being pushed into something like a Maccarthian posture which befits no decent democrat.

In this connection, I would like to say, that I have got a telegram from Bombay, reporting that Shri B. T. Ranadive, one of the Communist leaders who has been in jail for a very long time now, is very unwell and is getting no proper treatment. I have got a telegram which says:

“Save his life Your action please”.

I mention this only in order to emphasize that Government has a responsibility in regard to these political prisoners whom they have stowed in

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jail without giving them an opportunity to answer whatever accusations government has hurled against them, and if their health is in jeopardy and if their life is in danger, suitable steps at least in all decency, ought to be taken.

Sir, it was very sickening to be told, as we were told in the Address, that food prices have registered some decrease and there has recently been an easing of the situation. No doubt it is true that the shameful days of November and December last year, when large areas faced excruciating food shortages, are not with us. But, surely, Government should know that in a State like West Bengal, outside the rationing zone, rice sells in the deficit districts at one rupee per kilogram and people wonder, what the position might be during the summer and during the rains if things are so bad just after harvest time.

The other day the Finance Minister placed on the Table of the House certain figures regarding the decrease in the wholesale prices of articles of consumption, and I was amazed to see many items which are utterly misleading. For instance, there are certain figures regarding prices of essential articles in Calcutta during August to December 1964, and I find among the items mentioned mustard oil, about which it is stated that the price fell from Rs. 4.14 paise per kilogram in August to Rs. 3.90 paise in October and continued to be Rs. 3.90 paise in November and December.

**Shrimati Renu Chakravarty** (Barackpore): That is perhaps only for hon. Ministers. We are not able to get it at that price.

**Shri H. N. Mukerjee:** As a matter of fact, it was not available, either for money or for love, for a period, but then, it was available for Rs. 3.90 paise according to this report in reply to our question, Starred Question No. 4 on the 18th of February, 1965. If

this is a sample of the kind of information which government officially collects from its own sources, then I do not know what kind of remark I might be persuaded to make with the vocabulary which happens to be at my command.

Genuine land reforms which could have brought about advance in production and prepare the ground for effective co-operative farming and adequate internal procurement have been successfully subverted by vested interests and Government counts on nothing so much as the United States PL 480 bounty which to a harassed and shortsighted administration is like manna from heaven. No one suggests that we stop these PL 480 imports forthwith. We cannot do that; we need not do that. But if we cannot soon afford to do without these imports, it will be the funeral of our economy and of all our hopes for the future. Over freight alone for PL 480 imports we have to fork out about Rs. 100 crores. I believe, Rs. 13.58 crores in 1961-62 and Rs. 33.43 crores in 1963-64 were payable only on freight for wheat and the United States monopolists today demand that 50 per cent of freight costs of PL 480 imports in American ships, which charge the heaviest freights in the world, have to be paid for in dollars and that out of the counterpart funds built up through PL 480 food sales United States tourists also would draw what they need, thus costing us the dollars that we want badly.

Instead of seeking such steps as the implementation of the FAO Congress recommendation of 1963 regarding the availability to developing countries, like ours, of the West's surplus of nitrogenous fertiliser and of pesticides till we have built our own factories on the requisite scale, we wallow in what many of us imagine to be United States bounty. Sometimes I feel as if a new battle of Plassey is sought to be won in a changed context by the instrumentality of PL 480.

The massive counterpart funds can be and are being used in an attempt to subvert our chosen pattern of economic growth and to subvert also the integrity of our country by intrigues in various guises and through diverse media in Kashmir, in Negaland and elsewhere. I have said before in this House and I repeat that there should be without delay a competent high level investigation of the impact on our economy of PL 480 transactions. I say again that I am not suggesting anything so impractical as the immediate cessation of these imports; but I shudder to think of the effects of the transaction if it continues for very long.

There are other dangerous portents which bode ill for our economy and our future. I wonder if it can be laughed away as we laugh away so much of what Shri Satya Narayan Sinha, the Minister of Parliamentary Affairs, says in this House, but he is reported to have said in Madras—he said this before a meeting of businessmen in Madras; I am quoting from the *Hindustan Times* of the 13th February—that he did not believe in controls which he felt were not workable and that the natural law of supply and demand, so often hymned by my hon. friend, Professor Ranga, and his supporters should operate. It is very peculiar that a Minister of Government goes to Madras in a very troubled time and chooses to make this kind of observation before a meeting of businessmen. Possibly, he could have occupied himself better if he had the guts to try and solve the language difficulty. But he did not do that.

It is notorious that quite often high-up officers hostile to the entire concept of nationalisation are at the head of public sector projects. In the case of the Heavy Engineering Corporation in Ranchi even deliberate sabotage has been suspected. With the New Year the Finance Ministry—I do not see the Finance Minister here. I am sorry to have to say it but there is such a thing as parliamentary courtesy which like the quality of

mercy, is twice blessed. It blesseth him that gives and him that takes. I do not hope that, as in the days of Jawaharlal Nehru, the Ministers of Government will try to show a little more respect for meetings of Parliament. We may be numerically insignificant but morally perhaps we formulate matters which require to be considered by Government by direct confrontation and not by merely getting a summary of what we say prepared by, God knows, who among the minions who serve them in different capacities.

The Finance Ministry in the New Year has offered a gift to big money abroad, has opened wider the entry of foreign monopolists into our economy, has furnished them with "letters of intent" which even our own monopolists are beginning to dislike to a certain extent, so that these foreign monopolists could look around for malleable Indian collaborators or even do without any kind of undesirable native contamination and get over any shortfall with help from our Industrial Development Bank. It is a major policy change sought to be effected surreptitiously, the offer of the freedom of our land to maneaters from abroad while the foreign capital policy statement of 1949 is given lip loyalty.

For the last three years the World Bank and its auxiliary organisations have been persistently prodding the Government of India into liberalising conditions of entry for foreign equity capital as distinct from purely technical collaboration. The country must warn Government from jumping into this business. The long-term implications of it in regard to balance of payments and otherwise are gravely injurious to our economic independence.

In spite of the Industrial Policy Resolution of 1956 which prohibits the setting up of majority owned subsidiaries by foreign investors, the practice in recent years has often been different. The rule of minority foreign

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participation has been disregarded in a number of vital cases. There are such cases as those of the English Electric Company, Consolidation Pneumatic Tools Company, Asahi Glass of Japan, W.W. Sprague of the United Kingdom, Parke Davis of the United State, Atlas Copco of Sweden, Johnson and Johnson of the United States, Hoffman La Roche of Sweden Merck, Sharp and Dohme Company of the United States who have been allowed to own a majority in their Indian operations. Of course, Government says that it practises no rigidity and swears by pragmatism which may lead anywhere. But one thing is clear. The Finance Minister has launched his drive to attract foreign capital to give our economy a "push". Businessmen's delegations have come to India for the International Chamber of Commerce and other goings-on. West German moneybags have given India an ultimatum brazenly offering terms with the take-it-or-leave-it air while Indian spokesmen have had to grovel before them. This contrasts so drastically with the attitude of the German democratic Republic with which we have economic contact of a very useful sort but with which we do not choose to have diplomatic relationship. When even Ministers of the GDR have to come to this country visas cannot be issued in the proper way and all sorts of irritating discriminatory practices are being pursued in regard to the GDR while the German Federal Republic sends its business magnates who talk to us as if they are *pucca sahibs* who are treating with natives whom they can treat with contempt. This kind of thing goes on and it does appear that the Finance Minister means to "push" India away from the course set after independence and more especially at the time of the Second Five Year Plan which really initiated the process of our industrialisation.

Unlike in the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, which Shri Manubhai Shah attended—he should know more about it—where the developing countries helped

by the countries of socialism could make their presence and their needs felt, the foreign magnates touring India behaved as if they could browbeat the native. They openly demanded tax concessions for foreign personnel, no change in the patents law, no controls and restrictions to frustrate the private sector, as if it was their job to give us advice about how we are going to deal with our own private sector—in short, they wanted freedom to loot on a bigger scale than foreign capital can do now in India though its profit rates in India are already higher than elsewhere. This kind of thing should make us sit up and take steps against the wily manoeuvres of big money, Indian and foreign; but the Finance Minister who does not choose to be here snugly of preferring private foreign capital to Government loans.

This is a subject which must come up again and again in this House, in this session. But I warn Government that in preparing to welcome foreign private capital, it is digging the grave of whatever brand of socialism it still tom-toms before the country.

Our people have welcomed the Prime Minister's declaration to which I myself, in this House, offered my full support that despite Chinese nuclear detonation, we shall not embark on the manufacture of atomic weapons but shall instead endeavour to have international agreement for the elimination of the threat of nuclear war. It is a pity that reports from the United Kingdom and elsewhere caused some confusion for a time, but the Prime Minister has categorically and very rightly stressed lately that he never asked for any nuclear shield or umbrella or guarantee or whatever other sementic synonym might be discovered. However, disquieting reports have come lately from Washington to the effect that our Ambassador, Shri B. K. Nehru said at a dinner given on the 4th February by the American business press that India was waiting for an answer to the

Prime Minister's request to the Powers for a nuclear deterrent. Several times before, this Ambassador, as the House knows, has opened his mouth and put his foot into it. In the normal course, one would assume that the Ambassador was mistaken and he needed to be pulled up. But the whole tale of the shield has become so messy that one does not quite know what to believe and what to dismiss as untrue. This is a matter which Government should clear up and leave no room for equivocation.

There should not be an idea that, because of our expectation of aid from certain quarters, we cannot take a forthright stand on matters in which we are interested. Therefore, it is important that India, interested as she must be in the affairs of South-East Asia and particularly of Vietnam, where she is Chairman of the International Control Commission, should call unequivocally for immediate withdrawal of all the United States troops for there are no other foreign troops there from Vietnam. The Pentagon out on a spree of brinkmanship has launched very heavy air attacks on North Vietnam in a manner that has shocked all decent world opinion. A London paper reported, for instance, the first day that the attack on North Vietnam took place with 156 jet planes. The North Vietnam costs the United States 1-1/2 million dollars per day and ties down 25 per cent of their regular army officers and yet the bitter South Vietnamese deadlock with recurrent *coups d'etat* continues. Deak Rusk has to wear bullet-proof vest in Saigon and yet nothing is learnt, nothing is gained. There is no agonising reappraisal. The famous cartoonist Vicky in *New Statesman and Nation* has recently portrayed the United States sinking in the Vietnam hog and the United Kingdom about to share the experience in Malaysia. India has a clear duty in this regard and that is to say categorically that for the sake of peace and development and freedom, the United States forces should get out of Vietnam. If for fear of losing United States

friendship, we play down this rightful demand, it will be a matter of shame and sorrow which will lose us even more friends in the Afro-Asian world than we have lost already.

In the *Economic Weekly*, a very respectable journal of Bombay, of 5th December, 1964, a friend of our country, the eminent economist, Mrs. Joan Robinson, contributed an article entitled "India Wake Up". She said, "Foreign aid howsoever needed is no substitute for hard work, national unity, homely frugality, self-denying devotion and robust commonsense". Many of these qualities the Prime Minister and his friends claim that they have in plenty but I do hope that these qualities are rarely brought into operation. India wake up, Mrs. Joan Robinson says, "it is later than you think." She had been to China. Whatever we might think of China in regard to Chinese misadventure on our borders, whatever we might think of what she has done to pull back the wheel of history for a long time in this part of the world, after all, she has made such economic advance as is found expression in the technological achievement of the nuclear detonation which she has made. But, herein India, in answer to that challenge, something has got to be done. We see in this country a very different picture; we see a refusal to take up the challenge. We see that drift back from Bubhaneshwar in Durgapur where the socialist forum with which the Home Minister seems in some kind of way to be associated was showed out by the "syndicate"—I do not see the syndicate here somehow; I see nobody today; it seems I am addressing an invisible audience..

**Shri Daji (Indore):** They are preparing for the Working Committee.

**Shri H. N. Mukerjee:** The socialist forum was shooed out and such a dreadful lot of dirty Congress linen washed over Durgapur—I do not want to refer to it—moneys doubtfully collected and ostentatiously wasted, a railway station being constructed and

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then abolished straightway, Government agencies being drafted for Party purposes and, even worse, we see now in the leadership, of the Government and the ruling Party, a retreat from principle, and acquiescence in a state of things as in Orissa, which makes Mr. Nanda's *Sadachar* a laughing stock, a stress on pragmatism which will mean anything or nothing, a bankruptcy of ideals, an ignorance of developing world perspectives and the growing dilution and distortion of our economic objectives which have sickened the very sound of socialism in Congress mouths. All this is reflected crudely and with very few redeeming features in the President's Address which will, I think, heighten the prevailing gloom in the House and the country.

श्री अ० प्र० शर्मा (बक्सर) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण पर जो धन्यवाद का प्रस्ताव इस सदन में माननीय सदस्य श्री हेडा ने प्रस्तुत किया है और जिसका समर्थन लेफ्टिनेंट कर्नल महाराजकुमार विजयनगरम जी ने किया है मैं उसका समर्थन करने के लिये अभी सदन में खड़ा हुआ हूँ ।

मैं इस सरकार को इस बात के लिये धन्यवाद देना चाहता हूँ कि इतना मुश्किल समय होते हुए और खास तौर से ऐसे लोगों के इस देश में रहते हुए हालांकि देश योजनाबद्ध होकर काम कर रहा है फिर भी भिन्न-भिन्न पार्टियाँ बना कर प्रगति के काम में भी देश के पैर अलग-अलग दिशा में खींचना चाहते हैं, फिर भी देश ने जो प्रगति के रास्ते पर अपने को आगे बढ़ाया है, उसके लिए सचमुच यह सरकार धन्यवाद की पात्र है । राष्ट्रपति जी ने कुछ चीजों का अपने अभिभाषण में उल्लेख किया है ।

कपड़े के उत्पादन में हम काफी आगे बढ़े हैं और मैं तो यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि

इस देश में कोयले की खदानों से कोयले का उत्पादन भी अधिक बढ़ा है । उसके साथ ही साथ अभी आप ने देखा कि रेलवे मंत्रालय ने जो बजट पेश किया रेलवेज का, उसमें यह साफ शब्दों में बतलाया गया है कि किस तरीके से हिन्दुस्तान की रेलवेज ने जितना भी उसको माल बहन करने के लिए दिया जा सकता था, उसके लिए अपने को पिछले वर्ष में बढ़ा लिया है । इसलिए यह सब जो देश में उन्नति के लिए काम हुए हैं उसके लिए सचमुच सरकार धन्यवाद की पात्र है ।

अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं इसके सम्बन्ध में एक, दो सुझाव भी रखना चाहता हूँ । जहां तक देश में अन्न उत्पादन की बात की गई है, राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण में उन्होंने लम्बे अर्से की योजना की बात की है और छोटी-छोटी योजनाओं की भी बातें की हैं । खास तौर से मैं सिंचाई के सम्बन्ध में कुछ कहना चाहता हूँ ।

जहां भी इस बात का जिक्र किया जाता है, खास तौर से दो बातों के ऊपर जोर दिया जाता है । पहले यह कि अच्छे बीज किसानों को दिये जायें और दूसरे अच्छे अच्छे औजार दिये जायें अन्न के उत्पादन को बढ़ाने के लिये, लेकिन उसके साथ ही साथ अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं बड़े अदब के साथ सरकार के सामने यह सुझाव रखना चाहता हूँ कि सिर्फ अच्छे बीज देने से या अच्छे औजार देने से ही उत्पादन मुल्क में नहीं बढ़ सकता है । यह ठीक है कि सिंचाई की बड़ी बड़ी योजनायें आगे चल कर हमारे लिए बहुत लाभदायक सिद्ध होंगी, लेकिन अगर वर्तमान समय में, मौजूदा हालत में, अलग अलग जगहों में सिंचाई की छोटी छोटी योजनायें नहीं चलाई जाती हैं, तो शीघ्रातिशीघ्र अन्न का उत्पादन बढ़ाने का हमारा लक्ष्य पूरा नहीं हो सकता है ।

मैं आप को अपने क्षेत्र—बक्सर संसदीय क्षेत्र—के बारे में बताना चाहता हूँ कि आरा-बक्सर रोड के उत्तरी हिस्से और बक्सर-रामगढ़ सड़के के पश्चिमी इलाके में करीब करीब 1,10 हजार एकड़ जमीन में सिंचाई की कोई व्यवस्था नहीं है। यह मेरा कहना नहीं है, बल्कि वहाँ के कृषि विभाग के लोगों का अन्दाजा है कि अगर एक योजना के अन्तर्गत वहाँ पर 200 ट्यूबवेल लगाए जायें—क्योंकि वहाँ पर ट्यूबवेल के सिवाये सिंचाई की कोई व्यवस्था नहीं हो सकती है—जिन पर 1,20 लाख रुपये खर्च हो सकते हैं, तो वहाँ पर 35 से 40 हजार टन गेहूँ और चने की पैदावार बढ़ सकती है, जिसकी कीमत साल में दो करोड़ रुपये हो जायेगी।

अगर सरकार छोटी सिंचाई योजनाओं की तरफ ध्यान दे, तो मैं समझता हूँ कि आज जो गल्ले की कमी है और विदेशों से अनाज मंगाने की आवश्यकता पड़ती है, उसको दृष्टि में रखते हुए न सिर्फ़ उन स्थानों के लोगों की आवश्यकता की पूर्ति होगी, जहाँ छोटी सिंचाई योजनायें चालू की जायेंगी, बल्कि वहाँ से दूसरी जगहों में भी अन्न भेजा जा सकेगा। केन्द्रीय सरकार की तरफ से हर महीने पचास हजार टन अनाज बिहार सरकार को दिया जाता है। अगर इस छोटे से इलाके में सिंचाई की व्यवस्था हो जाये, तो वहाँ चालीस हजार टन गेहूँ की पैदावार बढ़ जायेगी, जो कि केन्द्रीय सरकार की तरफ से बिहार सूबे को दिये जाने वाले एक महीने के अन्न के बराबर हो जायेगा।

औद्योगिक क्षेत्र में जो उन्नति हो रही है, उसका भी जिक्र राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने अभिभाषण में किया है। लेकिन मुझे अफसोस के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि जिन लोगों के जरिये, यानी जिन श्रमिकों और मजदूरों के कारण, जिनकी मेहनत की वजह से औद्योगिक

क्षेत्रों में उत्पादन बढ़ा है, उन की हालत में, खास तौर से गांवों में रहने वाले खेतिहर मजदूरों की हालत में, सुधार करने के लिए भी योजना बनाई जाये, इसके सम्बन्ध में अभिभाषण में कुछ नहीं कहा गया है। हमारे देश में सामाजिक विषमता तब तक दूर नहीं हो सकती है, जब तक कि आर्थिक विषमता को दूर न किया जाये और आर्थिक विषमता को दूर करने के लिए यह जरूरी है कि जो नीचे गिरे हुए लोग हैं, जो अनुचित जातियों और अनुसूचित आदिमजातियों के लोग हैं, उनकी दशा में जल्दी से जल्दी काफी सुधार किया जाये।

राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण में पंचायत, आरबिट्रेशन, के जरिये औद्योगिक झगड़ों को तय करने का जिक्र किया गया है। लेकिन मुझे दुःख के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि यद्यपि पिछले दस वर्षों से राष्ट्रीय मजदूर कांग्रेस और इस सदन में भी खास तौर से मजदूरों के क्षेत्र में काम करने वाले कांग्रेस के बहुत से नुमायंदों ने सरकार का ध्यान बराबर इस बात की ओर आकर्षित किया है कि देश में मजदूरों के झगड़े पंचायत, समझौते और आरबिट्रेशन के जरिये तय नहीं हो सकते, देश में वह कानून लागू नहीं हो सकता, जब तक जिन उद्योगों और कारखानों की मालिक सरकार है, उन में आरबिट्रेशन के सिद्धान्त नहीं अपनाए जाते और लागू किए जाते, लेकिन फिर भी सरकार ने इस मांग को स्वीकार नहीं किया है। सरकार निजी उद्योगपतियों को सलाह देती है कि वे पंचायत और शान्ति से औद्योगिक झगड़े तय करें, वह मजदूरों पर भी यही जोर डालती है, लेकिन जिन उद्योगों की सरकार मालिक है, वहाँ यह व्यवस्था अभी तक लागू नहीं हुई है। आशा है कि प्रधान मंत्री सरकारी उद्योगों में भी परमानेंट आरबिट्रेशन की व्यवस्था कायम करायेंगे, ताकि जो लोग मजदूरों के फायदे और भलाई के लिए नहीं, बल्कि अपनी राजनीतिक महत्वाकांक्षाओं को



[श्री अ० प्र० शर्मा]

पूरा करने के लिये मजदूरों को गुमराह कर के उनको गलत रास्ते पर ले जाना चाहते हैं, उन की इच्छायें पूरी न हों, देश में औद्योगिक शान्ति बनी रहे और देश उन्नति के रास्ते पर चलता रहे ।

मैं भाषा के सम्बन्ध में कुछ ज्यादा नहीं कहना चाहता था, लेकिन जिस तरह से इस सदन में और इस सदन के बाहर भाषा के नाम पर बातें होती हैं, उसके सम्बन्ध में एक दो शब्द कहना चाहता हूँ। हम में से जो संसद-सदस्य हैं, जो यहां पर अपने आपको बड़े नेता समझते हैं या जो बाहर अपने आप को बड़े नेता समझते हैं, मैं समझता हूँ कि भाषा के सवाल पर उनसे ज्यादा समझदारी आम लोगों के बीच में है। जिस दिन मैं संसदे का अधिवेशन अटेंड करने के लिए दिल्ली आया, उस दिन एक टैक्सी ड्राइवर ने मुझसे एक सवाल किया—और वह एक मार्क की बात थी—कि अगर लोग अपनी-अपनी मातृभाषा के लिए लड़ाई करें, तो समझ में आ सकता है, लेकिन एक विदेशी भाषा के लिए लोग आपस में लड़ाई करते हैं, यह कितने दुःख की बात है। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि अगर हम लोगों की समझ में ये बातें नहीं आती हैं, तो हमको उन लोगों से सबक सीखना चाहिए ।

आखिर यह भाषा का झगड़ा किस लिए है? क्या यह झगड़ा इसलिए है कि हम एक भाषा बोलना नहीं चाहते हैं, उस को पढ़ना नहीं चाहते हैं या समझना नहीं चाहते हैं? मैं समझता हूँ कि यह झगड़ा इसके लिए नहीं है। मैं साफ तौर से कहना चाहता हूँ कि यह झगड़ा तो इसलिए है कि जो थोड़े से पढ़े-लिखे लोग नौकरियों के पीछे फिरते हैं और देखते हैं कि उनको नौकरी नहीं मिलेगी, वे अपने नौकरी के लिए देश-हित की कुरबानी कर रहे हैं। इस सम्बन्ध में सबसे चिन्ता का विषय यह है कि इन बातों को

हासिल करने के लिए रास्ता कौन सा अख्यार किया जाता है। मेरे माननीय मित्र, श्री एच० एन० मुकर्जी, आज से बहुत पहले नन्दा जी की तारीफ किया करते थे, लेकिन आज वह उनसे क्यों नाराज हैं, यह मैं अभी बताता हूँ। उन्होंने कहा कि भाषा के सवाल को सुलझाने के लिए गवर्नमेंट ने कोई रास्ता देश के सामने नहीं रखा। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि अगर पहले से कोई रास्ता न बताया गया हो, तो रास्ता बताने की आवश्यकता होती, लेकिन जब रास्ता पहले ही बना हुआ है और उस रास्ते पर चलने के लिए कुछ लोग तैयार न हों, तो फिर क्या किया जा सकता है।

मैं समझता हूँ कि भाषा के सवाल को लेकर आपस में इस तरह से तनातनी पैदा करना और ऐसा रास्ता अख्यार करना मुनासिब नहीं है। अगर इस विषय में कोई दिक्कत, परेशानी या कठिनाई है, तो जरूर उनको दूर किया जाना चाहिए। लेकिन ऐसा कोई रास्ता अख्यार करना बिल्कुल उचित नहीं है, जिससे देश के टुकड़े टुकड़े हो जायें, देश में बद-अमनी और अराजकता पैदा हो जाये। हमें सबसे ज्यादा डर तो इस बात का है कि इससे कहीं प्रजातंत्र खतरे में न पड़ जाये, क्योंकि प्रजातंत्र को आघात पहुंचने से पढ़े-लिखे लोगों को नुकसान नहीं हो सकता है, बल्कि नुकसान उन लोगों का होगा, जो गरीब, मजदूर और किसान हैं, जिनको प्रजातंत्र के भलावा दूसरी किसी तरह की हुकमत में ऊपर उठने का रास्ता नहीं मिल सकता है।

जहां तक भाषा का सवाल है, पार्टीज में भी उसके बारे में बहस होती है और कुछ लोग कहते हैं कि हिन्दी किसी की मातृ-भाषा है और वे उसको दूसरों पर लादना चाहते हैं। मैं कहना चाहता

हूँ कि मातृ-भाषा बनाने का सवाल नहीं है। भाषा के मानी ये हैं कि मैं जो कहता हूँ, उसको आप समझ सकें और आप जो कहते हैं, उसको हम समझ सकें। मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि हिन्दुस्तान में कौन सी ऐसी भाषा है, जिसको देश के एक कोने से दूसरे कोने तक अधिक से अधिक लोग इतनी आसानी से समझ सकते हों, जितनी आसानी से वे हिन्दी समझ सकते हैं। जब कुछ लोग हिन्दी-भाषियों या हिन्दी भाषा के समर्थकों के लिए "फेनेटिक शब्द इस्तेमाल करते हैं, तो मुझे उससे दुख होता है।

जहां तक मेरा या मेरे जैसे लोगों का सवाल है, हमने किसी खास सूबे या जगह को अपना क्षेत्र नहीं बनाया है मजदूर संगठन के लिए, बल्कि सारे देश में मजदूरों का संगठन होता है। इसलिए हर एक सूबे और हर एक जगह की भाषा हमारे लिए उतनी ही प्रिय है, जितनी कि हमारी मातृ-भाषा प्रिय हो सकती है। आज झगड़ा है इस बात का कि लोग हिन्दी के अलावा एक और भाषा सीखें। मैंने स्कूल में बंगला नहीं पढ़ी है, लेकिन मैं दस प्रॉइमिंट तः बंगला में व्याख्यान दे सकता हूँ। हमारी यूनियन का केन्द्रीय कार्यालय कलकत्ते में है और हम लोगों ने यह निश्चय किया है कि हम में से जो साथी हिन्दीभाषी हैं, वे बंगला में बोलेंगे और बंगला-भाषी कोशिश करके हिन्दी में बोलेंगे। हममें इस तरह का कोई झगड़ा नहीं है। हमारे यहां इस तरह का कोई झगड़ा नहीं है। मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि इस विवाद को ज्यादा आगे न बढ़ाया जाए।

अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं दो बातें और कहना चाहता हूँ। एक बात तो प्रो० रंगा के सम्बन्ध में कहना चाहता हूँ और दूसरी बात प्रो० मुर्जी के सम्बन्ध में। प्रो० मुखर्जी ने बड़ा गुस्सा जाहिर किया

हमारे गृह मंत्री के ऊपर और कहा कि गृह मंत्री ने अपने बयान में कोई भी ऐसी बात नहीं कही कि इन लोगों को जेल में बन्द करना, इन लोगों को डिटेन करना क्यों आवश्यक हो गया था। उन्होंने पूछा कि किस जुर्म में इनको जेल में रखा गया है। इस किताब में लिखा गया है कि कुछ चीन समर्थक साम्यवादियों को राष्ट्र विरोधी उनकी गतिविधियों और विध्वंस तथा हिंसा के लिए तैयारियों के कारण जेल में बन्द किया गया है। यह गुनाह साबित होगा या नहीं, यह दूसरी बात है। लेकिन यह लांछन इनके ऊपर लगाया गया है और मेरा खयाल है कि सरकार ने जब इनको जेल में बन्द किया है तो जितनी बातें इस किताब में लिखी हैं, उनके अलावा और भी बातें और सबूत उसके पास होंगे। इस सम्बन्ध में ज्यादा न कह कर मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि माननीय श्री मुखर्जी साहब जिस पार्टी को बिलांग करते हैं यानी कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी हिन्दुस्तान की, आज वह पार्टी दो भागों में बटी हुई है। एक ओर तो चीन का समर्थन करने वाले लोग हैं और दूसरी तरफ रूस का समर्थन करने वाले लोग हैं। मुझे मालम नहीं कि जो दो भागों में लोग बंटें हुए हैं, क्या इसके अन्दर भी कोई चाल है? इसका कारण यह है कि मेरा यह विश्वास है कि जहां तक कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी का सम्बन्ध है चाहे वह चीन समर्थक हो या रूस समर्थक, कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी एक है, उसके अन्दर कोई दो टुकड़े हो ही नहीं सकते हैं, वह विभक्त हो ही नहीं सकती है।

श्री दाजी : अब तो दो पार्टियां हो गई हैं।

श्री अ० प्र० शर्मा : अगर यह दुरुस्त है तो एक तो चीन का समर्थन करने वाली है

[श्री प्र० प्र० शर्मा]

श्रीर दूसरी रूस का, लेकिन भारत का कोई समर्थन करने वाली पार्टी नहीं है ।

श्री बाजी : यह गलत है । हिन्दुस्तान का समर्थन करते हैं ।

श्री प्र० प्र० शर्मा : मुझे बड़ा आश्चर्य मालूम हुआ जब प्रो० मुखर्जी ने कहा कि जो लोग जेल में रखे गये हैं उनको सुविधायें मिलनी चाहियें, उनको आराम मिलना चाहिये । मैं समझता हूँ कि इस तरह की बातें करना बिल्कुल बेमुनासिब है । जिस वक्त चीन ने हमारे देश पर आक्रमण किया था तो चीनी समर्थक कुछ लोगों को जेलों में डाला गया था, उस समय भी हिन्दुस्तान की कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी ने उनकी हमदर्दी में कुछ बातें यहां पर कही थीं । जो लोग ऐसे लोगों का हमदर्द बनने की कोशिश करते हैं या हमदर्द बनें उनका जिन को देशद्रोह के चार्ज में जेल में रखा जाता है, तो सदन के माननीय सदस्यों और देश के लोगों को यह समझने में कोई मुश्किल नहीं होनी चाहिए कि रूस समर्थक कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी जो हिन्दुस्तान में है, उसका मकसद आगे क्या हो सकता है ।

एक शब्द मैं रंगा साहब के सम्बन्ध में कहना चाहता हूँ । उन्होंने इस सदन में एक सुझाव दिया है कि हम लोगों को किसी दूसरे देश से मदद लेनी चाहिये, मिलिट्री एड लेनी चाहिये और अपने देश का जो सुरक्षा का खर्चा है, उस में कमी कर देनी चाहिये । मैं बड़े अदब के साथ रंगा साहब से कहता हूँ कि उनका यह जो मकसद है वह तब तक पूरा नहीं हो सकता है जब तक कि वर्तमान सरकार पावर में है । दुर्भाग्यवश जब हमारे रंगा साहब की पार्टी की सरकार बने तब शायद ऐसा हो सकता है । अभी तो हमारे देश ने सभी पहलुओं पर सोच विचार करने के बाद यह फैसला किया है कि हम किसी अम्ब्रैला के नीचे नहीं जायेंगे, किसी की मदद ले कर अपने देश की रक्षा करना हम नहीं

चाहते हैं । हां अगर हमें मदद इज्जतपूर्वक मिलती है, बिना शर्त मिलती है, जिस को एड कहते हैं, वह मिलती है तो वह दूसरी बात है । हम ने यह फैसला कर रखा है कि दबाव में आ कर या गठबन्धन करके हम अपने देश की सुरक्षा व्यवस्था को आगे नहीं बढ़ा सकते हैं ।

इन शब्दों के साथ राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण पर जो धन्यवाद का प्रस्ताव पेश हुआ है, उसका मैं समर्थन करता हूँ और विश्वास दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि जहां तक मजदूरों का सवाल है, किसानों का सवाल है, देश चाहे जितनी परेशानी की हालत में हो, वे किसी के बहकावे में न पड़ करके बराबर देश और इस सरकार के पीछे हैं और राष्ट्र की आजादी और सुरक्षा का वे बराबर समर्थन करते रहेंगे, उस में बराबर वे अपना योगदान करते रहेंगे ।

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath (Hoshangabad):** Mr. Speaker, when the President graciously addressed Parliament last Wednesday and said that "looking back on the past twelve months, notice can be taken of several achievements which inspired hope and confidence", did he remember that less than three months earlier, on November 27, he had lamented in Baroda that "the present situation in the country is unsatisfactory, that both peasants and politicians have gone astray resulting in food shortage and inter-State quarrels, and if this was not checked in time, the consequences would be very serious"? When the President addressing Parliament last Wednesday said that "the emphasis on the Fourth Five Year Plan would be on agriculture", did he care to remember that on December 6. ....

**Mr. Speaker:** There is one thing I would like to remind Shri Kamath about. For everything that he has said, Shri Kamath can criticise the Government. But to say in a personal

way, 'did he remember', 'did he do that' and so on will not be fair, because in a way that would be commenting upon his own ideas and his own conduct. He can say that in the Address such and such things are put. But to say in a personal note 'Did the President remember?' would rather be just presuming as suggesting that it is his Address, which it is not.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** The President functions as President of the country, on this particular occasion or otherwise.

**Mr. Speaker:** It is well known that it is only on the advice of the Council of Ministers that he has to say these things.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** That I know.

**Mr. Speaker:** The Address itself is prepared by the Government and not by the President.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** Yes, therefore, I would like to point out.

**Mr. Speaker:** But he cannot say 'did he remember?'

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** All right. I will not use that word.

**Mr. Speaker:** That is not fair.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** Speaking at Wardha on December 6, the President attributed the failure of Government to carry out land reforms in the country to vested interests created against such reforms. Are those vested interests, I ask becoming stronger or are they on their way out? I am afraid that the former, that is to say they are getting stronger, is truer. The warning that the President gave at Wardha that "slowness of evolution is the cause of revolution and social upheaval" should be heeded by Government.

He had regretted at that time that "our legislators are unable to pass beneficial land reform legislation beca-

use they are strongly entrenched in it". What a telling commentary on the personnel and character of the majority of the ruling Congress Party!

When the President said last Wednesday in the course of his address that improvement of the administrative machinery will be one of the principal objectives of Government's endeavours, I recall what he said at Baroda that "in many States, there are group rivalries and factionalism which was adversely effecting the administrative machinery of the States and this had a detrimental effect on the nation's morale."

13.18 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

Now I come to the President's message on Republic Day. But before I do that, my mind toys with the idea—maybe somewhat fantastic—that but for the fact that the distinguished scholar-philosopher fills the exalted office of President with such ability and distinction—I sometimes feel—he would have outshone most of us on the Opposition Benches in this House. He, in his Republic Day message less than a month ago, categorically stated that "the challenge of statesmanship now is to provide 'cohesive thinking, a firm Government and an efficient and clean administration". Very few of us on this side of the House could have put it better.

In the same message, he went on to say that the remedy for the present critical food and price situation was "increased output, removal of the weaknesses of the distributive system and stern action against blackmarketers and profiteers". His Government, however, has continued to drift without a will and without a vision. How many blackmarketers and profiteers were brought to book under the law Parliament passed in December, replacing the Ordinance which was promulgated by the President a month earlier? The newspapers say that not one single hoarder or profiteer was hauled up under the law. It

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has remained practically a dead letter.

The Food Minister promised the House on December 9 that he would lay a white paper before Parliament and also consult or confer with Opposition parties at the earliest possible opportunity. Neither has been done. Government continues to be indifferent, apathetic, callous, to the miseries of the people.

At the last conference in September with the Prime Minister and Food Minister, my Party had suggested that the sales tax on foodgrains should be withdrawn and indirect taxes on essential foodstuffs that enter into the consumption of the low and middle income groups should be substantially reduced. No action has been taken on this, and the Government tomtoms and parades its sympathy for the common man, for the poor and for the middle-class of India. The root cause of the malaise, if I may say so, is because the Food and Agriculture Ministry is headed by a man who, whatever his other estimable qualities, is, as the High Court of Madras has described him, is more resourceful than honest. The High Court of Madras, in a recent judgment, has described the Food Minister as more resourceful than honest. It goes on to say—it is a long judgment and so I will read a few salient extracts—

“This plea of Mr. Subramaniam cannot be treated as anything more than a pretence, an endeavour to mislead, but which, nevertheless, can succeed only with the ignorant and the uninitiated.”

Then the High Court proceeds to castigate him further:

“It is just another exercise in evasion. Mr. Subramaniam was able to parry his questioners, but his attempt would have collapsed had he been in the witness box.”

I am not saying all this as a saint or a sage or a Gurudev which I have never claimed nor aspire to be, but as a plain, blunt man who loves my country and my people. The High Court has further said, in that particular case, that the action of Mr. Subramaniam was done so that the “truth must be concealed; hence all this dissimulation.” The most stringent para comes now:

“It is perfectly manifest that we have before us a wholly indefensible essay in favouritism, a deft adoption to modern conditions of old palace-craft. Mr. Subramaniam can still find uses for certain if the less delectable devices resorted to by some individuals when for a time they happen to be repositories of segments of the secular power.”

Then the *coup de grace*

“Against unhappy adventures like the present, adventures in the dispensation of Governmental patronage, courts can give no worthwhile relief. The corrective must be applied, in the first instance, by those in administrative or operational control and, ultimately by a resentful and uncompromising public opinion.”

I do hope, Sir, that such public opinion develops in our country very soon. The sum and substance of it was that the petitioner against the Government lost; the petition was dismissed, but the Judge in dismissing the petition said:

“Naturally, there would be no order as to costs; it is in the public interest that nepotism should be exposed and its ways laid bare.”

That, Sir, is the record of the man who heads the Food and Agriculture Ministry and I think that, if this resignation earlier this month had been accepted promptly at that time,

perhaps we would have been in a better position now. Anyhow, it is for the Prime Minister to consider that aspect of the matter. Apart from that judgment of the High Court of Madras, here I have got the samples of wheat and rice sent by reliable people, not of the Opposition, but pro Congress people, one of them a member of the Sarvodaya Seva Sangh in Nagpur. Hon. Members who care to see what kind of rice and wheat is sold in Government shops may have a look at these samples of rice and wheat and if you, Sir, allow me, I will lay them on the Table later on.

The President's Address referred to the question of language. We have all been distressed, Ministers, Members on this side and on that side also,—gravely. I am not a *linguo maniac* nor am I a *linguo-phobe*, but I am a linguophile; I am a lover—a lover of all languages, whether it is Hindi or Tamil or Telugu or Kannada or English . . . (Interruptions.) There is not just one type of lover; there are lovers and lovers. I love all languages, whether it is English or Hindi or Tamil or Telugu; I love them as well as my mother tongue Konkini. I cannot understand how anyone anywhere in the world can hate any language. It is the most irrational attitude to take. At the moment when we are passing through an Emergency, and more important, urgent and vital tasks face us such as defence, food and economic problems, I hope the nation will bend its energies to the solution of these problems rather than crucify national unity on the cross of language: we cannot afford at this juncture victims or martyrs, whether they be ordinary citizens or police officials, at the altar of language. This is not the time, nor can it be at any time, when we can afford such victims or martyrs. I feel that whatever solution emerges ultimately after the Chief Ministers' Conference and after discussion in Parliament, I am sure that it will not be too great a price for national unity

if bilingualism is necessary at the Central, the Union level; I hope the most reasonable, nationalist and patriotic minded elements in the country will not feel that it is too high a price to pay for national unity. I hope that Hindi ultimately will become the link language in India but at the moment let us bend our energies to the task of defence, development and solving the food problems.

I now come to certain portions of the President's Address. In Para 4, the President says that "although production in some of these public sector establishments is still at a pilot stage, we can look forward to steady increase in their contribution to our economic development in the years to come". I do hope that his expectations will be realised because we want the public sector in this country to grow, but grow in the right manner, more efficient, more honest and more productive. May I point out that some of the members of the Congress Party who occupy fairly high position in the labour movement have bemoaned the inefficiency of the public sector enterprises; prominent among them are Shri Kashinath Pandey I do not know whether he is here today—and a veteran like Shri Khandubhai Desai. Referring to the public sector enterprises, Shri Pandey recently said: "with due respect to the feeling for nationalisation which I desire to a great extent, I cannot refrain from saying that I feel that my legs are shivering, then I stand to support nationalisation because I am immediately reminded of the miserable plight of the workers and the inefficient management of public sector undertakings." I wonder why this should be so. I do hope that the Government committed to socialism as it is will see to it that these are geared up properly and rectify these defects so that our nation may march forward on the road towards democratic socialism. Shri Khandubhai Desai said that "whatever might be the industrial relations in the public

[Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath]

sector enterprises I am constrained to say that they are far from satisfactory." This is his indictment of the public sector enterprises. I wonder why this should be the state of affairs in the public sector to which we are all committed, rightly committed because they are an indispensable part of the democratic socialist set up that is to come.

The President, I am sorry to say, forgot, and did not mention the Prime Minister's visit to Britain in his Address. I do not know why it was lost sight of. Was it an unpleasant memory, or was it the cause of the too cold, the too wintry conditions that the Prime Minister did not feel quite comfortable there,—physically I mean? I hope it is not political; because Harold Wilson is a good man, very cordial, a very hearty individual, and I am sure he must have enjoyed meeting Mr. Harold Wilson. Considering the account given in the press reports, there was some exchange of ideas on protection for the non-nuclear nations against the Chinese nuclear bomb. Considering the press reports which appeared on the subject, the Prime Minister did not completely, categorically, deny that he had done something in the matter, and as to follow-up action also. I wonder why it has been completely omitted from the President's Address. The Prime Minister will perhaps explain later on when he replies as to why this omission crept in in the President's Address.

I also fail to understand why it is that in spite of a very balligant confrontation between Malaysia and Indonesia a very unfortunate thing which is fraught with grave consequences to peace in our Indian Ocean region—no mention or reference is made to this in the President's Address. Let us not forget that it was Malaysia—Mr. Tunku Abdur Rahman, —who was among the first to declare all-out support to India when China invaded our country in 1962. And today, what have we said? Have we declared, after so many months of

confrontation when Indonesia aided by China in every way is mounting its offensive and is threatening to destroy Malaysia, has Government had the vision, the guts or the courage, the faith, to declare that we stand by Malaysia on this issue? Because I remember Shri Jawaharlal Nehru welcomed the formation of Malaysia in this House in 1963; he openly welcomed it and said it was a very good thing that was happening and "I welcome it." In that case, what stands in the way of the Government declaring, offering its support, to Malaysia? It can be a medical mission even, such as the medical mission which was sent to South Korea in 1950. They can send at least a medical mission to Malaysia. I hope the Government will consider this matter and that the Prime Minister and Shri Swaran Singh will think over this matter and make up their mind very soon. We are drifting; we have no courage. Why is this tardiness about Malaysia, and the alacrity, the reported alacrity on declaring our whole-hearted alignment with the Arab States on the Jordan waters dispute? That is what has happened. I am told. I do not know whether the report was correct. I am told the Prime Minister, participating in the Arab Nations' Seminar recently, last week, said in the course of his speech that the Government stands completely with the Arab States on the Jordan waters dispute. Perhaps it would have been more statesmanlike for the Prime Minister to say that we hope for a peaceful settlement of the dispute without aligning ourselves with one side or the other. That would have been the mark of statesmanship.

**Shrimati Renu Chakravartty:** They are our friends now.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** I am glad Israel has recently taken some part in the Ahmedabad exhibition; it is coming into the picture. Israel, whatever its other drawbacks which some friends have in mind it is, so

far as its political system in concerned,—internal—is nearer to us than most other Arab States. And to that extent they have got a lot to give us and we have a lot to give them also. Moreover considering the fact that our foreign policy is one which is non-aligned, I do not know why we should align with the Arab States in this region. Why not have equally cordial diplomatic relations with Israel as well as other Arab States? Many European countries have got such relations; some Asian countries too have. We also should have them. I do hope that the Government will reconsider this issue at the very earliest.

There is another matter, about China, China's threat is mounting and the Government say that they are reasonably prepared; but they refuse to tell us how reasonably prepared they are. Recently, yesterday or the day before, a Ceylonese leader, Mr. Dudley Senanaike, one of the members of the Opposition Party there, disclosed or rather made a charge against the Ceylon Government for having entered into a secret pact with China with regard to the use of the naval base at Trincomalee in the next assault on India by China. All these developments are very grave and I do hope that not merely militarily but also tactically, diplomatically, and strategically, we will take necessary steps, because let it not be forgotten that so far as South-East Asia and South Asia are concerned, *vis a vis*, China, all the countries will have to hang together; otherwise, each will hang separately. That today is the position in the Indian Ocean region.

Then I come to a matter which has interested, or rather worried and distressed most Members of the House and the people outside to which my hon. friend Shri Hiren Mukerjee briefly referred. He had a cursory glance at it and then left it because perhaps the time was up for him. That is the problem of corruption, the problem of corruption and the drive

by the Government against it. There is no reference in the President's Address to the anti-corruption drive which has been intensified since last June.

**Shri Shinkre:** The Vigilance Commission.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** There has been no reference to it. Since last June, the people, and the Parliament are well aware how this drive has been intensified by Shri Nanda with his Sadachar Samiti, and other things thrown in.

**Shrimati Renu Chakravarty:** The syndicate will not allow!

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** Let us see how the syndicate will function. Action was taken very promptly and with alacrity against the late Shri Pratap Singh Kairon who unfortunately was assassinated, very tragically assassinated; it was a dastardly assassination which we all deplore. Action was taken against him in June, and then a commission of enquiry has been instituted in respect of Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed in Kashmir by the State Government, I think, and the Orissa enquiry figured prominently during the last few weeks. By setting up different standards in the case of Shri K. D. Malaviya, in the case of Sardar Pratap Singh Kairon, Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed, Shri Patnaik, and Shri Biren Mitra—different *modus operandi*, different methods, different standards, at the administrative level, party level and judicial level—the Government has been guilty of multiple standards, not merely double standard but multiple standards. The Government is now in such bad shape that its own man, the Prime Minister's partymen, are challenging his authority to do what he thinks right and proper. Let it be an eye-opener to him because a weak centre in our country—where centripetal forces have never been strong, where centrifugal forces have been a strong always—is an invitation to chaos or



[Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath]

military dictatorship; disintegration or chaos or military dictatorship. Let none of these supervene in our country.

Coming next to an event, a distressing event, I am really surprised how the Prime Minister, and the Cabinet Sub-Committee could have come to the conclusion as they did, about what has happened. Shri Patnaik in a press conference in Delhi recently, earlier this month, claimed that he and Mr. Biren Mitra had been completely exonerated, and so far as he was concerned, the Orissa case was closed. To my mind, Orissa is rather an unmusical comedy in the Indian repertoire, made a little less entertaining and more raucous by the Rs. 10 crores brag of Shri Patnaik and the one-rupee antics of Shri Biren Mitra.

**Shri P. K. Deo** (Kalahandi): That is the biggest joke of the year.

**An hon. Member:** A bigger one is coming.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** The Cabinet Sub-Committee had the temerity, if I may use the word, to suggest that they have been guilty of only administrative improprieties. This is a euphemism or a gross, calculated understatement. What will you, Sir, think if we describe a dacoity or a highway robbery as an improper transfer of money or of assets? It is almost on a par with this impropriety. And, in spite of the fact that the Cabinet Sub-Committee, on a careful examination of the reports submitted by the Central Bureau of Investigation—here, Sir, may I say very proudly that the Central Bureau of Investigation has done a splendid job in this respect and deserve all appreciation for the job they have done with so much vigour and efficiency.

**An hon. Member:** It is a thankless job.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** Yes, it is a thankless job. But the only regret

is that the Government has adopted a hush-hush policy, and they have come to misleading conclusions with regard to the findings of the enquiry by the CBI in spite of the fact that here is one revealing conclusion of the Cabinet Sub-Committee. I have got the report of the CBI, a copy of the report submitted to the Government or to the Cabinet Sub-Committee by the CBI. I have gone through this report. After having gone through the report of the CBI as submitted to the Cabinet Sub-Committee, I cannot understand how Mr. Patnaik can claim—he is an audacious man, I know—that he has been completely exonerated. I think it was the duty of the Prime Minister to tell him the very next day, to contradict his statement at the Press Conference, that the Government has not exonerated him, neither Shri Biren Mitra nor Mr. Patnaik and that the Government itself has held the charges to be very serious. The indictment by the CBI is more severe, more harsh than the indictment against Sardar Pratap Singh Kairon was.

The least that should be done is to appoint a Commission of Enquiry under the Commission of Enquiry Act, 1952 both for Shri Patnaik and Shri Biren Mitra. Let them face the Commission of Enquiry and go before court of law later on, if necessary. For much lesser offences, secretaries of ministries have been arraigned before a court of law and sent to jail. Here is a classic example of—if it can be characterised as classic—of money grabbing by unscrupulous means.

**Shri U. M. Trivedi** (Mandsaur): How can they remain as members of the Assembly and receive their salary?

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** The Cabinet Sub-Committee has said:

“...the Sub-Committee felt, in the course of its examination of the

material, that the manner in which Shri Patnaik and Shri Mitra, directly or otherwise, conducted Government transactions in which were also involved the interests of private concerns owned or controlled by them or by their relations, was definitely not in keeping with the normal standards of public conduct."

**Shri C. K. Bhattacharyya** (Rai-ganj): Sir, I rise to a point of order. The hon. Member is referring to Cabinet Sub-Committee's report. May I know whether he has got a copy of the authorised report of the Sub-Committee or the report of the CBI? These points require clarification, because otherwise these are all unauthorised things that are being recorded in the proceedings.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** I challenge anybody who can contradict, deny the accuracy of this report. I am not obliged to say how I got it. I will lay it on the Table if you so desire. Let anybody deny the accuracy of this report.

Then the report goes on to say:

"The Sub-Committee desire to record their profound concern at the picture emerging as a whole from the series of such individual transactions in many fields of activity of the State Government, of improper use of authority by leaders of the Government."

That is the conclusion that the Sub-Committee has come to. Then in another part of their report they go on to say that they are not convinced that Shri Patnaik has personally derived any pecuniary benefit. I do not know how they have come to this conclusion because the enquiry by the CBI was not designed or aimed at finding out the truth of this matter at all. In any case, by implication

the Cabinet Sub-Committee feels that Shri Biren Mitra at least has derived pecuniary benefit. When they say that Shri Patnaik may not have derived any pecuniary benefit, by implication Shri Biren Mitra must have derived pecuniary benefit.

**Shri P. K. Deo:** Or the Congress Party.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** Yes, or the Congress Party there. Then, from the voluminous document that I have got here, I will read only one or two paragraphs. This was the document submitted by the CBI to the Cabinet Sub-Committee.

**Shri Muthyal Rao** (Mahbubnagar): May I respectfully ask the hon. Member as to how he happened to get a copy of the CBI report?

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** I am not obliged to tell you. I can place it on the Table. Let them say that this is not the report.

**Shri C. K. Bhattacharyya:** Under the Rules of Procedure of this House, when a Member has to refer to such confidential reports he has first to place the report with the Chair and then only he can refer to it.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Do you want him to place it on the Table. I do not think it is necessary.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** I can place it on the Table. Hon. Members can see it later on.

**Shri C. K. Bhattacharyya:** What I say is, under the rules, he has to place it with the Chair first and then refer to it.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** No, no. The CBI report shows that there are so many.....

**The Minister of External Affairs (Shri Swaran Singh):** Sir, this is a matter which requires consideration. If secret documents or confidential

[Shri Swaran Singh]

documents are quoted on the floor of the House, then perhaps it will not be a healthy practice. It will be that somebody may just produce something and then it will be for the Government either to confirm it or contradict it.

**Shrimati Renu Chakravartty:** It is our job to get it and it is for you to contradict it.

**Shri Swaran Singh:** So far as secret documents are concerned, the question of denying or confirming them means in a circuitous manner compelling the Government to divulge the contents of the documents. Therefore, Sir, it requires consideration.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** If you want I will ask him to place it on the Table.

**Shri Raghunath Singh (Varanasi):** How did the CBI report leak out?

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** That is for you to find out.

**Shri P. K. Deo:** Shri Patnaik has been given a copy of it. It is not a secret.

**Shri Swaran Singh:** Apart from placing it on the Table anything which is admittedly a secret document, because the CBI report is not a public document any Member making use of the document cannot really escape his responsibility merely by saying that it is for the Government either to accept it or contradict it.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** Quote the rule from the Rules of Procedure.

**Shri Swaran Singh:** It amounts to using something which is surreptitiously obtained. It is not something which is consistent with the normal standards.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** I do not know how he has obtained it. But if the hon. Minister wants me to ask him to place it on the Table I can do that.

**Shri Swaran Singh:** *Primo facie* it is a secret document. He says he has got the CBI report.

**Shrimati Renu Chakravartty:** Why should it be a secret document? If any hon. Member gets hold of it I think he has every right to use it. All newspapers have brought it out. It came in the *Statesman*.

**Shri Swaran Singh:** How do they say that it is the CBI report?

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** Go through it, and see for yourself.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** He says it is the CBI report and he quotes from that. If you want me to ask him to place it on the Table I can do that but I cannot rule it out of order.

**Shri Swaran Singh:** Any person who describes anything as the CBI report or any other report has to convince the House that it is the CBI report by saying that it is from such and such a book or something like that. Merely saying that it is the CBI report is not enough.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** I challenge you.

**Shri Shinkre:** The Government can deny it.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** When the hon. Member says that, the hon. Minister has to accept the opinion of the Member.

**Shri Swaran Singh:** I would again appeal to the Chair to consider this matter though a decision may not be taken now. Any person who *prima facie* quotes a document which is admittedly a secret document, a document which is not public....

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** How did he get that document?

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** May I know under which rule you are asking me that question?

**Shri Khadilkar (Khed):** May I point out a precedent. When an enquiry was instituted against certain transactions connected with Shri Malaviya and the question of a document of a similar nature was raised on the floor of the House by Shri Surendranath Dwivedy, since it was supposed to be a secret document, he was not allowed to place it on the Table of the House. That is the precedent.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** If the Government so desires, I will ask him to lay it on the Table.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** I will finish in three four minutes.

**Shri C. K. Bhattacharyya:** This is not a court of law where the government is put in the dock and asked by the counsel to say "yes" or "no".

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** I cannot shut him out when he quotes from a report. I do not know how he got that report. It is up to him to read or not to read from it. If the Government so desires, I will ask him to place it on the Table.

**Shrimati Renu Chakravartty:** Why are they so nervous about this?

**Shri J. P. Jyotishi (Sagar):** Is he prepared to affirm that it is the correct report?

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** It is the duty of the Government to see that secret reports do not pass into the hands of the public.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** This protest against the reading of this report is a very impressive demonstration of *sadachar* by the members.

**Shri C. K. Bhattacharyya:** Is it a demonstration on the part of Shri Kamath to secure secret documents which are not meant for public?

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** What I am doing is just exposing so called *sadachar*.

**Shri C. K. Bhattacharyya:** It should be on his part also.

**Shri U. M. Trivedi:** Why do they want to keep it secret? What was secret about it? It was an investigation of certain transactions by a high personality. So, there should be nothing secret about it.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Let him continue. His time is up.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** Right from China to corruption everything is secret to them. They want to keep everybody in the dark. Coming back to the subject, the CBI has in detail referred to a circular issued by Shri Patnaik as soon as he assumed office. The circular was issued on the 17th November 1961, after the mid-term elections in 1961, when he became the Chief Minister. The circular, is under the caption:

"Imposition of restrictions on purchase from outside the State".

That was the caption of the circular:

"The circular laid down that it was incorrect in principle for any Government Department or Government controlled organisation to try to save payment of the sales-tax by making direct purchases from outside the State as it upset calculations of receipts from Orissa Sales-tax....."

**Shrimati Renu Chakravartty:** That is about Kalinga.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** It further says:

"All purchases were, therefore, to be made only through local dealers and no attempt was to be made to avoid sales-tax on any account. Any departure from this policy required prior concurrence of the Finance Department...."

Then the CBI report goes on to say that this benefited only some of the concerns in which Shri Patnaik was interested.

[Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath]

Then, on the appointment of an officer for the Paradip port the report says:

"It would be difficult to say that he was an officer specially suited for the post and deserving of all these special considerations. An officer who has secured a post in such a manner and on specially favourable terms could be expected to toe the line of those who had conferred such favours. Without any agreement or commitment the circumstances could bring about a 'quid pro quo'."

One last word and I will be done.

**Shri U. M. Trivedi:** Read the whole thing. Sir, he must be given more time. You will remember that when the Mundhra scandal was being exposed Shri Feroze Gandhi was given one hour and ten minutes.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Order, order. He must conclude now.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** I will read one more paragraph. I hope in the national interest you will give me more time. Perhaps, you are not inclined to do that.

**Shri Shinkre:** The subject deserves more time.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** The CBI says in one its very interesting, very revealing paragraphs, after analysing the evidence:

"It has been noticed that after the assumption of office by Patnaik Ministry in which Shri Biren Mitra was Deputy Chief Minister and from 2-10-63 became Chief Minister, the requirements of the Government Departments in respect of G.I. pipes and paints increased manifold."

**Shrimati Renu Chakravartty:** The rest of it has already appeared in *The Statesman*.

**Shri C. K. Bhattacharyya:** What is the warning that the hon. Lady Member is giving?

**Shrimati Renu Chakravartty:** I have said that all these things have appeared in one of the newspapers under your IENS.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** I will now come to the last one. There was a transaction on low shaft furnace. I wish I could read the whole of it. For want of time, I will read only the last paragraph. It says:

"For a clear determination of the various issues relating to the sale of the low shaft furnace of Kalinga Industries Ltd. to the Orissa Industrial Development Corporation, more detailed enquiries are obviously necessary."

What steps have the Government taken to ask the CBI to conduct a further enquiry?

"There are circumstances which raise doubts and suspicions about the *bona fides* of this transaction and about the transaction having been in public interest as against the interest of Kalinga industries."

So, I would insist that the House as a whole takes serious notice of these misdeeds, high misdemeanours on the part of Shri Biju Patnaik and Shri Biren Mitra and see to it that these big fish do not go scot-free:

**Shri Kappen (Muvattupuzha):** Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, while rising to support the Motion of Thanks to the President, I wish to point out to this House the task set before us by the President in the concluding portion of his address. The President says:

"The development of a prosperous socialist society and the expansion of friendly co-operation with other nations of the world remain the basis of our policies."

Then the President urged the Members of this House to guide the nation for the achievement of this goal.

Now I want the House to mark the word "guide". Are we conscious of the onerous nature of the duty that is cast upon us by the term "guide the nation"? I take this opportunity to appeal to all our brothers and sisters in this House to search their hearts and see whether our conduct inside and outside the House had been conducive to the attainment of this objective, to the attainment of the duty that has been cast upon us. Two days ago we had a discussion in this House on an adjournment motion. May I humbly ask one question? What guidance has this House given to the nation on this very vexed question? This is a nation of half-naked, half-starved people. Go to the cities and towns and look at the number of children fighting with the street dogs in ransacking the refuse heaps for a morsel of food. Go to the far-flung villages and look at the farmer who is bent, emaciated, with sunken eyes, sweating his labour to eke out his existence. In such penury, such poverty, such suffering, such ignorance are we to sit here in our comfortable cushioned seats and then wrangle over the issue of the official language? I would request hon. Members that we should bend our energy so that we can give better food, better clothing and better shelter to the millions of people of this country.

14 hrs.

Some people in this country are fanatic over everything—fanatic over religion, fanatic over community, fanatic over language—and their fanaticism goes to the extent of madness. What is there in this language issue? What is the fun of calling a language as foreign or as native? It is as foolish to call a language as foreign as to call the air we breathe as native. Language is not the patrimony of anybody. Any person can learn any language and write in any language. Who can say, "It is my language; you have no right to learn it"? A language is the world's prop-

erty and it is absurd to call a language foreign.

The other day, on Saturday, the Jana Sangh kicked up an agitation for retaining Hindi and it has been reported in the *Times of India* that they used profusely English words for expressing their idea. If English is foreign, are not the words in it foreign. To say that the whole is foreign and the parts are not foreign is absurd in my humble opinion.

This controversy over the language issue reminds me of two neighbours, A and B, who had a dispute regarding the boundary of their property. These two neighbours were fighting over the boundary for years and years together. Continued litigation, quarrels, beatings, abuse went on for a long time until at last B was forced to sell his property to C. When C came to take possession of the property and live there, A asked him, "Are you the gentleman who has purchased this property?" When he said "Yes", and A asked him, "Are you going to live on that property?", he said, "I am going to live on that". Then A said, "Look at that fence which has been put up by your predecessor; within that fence my five cents of land is lying, please remove that fence and give me my five cents of land; otherwise, you will have no peace". C was an intelligent and good man. So, immediately he asked A, "You have got your walking stick with you; kindly come in and just mark out your five cents of land; I shall at once ask my servants to remove the fence". A then said, "My hon. friend, I shall do it tomorrow". The next day came. C went to the house of A and said, "Please come and mark out your land so that I may remove the fence" and A said, "We shall do it some other time; there is no hurry about it". Things went on like that and they lived peacefully for years together and the fence continued to be where it was.

[Shri Kappen]

So, be a little generous. If we can show a little generosity, all disputes whatever they may be can be settled. What does the south want? The south says that it wants an assurance, not only an assurance but legal recognition of the assurance given by our beloved late Prime Minister. When the south says that, I would request the north to say, "My friends, my brothers, you want only a legal recognition; we are prepared to amend the Constitution and have it for any length of time". I can assure you that then you go on spreading Hindi. Within a short time there will be a cry from all parts of India to establish Hindi as the official language. It is only a question of being a little generous. What is the fun of fighting over the language issue?

The whole controversy was kicked up for the reason of unity and integrity. May I humbly ask: Before the Britishers united India, were even the Hindi-speaking people united in this country? Union, integration and patriotism cannot be brought in on the issue of language; something more is needed. It is not the question of language. If all the people in this country speak the same language can anybody vouch for it that there will be complete unity in the land? Therefore, this fight over the language issue is not a very material thing.

Then, the question is that it has been enshrined in the Constitution. What is sacrosanct about that portion of the Constitution? When the matter was put to vote, the votes were 77 each for both sides. The President had to give his casting vote and it was passed. Therefore, I would request both sides to be a little more generous. We are brothers. We want a united country. We want an integrated nation. We have problems much more important than the language issue to solve. Let us solve those problems. Let us give food, clothing, shelter and medical

convenience to our people and then come and sit down and quarrel over the language issue. Therefore, I would appeal to all the Members of this House. They are asked to guide this nation, a very important and solemn duty. If we are to guide this nation, we must have restraint. In our feelings we must have restraint; in our conversation we must have restraint and in our arguments we must have restraint. Let us remember that this is a great country the guidance of which has been entrusted to us by God. Remembering that, if everyone would try to solve this question, I am sure, the language question can be solved easily. I, therefore pray that God may give every Member of this House light enough to solve this problem. I am leaving this problem at that.

Then I come to some other questions, matters mentioned by the President in his speech. The President has mentioned in his Address that we have made great progress in the production of power and that we are going to produce 11.7 million kilowatts of electricity by the end of the Third Plan. That is a very good achievement, indeed; but if the Government had a little more imagination. I would suggest that much more could have been done in that line. For example, there is the Idikki scheme which was intended to produce electricity enough to supply to the whole of South India and for which the Canadian Government had agreed to contribute an amount equal to the amount that would be contributed by the Centre. But this Government cannot find its way to find the paltry sum of Rs. 30 lakhs and the entire scheme is held up because of that. I would request the Government to have a little more imagination and it should not be so niggardly but should give that Rs. 30 lakhs so that the Rs. 30 lakhs promised by the Canadian Government may also come and the entire scheme may not be held up.

Coming to the question of production of more food, the difficulty is that agricultural production in this country has to come from millions of tiny farms distributed over farflung villages of this country in driblets. No agricultural production on a large scale is possible unless these small holdings are consolidated and a drive should be made now. Unless we consolidate these tiny holdings from 35 cents up to, say, three acres, we would not be able to produce on a large scale because modern methods of agriculture cannot be adopted by a poor agriculturist or a poor farmer who is still holding 35 cents of land.

Another thing that stands in the way of our agricultural production is our habit of cultivating everything in every place. Go to America and you will see that they will cultivate a particular crop in a particular place which is the most suited for that. Take, for example, corn. There, they would find out which land in which place is the best suited for that and they will tell, in no other place corn can be cultivated. That helps in not frittering away the resources that we have got. That helps in concentrating all our energies in that particular place so that the production will be much greater than what it is.

In India, we must make an attempt towards that end. For that, a soil survey is necessary. There must be a nation-wide soil survey to find out which soil is best suited for which crop and see that that particular crop is cultivated in that area and a particular attention is paid to that area in supplying the necessary resources for that to that particular area. Unless that is done, no result can be achieved. No soil testing is being done in India. It is done occasionally here and there. There is the question of doing soil testing on a comprehensive scale. What is done is that after soil testing is done, they give a small piece of paper saying that such and such things are necessary, this manure or that manure,

and all that. But are the agriculturists capable of understanding that? That kind of a thing is not called for. There must be a nation-wide soil survey to find out which land is best suited for which crop and then conserve all our energies, all our resources and all our capacities there and see that the production is increased. But the question is: How to do it? If the Government machinery does it, I am sure, we are not going to achieve that. What has happened all the 17 years? We have not been able to approach the agriculturists properly. We have not been able to reach the farmer in far-flung villages. Officials can never do it because they have got their bureaucratic attitude. The entire work has to be done by non-official agencies like the cooperative institutions. The cooperative institutions must take up that work. They must prepare a production plan for each family in each village and on the basis of that production plan, necessary funds and credit, necessary fertilisers, manure, seeds and all that must be supplied to the farmer. Then it must be verified whether, according to the plan, the production has come up. If it has not come up to the plan, then it must be seen what is wrong with that particular farmer as to why he has not been able to produce that much and find out the remedy. If a concerted attempt on the lines I have pointed out is made in this country, I can assure you that in five years the production will be much greater than what it is now.

Now, there is one thing more and I have finished and that is regarding the prices of essential articles, the spiralling rise in prices of essential articles. Now, there is a difference in prices as between the two neighbouring States, Kerala and Andhra Pradesh. I am told it is three times more in Kerala than in Andhra. Who is responsible for this position? In November/December last I there was an acute shortage of food in Kerala and we are repeating the results of it. Hundreds are dying of cholera.



[Shri Kappen]

And what is worse is even the necessary vaccine is not available to give injections to treat cholera. Cholera has been brought about because sufficient food has not been given to the people and due to debility they became an easy prey to the attack of cholera. I urge that proper attention may be paid to this. The difference in the prices of food in the neighbouring States may be eliminated. Sufficient quantities of food may be supplied and necessary vaccine also may be sent to the State so that the people may not die of cholera.

**Shri Subodh Hansda** (Jhargram): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, while rising to support the motion of thanks moved by my hon. friend Mr. Heda, I would like to point out a few suggestions for the consideration of the Government. It is no doubt that this country has made a progress in industry. But if we see the progress of the Third Five Year Plan and those public sector projects in which we have invested a huge amount, we will find that the progress as well as time-schedule for operation of these projects are much behind the schedule. I think there is something wrong which should be rectified. Not only that. We also see that many of the public sector projects which have gone into production are not giving us a good return and it is much below than what the private sector project can give.

Having said so, I come to the supply of foodgrains as well as rise in prices. With regard to food, it is true that in the last three years, the output of farm produce has not increased. But if we see the acreage under cultivation, in 1949 it was 276 million acres and in 1964 it had gone upto 376 million acres. Now, it is said that this shortage, particularly the food shortage, is due to the increase in population of the country. Now, if we look to the population figure of 1949 and compare the farm output with

this population figure, you will see that it is not true. There are certain other reasons for the shortage of food in our country.

During the last year, the food position was very acute. It is said that this food position was acute because of natural calamities and other things. But I say it is not at all true that because of natural calamities the food production is low. There are certain other reasons. I believe, the Government is responsible for that. If we look at the last three Plans, you will see that the Government has not given proper attention to the cultivators as such. What I mean to say is that they have not given the proper facilities for cultivation. What is most essential for proper cultivation is the assured supply of irrigation, fertiliser, seeds and better implements. During the last Plan, you will see that only 18 to 20 per cent of the total cultivated land had been put under irrigation—that is also mentioned in the paper. But if we go to the actual field, you will find that not even 15 per cent of the total area is irrigated. This is because in the past we have paid more attention to the multi-purpose projects. This has taken a long time and as against what was planned, it was found that potential produce through those multi-purpose projects is much below the estimated potential. It has produced a big time-lag. I say, particularly these small irrigation schemes have been neglected. If you compare the amount which has been spent on big irrigation schemes, you will see that in comparison to that, the minor or small irrigation schemes have been completely neglected. Not only have the fertilisers not been supplied to the cultivators in time, but the wrong demonstration of the use of these chemical fertilisers has for some time antagonised the cultivators against the use of fertilisers, because most of our cultivators are illiterate people and they do not know what kind of

soil requires what type of fertilisers, and this was not properly demonstrated before them.

Then there is the question of the supply of food seeds. There is delay in regard to this matter also. The potato crop has come out in the market already, but only now the seed is coming.

As regards improved implements, Government are more inclined to import big tractors rather than to manufacture small garden tractors here or ploughs which are most essential for cultivation.

It is because of these things that agricultural production has suffered very much. Unless Government realise that small irrigation schemes are to be encouraged and demonstration on the use of fertilisers has to be properly given, it is not possible to raise the output.

Another most unsuitable thing which has been imported into our country is the Japanese method of cultivation. I do not know whether it is suitable for our country. I do not think that our cultivators have got that much of money which would enable them to go in for this Japanese method of cultivation. So far as paddy is concerned, this Japanese method requires about Rs. 60 per acre, and for wheat it requires a sum of Rs. 300 per acre. It is not possible for the cultivators in our country to afford so much and go in for this method. Besides, the Japanese method of cultivation requires assured irrigation. It is not enough to have simple irrigation, but it is necessary to have assured irrigation and the proper utilisation of chemical fertilisers. If the chemical fertilisers are applied wrongly, then the production would suffer. I have gone through the report of the Japanese team which came to India. They have said that the Indian experts have no idea about the use of chemical fertilisers. This is just one of the remarks

made by the Japanese team. Therefore, I feel that a lot of money and time has been wasted on this. Government are today claiming that 9 million acres have been put under the Japanese method of cultivation. But if you go to the actual fields, you will see that not even one hundred acres have been brought under this method of cultivation. I am not joking when I say this. I have gone round the country and I have seen how the Japanese method has been adopted in other parts of the country.

Therefore, I feel that unless assured irrigation is provided, improved implements are given and also good seeds, agricultural output will not increase.

Now, I come to the question of prices. It is said and we have seen it also during the last few years, that the prices are gradually rising. There is no attempt on the part of Government to check this rise in prices. Of course, the prices of certain articles have been controlled, but even these controlled rates are beyond the reach of the poor people. The price index in 1964 was 164, based on the prices of 1949, but the per capita income was only Rs. 120 based on the income in 1949. If you look at these figures you will see how the poor people are suffering.

Therefore, I would suggest that if it is not possible for Government to control the prices, at least they should provide the common consumer goods to the rural public as well as to the low income groups at subsidised rates so that they can get some relief.

The next point that I would like to mention is the refugee problem. I am sorry to mention that in the President's Address, nothing has been mentioned about this problem. I do not know whether this has anything to do with the Government of India, but it has become the head-ache of the West Bengal Government. Especially, the new influx since January, 1964 has created a number of problems in the

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matter of education, medical attention, and other things. If we look back, we find that the Government of India had made an assessment of the property left by the West Pakistan refugees in West Pakistan, and those refugees were given compensation to the extent of, I believe, 50 per cent. But so far as the refugees from East Pakistan are concerned, neither has any such assessment been made, nor has any compensation been paid. It is said that the East Pakistan refugees are still continuing to be the owners of their property there. But the House is well aware that the Government of Pakistan have passed an ordinance forbidding the sale or transfer of the property in East Pakistan. So, these refugees have not been able to sell even a single bigha or acre of land to any other person there. Therefore, I would suggest that in order to give relief to these people, a compensation pool should be formed so that compensation could be given to these people, similar to the one that was formed in the case of the West Pakistan refugees.

The Government of India are spending crores and crores of rupees for those refugees who have gone outside West Bengal. But on those who have remained in West Bengal and the new influx which has come, which numbers more than 5 lakhs, the Government of India are spending nothing, either in regard to their medical facilities or in regard to provision of educational facilities and so on. The entire burden has gone to the West Bengal Government in spite of the fact that the West Bengal Government have asked the Government of India to give generous help in the matter of education and medical facilities.

In this connection, I would like to say that the rehabilitation work that is going on in the Dandakaranya—I have gone and seen it myself—is making much headway in spite of the fact that the Dandakaranya Authority has had to face insurmountable difficulties in regard to clearance of jungles, establishment of communications and so on. But in order to attract

people to the Dandakaranya area, it is most essential that some sort of industries must be put up there, and I believe that there are immense possibilities for the establishment of small-scale industries based on the forest products like bamboo in those areas. I believe a survey was made a few years back in regard to the nature of the small-scale industries that could be established there. If these industries could be set up there, I believe that a larger number of people could be attracted there.

Now, I come to the question of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. This is the first time that the President has in his Address mentioned about the problems of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. I have no doubt in my mind that the Government of India have full sympathy for these people, but what pains me most is that the officials who are responsible for implementing the various orders or various measures have no sympathy for these people; in fact, they cannot even tolerate the mention of the words 'Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes'. While travelling in trains, I have heard a number of times that even in the offices, the members of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes are looked down upon. Therefore, I would say that if any decision is taken by the Government of India and they pass on the orders to the implementing authorities, they should give a special directive to the implementing authorities or officials to see that those orders are implemented fully in order to uplift these people.

In conclusion, I would say a word about the language problem which we are having today. Much has been said on the problem of the official language. But I would like to point out one thing. Since 1950 it was decided that Hindi would become the official language of the Union. I would like to know what Government were doing during the last fifteen years. I would

also like to know whether Government made Hindi a subject in any of the schools. Speaking for my own State, I know that Hindi is taught there only for two years in class 5 or 6.

**Shri Dinen Bhattacharya** (Serampore): Now, it has been introduced.

**Shri Subodh Hansda:** But it is taught only for two years. After class VII, the boys are switched over to Sanskrit. Therefore, they learn very little Hindi. Therefore, I feel that before an attempt is made to make Hindi the official language, great stress should be laid on Hindi education, rather than on making it the official language today. I would therefore request the Government that this problem of language should be very delicately dealt with and greater stress should be given to education than to make it the official language.

**Shri Dinen Bhattacharya:** Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, the President's Address is before us. It is expected that the Address will give us a thorough picture of the economic and political conditions in the country in the past year, as well as our international relations, along with the tasks ahead of the country. But after scrutinising studying the Address, most reluctantly I have to state that it has belied my expectation.

It is stated by the Government that we are passing through an emergency. But I regret to mention that nothing could be found about the emergency in the Address or in the functioning or the performance of the ruling party or the Government. Very recently the ruling party held its annual session in Durgapur, and it has come out in a very respectable paper in West Bengal that more than Rs. 1 crore was spent for it. A station platform was built up, and so much money was spent. I do not know, if a country is passing through an emergency, how this sort of thing can be allowed by the Government. And the railway authority which built up a station for this did not get a pie from the Con-

gress Party. The General Manager of Eastern Railway had been to issue a circular regarding some special trains, that if passengers were not available they were going to cancel the special trains leaving from Howrah and from Bidhan Roy stations. This is the situation.

Of course, our Home Minister, Shri Nandaji, is trying to boost up the tempo of the emergency by arresting and detaining thousands of Communist party leaders as well as the leaders of other political parties and trade union leaders. In his broadcast speech just after the arrests he mentioned that the persons who have been arrested are, in relation to India and China, feeling the position of India on a par with China; and it has been alleged that they had not admitted that China has made aggression. Here I want to refer to the speech delivered by our leader, Shri A. K. Gopalan, on the 20th February, 1963, on the President's Address—page 370 of Lok Sabha Debates. This is what he has said:

"The situation created by the Chinese aggression has shown to the country the true colours of each and every class."

Here he has mentioned and admitted the aggression. I will again refer to what he said:

"As far as Colombo proposals are concerned, at the time of the debate during the last session, we agreed to the proposal of our Government. We cannot understand why the Government of China is not accepting the proposals together with the clarifications especially when they have said that in principle they accept. Delay in their acceptance complicates matters. They only weaken the forces that stand for negotiation and peaceful settlement of the problem."

Then again Shri Gopalan said:

"I am glad that the President stressed one important point and

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said that the 'issue of the Chinese aggression has been and is today the overriding issue before us and everything else has to be considered in that context. The freedom and honour of a country must be given the first place', the President goes on to say, etc., etc."

So, Sir, I may ask our hon. Home Minister how he can accuse Shri Gopalan as anti-national, and I want to raise a point of privilege here, that our President summons Shri Gopalan to come and attend the session and that the very same Shri Gopalan has been detained in Kerala by a subordinate officer. Sir, is it parliamentary democracy that the Leader of a Group who was summoned by the President to come and attend the session should be detained in this manner? What a peculiar democracy?

I may refer here to what has been said in a weekly journal, *Century*. It is not a communist or socialist party paper; it is subscribed to by Congressmen. And just after the arrests it came out with an article under the caption 'The Arrests'. Dealing with this the article says:

"As for men like A. K. Gopalan, it would require more than an allegation for any responsible person to believe that men like him would act as agents of a foreign Power, or that they would command any following if they did."

Again, the article says:

"The Government's action has tarnished the image of India abroad and not in the communist countries alone but in the countries who have democratic set-up. Even *The Times* of London considers that the Indian Government's action was part of its strategy to isolate the 'Leftists' from 'Rightists' among the communists and render the latter a lone opposition".

It further says:

"When a thousand public men, however misguided, some of them well known fighters against suppression in the British days who began their political life in the Congress and were imprisoned without trial or specific charges and for indefinite periods and when amongst them are members of Parliament and State legislatures, Parliament should have been told first and before the 'spokesman' confides in selected Indian and foreign newsmen."

So, Sir, this is the reaction, after the arrests, in our country and abroad also. Not only one would say that the forty-page statement which Nandaji has brought out will not cut ice either in our country or abroad, the people will also laugh at it. It is mentioned in one page that one Mr. Ganesh Ghosh who is a Member of the Legislative Assembly of West Bengal and Dr. Narain Roy who is a Member of the Legislative Assembly and some people went to visit Kulu Valley. Now, it is a sight-seeing place, and the Government tourist department asks people to go there. What is the harm in their going there? If by going there they have committed any crime, why should they be not put up before a court of law? Why is Government hesitating to bring up even a single man arrested before any court of law? Even yesterday or day before yesterday the Allahabad High Court has come forward with a judgment in respect of a person who was detained under the Preventive Detention Act. When the police found that the case brought against him cannot stand in the court, after the court released him he was detained without trial under the Preventive Detention Act. The High Court has come forward with a judgment that this is not permissible under law and it is not natural justice. I will put one question to Government. Why don't they go through

the judgment that was given some-time back when in 1962 several hundred communists were arrested? What did the Supreme Court say? In so many words, the Court declared that detention under D.I.R. was against the principle of National justice. They declared that 'our hands are tied; otherwise, we would have freed these persons who were detained'.

So even now I will ask the Government to proceed in a court of law against these arrested men. If you have got any charge, produce them before a court of law, and if you can prove that they are really anti-national, punish them, condemn them, hang them the whole country will support you. But if you cannot do it, the country will say, that it is your political stunt to get an overwhelming and easy victory in Kerala and the Calcutta Corporation elections.

Nothing but that.

I do not beg of Government to release them. I will ask them again and again to produce them before a court of law. Let Government come forward with specific charges against them. What they have produced is not a charge. It cannot be dealt with as a charge. People will laugh at it. People will say how bankrupt and irresponsible our Government is. Specially, the Home Minister, who speaks of *sadachar*, actually practices *kuachar* in so far as politics is concerned.

I know he will say that security is endangered. Let them show a single example how these people have endangered the security of our country. If they had really done that, I am one with everybody that they must be condemned. But charges must be proved in a court of law.

Coming to other points, it is clear now that our Government is retreating from its objective, so many times and so long declared when our beloved late Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, was there. It is not my

comment. Even a congressman, Shri Kali Mukerjee, President of the Bengal Provincial National Trade Union Congress Committee, just after the Durgapur session said in his presidential address at the annual conference of the BPNTUC that 'I am sorry to say that the Congress has retreated from Bhubaneswar to Durgapur; it has almost given up its ideal of democracy and socialism'. This is a remark made by one who is in the Congress and holding a very responsible position.

**Shri P. R. Patel (Patna):** Why do you rely on Congressmen? Give instances.

**Shri Dinen Bhattacharya:** I say this to convince you that you are retreating from your goal. I must say that after so many projects and plans, the real wages of wage-earners of our country have not increased. On the other hand, they are below the 1939 level. I have collected this from Government reports. It is not my own calculation. The condition of the white-collar workers and that of government employees are in no way better than the industrial workers. Even now, when we are discussing the President's Address, thousands of secondary school teachers throughout the country are agitating on the demand for better living conditions.

**Shri P. R. Patel:** What is the condition of the peasants and voters? Do they get more than the white-collar workers?

**Shri Dinen Bhattacharya:** If I had time, I could go into that. As I am speaking on this subject, hundreds of secondary school teachers in West Bengal are squatting before the Assembly House. What is their demand? 'Give us more wages'. They are asking, 'spend more money for education so that we may get better wages and we may give better education to our people'.

In the villages, agricultural labourers and the poor peasantry are getting

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more and more pauperised. This is the main feature one witnesses in any village one may visit. Why is this so? Because the Government has essentially been following a monopoly-appeasing policy, monopoly both foreign and internal. Recent speeches of government spokesmen and actions taken by Government have been dealt with elaborately by Prof. Hiren Mukerjee, which shows the way Government is now going. Very recently Government declared that henceforth foreign collaborators will be given the authority on issue of later of intent for having their business or investment here in our land. What will be the result? This will bring our economy more under the domination of capitalists, foreign as well as indigenous, monopolists of our country and monopolists abroad. If due to this reason, there is so much concentration of wealth in fewer hands and country-wide pauperisation, is it any wonder? In this House sometime ago, when there was a debate on a no-confidence motion, one hon. Member, Dr. Lohia, said that the average daily income of our people is 19 np. The note circulated by the Planning Commission in connection with the Fourth Plan gives almost the same picture. It states that 43 million of our people subsist daily on 30 P, the next 43 million on 42 P, the next 46 million live on 51 P. and the next 43 million on 59 P. This is the condition.

Over and above this, the taxation policy of Government is heaping more burdens on the common man. Any analysis of the next UG daroodafod analysis of the tax policy will reveal the position. What was the figure of central taxation in 1949-50 and what is it now in 1964? In 1950-51, the total central tax amounted to Rs. 405 crores, and of it Rs. 227½ crores was indirect tax. Now in 1964-65, the total central tax is Rs. 1558 crores of which Rs. 981 crores is indirect tax. Over and above there is the tax of the State Governments as well as the

panchayats and the municipalities. Our people are feeling hell for this taxation policy which is making our life unbearable. Due to this policy there is so much rise in prices, not only of food products but of essential commodities. In 1947-48 in Bengal one seer of rice was sold for 6 or 7 annas; now it is more than 13 annas.

**Shri P. R. Patel:** Do you want it at 6 annas today? What about the farmers?

**Shri Dinen Bhattacharya:** I want to buy according to my capacity to buy. I have already said that the farmers must be guaranteed reasonable prices—real farmers, not farmers like you who do not till the land actually; people like you must not be allowed to hold a single bigha of land. That is our demand.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** I do not get anything.

**Shri Dinen Bhattacharya:** Not you, Sir, but people like hon. Members who interrupted me; they go round the country buy products from farmers at a low price and sell it at a high price, exorbitant price.

I will conclude with a few words about the current issue which is agitating our country, the language issue. Enough has been said here but I must say that whatever incidents had taken place in Madras or in other parts, Government is responsible for it. Government has bungled on the language issue and as a result of that there has been these tragic incidents. Even on that day, I was disturbed to hear the speech of our Home Minister. I am afraid that he could not feel for the country. When there was random shooting by police, when even police men suffered, he should have come forward with a sober statement so that the country could have understood that our Government is also anxious for the solution of the problems. Without doing so, he has said that law and order is the first

and then only your language question. With this outlook Government will never be able to solve the language problem of the country. It would isolate them from the country as it has done in the South and in West Bengal. My suggestion is that the Government must come forward with some statutory provision so that all the fourteen languages may be given equal status. Parliament Members must have the option to speak in any language he may prefer to do. Today morning the hon. Speaker was saying: you have got the option either to speak in English or in Hindi if you cannot do either, you may give a translated speech and speak in your mother tongue. Why should a translated speech be given if a speech is made here in one of the 14 Indian languages? If a man from the Hindi-speaking area has the privilege to speak in Hindi, why should I, coming from Bengal, not have the privilege of speaking in Bengali? I can speak well in Bengali better than I do in English; English is not my mother tongue; nor is Hindi my mother tongue. I must be given the right to speak in my own mother tongue.

**An Hon. Member:** We are prepared to hear you.

**Shri Dinen Bhattacharya:** You will not hear me; you will be deprived of hearing my speech and a translated copy will be there with the Speaker and that will be printed long after the debate is over... (*Interruptions.*)

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** That is why you want to speak in English or Hindi.

**Shri Dinen Bhattacharya:** There is no provision.

In the UPSC and other all India examinations, candidates must have the right to give their answers in their own mother tongue. So long as these arrangements are not made, the pre-26-1-1965 position must be maintained. This is the feeling

throughout the country; it is the feeling in my State also. You can at no stage impose any language on any man.

**Shri P. R. Patel:** In the old days of the ICS, when the Britishers ruled, what was the language?

**Shri Dinen Bhattacharya:** I thought that it was our rule now. No attempt should be made to impose either English or Hindi on anybody. At the same time, Government must take some positive steps to see that one language may flourish throughout the country as the link language; there should be no imposition. By stages, by persuasion and by really helping the development of that language, you can do it. At the same time provincial languages should be given the same opportunity from the Centre as that particular language which you want to make as the link language. I had many more things to say but for want of time only I wish to say that I emphatically oppose the resolution that has been brought here I say to the Government: Be true to your democratic principles if you have any charge against those who had been arrested, even in spite of their being members of Parliament, you must not play the hide and seek game. Come forward straight with the charges against those persons. There were two persons from my district who are members of the legislative assembly, Messrs Bhowani Mukherjee and Manoranjan Hazre. In 1962 charges were brought against them and they were produced before the court and the court released them with the remark that they were good men and there was nothing against them. Now, again they have been arrested and detained without trial. But even in jail they are not treated like political prisoners. Dr. Saradish Roy a member of this House is lodged in Purulia jail and even ordinary things that were given in the British days arrested under the Preventive



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Detention Act are not given now.

**An Hon. Member:** Name the thing.

**Shri Dinen Bhattacharya:** It is solitary confinement and they are feeling much difficulty. Family allowances are not given to their families. So, at the end, I would only request that, at least the Central Government must take note of this and see that proper treatment is given to the persons who are detained without any charge and only on charges which have got no basis and which are all false.

15 hrs.

**Shri Subbaraman (Madurai):** Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I thank you for the opportunity you have given me to speak on the President's Address. Our revered President has referred to the calamity that occurred owing the cyclonic weather in Rameshwaram Island and the southern tip of South India. The Government did not lose time and they made all arrangements for the relief of the people affected. The House, should, I think, send its heartfelt condolence to the family of the affected persons and to those who are bereaved. The Government have also taken steps to restore the railway line and we are glad to note that the line from the Pamban bridge would be restored in a few months. I request that the Sethusamudram project should be taken in without any loss of time. We should not wait till the next Plan begins.

Our President has also referred with concern and anxiety about the agitation in South India over the language issue. The people in Tamilnad apprehend that Hindi is to take the place of Tamil. Everywhere we see even ordinary people talking about this. The educated people also fear that their profession and prospects would be affected. The stu-

dents think that their future is affected as they may have to study and pass Hindi. The Hindi-speaking people would get advantage over them even if they are allowed to write in English in the public service examinations. All organisations have come forward in support of this view and apprehension. The whole of Tamilnad, I can say, want that the existing state of things should continue, that is, English should be continued as the official language.

Let our revered, late Prime Minister's assurances be put in the statute-book. Mere confirmation of the assurances by the Prime Minister and the Home Minister not considered enough. Their speeches do not give satisfaction. I submit, satisfaction to the people at large. No amount of reasoning is useful now.

We may ask the causes for this agitation. The DMK is carrying on propaganda for the last so many years against Hindi. Their recent publications have incited young men and specially students to rise up and agitate. I can give some slogans given to them. "If Hindi comes, Tamil goes"; "Can't put up with, if disgraceful Hindi comes"; "Body for earth and life for Tamil," "No land, no Tamil; and no life, if Hindi enters;" "Awake, arise, fight and prevent Hindi with all your might and life." Most of the Tamil teachers also have been preaching against Hindi.

There are some immediate causes for this apprehension to flare up as an agitation and get the support of the public. There were some envelopes addressed in Hindi; some distinguished persons received letters in Hindi. There were some Hindi circulars sent to the South. It seems the discussion and proceedings were held in Hindi in some Government committees. Money order forms and other forms are in Hindi. Receipts and other things in the capital city

of Delhi are issued in Hindi. The English names in boards are erased and are written only in Hindi. A huge number of letters were published daily and are still published even now in the daily papers about such things. All papers, both English and Tamil support anti-Hindi move and the news published by them strengthened the anti-Hindi move. So, also were the editorials written. There were very few papers which did not fall in line with it. So, the agitation was getting more and more strength day to day. On the whole, more or less, the whole of Tamilnad was pressing for the continuation of English and that it should be done by changing the Constitution or the Official Language Act.

There were demonstrations by students and anti-Hindi people, and also there were processions. In many places there were disturbances. The DMK leader, during the discussion of the Adjournment motion the other day, accused the Government for all the violent activities. He also referred to an incident in Madurai and charged the Congress. We condemn all violent activities including that in Madurai referred to by him. But one should enquire and know the whole facts and not pick up one instance in the middle and pass one's remark. Do those who accuse know what all happened in Madurai?

Weapons were being openly carried in a jukka through certain streets even on the 24th January. The language sections of the Constitution were burnt in the Rajaji Park, right in the middle of the town. Crude demonstrations were also held before a lady MLA, for nearly 10 to 15 minutes. Some persons in the anti-Hindi agitation procession tore and destroyed on their way a Congress board which had been placed there in connection with the Republic Day celebrations the next day. There was a demonstration before the post office and a woman's organisation nearby the Congress office. There

was apprehension in the mind of some of the leaders that the worst things might happen if the procession came along the North Masi street where the Congress office is situated. So, a request was made to the police control office to divert the procession to some other street so that they may not go by the North Masi street. But still, the procession passed by the same street. Our Congress friends at the Congress office wished the processionists and most of them went away peacefully, but after that, some exchanges and some incidents took place. The ornamental pandal was set on fire and burnt down in a few minutes. A huge number of people entered the Congress office, went up stairs and pulled down the Congress Flag and burnt it and hoisted black flag in its place. Five more ornamental pandals and hundreds of celebration light posts were broken to pieces. The Hindi boards of several shops even before the police station were disfigured and stones were pelted against them. My car was surrounded and attempts were made to attack me. The Congress jeep was burnt down. Wires were sent to several places that one or two died. There were persistent rumours in the town to the effect that the funeral procession of the boy or the student who died was being taken.

A dozen Congress people who were in the Congress office had to run away for their life as they could not stand before the huge crowd of people who entered and attacked them. I need not mention that the loss owing to all these things was very huge. But all these are not mentioned by the people who accuse the Congress.

I am sure that most of the students were and are still innocent. It is the anti-social elements that did all this havoc. Political parties who believe in violence and a violent revolution should have been at the back of all these things. Incidents in other parts of Tamilnad confirm this inference. I want to say again that we condemn

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all violent activities, **whosoever may** be responsible for them. We also deplore the police excesses wherever it occurred. But it is not right to say that the Government was responsible for all this or that the Congress. I also agree for an impartial enquiry into the whole matter. The incidents, some of them, have been most horrible and brutal. There has been butchering and burning of police sub-inspectors and constables near Tiruppur and Gudallur in Madurai District, incendiarism etc. There have been destroying of public properties, railway stations, post offices, etc., which are most disgraceful.

Yes, there was the law of jungle or mobocracy. But who did it and who was responsible for all this. One cannot escape by merely accusing the Government or others. Who created doubts and unfounded and untenable hatred among the young students? Who were at the back of these disturbances, violent activities, destruction and killings? They alone are responsible for all the loss of life and property, dislocation of service and normal life. It is most regrettable and disgraceful that there prevailed an atmosphere of fear everywhere.

If this continue and if decisions are pressed for by means of violence, there would be no peace and no democracy. There would not only be no Congress but there will not be any other political party also. If this continues, all will have to go. The violence that is created incited and committed by them would recoil against them. So all should be vigilant, restrained and take early steps to prevent them. This is a challenge to our country. No crisis has happened as serious and dangerous as this after we attained our independence.

Our country consists of people of many religions, castes and communities and languages. We have also people of various types of habits. We have won independence and formed a stable government in spite of

the differences and diversities. We should continue to maintain our unity at any cost and nothing should disturb it. For that, we should have tolerance and appreciation of each other's point of view. Majority alone should not be the criterion to decide any problem. There should be consensus of opinion and that should decide any problem.

You see everywhere indiscipline and violence. That should be removed. Unless this is done, no normalcy, peace, progress or prosperity will be there. We will break into pieces and there will be military dictatorship or mobocracy if this sort of violence is allowed to continue. Every one should strain every nerve to prevent violence in any form.

Some hon. Members criticised the resignation by our Food Minister and our Minister of State for Petroleum. Those who criticise do not know the position and feeling in Tamilnad. On the whole they were welcomed and it created a good atmosphere. I think it has done good not only to the State Government but also to the Central Government.

**Shri Ranga (Chittoor):** Why should they withdraw their resignations?

**Shri Subbaraman:** On the whole, I can say, it has created a better atmosphere.

I am myself receiving certain anonymous letters telling me that I am a traitor to Tamil and all that. Of late the tone of such letters has become more bitter. They threaten that anything may happen to me. They also cite the example of Kairon. These letters are addressed not only to me. I learn that similar letters are sent to our Chief Minister and Home Minister. The other day the Home Minister's car was attacked. He narrowly escaped from the fury of a mob in Salem district. Letters are sent to others also. I hear that some price has been fixed for the life of

our Chief Minister. If such things continue I do not know how democracy will be there. There will be no peace. Who is responsible for all this? Certainly, it is not the students. I am sure that political people who believe in violence are at the back of all these things.

As the situation stands now in Tamilnad and in the Southern States, I would like to refer to the President's remark that the language question should be considered in all its aspect, legal, administrative and executive. I think the general feeling in Tamilnad is that English should continue as it did till 26th January as long as the non-Hindi people require it. The UPSC examination should be held in all regional languages. In support of this I would like to point out that there has been one or two resolutions passed by the Congress Committee itself even in 1954. Some quota or some such arrangement should be made so that every State should get a minimum number of seats. The northern States, mainly those who are speaking Hindi, should learn at least one south Indian language. We should create some suitable atmosphere and remove the prejudice against Hindi, that is there in the southern States. The southern States especially Tamilnad should conduct all their affairs in the State languages so that the people may not have the grievance that their languages are not given the importance that they should have.

Sir, I wanted to say about some other things, but as my time is up I conclude my speech.

**Shri T. Subramanyam** (Bellary): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, the Address delivered by the President to Parliament was a dignified, realistic, though brief, stock-taking of our achievements of the past year and a call for the fulfilment of our duties in the future.

Sir, he made an earlier reference to the demise of our Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. It was nice of him because the great leader, the historic leader, led us to freedom and then helped us in stabilising the democratic processes of our country. Then he laid a firm basis for planned socio-economic development and strived his utmost to reinforce the cause of Indian unity. His advice has particularly to be remembered in the context of various linguistic controversies which have overtaken our country accompanied by violence and hatred in several parts of our country. It appears as if a competition has arisen in the display of violence and hatred. Intolerance is shown to the utmost. We have been preaching non-violence, tolerance and a peaceful and cordial approach to all the countries in this wide world, but for ourselves we have been practising the utmost hatred and violence in the most ugly manner.

With regard to the official language, our Constitution has made it plain that Hindi in Devanagari script is to be the official language. We have all liked it and accepted it. In fact, personally speaking, for the last 40 to 45 years, my contact with Hindi has been very intimate, both inside and outside jail. And if I have tried to strengthen Hindi, it was not because of a sense of compulsion: it was because of a sense of reinforcing the unity of the country. As soldiers in the cause of freedom we have felt that Hindi will play a very great role in stabilising and strengthening the unity of India. Therefore, we supported the cause of Hindi.

The constitutional position in the case of Hindi is very clear. Up to 1965 English would be the official language and then Hindi. After 1965, if Parliament so chooses, English can be continued as an associate language. Accordingly, we passed a law in Parliament, continuing the use of English as an associate language. That being the case, I do not see why there

[Shri T. Subramanyam]

should be so much of opposition to the use of English at the Centre, be it for the purpose of UPSC examinations or for conducting the proceedings of this House.

A suggestion has come that all the regional languages should be made the media of expression in Parliament and for holding examination by the UPSC. I feel that it is a very dangerous move. The present constitutional provision is the ideal one. Sir, just now you were pleased to point out to a Member speaking in English who wanted to speak in Bengali that he would not be understood by many Members if he does so. That difficulty will be multiplied fourteen times, because we have fourteen regional languages. It is no doubt true that for certain purposes we have recognised them as national languages. For example, article 350 says:

"Every person shall be entitled to submit a representation for the redress of any grievance to any officer or authority of the Union or a State in any of the languages used in the Union or in the State, as the case may be."

That right is there and it is recognised. But that does not mean that in every normal routine matter all of us express our views only in our regional languages, either for conducting the proceedings of the House or for conducting the administration of the Central Government or for UPSC examinations. At the same time, I recognise that Hindi will have to take its place and play its role. For this purpose, article 351 lays down:

"It shall be the duty of the Union to promote the spread of the Hindi language, to develop it so that it may serve as a medium of expression for all the elements of the composite culture of India and to secure its enrichment by assimilating without

interfering with its genius, the forms, style and expressions used in Hindustani and in the other languages of India...."

Therefore, a duty is cast on the Central Government to promote and propagate the spread of Hindi. The position is quite clear. It cannot be done on any particular scheduled date. You cannot say that by such and such date Hindi alone will be used or English will not be used. We have got a historic legacy and we need not be ashamed of it. English has played a great role during our freedom struggle and now it is playing a role in the conduct of the proceedings of this House, the administration of the Central Government and UPSC examinations, spreading scientific and technological education at various levels in the university for post-graduate courses etc. Therefore, we shall use it till such time as Hindi takes its place. I am anxious that Hindi should take its place, replacing English ultimately. But it has to be done unobstructively and without the people feeling any irksomeness. I am sure Hindi is bound to come, but it should come without any bitterness or hatred.

The President makes a reference to our socio-economic development. In the first place, he refers to our national income which has risen gradually. In comparison with our pre-independence days, it is taking a planned course. In 1960-61 the per capita income was Rs. 320. The average expenditure per capita has remained very low. If we take the present national income and per capita income and expenditure, the expenditure is as low as Rs. 23. Since it also includes the high income groups, if we take a realistic view half the people of our land have not got even Rs. 20, and one-third of the people have got about Rs. 15 per month.

We are told by the Planning Commission that by 1975 if we achieve a

rate of growth of 7 per cent per annum, the per capita expenditure may rise to above Rs. 20. But that is a big "if". We have to achieve that position. If the entire population is to be gainfully employed, we must use all our resources. In the mean while, the population is growing. In 1981, it is estimated, that population will be 67 crores and the national income Rs. 62,000 crores.

The shortfall in income has been due mainly to inadequate agricultural production. Agricultural production has failed for a very long time and the Central Government, Planning Commission and the State Governments have been doing their utmost to increase the yield per acre. Here I will give a few figures. The production in 1955 was 65.82 million tons. In 1960-61 it was 79.69 million tons and the expected yield in 1965-66, the coming year, is 92 million tons. Our target of agricultural production for the Third Plan was 100 million tons and we fell short by 8 million tons. It is estimated that during the Fourth Plan we will produce 120 million tons. To achieve this yield it is proposed that 13 million acres have to be brought under major and medium irrigation projects and 17 million acres under quick-yielding minor irrigation schemes. Besides that, the soil conservation programme has to be applied to 20 million acres. The consumption of fertilizer has to be speeded up so that by the end of the Fourth Plan we may increase the use of fertilizers to 2 million tons in terms of nitrogen and 1.3 million tons in terms of phosphatic and other fertilizers. Just now, one hon. Member was saying that we have to be diligent in the application of fertilizers. Soil survey has to be undertaken so that impressive yields could be secured from each acre by the use of these fertilizers.

I must say in this connection that our story of giving effect to our programme of production of fertilizer was

very sad and tragic during the Third Plan. Though we issued so many licences and the various State Governments also tried to implement schemes, we miserably failed. We have again undertaken a programme for the achievement of a target of 2 million tons in the Fourth Plan in terms of nitrogen and 1.35 million tons in terms of phosphatic fertilizers. I would urge on the Government to take up this programme in all earnestness and in a spirit of urgency.

Then, we are out to wage war against poverty and low standards of consumption of food and inadequate supplies. A programme of building buffer stocks has been taken up. The Food Corporation is expected to help us in the orderly procurement and marketing of our produce. The reduction of bank credit and unearthing of unaccounted money will go a long way in tackling this problem. When I am on the question of buffer stocks I want to give a small incident. In Mysore State there are a few villages where the villagers themselves have taken up the task of having grain banks. For instance in Shimoga District—I had been there recently—I visited Enakoppa village. There the local leadership was wise enough to organise a grain bank so that they collect paddy in the harvest season and during the critical months when the stock was not available distribute it to the ryots and when the new harvest comes they get it with some nominal interest. So, they are able to tide over the very critical period. In Bangalore, Shimoga and other places, everywhere long queues were waiting to get one seer or two seers of rice but in that village they had hundreds of bags of paddy in the local grain bank and there was not even offtake to any great extent from local cooperative store. That was the position.

In another village in the Bijapur District also the same thing was organised. If these buffer stocks are built up at the village level by wise local leadership and all the grain

[Shri T. Subramanyam]

that they have, the number of bags, is known—it is an open book, there is no secrecy about it—and if the authorities want grain, they will give at authorised rates, there is no question of blackmarketing there. It has worked wonderfully and I suggest to the Food Minister and to the Government of India that they should encourage this sort of arrangement at other villages also.

I shall now come to the industrial sector. The record has been impressive. The increase in industrial production last year was 9.2 per cent and this year it is 8 per cent. Our heavy industries have commenced production, like the Heavy Engineering plant at Ranchi, the mining machinery plant at Durgapur, the refinery at Barauni, the machine tools factories at Pinjore and at Kalamassery in Punjab and Kerala. I am sure, before long they will render a good account. The production will increase and will help us in our industrial output.

I shall now mention a word about power. It is a good record because by the end of the Second Plan generation of electric power was 5.6 million kilowatts and by the end of the Third Plan it will be 11.7 million kilowatts. In this context, I will make a reference to the Sharavathi Project which recently started generation and was inaugurated by our Prime Minister just a month ago. It will render a good account and will be one of our greatest national assets which will help in the development of our industry.

I will say one word about rural electrification also. In 1951 4,000 villages were electrified and by the end of the Third Plan above 40,000 villages will be electrified.

**Shri Maurya (Aligarh):** What is the total number of villages in the country?

**Shri T. Subramanyam:** 5,66,000.

**Shri Maurya:** Now, what is the percentage?

**Shri T. Subramanyam:** Comparing the total number of villages and the number of villages which have actually been electrified, no doubt, it is not adequate I agree, it is not adequate; but we started from scratch and have electrified 40,000 villages. I am frank to confess that we have not done much. Very much more needs to be done; but we cannot do it in one single jump. By waving a magic wand it cannot be that we will electrify all the 5,66,000 villages.

**Shri Maurya:** You have swallowed 18 years.

**Shri T. Subramanyam:** Now I will only mention about steel. Our requirements of steel will go on increasing. The target of steel ingots for the Third Plan was 9.2 million tonnes; the present estimate is about 7.4 million tonnes to be produced at the end of the Third Plan and the target for the Fourth Plan is 16.5 million tonnes. Now plants are about to be installed in various places. A team of experts from the United Kingdom and America is going round to see various places where a steel plant could be located. I must say that the Hospet-Bellary area has got abundant and the most precious iron ore. We have got electricity also produced from the Sharavathi Valley and non-saline water from the Tungabhadra Project. Land is available. I earnestly submit to the Government with all the emphasis at my command that they must take a decision in this regard on the basis of reports given by experts and technologists and I will be quite satisfied about that.

श्री स० मो० बनर्जी (कानपुर) :  
उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, राष्ट्रपति का अभिभाषण  
सुन कर एक निराशा की भावना तमाम  
सदस्यों के दिल में छा गयी। मैं ने उस को

अध्ययन करने की कोशिश की तो 'पाया कि जहाँ तक हमारे देश की खाद्य समस्या का सवाल है उसको सही तरीके से हमारे सामने रखने की कोशिश नहीं की गयी। आज के अखबार में भी उत्तर प्रदेश के खाद्य मंत्री जी का बयान निकला है और उन्होंने जो अंग्रेजी की शब्द वहाँ की स्थिति के बारे में प्रयोग किया है वह है "ग्रेव सिचुएशन"। इसका अर्थ यह है कि वहाँ बड़ा अन्न संकट है और परिस्थिति गम्भीर है। अगर ऐसी ही हालत रही तो कुछ दिनों बाद उत्तर प्रदेश में जुलाई और अगस्त जैसी स्थिति आ जायेगी। हमारे प्रदेश की मुख्य मंत्री कह रही हैं कि उनको केन्द्र ने गल्ला नहीं दिया और केन्द्र के मंत्री जी अक्सर यह फरमा देते हैं कि नहीं उत्तर प्रदेश की सरकार को तो हम ने काफी अन्न दिया है पर वहाँ की वितरण की प्रणाली खराब है जिसके फलस्वरूप लोगों को अन्न नहीं मिल रहा है। यह चीज केन्द्र और प्रान्त के बीच फुटबाल सी बन कर इधर से उधर जाती रहती है। लेकिन यह समस्या किस तरह से हल हो इसका आज तक कोई जवाब नहीं आया है।

यह बात साफ है कि अगर देश में अन्न संकट का हल न निकला तो केवल उत्तर प्रदेश में ही नहीं बल्कि दूसरे प्रदेशों में, चाहे वह बंगाल हो या और कोई प्रान्त हो, एक जबरदस्त आन्दोलन पैदा होगा, और इस की सारी जिम्मेदारी सरकार की होगी।

मैं यह समझता हूँ कि अगर 15 दिन के अन्दर अन्दर उत्तर प्रदेश को गेहूँ चावल और दूसरे अनाज न दे दिये गये तो हो सकता है कि वहाँ अन्न संकट इतना गम्भीर हो जाये कि लोगों को फाकेकशी की नौबत का सामना करना पड़े। इसलिए मैं समझता हूँ कि हमारे मंत्री महोदय इस बात पर ध्यान देंगे और केन्द्र की जो जिम्मेदारी है उसको निभायेंगे।

राष्ट्रपति ने अपने अभिभाषण में कहा है .

"Our Government attach the greatest importance to the maintenance of industrial peace through the code of discipline and through the various instruments of negotiation, conciliation and adjudication which exist."

15.38 hrs.

[SHRI THIRUMALA RAO in the Chair].

माननीय अन्न मंत्री यहां बैठे हैं। मैं एक बात उनकी सेवा में निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ ट्विंटेन काउंसिल और प्वाइंट कंसल्टेटिव मैशिनरी, जिसकी बात स्व० पंत जी ने सन् 1958 की हड़ताल के बाद कही थी उसके बारे में निर्णय पिछले 6 सालों में नहीं हो पाया है। विलायत से श्री लैसली विलियम आये थे और उस समय कहा गया था कि वह सरकार को सलाह देंगे और सरकार के सामने यह बात रखेंगे कि किस तरह से प्वाइंट कंसल्टेटिव मैशिनरी का पालन होगा और किस तरह से वह बनेगी। लेकिन आज 6 साल में कुछ निर्णय नहीं हो पाया है। ऐसा लगता है कि नन्दा जी और संजीवैया साहब के बीच इस बारे में बेडमिंटन का खेल हो रहा है और कभी यह मसला नन्दा जी के कोर्ट में आ जाता है और कभी फिर संजीवैया साहब के कोर्ट में वापस कर दिया जाता है। इस वक्त मालूम होता है कि कैबिनेट में श्री नन्दा की हिट करने की ताकत ज्यादा है

श्री अ० प्र० शर्मा : हम उसे अपने कोर्ट में नहीं आने देंगे।

श्री स० मो० बनर्जी : अभी आप यह नहीं कह सकते। पहले पालियामेंटरी सेक्रेटरी बनिये, फिर मिनिस्टर बनिये तब आप यह कह सकते हैं।



[श्री स० मो० बनर्जी]

ग्राल इंडिया रेलवे मेन्स फेडरेशन और डिफेंस एम्पलाईज फेडरेशन ने कहा कि हम व्हिल्से काउंसिल से बाज आये । उनका कहना है कि हमें नगोशिएटिंग मैशिनरी में सुधार करके दे दिया जाये । लेकिन चीज यह है कि आज कम से कम नैगोशिएटिंग मैशिनरी के बारे में गृह मंत्री द्वारा अड़ंगा न लगाया जाना चाहिए । मुझे मालम हुआ कि उधर से ऐसा किया जा रहा है । वह दो बातें कहते हैं, एक तो यह कि जो बाहर के लीडर हैं उनको निकाल दिया जाये और दूसरे यह कि जो हड़ताल करने का अधिकार है उसका इस्तेमाल न किया जाये । मैं समझता हूँ कि यह चीज विधान के खिलाफ है । श्रीर इसको 22 लाख कर्मचारी मानने को तैयार नहीं हैं । इसलिए मैं श्रम मंत्री जी से निवेदन करूंगा कि इस के बारे में वे कुछ प्रकाश डालें और प्रकाश डालने के बाद तय करें कि बाकूई में किस तरीके से मजदूर और मालिक का रिश्ता रह सकता है ? आज इंडियन लेबर काँग्रेस या दूसरी जो कमेटीज की बैठकें होती हैं और उन में सरमायादारों के नुमायन्दे नवल टाटा आते हैं तब खुद हमारे प्राइम मिनिस्टर कर्मचारी मजदूरों को संतुष्ट रखने के बारे में उन्हें नसीहत देने की कोशिश करते हैं लेकिन वही सरकार जब केन्द्रीय सरकार के कर्मचारियों की बात उस के सामने आती है तो वहां पर व्हिल्से काउंसिल या नैगोशिएटिंग मैशिनरी वाली चीज उनको नहीं दी जाती है । ऐसी हालत में सरकार इस के लिए प्राइवेट सेक्टर को किस तरीके से मजदूर कर सकती है कि वे इस बात को मंजूर कर लें ?

सभापति महोदय, दूसरी बात हमारे सामने करप्शन की है । मैं नन्दा जी को बधाई देना चाहता हूँ और वित्त मंत्री जी को भी इस के लिए बधाई देना चाहता हूँ कि कम से कम उन्होंने काले बाजार के रुपये पर अपना हाथ तो डाला ।

एक माननीय सदस्य : हाथ काला हो जायेगा ।

श्री स० मो० बनर्जी : हाथ अगर उन का काला हो गया तो मैं यकीन दिलाना चाहता हूँ विरोधी दलों की तरफ से कि उन्हें साबुन की टिकिया फौरन दे दी जायेगी । वह बाकूई में अगर काला रुपया निकालना चाहते हैं तो जिस तरीके से उन्होंने रेड किया, जिस तरीके से लोगों की छिपी हुई जेबों में उन्होंने हाथ डालने की कोशिश की, अगर बड़े पैमाने पर कंट्री वाइड बेसिस पर छिपी हुई जेबों पर हाथ डाला जाता तो काफ़ी रुपया, करोड़ों रुपया सरकार को मिलता । लेकिन अफसोस है कि ऐसा नहीं किया जा रहा है और टाटा व बिड़ला को शायद छोड़ दिया गया । बड़े बड़े सरमायेदारों को छोड़ा जा रहा है मैं यह नहीं कहता कि किसी भी सरमायेदार के पास सफेद रुपया नहीं है । अगर उन में से किसी के पास सफेद रुपया है तो उस से सफेद टोपियां ज़रूर खरीदी जा सकती हैं । लेकिन मैं यह बात अवश्य कहूंगा कि वह सफेद टोपी काली होकर रहेगी अगर वह उस काले बाजार के रुपये से खरीदी जायेगी । इसलिए मेरा विचार है कि अगर एक साथ सारे देश भर में यह रेड्स हो जाते तो काफ़ी मात्रा में यह काला धन बाहर आ सकता था लेकिन अभी कोई ऐसी बात नहीं है । यह ठीक है कि काला धन निकालने की कोशिश सरकार कर रही है, वह इस की कोशिश करे, ठीक ही है, लेकिन सख्ती के साथ करे ।

अभी कामत जी ने अपना भाषण देते हुए सी० बी० आई० की रिपोर्ट की बात कही है उड़ीसा मंत्रिमंडल के बारे में । एक मिनिस्टर और हमारे भूतपूर्व चीफ मिनिस्टर श्री मिश्रा, उन के बारे में कांग्रेस के एक बहुत बड़े सदस्य ने कहा है „इट इज ए कोरप्टर“ । मुझे ताज़्जब होता है अगर एक भादमी राजत तरीके से लाइसेंस दिलाये और राजत तरीके से परमिट इश्यू करे और राजत तरीके से रुपये को इस्तेमाल में लाये

श्रीर इम तरह से करप्शन व. अप्टाचार का बोलबाला करे और उन के खिलाफ अगर कोई इनक्वायरी हो तो ऊपर से कहा जाय कि कॅरेक्टर एसि. नेशन है ? अब यह अगर कांग्रेस के एक ऐसे सदस्य कहना चाहते हैं जोकि कांग्रेस की सिडीकेट के मँबर हैं तो मालूम नहीं कि नन्दा जी सदाचार के आधार पर किस तरीके से सदाचारी बना सकते हैं लोगों को ? मैं यह समझता हूँ कि कुछ लोग यह चाहते हैं कि उन के सदाचार को दुराचार में बदला जाय । इसलिए मेरा निवेदन है कि करप्शन का जहाँ तक सवाल है हर एक मंत्री के खिलाफ इनक्वायरी होनी चाहिए । पार्लियामेंट के मँबरों के खिलाफ इनक्वायरी होनी चाहिए वरना हमारा आदर्श नहीं बन सकता । देश के सामने अगर यह सदाचार की बात कही जाये, सदाचार की बात लोगों को तो सुना दें लेकिन जहाँ तक मंत्री महोदयों का सवाल है, चीफ मिनिस्टर्स का सवाल है या किसी एक मिनिस्टर का सवाल हो वहाँ पर सरकारी अफसरान की यह हिम्मत न हो कि वे उन की जेबों में हाथ डालें या उन की जायदादों के बारे में देखें ?

सभापति महोदय, इस के बाद कुछ और सवाल उठते हैं, जैसे कि बेकारी का सवाल आता है । तीसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना खत्म होने के बाद कहा यह जाता है कि देश में 1 करोड़ 20 लाख की बेकारी हो गयी है और उस के जवाब में यह कहा जाता है कि हम चौथी पंचवर्षीय योजना में 1 करोड़ 10 लाख आदमियों को नौकरियां देने जा रहे हैं । यही बात कही गई थी दूसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना के शुरू में । कहा तो यह गया था कि 80 लाख लोगों को नौकरियां मिलेगी, यू. जे. डू. 80 मिलियंस, 80 लाख लोगों को नौकरी तो नहीं मिली लेकिन दूसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना खत्म होने के बाद 1 करोड़ 5 लाख आदमी बेकार हो गये हैं । इस पर लोगों ने पूछा कि यह सरकार तो बेकारी

को खत्म करने जा रही थी तो और अधिक लोग बेकार क्यों हो गये और यह बेकारी बढ़ क्यों गयी तो हम ने कहा कि यह शायद कोई होम्योपैथिक दवा की तरह काम कर रही है जैसे कि होम्योपैथिक इलाज में पहले बीमारी को बढ़ा कर फिर उसे घटाया जाता है, शायद ऐसी बात हो । मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि बेकारी और भुखमरी में दीड़ हो रही है इस देश में । मुझे मालूम नहीं कि कौन जीतने वाला है ? फाकाकशी की नौबत शुरू हो गयी है । सभापति महोदय, अब की मतबा मैं ने उत्तर प्रदेश के पूर्वी जिलों में जाकर देखा कि लोगों की आमदनी क्या है । चीजों के दाम घटते नहीं हैं और उन के बारे में इस सदन में कहा जाता है कि ऐसॅशियस कमोडिटीज जो हैं उनके दाम कुछ घट गये हैं । मैं कहना चाहता हूँ मंत्री महोदय से कि वह बाजार में चलें और वाकई में देखें कि किस चीज के दाम घटे हैं ? आज तक कोई कमोडिटी चाहे वह फुडप्रॅस हो या और जरूरयात की चीजें हों, उन के दाम घटे नहीं हैं बल्कि चीजों के दाम बढ़ते ही चले जा रहे हैं । जब सरकारी कर्मचारी कहते हैं कि सरकार महंगाई को खत्म करे, या तो वह महंगाई को घटाये । और चीजों के दाम को कम करे नहीं तो उन्हें महंगाई का मुकाबला करने के लिए अतिरिक्त महंगाई भत्ता दिया जाय तो उन्हें साडे 7 रुपये, 11 रुपये या 12 रुपये देने की बात की जाती है । मुझे ताज्जुब यह होता है कि जहाँ पर वह आन्दोलन करने के लिए तैयार होते हैं वहाँ पर उनके आन्दोलन को कुचलने की कोशिश होती है । रिपब्लिकन पार्टी के हजारों आदमी जेल में गये, 1 लाख से ज्यादा आदमियों ने जेलों की सीखचों में जाकर इनकिलाब के नारे लगाये । आखिर उन की मांग क्या थी ? मांग उन की यह थी कि उन को एक छोटा मकान दिया जाय, उन को नौकरी मिलनी चाहिए और जॉ. च. ट. र. आफ डिमांड्स हजारों की तादाद में आकर प्राइम मिनिस्टर को दिया उस के जवाब में मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि प्रधान मंत्री

[श्री स० मो० बनर्जी]

को क्या कहना है ? खाली यह कह देना कि हम इस देश के आधिक स्तर को उठाना चाहते हैं, देश को गांधी जी के आदर्शों पर चलाना चाहते हैं और भंगी कौलिनी में कुछ मकानात बनाना चाहते हैं, काफ़ी नहीं होगा। मैं सरकार से यह पूछना चाहता हूँ कि रिपब्लिकन पार्टी के उन लोगों के बारे में जोकि जेल में थे, उन की मांगों के बारे में उस ने क्या किया ?

इसके बाद सभापति महोदय, मैं दो चीजें और कहना चाहता हूँ। एक बात भाषा के बारे में है। मुझे दुख है कि हमारे दक्षिण के भाइयों को इस भाषा के सवाल को लेकर तकलीफ़ है। मैं तो चाहता हूँ कि उन तमाम बुखद घटनाओं की अदालती जांच ही, जुडिशिएल इनक्वायरी ही। हमारे छोटे छोटे बच्चों को, मुस्कराते हुए बच्चों को सरकार ने गोली से मारा। भाषा के बारे में मैं समझता हूँ कि सरकार की पूरी जिम्मेदारी है कि यह जो आन्दोलन इस देश में हुआ। अगर वाकई में वह चाहती तो क्या इन 16 या 17 सालों में हिन्दी भाषा की उन्नति नहीं हो सकती थी ? क्या इस अवधि में हिन्दी को एक ऐसी भाषा नहीं बनाया जा सकता था कि जिसको लोग गले से लगा लें ? 17 साल में इस सरकार ने क्या किया ? देश को वह तबाही के रास्ते पर ले गई। इसी 17 साल में एक तरफ़ जो लखपति थे वह करोड़पति हुए, जो करोड़पति थे वह अरबपति हो गये और जो एक कारखाने के मालिक थे वह दस, दस कारखानों के मालिक बन गये जबकि दूसरी तरफ़ 100 रुपये जिसकी आमदनी थी, मंहगाई ने उस की कमर तोड़ दी और उसके उस 100 रुपये की कीमत 60 रुपये रह गयी। 60 रुपये पाने वाला शरूस बेकार हो गया। मामूली मकान में जो रहता था वह झोंपड़े में रहने लगा। जो झोंपड़े में

रहता था वह फुटपाथ पर रहने लगा और जो फुटपाथ पर रहता था वह बिना कफन मरघट की तरफ़ जाने लगा। इस तरह की आजाद हिन्दुस्तान की तस्वीर आज हमारे सामने मौजूद है। मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि भाषा के बारे में आप क्या करना चाहते हैं ? हम देखते हैं कि कैबिनेट मिनिस्टर रिज़ाइन करता है, दूसरा स्टेट मिनिस्टर रिज़ाइन करता है, प्रधान मंत्री क्या कहना चाहते हैं इस के बारे में, वह साफ़ तरीके से सामने आना चाहिए।

मैं एक और चीज़ दक्षिण के भाइयों को हाथ जोड़ कर कहना चाहता हूँ। आखिर हमारे इस आजाद देश में कोई तो एक भाषा होगी। मझे खुशी होती अगर तामिल के मामले को लेकर वह लोग आग लगा कर मर जाते क्योंकि मैं समझता कि कम से कम देश की एक भाषा के लिए तो मरे लेकिन एक विदेशी जवान, जो जवान कि हमारी नस, नस में आ चुकी है, जिस भाषा के फल-स्वरूप अंग्रेज़ी साम्राज्यवाद ने हमारे देश को काटा, पीटा और बांटा और जोकि हमारे खून के आखिरी कतरे तक को चूस कर ले गया, उस अंग्रेज़ी जवान को हम अपने देश में रहने दें यह बर्दाश्त के वाहर है। 17 साल की आजादी के बाद भी इस देश की कोई भाषा न हो। सभापति महोदय, मैं बंगाली हूँ। पंजाब में पैदा हुआ हूँ, उत्तर प्रदेश में नौकरी की है और बिहार में मैंने तालीम पाई है। मैं आज आप से कहता हूँ कि मैं हिन्दुस्तानी हूँ। मैं हिन्दी वाला नहीं हूँ। फिर भी मैं आज यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि अपने देश की किसी भाषा को किया जाए, बंगला को इस देश की भाषा किया जाए, तामिल को किया जाए, तेलग को किया जाए, लेकिन एक बात होनी चाहिए। इस बात को जो डा० लोहिया कहते हैं मैं मानता हूँ कि भूल जाइये हिन्दी को, अंग्रेज़ी हटाओ। अंग्रेज़ी जब तक नहीं हटेगी तब तक हमारे देश से गुलामी

की जो भावना है वह जा नहीं सकती है। अंग्रेजी इस देश से क्यों नहीं हट सकती है? इसका कारण यह है कि जिन के हाथ में आज सत्ता की बागडोर है, वे केम्ब्रिज और ब्राक्सफोर्ड के पढ़े हुए हैं, उनके लड़के आज भी पब्लिक स्कूलों में जाते हैं, वहाँ पढ़ते हैं। वे ड्रीम इन इंग्लिश।

मैं यह भी कहना चाहता हूँ कि जबर्दस्ती किसी भाषा को न लादा जाए। हम एक एटमासफीयर क्रियेट करें, देश में एक इस तरह की हवा बनायें जिससे हिन्दी भाषी लोग ठंडे दिमाग से सोच विचार कर सकें, सारी बात को समझ सकें और साथ ही साथ हमारे अहिन्दी भाषी लोग, दक्षिण के लोग भी नाराज न हों। जो घाव आज हो चुके हैं, जो जखम हरे हाँ गए हैं, उनको सुखाने के लिए जिस चीज की जरूरत है, वह उन में पैदा की जाए। मैं अपील करना चाहता हूँ उत्तर प्रदेश के भाइयों से, दिल्ली के भाइयों से, उन राजनीतिक पार्टियों से जो हिन्दी में विश्वास करती हैं कि वे सोचें कि आज देश का एका पहले है या भाषा? जबकि चीनी आक्रमणकारी हमारे देश में आज भी हैं, जबकि पाकिस्तान हमें आँख दिखा रहा हो, एक तरफ लद्दाख का मसला हो, दूसरी तरफ नेफा का मसला हो, तीसरी तरफ नागालैंड के मसले को उछालने की कोशिश की जा रही हो और चौथी तरफ अंग्रेज साम्राज्यवादी और अमरीकी साम्राज्यवादी हमारे देश को गुलामी की जंजीरों में जकड़ने की कोशिश कर रहे हों, आर्थिक और दूसरे तरीकों से, ऐसे वक्त में क्या हम भारत माता के टुकड़े टुकड़े होने देंगे? यह सवाल देश के सामने है। इसलिए मैं हिन्दी के भाइयों से अपील करना चाहता हूँ कि हिन्दी भाषा को अगर हम चाहते हैं कि तमाम भाई समझने की कोशिश करें तो हमें सहनशीलता से काम लेना होगा, जजबान में बह कर कोई काम नहीं करना है। जो कुछ दक्षिण में हुआ, उसका जवाब यहाँ पर

हमें नहीं देना चाहिए। दक्षिण के लोगों को हमें गले से लगा कर कहना चाहिए कि तुम हमारे भाई हो, उन से कहना चाहिये।

मजहब नहीं सिखाता आपस में बैर रखना हिन्दी हैं हम वतन है हिन्दुस्तान हमारा

एक यही चीज हमारी आँख के सामने होनी चाहिए।

हमारे देश के सामने कम-अज्ञ-कम दो तीन मसले हैं जाँकि शीघ्र तय हो जाने चाहियें। प्राइसिस का मसला, फूडगेज का मसला आदि जो मसले हैं अगर ये तय नहीं हुए तो मैं यकीन दिला कर कहना चाहता हूँ कि इनके लिए अन्दोलन होगा।

जिन भाइयों को गिरफ्तार किया गया है, लैफ्ट कम्युनिस्ट्स को, उनके बारे में एक बात कहना चाहता हूँ। मोहित भोयत्वा कैसर से तड़प रहे हैं, उनको छोड़ा नहीं गया है। उन के खिलाफ अगर चार्जिज है, अगर वे देशद्रोही हैं, चाइनीज एजेन्ट हैं, तो मैं चाहता हूँ कि चौराहे पर खड़े करके उनको गोली मार दी जाए। लेकिन व्हाइट पेपर जो नंदा जी ने दिया है, उससे हम कनविस नहीं हुए हैं। उस में एक चार्ज यह है कि कुछ लोग कुल्लू वैली गये थे। मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि कुल्लू वैली कौन सी चीन में है? इस तरह के अजीब चार्जिज लगाना क्या शोभा देता है। मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि इसके बारे में जांच हो और उनको माँका दिया जाए कि वे कचहरियों में अपनी डिफेंस दे सकें।

**Shri Bakar Ali Mirza (Warrangal):**  
The President's Address is the first policy statement of our new Government. It is short and businesslike. It follows the Nehru line in the main. At the same time, there is a stamp of Shastriji in it. Of course, there are persons who are insistent on the Nehru line in every particular, but they are asking for the moon, because you cannot transplant one man's head on another man's shoulders.

[Shri Bakar Ali Mirza]

The stamp of Shastriji is evident from the emphasis that has been laid in the Address on agriculture. It caters not only for the weaker sector of society but it is also economically sound, because if there is rise in farm output, it gets multiplied a million times, and as a result the rise in the national wealth is greater than that can be obtained from other patterns of economic development in the Plan.

I hope that this concern for agriculture will also extend to the backward regions of the country. I grant that the location of industries should be entirely on the basis of economic returns which are the greatest need of the country today. But after having granted that, we must provide some additional funds for the backward regions also, not with an economic end in view, so that we might create a volume of contentment and a feeling of common endeavour and there may be no competition to advance any economic arguments with a view to gain the location of one industry or another in one State or another. There is also another reason why we should help the backward regions, because if those regions are neglected, bitterness will grow and that in its turn would become an economic liability.

I now turn to the appeal made by the President in his address about austerity and sacrificial response and dedication to the plans. Asceticism is built in in the mind of India, but unfortunately that has not been sufficiently mobilised for social ends, especially after the passing away of one who practised what he preached. That could have solved many of our problems including food. Instead, we have blackmarketing, higher prices, higher taxes, difficulties about foreign exchange, debts in the international market and so on. There is, therefore a need for a change of approach. Even in the communist society, austerity is imposed by the State. As you are aware, Sir, there are more consumer goods in the bazars of the

cities of India than there are in the city of Moscow, which is the capital of one of the biggest Powers of the world. Therefore, if we want to progress, and if austerity cannot be imposed by the State, then austerity must form a part of our Plan, and self-denial must be a way of life.

15.58 hrs.

[MR. SPEAKER in the Chair]

Shastriji's appeal for sacrifice and austerity gives the Gandhian touch. But, unfortunately for this country, the Father of the Nation is only remembered these days on ceremonial occasions, though he still inspires men in other countries.

Now, I come to the question of food. There has been increase in food production continuously for some time, except perhaps for the short duration of sterility when the Food Minister resigned and then he withdrew his resignation. My hon. friend Shri Ranga spoke as if all the troubles on the food front were due to the Seventeenth Amendment to the Constitution and the land reforms. May I point out to him that even after the abolition of the zamindari and the jagirdari systems, and so many land reforms in so many States, today, there are 42 per cent of holders who have got less than one acre? And about .2 per cent own as much as 6 per cent of the entire land of the country. At the same time, I would like to point out to the Food Minister that higher production does not depend entirely on better seeds, fertilisers and pesticides etc. but also on the size of holdings.

16 hrs.

How can you achieve self-sufficiency in food when such a large section of cultivators are on a subsistence living

and do not produce a marketable surplus. If you want to bring about self-sufficiency, it is necessary that a large number of cultivators in every village are able to earn not only for their living but earn enough so as to save and invest for their welfare and the betterment of their surroundings. Unless this is done, we cannot expect to go very far.

Unfortunately, there is a lot of vested interest in land in all the parties in this country. While our socialist friends feel enthusiastic about nationalisation of banks in which they have little stake, they do not feel equally enthusiastic about land reforms in which they have a stake. There is also one important reason which is a political one. Today the poor cultivators are going to towns in search of employment. The richer ones go to towns either for entertainment or for urban living. Therefore, it is the villages which suffer. That being the case, the villages are vulnerable and a demagogue can get response by painting any rosy picture of change.

If you really want to create a stable society which will offer resistance to all pressures, I think it is necessary that the society you create must have the capacity to resist. If you create such a society, I maintain it will not only be resistant to political exploitation from within but also to aggression from without.

Prof. Ranga and Shri Trivedi reminded us of our failure to clear the Chinese out of the parts of the country they occupied by their aggression.

Mr. Speaker: At 4 p.m. the Prime Minister was to make a statement. He can continue afterwards.

16.05 hrs.

### STATEMENT RE. ALLEGATIONS AGAINST SOME CHIEF MINISTERS AND OTHER MINISTERS OF STATE GOVERNMENTS

Mr. Speaker: The hon. Prime Minister.

Shri P. K. Deo (Kalahandi): Before the Prime Minister makes a statement, may I point out that I had given notice of a call attention motion on the same subject? So I may not be denied the privilege of putting questions.

Mr. Speaker: Simply because he had tabled an adjournment motion . . .

Shri P. K. Deo: Call attention notice.

Mr. Speaker: Then at the most he can be allowed one question.

The Prime Minister and Minister of Atomic Energy (Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri): Mr. Speaker, Sir, as the House is aware . . .

श्री बागड़ी (हिसार) : इस के अन्दर हर पार्टी के मेम्बर को मौका मिलना चाहिये ।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : अब मैं पहले से कैसे इकरार कर दूँ ।

श्री यशपाल सिंह (कराना) : प्रधान मंत्री जी को अपने वचनों का पालन करना चाहिये ।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : मैं ने आप से विनय की कि आप बार बार इस को न उठायें । यह ठीक नहीं है कि हर वक्त इस बात को उठाया जाये । जो मैं ने सुबह कहा था उसी के मुताबिक काम चलेगा ।

Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri: As the House is aware, a memorial dated 28