

fifteen minutes, I will beg of the House to give me this and I will announce the decision.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: Suppose he raises controversial points, we should be permitted to clarify the points. (Interruptions).

Shri Nath Pai: Sir, I want to draw your attention . . .

Shri Rama Chandra Mallick (Jajpur): Mr. Speaker, I want to say . . .

Mr. Speaker: He should sit down; I will give him an opportunity.

Shri Rama Chandra Mallick: I will read only one rule.

Mr. Speaker: Would he sit down? What does Mr. Nath Pai want to say now?

Shri Nath Pai: May I read for your consideration something arising out of the assurance given to this House on the 18th? May I read that assurance?

Mr. Speaker: How can I allow him, if I do not know what he is going to raise?

Shri Nath Pai: I am quoting from the proceedings.

Mr. Speaker: It may be from the proceedings but he ought to have given me notice . . . (Interruptions).

Shri Nath Pai: I did give you notice.

Mr. Speaker: Did I permit him to raise the point?

Shri Nath Pai: Sir, I will not be trying to sneak in something without being properly fortified in my position. You were pleased to say . . .

Mr. Speaker: Mr. Nath Pai would kindly excuse me. It would be a bad precedent, if I allow him now? If I find there is some force in his contention, I will allow him.

Shri Nath Pai: I will state the position. I do not know why I cannot quote your own sentence. It is a five-word sentence "I will study the position and convey to the House my reaction." This was the assurance that I wanted to read. There was your assurance to the House, not to me personally and, therefore, I wanted to raise it.

Shri Rama Chandra Mallick: Sir, most respectfully I want to read one rule of our Rules of Procedure.

Mr. Speaker: I will call him and then he may make his submission. He may sit down now. Mr. Kripalani.

MOTION ON PRESIDENT'S
ADDRESS—Contd.

Shri J. B. Kripalani (Amroha): Mr. Speaker, sometimes the truth might come from the mouth of the communists even. . . .

Shri Narendra Singh Mahida (Anand): We are unable to hear him.

Mr. Speaker: If all the other Members were silent, they will be able to listen to Acharya.

Shri J. B. Kripalani: I said that my friend on the right, Shri Hiren Mukerjee, said that the President's Address to the Parliament was a ritual. Of course it is a ritual. Otherwise, why would the President come with a posse of soldiers to the House, where the only battle that is waged is the battle of words. Then, he comes in a carriage that was used in the 16th century by the kings of England and the Queens of England. It is drawn. I do not know by how many horses,—probably—by eight horses. This was also done by the Kings of England and it was done here by the representative of the king of England. If it were not a formal occasion, all these things would not be there. This pomp and show and the dramatic effect were all right a little earlier but now we have a Prime Minister who is a

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very simple gentleman and who does not like pomp and show and our Rashtrapati does not think that this pomp and show are necessary in order to impress the people, in order that his office may be made respectable... (Interruptions). Our Rashtrapati in himself is a respectable person and he gives respectability to the office that he holds. He is tall and handsome. I think when he was young..

Mr. Speaker: I must request Acharyaji not to discuss his size, his appearance; for having these carts and horses, Government can be blamed and criticised.

Shri J. B. Kripalani: I am blaming the Government. I am not blaming him.

Mr. Speaker: Why bring in his tallness and beauty and all that?

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Shri J. B. Kripalani: That is his qualification. (Interruption).

Mr. Speaker: No, no. If Acharya Kripalani just mentions it as a qualification, then some others might make some other points.

Shri J. B. Kripalani: I am sure if anybody calls me tall and handsome, I would be very happy. (Interruption).

The Minister of Rehabilitation (Shri Tyagi): Not at this age.

Shri Thirumala Rao (Kakinada): We protest against the derisive and ironical way in which he has expressed it. The President is elected by the whole country; by both the Houses of Parliament. His remarks are derogatory. (Interruption).

Mr. Speaker: Order, order.

Shri Thirumala Rao: It is not to the House that such a language should be used against the person of the President. (Interruption).

Mr. Speaker: Order, order.

Shri J. B. Kripalani: You can order me anyway you like. If I speak any unparliamentary language, than you are entitled to check me, but the words I am speaking are not unparliamentary.

Mr. Speaker: I would submit to the Acharya to take note that it is not only the language that is required but the form and the manner in which it is delivered. That might also be objectionable. Then, we cannot discuss, according to our Constitution, the conduct, appearance or anything about the President. So, the hon. Member might confine himself only to the Ministers and to the Government. I hope he would take that into account.

Shri J. B. Kripalani: Shall I say that our Rashtrapati is a learned man and is a philosopher and that he does not need all this paraphernalia that other people might need? He is also very simple in his personal habits and he is informal in his ways. I hope this paraphernalia which we have from outside, which represents the imperial might of the former Government, will be dispensed with in his time. It is incongruous with democracy and it is much more incongruous with the socialism that the Congress party swears by.

My hon. friend Shri H. N. Mukerjee wants that the President's speech should be factual and that it should give us some idea about the condition of our country and what the Government proposes to do. But as it is a formal function, as he himself says that it is a kind of ritual, in a ritual and a formal function, you do not want to mention things that are ugly; you do not want to mention things that are not desirable. You only mention things that are worth mentioning and that are desirable and that would be appreciated. So, it is very necessary that the Address of the President

should be very formal and he should not tell us about the ugly side of the conditions in our country.

Another thing which is apparent is that because it is formal, therefore, there is always a difference between what the Rashtrapati says elsewhere and what the Rashtrapati says in Parliament. If it were not a formal affair, he would speak out his mind, but now, because it is a formal affair, there are likely to be and there are contradictions. In this ritual, as I said, only good things are said. Therefore, it is no wonder that the Rashtrapati has mentioned that there are certain schemes and the Government have succeeded in them in so far as they are in the initial stages. But we have not been told what was the expense involved. It very often happens that a scheme is fulfilled monetarily but in physical terms it is not fulfilled. We would have liked to know whether in the schemes that he has mentioned, which were considered to be in the pioneering stage, all the money that was specified for the schemes has been spent and how much of physical targets have been reached, because, our experience is that many times money sanctioned is spent and the targets are not reached.

We are told of certain industries like oil. We have been hearing from year to year during the time of the former Oil Minister who fancied to be called the oil king; we were told every day that oil is found in this place, that place and every place. Now, also, we are told that oil has been found, but we do not know how much oil has been extracted from the wells that have been discovered.

Then the President has talked about cloth: that there is great increase in the manufacture of cloth. I think the prices are higher than they used to be. If there is an increased production, there is also an increased price to be paid for it. Then the

Rashtrapati has talked about the food question, as if the food question is a question of today. It is the result of the bungling of 17 years. Because, from the very beginning that we have been here in this Parliament, we have been told that next year or the year after we will be self-supporting in food. Food Minister after Food Minister has given this assurance. And then, during the time of the former Food Minister, Shri Patil, the authorities got grains from America under the PL 480 scheme. Shri Patil said he was going to build stocks. May I know what happened to those stocks? Now, today, they are also telling us that they are going to build stocks, and they are doing this at a time when the people have not sufficient food to eat! This is as good as what the merchants and the cultivators are supposed to do. They are supposed to keep the corn with themselves. Now the Government want to hoard corn, when there is very great need.

Then we are told that the cultivators will be given certain facilities. What are those facilities that would be given at the proper time—chemicals and water? Is it a fact that all these things have not been done before? The Government themselves are admitting that these things will now be done. That is, they have not been doing what they should have done. What have they been doing all these years? They have not supplied at the proper time seeds and manure and they have not cared for small irrigation works. The Government are condemning themselves in this.

Nowhere has the Food Minister given us any idea of what he proposes to do. All that he proposes is, the Food Corporation. What will the Food Corporation do? How will it function? How will it bring down the prices? All this is unknown.

Then we have the industrial sector. In the industrial sector, it is said that our accomplishments have been im-

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pressive'. If, in a backward country, industrial efforts has been impressive, I do not know what more there is to be done! You call it impressive and you are not satisfied with that. It is very strange, but because it is a formal Address, words do not seem to have any value. There need be no logic in a formal performance and therefore all these contradictions crop up.

We are told that higher production is the remedy for inflation, as if there is no inflation now. There is inflation already. There is no question of higher production. Government ought to have understood this proposition that unless there is higher production, they cannot go on multiplying money. They have been senselessly multiplying money and multiplying their expenses. Now they state as if inflation has yet to come. They also state that measures are being taken in order to find out, unearth, secret money. May I ask, what has happened to the money that was discovered from certain cinema stars and to those cinema stars? We know nothing about it. There are so many raids being carried out. We hear of them from day after day. But we do not know the names of the persons against whom these raids have been carried out and what Government propose to do with the money that has been got, because, it often happens that when names are not given, there is likely to be some hanky-panky; some money passes and no cases are filed against those people with whom this secret money has been found. We know that this happens not only in the case of merchants and manufacturers, but in the case of higher people also.

We are told that the exchange situation is very bad. When did they know it? They have been squandering foreign exchange without any mercy. Even the present Finance Minister squandered it earlier when he was the Commerce Minister. After squandering foreign exchange, they

now find themselves in a quandary. Our foreign friends always praised our economy and said it was all right, because that satisfied us and they did not mind flattering us. But today they have also begun to say that we have wasted the money on fancy schemes which do not yield any results. In the President's Address, it is said that we must now concentrate upon schemes that give a quick return. When did this wisdom dawn upon them?

So, in all these things, I believe that the Government has very seriously bungled. I would want them to leave the country to its fate and leave it free. Do not impose restrictions which you cannot even carry out impartially. The government have not planned to produce plenty, but they have planned to produce confusion. I do not think there could have been greater confusion in our economy than has resulted from these plans. These Plans were ill-conceived and were not properly executed. This has been said by the new Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission. He himself admitted that these plans were ill-conceived, but he has a very great belief in himself. He thinks that because he has been inducted into the Planning Commission, now the conception and the execution would be as it ought to be and we would benefit. One swallow does not make summer.

I come now to the foreign policy of our country. Again and again we talk of non-alignment. It has become a *mantram*, as if all our foreign policy is summed up in that one word. We may be at war with China on account of which there is this emergency. Yet we are non-aligned. We may be in cold war with Pakistan; yet we are non-aligned. I am reminded of a little story contained in Wordsworth's poetry. A little girl was asked, "How many sisters and brothers are you?" She said, "Seven in all". She was asked, "Where are they? I pray you, tell". She said, "Two are dead, but their graves are green; they can be

seen". Here also the whole policy consists in the word non-alignment. It explains everything. We are non-aligned even so far as China is concerned, so far as Pakistan is concerned and of course so far as every other country is concerned. I think the word seems to have no meaning. Non-alignment means this that we have no quarrel with other people which cannot be settled peacefully and which requires force of arms. This is the dictionary meaning, but now our Government gives any meaning to the words that it uses and it thinks it will be accepted as good.

There is then peaceful co-existence. Co-existence requires two parties. I cannot for the life of me understand how you can peacefully co-exist with China or Pakistan! The word should have a certain connotation, a certain referent. Words have no referents at all and we go on repeating from day to day that we are non-aligned. We accepted the Colombo proposals so far as China is concerned. I think it is more than two years now since we accepted them and yet our Government goes on repeating that we have accepted them. But what is the good of our accepting when the other party has not accepted them? I want to know what you want to do. There is nothing that you want to do and you say you have accepted the Colombo proposals. But the other party has not accepted them; and in the meantime, the other party has successfully experimented with the atom bomb. In the President's speech it is said that the peace-loving world is 'shocked' at it. The world was not shocked by the atom bomb being created in America; the world was not shocked when the bomb was made by Russia. It was not shocked when England made it or when France made it. Now they, our Government, have discovered that the world is shocked. Everybody knew that this atom bomb was coming. Let them say plainly that we are shocked. I can understand that. Why? Because we are neighbours and they are aggressors. But was our army not defeated

when there was no atom bomb? They make a virtue of necessity. They say, we are not making an atom bomb. They go further and say that we are not going to compete in arms with anybody.

They also say we are going to defend our borders. We are going to defend our borders without competing with anybody, including China, in armaments. It is a very strange proposition. It can only come in the President's speech, which is a formal affair, which may have meaning or no meaning.

Then, I do not know how many statements our Prime Minister has made about those who have nuclear weapons, who might come to our help and be a deterrent to China. After all, we do not make the atom bomb, but we have no objection to somebody else making it. I am reminded of some Hindu vegetarians and some Buddhist vegetarians. Their vegetarianism consists in this, their non-violence consists in this that they say they will not kill a goat, they will not kill any animal but if it is killed they will eat it. If it is killed they will eat it all right, and they consider themselves non-violent, they consider themselves to be vegetarians. Our vegetarianism in the case of this atom bomb is also like that.

That does not mean that I want any atom bomb to be produced in India. As there are other countries living without an atom bomb we can also live without an atom bomb. But we must give our attention to the 'balance of power'? How are, other people existing? They are existing because of the 'balance of power'. We must give our undivided attention to this balance of power, and if we take advantage of this 'balance of power' we will only need the atom bomb as much as so many other countries are needing it. We will not need it. I will say, if we look to this 'balance of power' we need not even increase the conventional armaments, about which

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the President complains that it is a great drain upon our resources. We need not have this drain on our resources. There are smaller countries with smaller armies and yet they are existing and they are able to prosper. Why? It is because they have taken advantage of the 'balance of power' and allied themselves or relied upon this 'balance of power'. So I really do not see how we are gaining anything by wanting that some other people should come and defend us with the atom bomb and be a deterrent to China and we ourselves remaining quite Vaishnav, very good people.

About this language question, I have already said what I had to say. I would again advise the Government that they take no decision on this unless they have consulted public opinion. There are certain proposals which are tentatively made but which are very dangerous for the country, for they will divide the country into different sovereign States excepting for defence. There is a proposal for having examinations in 15 languages. Who is going to coordinate those examination papers? How many people will the Public Service Commission consist of?

Sir, I have done.

Dr. P. S. Deshmukh (Amravati): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I rise to support the motion moved by my hon. friend, Shri Heda to thank the President for the Address he has delivered to both the Houses of Parliament.

Sir, the previous speaker has criticised the ceremonial manner in which the President arrives for delivering the Address. An hon. friend sitting by my side asked a question whether Acharyaji would like that the President should come on a bicycle. I do not think that the small ceremony that is held is very expensive. If it is discarded, I wonder whether people here would be able to see any horses, because the main composition of the

ceremony, apart from the soldiers and bodyguards, consists of the horses. At least for these ceremonial functions some horses are being maintained for the President and if these are discarded we will probably not need these horses at all and the very race of horses may become extinct. Therefore, at least for the sake of the horses I would plead that these ceremonial functions should not be discarded.

13:26 hrs.

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

Sir, as usual the Opposition has criticised the speech of the President from many angles. It is usual to criticise the speech because it does not contain certain things which are dear to them or it contains certain things which they do not like very much. Taken as a whole, President's speeches are expected to be a brief account of what the Government have done in the intervening period and also to indicate certain trends of what is likely to happen in the near future. I consider the Address on the whole satisfactory.

It is not possible to include in the Address so many things as the hon. Members from the Opposition have indicated. For instance, Acharya Kripalani wanted that he should have stated how much money has been spent out of the provisions made and how much has been achieved. There would not be sufficient time or space in the President's Address to indicate this. We know that the Government quite often places on the Table of the House a very detailed assessment of what has been achieved and what has not been achieved. Therefore, I do not think that the President's speech can be criticised for not giving details of what the Government have done so far as expenditure is concerned. I do not think that criticism is well-founded. He (the President) has indicated the important

achievements of the Government and has also foreshadowed what we may expect to come hereafter in the near future.

The situation in the country is full of anxiety. Not only has there been such violent eruption in the south of India but, otherwise also, there are many people, many sober-minded people, many thoughtful people who think that the situation in the country requires a very close examination, whether we look at the food situation or the law and order situation or the existence of corruption and nepotism, the existence of unaccounted money, evasion of taxes and so on. There are many people who feel very concerned as to how we would be able to keep the country together and how we can improve the administration.

Our Home Minister was very much agitated about corruption in the country and he resolved that corruption shall be eliminated in two years. By habit I never object to anything which appears *prima facie* good and unobjectionable. Therefore, I have never raised my voice against the *Sadachar Samiti* or against all the ideas that the Home Minister has for the elimination of corruption. But when one looks at what has transpired in the mean time, one must express one's disappointment. It has failed to make any impression in any particular sphere, so far as corruption is concerned. So, I come to the conclusion that we cannot improve the situation by merely preaching sermons. Unfortunately, we have done it too often, so much so that it has become a laughing-stock to ask people to be patriotic, to be selfless, to be not anti-social, to behave properly, because the freedom of the country is at stake or our existence is at stake. All these things have been repeated *ad nauseam* so that people merely smile and disregard all such appeals.

I think the best remedy for corruption is the improvement of the admini-

stration. Yet, the least attention is being paid to the improvement of administration. I am sure we are not so bad a people as compared with the people of any other country. I think we are probably equally bad or equally good and all the problems that have arisen in this country must have arisen in other advanced countries also at some time or the other. They did not resort to preaching of sermons and advice. They reformed their administration, their procedure, their rules and regulations. Here we are piling notifications and orders and all sorts of things day after day so that any body who has the misfortune to go to a court of law or his lawyer does not know where he stands. Not only that, even the courts themselves do not know what is the latest order or notification and what kind of order is to be passed. I am very sorry to say that very little attempt is being made in that direction of simplifying procedures and legal provisions. I think we are *over-governing ourselves*, whereas the ideal government is the government which governs the least. We are trying to pass so many laws, expressing so many pious wishes which we should have known we are incapable of implementing. Many of our resolutions and ideas are absolutely fruitless resolves on our part because we are not able to achieve anything.

Apart from this, in my view the best remedy for diminishing corruption is to have the least number of rules and regulations. It is schemes like compulsory deposit, which I am glad has been abolished, the gold control order, all such fantastic, foolish ideas which upset the lives of the people, particularly the commonman, so much that everybody gets dissatisfied. Then there is taxation. Apart from compulsory deposit, we are trying to get money by hook or crook for being spent, not altogether happily and correctly because there is so much of wastage in our administra-

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tion. So, if we want to diminish corruption the only remedy is to improve our administration, to give incentives to honest people and punish those who are guilty, instead of being lukewarm about it. Nowadays we generally find that no punishment is awarded to corrupt people. We know only too well how in the case of Chief Ministers things were procrastinated from time to time. I am sure if there is a blackboard put up in every city asking the people to name the officials who are corrupt, it would be easy to catch hold of the people who are corrupt, because a corrupt man cannot hide his corruption. He has to deal with certain people and so normally a corrupt person is rather well-known. He is more well-known than an honest person.

Shri Tyagi: The other Party to the corruption also keeps it as a secret.

Dr. P. S. Deshmukh: That is true but not too long. In some cases, their money is swallowed by others with whom they keep it. But the corrupt officials have no courage to tell others that they have lost their money because they have amassed them by illegal means.

Then there is the unaccounted money. We are trying to get at the people who have accumulated unaccounted money. At the same time, we have done precious little to prevent or stop the accumulation of such unaccounted money. The system of licences and permits and our high rate of taxation are some of the causes for unaccounted money. The other day an ordinary citizen suggested to me that it is easy to stop unaccounted money if we reduce the income-tax rate to about 65 per cent and pass a law saying that if a person is dishonest or has unaccounted money, all his property will be confiscated. If we confiscate such properties in the case of half a dozen persons, it will immediately but a stop to unaccounted money.

As my allotted time is short and I have a few points to urge, I would

like to say one or two things about the Ministry of Food and Agriculture. So far as food production is concerned, there is a mistake in the President's Address. He has stated that there has not been any increase in food production. Actually, there has been a fall. I do not know how a statement like this could find a place in the President's address. When there is a definite fall in production, he says there has not been any increase. That is quite wrong and I think somebody should be held responsible for a misstatement being put in the mouth of the President. From 81.04 million tons in 1961-62, our production went down to 78.45 million tons next year and 79 something million tons the year after. So, it has definitely gone down. What is the use of saying that production has not increased?

Whatever it is, the production this year appears to be satisfactory. But very often people have been comparing our present production with the figures of 1961-62 or thereabouts. I think we should compare our figures with those which we were planning to get. This year we should have reached at least 90 million tons. As against that, even if we have achieved 87 million tons, we will be short by 3 million to 4 million tons, in addition to what we get from outside. If we look at the figures, our per capita availability of foodgrains had increased from 13.9 ounces in 1951 to 16.4 ounces in 1961-62. Unfortunately, during the last two or three years we have gone back by one ounce per head at least. That shows that there is a real deficiency in the availability of foodgrains.

It has been appearing somewhere that the Food and Agriculture Minister wants to abolish the Commodity Committees. I have no particular love for the Commodity Committees. But they have existed for a pretty long time and no hurried decision should be taken to abolish them. This should be properly thrashed out and,

if not the Parliament, the consultative committees also should be asked to express their views. We have been changing our Food and Agriculture Ministers so fast that I would advise the present incumbent also not to take a very radical decision in a hurry. The Indian Central Cotton Committee, for instance, has existed for the last 34 years. Maybe, certain modifications are necessary in order to make it more efficient and more fruitful. But no hurried decisions about their abolition should be taken.

श्री रामेश्वरानन्द (करनाल) : मैं एक राय पूछना चाहता हूँ। मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि जिन नीतियों की बात आप कह रहे हैं कि नीतियाँ ऐसे बनाई जाती हैं तो क्या आप यह भी बतला सकेंगे कि नीतियाँ बनाने मात्र से सफल हो जाती हैं, नीतियों को कहीं पर लागू करने वाला भी तो कोई हो।

डा० पं० शा० वेशमुख : बहुत अच्छा प्रश्न है। इसमें कोई शक नहीं। मैं आपसे सहमत हूँ कि नीति को बनाने के लिए नीति बनाने वाले ही नहीं नीति को कामयाब करने वाले भी चाहिये। और यह शिकायत हमारी भर रही है कि हम नीतियाँ तो काफी अख्यार करते हैं मगर उनको कामयाब नहीं बनाते हैं। यह हमारी खामी है।

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Dr. P. S. Deshmukh: Well, there is no difference of opinion and, I think, even the Government's spokesmen themselves will admit that there are many decisions which are not implemented as satisfactorily as we or they themselves would like them to be implemented.

The President has also referred to the supplies to farmers in his Address. Here also, it is very unfortunate that we have not been supplying to the farmers all that they need. The

other day, when I asked a supplementary question of the Food and Agriculture Minister, he said that even this year, in spite of an additional import of 200,000 tons of nitrogen, we will be supplying only two-thirds of the requirements of the people.

Then the President has referred to the prices and said that the minimum prices which farmers should get had been fixed. I am glad that he has referred to a minimum price. But, unfortunately, what was to be the minimum price has become the maximum price. At least in Maharashtra, what was indicated as the minimum price has become the maximum price. What was the price fixation asked for by the farmers? What was the intention behind the fixation of the prices? The intention was that the farmer should receive this price as the minimum price and that he should not be forced to take any price which is less than this. Unfortunately, what was intended to be the minimum price has become the maximum price and these farmers for whom even the Prime Minister speaks very affectionately and lovingly continue to suffer from neglect and perversities.

Shri Tyagi: May I know who is selling his produce at the price lower than this one?

Dr. P. S. Deshmukh: What was indicated was the minimum price below which the farmer should not sell. Now, in Maharashtra, the procurement is being made at this price and the farmer will commit an offence if he sells anything at a rate higher than this. The farmers are the only people in India on whom this restriction is imposed. Everybody else, all the 99.9 per cent of the people, can sell anything in the market at any price they like except the farmer. He must sell what he produces at a particular price. This is the gravest injustice that this Government is trying to inflict and imposing restriction on the price that he the farmer will get. Everybody else is free to make his

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profit. But the farmers, because they are illiterate, because they are in large number and because they are not properly organised—they do not give threats of strikes and fasting and so on—are suffering and their interests are being neglected. I hope the Food and Agriculture Minister will immediately intervene and allow them to sell their produce in the open market and get the price that anybody would be prepared to give. Otherwise what happens is that all this grain will be purchased by the traders at these rates and later on sold in the black market or the Government itself might procure the grain and they might also sell it at a higher price. It is injustice to them, the farmers.

Dr. M. S. Aney (Nagpur): There is monopoly procurement in Maharashtra. Nobody except the Government can procure there.

Dr. P. S. Deshmukh: Government has never been able to do these things effectively. Whatever the Government might try to do, they will not be able to control the market and there will be traders and other people who will be selling foodgrains at higher prices and it will be only the farmer who will be losing. We were happy when it was announced that the farmers will get a remunerative and incentive price. But this is the way they are treated. It is neither a remunerative price nor an incentive price.

The supply of farmers needs is also deficient. Seed distribution has been unsatisfactory; the fertiliser requirements are not fully met and even today no tractor of Indian make is available at a price that the farmer can afford. All these things, I hope, will be attended to. I am glad that all this is intended to be taken as something special in the Fourth Plan. I hope these deficiencies would be removed and too many agencies will not intervene because everytime a licence

for tractor—manufacture for instance, is to be given, we have to go to the Ministry of Commerce and Industry and then they give the licence to somebody who does not manufacture the tractor. I hope the Food and Agriculture Ministry will control everything that relates to making available the necessary supplies to the farmers and they will be acting with greater expediency.

Shri Majithia (Taran Taran): Mr Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I rise to support the Motion of Thanks to be given to the President. He has given a very clear picture of our achievements and also our shortcomings.

To begin with, he has stated that our foreign policy is based on peaceful co-existence and friendship towards the adjoining countries. This policy was first enunciated by our late Prime Minister and has been endorsed not once but several times by this House and approved by the country. The fact that a number of foreign dignitaries are visiting our country shows the increasing interest that they take in our country's internal affairs as well as our seeking friendship with the other countries which is, of course, there.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath (Hoshangabad): On a point of order, Sir, I am sure you will agree with me that when an ex-Deputy Minister is making a useful contribution to the debate, there must be quorum in the House.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker The bell is being rung.... Now there is quorum.

Shri Majithia: I was saying that the policy that we had followed had given us friends not only in the democratic countries but in the other countries where communism was reigning.

I would say that the only two countries which are not friendly to us are China and Pakistan, and both happen to be our neighbours. Although we

have repeatedly shown that we are very friendly towards them, that has not been reciprocated. I can only say that it is but right that we should trust our neighbours, but once that trust is belied, to trust them again would amount to our being foolish. It is in this context, therefore, that I want to make a few remarks, particularly regarding our defence forces.

The President has said rightly that our Army has been expanded and is being expanded and properly equipped. I am very happy that the old idea of cutting down the Army personnel has gone and now we are thinking in realistic terms and increasing not only our Army but our Air Force as well.

While on this point regarding the Air Force. I would like to utter a word of caution. We are planning for 48 squadrons. If we are only thinking of fighter squadrons, some transport squadrons and depending upon the old couple of bomber squadrons that we have got then this to my mind is not wholly correct, because to defend the country with fighter squadrons, we need not only 48 squadrons but possibly ten times that number. The only way in which we can effectively deal with the situation is that we should have a strong combat force it is not that we intend to aggress on any country, particularly our neighbours, but they should know that in case they are funny with us, we can certainly hit back and intend to hit back.

One thing more about our fighter squadrons which I am not happy about is the variety of planes that we have, some brought from France, some from England, and some from Russia, because the problem of maintaining this vast number of different aircraft is so great that it is becoming more and more expensive. Apart from this, their armament is also different with the result that the country has to produce or get various spare parts having different markings and different specifications and this would mean that in

case of an emergency, if one part goes to the wrong site, although it may be correct for a particular aircraft, it would be practically useless at the place where it is sent.

I am only reminded of what happened in the Middle East when Field Marshal Rommel was fighting the British. and he had tanks of two different types, one of German origin and the other of Italian origin. They both had different calibre guns. At the time of need, he found that the ammunition of the Italian guns had been delivered to the place where the German tanks were located and *vice versa*, with the result that he had to fall back and he not only lost the battle but miserably failed, although in the matter of armament and tactics he was much superior to the Allies.

Another thing which I would like to make out—I do not know what the wisdom behind it is—is that our Air Force people seem to be very good at purchasing or getting hold of old discarded planes, as for instance, the Dakotas from the IAC. These Dakotas were not found good enough by the IAC but they have been taken over by the IAF. Then, they had purchased the Superconstellations which the Air India had discarded.

Shri Tyagi: They were for emergency purposes, I believe.

Shri Majithia: They may have been got for emergency purposes, but again that comes to the same point that we have more than one type of aircraft, and maintaining those aircraft is always expensive. I would suggest that the Air Force should have good and effective aircraft to do the job that they are supposed to do. I am quite happy that the AN-12s which they have got from Russia are doing a good job. But when it comes to these older aircraft, I am not very happy at their performance because in times of emergency we may find that they may not be able to deliver the goods.

While on this point, I would like to mention another very important thing

[Shri Majithia]

and that is that in order that a fighter squadron may be effective, it must have a good radar cover on the ground. I am not saying that we have got no radar cover, but I would only mention that the radar cover is not quite effective as was proved when we had the joint exercises when the RAF and the US Air Force had come from abroad and helped us in carrying out those exercises.

So far as our Navy is concerned, again the same old story is repeated, that our frigates are very old, and I do not know when we are going to replace them. Their manufacture in the country is a long way off. I would only say that they are much too old and much too expensive to maintain in a fit condition. Apart from that, our neighbour also has got a submarine. We are still thinking about it. I would suggest that we should seriously think about balancing our Navy also in this respect and see that we have that weapon which is a deterrent to the others who would be funny on our coasts. I wish to say nothing more about this matter.

Now, I shall turn to the food crisis to which my hon. friend has already referred. We have talked such a lot about it. But to my mind it seems that we are not facing the problem fairly and squarely. The only reason why a farmer produces foodgrains at present moment is that he should feed himself and his family, and he uses the rest of the land for cash crops which he must get in order to support himself and the other members of his family, to buy cloth, to buy fertilisers, to send his children to school, to attend to his medical needs and so on; he has to have a cash crop to attend to those necessities. Therefore, the farmer is only right when he is planning his cultivation in such a way that he gets foodgrains only for himself and he diverts the rest of the land for cash crops so that he may have the wherewithal to meet his other necessities.

14 hrs.

Now, in order to give him more incentives to grow foodgrains, I would not suggest—although that is one of the methods—paying him more for the foodgrains that he produces, giving a higher price, so that he gets more money. But one thing which can be done is that fertilisers should be provided to him at the proper time at a subsidised rate, provided he puts under foodgrains more area than he originally used to put in.

Now a lot has been said about fertilisers too. I know that fertilisers are of different types and different soils require different types of fertilisers. Different crops even require different types of fertilisers. We have a general term that fertilisers should be there, but we never have a plan of the types of fertilisers needed for different types of soil which the farmers need. I suggest that a serious study should be made by the Agriculture Ministry and proper types of fertilisers should be made available at the proper time, at the time that the farmer needs them, because given late, it is of no use to him; on the other hand, it becomes a losing proposition to him because the time is past for the fertilisers to be put in; he has spent the money long before and he loses that money; so he has to sell the fertiliser to recoup some of the money.

Also it is clearly known that unless you have water available you cannot grow foodgrains or any crop. Therefore, irrigation facilities should receive a fillip, particularly small projects, because there is enough water, if only rightly handled. I would suggest that the Ministries of Agriculture and Irrigation & Power work in co-ordination to see that water is made available at a place where it is needed most, and that too as soon as we possibly we can.

As my time is up, I shall not say anything more. I would just like to say one thing which has already been

repeated that more effective steps should be taken for tackling tax evasion. I can quote the example of America which under the late President Kennedy gave certain concessions in tax and he found that production in the country increase. That has been proven because the present administration is thinking of further relaxing and giving some relief to the taxpayer, which shows that the policy of giving some relief to the taxpayers has increased the production and yielded more revenue in the form of taxes. I think India could also benefit by that and see that more industries are established in the country and more goods produced if incentives are given by way of proper tax reliefs.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: On a point of clarification. In today's list of business, I find the Supplementary Demands for Grants put down. Does it mean that this business will be interrupted to take up those Demands?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: This will go on.

श्री जयपाल सिंह (रांची-पश्चिम) :
 मैं हिन्दी विरोधी नहीं हूँ लेकिन जब मैं हिन्दी भक्तों की लघु साम्प्रदायिक दृष्टि देखता हूँ तो मुझे अफसोस होता है और मैं उनको चेतावनी देता हूँ कि वह हिन्दुस्तान को क़बरिस्तान बनाने जा रहे हैं। जब तक कि उनके व्यवहार में परिवर्तन नहीं होगा तब तक किसी हलालत में भी मैं उनको अपना सहयोग और समर्थन नहीं दे सकता।

Sir, I would like to restrict myself to three important matters confronting the country in which I feel the Government has completely failed.

For nearly two decades, India's most ancient millions, the prescriptive citizens of India, Adivasis, Adi-Hindis, have been patiently waiting for independent India to make amends for the neglect of centuries and centuries. In practically every respect, they have been cheated of the great

hopes envisaged in the Constitution and the promises of the political rulers of this country. What might have been a great achievement for this country, the recent Jharkhand-Congress merger, has also been made an entertaining force. Go to any Adivasi Tract anywhere in India and see for yourself how they continue to be exploited. As children of the soil, bhumi putras, their lands are being taken away from them under one pretext or the other. They have been called many names, Girijans, Vanvasis, Adimjatis and the like. The jungles are no longer their hunting ground or food reservoir. Go to Jharkhand and see how they are becoming landless. Even though Government acquires their land, they are not given the compensation others would have got, and get.

We are told that in the services a definite percentage has been reserved for us. Why has the quota not been fulfilled? Surely, it cannot be through dearth of candidates. How can you have any dearth of candidates after nearly two decades of scholarships?

Right from the start of our political freedom, everything has been done to destroy the Adivasi claim. The census operations are evidence. States have seen to it that Adivasis do not get their due share of representation. Assam is the most notorious example. A Munda or a Santhal or an Oraon is scheduled in Bihar, but if he emigrates to the tea gardens of Assam, he ceases to enjoy any of the privileges he may have had. The Adivasis are not a dying race, and yet you will find that at every decennial reckoning, their number is dwindling!

At the time of constitution-making, the fathers of the constitution were not normal. The shadow of partition of the country narrowed their vision and statemanship. The constitution would have been a different treasure had it been cast today. The whole concept of democracy has been twisted. What is democracy? Is it mere-

[Shri Jaipal Singh]

ly a question of numbers or the raising of hands? Or is it the beautiful scene of give and take, of seeing the other point of view, of accommodating the different arguments, where the minority of one shall be heard, where there is respect for the individual? I did not want to mention the charge of the brute majority which was exploited by an intransigent politician to make Akhand Bharat otherwise. Let us be honest and search our hearts, whether since that tragedy, we have learnt anything at all. Go to the Punjab, to Assam, to Bengal, to Bihar, to Madhya Pradesh; you will find the same picture. No spirit of accommodation, no tolerance in the matter of language, of religion, of the food you want to eat, of the drink you have had for centuries.

Take the language scene. As far as I am concerned, most of the non-tribal languages are diku languages, strange languages and, therefore, alien. But in course of time, they have become naturalised. I welcome them all. I am a linguist, polyglottal like every Adivasi. Every Adivasi speaks at least one more language than his own mother tongue. Every Santhali in Bengal speaks Bengali as well. Does Atulya Ghosh speak Santhali, although he gets so many Santhal votes? Lip-service and crocodile tears are not going to deceive us any more. Make no mistake about it.

Look at the Eighth Schedule. There is not a single Adivasi language there. Languages spoken by fewer people are there. Take my own mother tongue, Mundari, as an example. Sanskrit structure is based on it. There is the Mundarica Encyclopaedia (14 volumes). But you say Mundari is no language, so it has no large literature. You will be shocked to learn that the Government of Bihar sold away the unsold volumes of the Mundarica Encyclopaedia as scrap. This is typical of the treatment the Adivasi languages have received throughout the country. In the Santhal Parganas, a special script, the international phonetic alphabet with diacritical

marks, had been in vogue for more than 100 years. It has been replaced by Devanagiri which could not reproduce the sound and now the poor Santhals could not communicate to their fellows in Assam, Bengal, Orissa and elsewhere. I would like to make it clear that I am a Hindiphile but I can never subscribe to Hindi monopolists and chauvinists. Adivasis have got to be polyglottal. I myself speak, apart from my mother-tongue which only half a dozen people here would understand, 12 languages and I consider English as much a naturalised Indian language as highflown Persianised Urdu or Kashmiri. When Hindi zealots think that the mere acceptance of Hindi throughout India would solve all our economic and social and political problems, I begin to wonder whether they are big enough for this country. I would like to remind them that small minds and big empires do not go together. I am not arguing for or against Tamil or for or against Hindi. Let them realise that Tamil is a much older language than Hindi. Hindi has still to develop into a stature capable of being a language equal to the task of higher education, international representation, popular support and the like. I want the Hindiphiles to realise that they do not live in an isolated sub-continent which was quite safe because the Himalayas and their heights and the other mountains were too high for the enemy to come. Our Himalayas and the other heights are no longer our natural defences any more. We Adivasis thought that the jungle fastnesses were our security from the diku incomers. Today, you find us mostly in the jungle areas. The world has become too small and it is one and there is no more any isolation, no paradise of an island.

Precious little has been done for the Adivasis since Independence. Vast sums have been allotted by the Central and the State Governments in their name only to finance Congress parasites. I shall give only one instance and keep silent on this disgraceful Congress Party ethics. Can you

believe that a man, a disreputable Congressman has been entrusted with the task of the enormous mission of the integration in NEFA? He was an utter failure in Ranchi. His only qualification was that he had the support of Rajen Babu of revered memory, as President of the Adimjati Seva Sangh. I do not wish to be personal. Our old and great national leaders had their weaknesses and their blind spots. They refused to see the writing on the wall. That is true today also. Do not put anything and everything at the door of the Reds.

My second point refers to the awful problem of the reorganisation of States. You know that I stand for a Jharkhand State in the Indian Union, even as a Centrally Administered area. Industrialists have long ago advocated the creation of an industrial province. Whatever designation you may give, it comes to the same thing. You cannot harness the hills to the flat plains. A man from the flat, dusty plains can never understand why the hillman detests his peculiar ways. Bihar has been cheated of its due and natural heritage. Because I was at the vanguard of the Jharkhand movement, the big great Congressmen lost their balance of fairness and even the great Sardar Patel acquiesced to the Chhota States in the Eastern States Agency, eleven of them, being parcelled out between the States of Orissa, Madhya Pradesh and poor Bihar, and poor Bihar worrying about Jharkhand movement more than the national face. Great men were hired to produce arguments against Jaipal Singh. The Congress Party paper warned the country. I was a Parnell in Indian politics. Unfortunately for me, I had great faith in Jawaharlal Nehru and perhaps that is where I went wrong.

I am very worried at the consistent behaviour of the Congress Party, our rulers since Independence. They claim to be non-violent. But I find they surrender to violence only. Andhra, Maharashtra, Gujarat and Nagaland are instances of the fact that they are interested only in retaining the throne.

They have come to power with a minority vote solely because the Opposition could not and will not learn the lesson of the joint stock discipline. This country has to be run by the Congress till the opposing forces learn to combine to be better. When that will come, I cannot say. We talk from nouse-tops of national integration, national solidarity and of patriotism but do not pay the price, the democratic behaviour. Big talk—that is all. Sir, with your permission, I would like to end with a serious warning to this House and the entire country. The Chinese aggression should teach us some sense at least. I want to repeat to this House what I said at Bhubaneswar at the All-India Tribal Seminar at which due to the absence of Dhebarji, I had to officiate for him as the Chief Guest. It was an all-India audience and they were very upset when I told them that the security of Eastern region depended upon the Adivasis only and no amount of military strength could save India unless the Adivasis of the Eastern Region were behind the Armed Forces. I know I have shocked many but it is time truth were told unadulterated (An Hon. Member: There are no Scheduled Castes?) India is to be defended by everybody. If you know the Eastern Region, if you go there and see things for yourself you will know how many are there. I know I have shocked many and perhaps I may have sounded somewhat cynical, but it is time that truth which is stranger than fiction were told unadulterated.

Finally, I find in the President's Address that the Government propose to introduce during this session, the Patents Bill. It was mentioned by my hon. friend Mr. Homi Daji. This is not the place to argue for or against it. I wish that the Government would not bring this Bill; it is a retrograde step. It is negative in character and the inventiveness that has been growing in this country since Independence is going to be finished and it will therefore be a very dangerous thing for this country.

Shri P. R. Chakraverti (Dhanbad): Sir, the Presidential Address has touched the different facets of our national problem and as you know ours is a country of millions and the problems are also myriads. Naturally the Address seeks to take into account certain points and lays emphasis on particular items. We find that the emphasis has been laid on a balanced development of agriculture, heavy and other industries, creation of larger employment opportunities and advancement of the rural sector and narrowing down the social and economic disparities. Here we have to remind ourselves of the earlier aspirations when we were filled with the favour of liberation; all the millions were animated by the common bond to liberate India and in the context of the independent India, we find that we have to grapple with stupendous problems. These are the necessary outcomes and these are the attendant courses of history and progress, a history which we cannot overlook.

The factor which has been brought to the fore by the statement that we have to aim at a minimum level of living for every family in this vast country is this. I have here to search the entire vocabulary of the socialist parlance and also Gandhian philosophy. We know Prof. Marshall and Prof. Pigou have tried to bring forward some concept of living standard of a welfare society and the minimum level of living. But then I tried to find out something from India's political history,—we in India have been already committed to what they call a fair wage—I have found out some revealing facts. An economic survey was made in the USA in 1919, and the very concept of minimum of living was discussed threadbare; it was analysed under three heads: one is the pauper-poverty level; the second is the minimum of subsistence level and the third is the minimum of health and comfort level. Ultimately, the USA and Australia accepted the third

one. So, that is the concept of the state of society where every man is assured of a minimum of health and comfort level. But when the ILO wanted to have a survey all over the world, they said they had also taken an overall picture where they find that there are different classes and they may be classed under three groups: the amount necessary for mere subsistence; the amount necessary for health and decency, and the amount necessary to provide a standard of comfort. Where do we come in here?

Here is the picture given by the Planning Commission of the Government of India. It is a measure of extreme poverty of the great mass of our people that more than 60 per cent of them have a level of consumption lower than Rs. 25 per capita per month and nearly one-third live on an equivalent of less than Rs. 15 per capita per month. The Perspective Planning Division of the Planning Commission, in their study "Perspective of Development: 1961-1976", assumed that a modest goal of Rs. 20 per capita income per month could be achieved by 1975.

This address gives us some assurance of a minimum living wage and also lays emphasis on the factor of industrial peace. We have been seized with difficulties in the field of industrial peace. I represent a constituency where we have 2,00,000 labourers and they are putting this very question before me: "Even this pittance is denied to me: Rs. 20 per capita per month, which I am assured in the year 1976; It is what we expect from the achievement of Independence, the aftermath of the glow of freedom." There is the craving for the development of society in the socialist order. Naturally, this is the portrait of the situation, and this picture brings with it a gloomy horizon. In spite of the things which have been assured, this vital factor is missing. Naturally, one gets stuck up and is faced with a situation where the work-

man is to be allowed to have some form of earnings which will give him at least a pittance which is called the minimum living wage, a living wage which falls far short of a fair wage to which we are committed. The fair Wage Committee recommended that the level of our national income is so low—it was in 1949—that the country cannot afford to prescribe by law a minimum wage to come up to the concept of a living wage. Though the attainment of a living wage is our objective, but the Committee recommended that a fair wage has to be related to fair load of work and time and motion study to be made. But when the questions are posed before the country, the millions of people are writhing in agony and destitution and poverty, what does this achievement of freedom mean, and what is the concept of democratic socialism put forward before them? That is the moot question with which we are seized.

When the agricultural problem is discussed here, I find that our friends and colleagues both on this side and on the other side are perturbed over the question and I am prompted to say that if we really mean the enhancement of the productive sources to a higher stage, there must be a psychological feeling, a sense of belongingness must be realised,—that I must belong to the productive apparatus, this agency of production. While the agency of production and the productive apparatus are one and the same, that sense of belongingness is unfortunately conditioned by the very factor that the worker is denied the minimum level of existence. So, today, in spite of all our attainments, we must make it a point to see that we ensure this feeling unto them. We must not forget that today is the age of rising expectations. Those earlier days are no more; the age of history of our fathers and forefathers is no more. We are now seized with a new passion and are enamoured with an ardour, a feeling with which we always go forward to participate

in the productive processes of the country which has pledged itself to democratic socialism. So, in the field of agricultural production, I am prompted to say and emphasis on some fundamental recommendations, namely, this increase in the production must also be associated with a determination of the calendars of action. Somebody must be responsible; some assignment of responsibility, to the agents of production must be made. In the village level, the village level worker must have a determined target to achieve. Then a review must be made so that one may get to know where one stands.

In the President's Address, unfortunately, I do not find any mention about community development and co-operation. There is a conspicuous absence of reference to the community development programmes and the co-operatives, which are the vital core, the sheet-anchor, through which the process of production must be expedited to carry the people along the road to success. In that respect, we have to decide the question of adequacy of administrative set-up, that is, the need for co-operation and thereby linking the panchayati raj to the same. The concept and the aim of the Government are to dovetail the panchayati raj system into agriculture and thereby to see that both of them go together, so that the village level workers and the technical officers can carry on their work—the extension officers—that is how the technical officers are called—so that they will all be harnessed to the process of production which has not been forthcoming. We cannot repent over our past activities. We must co-ordinate our programmes and adjust our administrative and political set-up and thus see that economic progress is ensured with the fullest co-operation of the people of India.

I am reminded here of certain ideals. I always claim to be one of those young people who have started their lives in the first decade of the

[Shri P. R. Chakraverti]

20th century. From that position, I am prompted to quote my own words which I have used elsewhere. The social being plays—this is the concept of the young men unlike our hon. friends, Prof. Ranga and Prof. H. N. Mukherjee—his daily role with a mask on him. The facade of normalcy bears within the germ of decay. The question disturbs his mind: should man live a slave to illusions he knows to be untrue, or, should he tear down the false front that overshadows his personality and its volition to grow? That is the question, that concerns all whether it is Shri H. N. Mukherjee or Prof. Ranga or the hon. Member who has just now spoken, Shri Jaipal Singh. It is the volition to grow. I cannot allow myself to be subdued, burdened with superficial outpourings which always do harm and deaden my faculties. I am animated and I ponder with fervour over the objectives with which we joined the great Congress organisation which fought for freedom and won it.

Another vital question which is missing in the President's Address is the question which we discussed in the last budget session also, namely, the question of rehabilitation of East Pakistan refugees. The Government of India headed by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru accepted the urgency of the problem, so much so that the Ministry was separated from Works and Housing and a Cabinet-rank Ministry has been instituted. Here no mention has been made of that.

But the setting up of a Ministry is not a solution where thousands of people are knocking at the doors of India. India has to set up a definite policy in this respect, and that policy is to rehabilitate the people who have been uprooted from their soil.

The other day the Ayub-squeeze policy has been prominently broadcast in the papers of India, that General Ayub after his election to the exalted office of President is now

trying to squeeze out the minority from East Pakistan. It brings another problem, to the fore, West Bengal with 33,000 square miles has been over-burdened with 39 million people. And the refugees are coming every day, one thousand, and want to stay in West Bengal. In spite of all the camps and other improvised shelters they refuse to go outside the State of W.B. It means further burdening Bengal which is already over-burdened. The State with 33,000 square miles and with 40 million people is made to receive the refugees who are denied the relief and rehabilitation benefits, because they do not fulfil certain conditions, namely laid down by the Government that they must have some documents with them. How can one get a document when he is coming from Barisal which has no rail connection with Dacca? There is no other centre to issue visa. One centre was there in Rajshahi in North Bengal and that has also been closed. We have no centre in Dinajpur, Khulna or Barisal or elsewhere. And you expect those people to fulfil your conditions. The other day 12,000 people came, 76 per cent of whom were without any travel document. Naturally, they are denied the benefits of relief and rehabilitation, and the people are left to take care of themselves. They are writhing in agony, filth, poverty, destitution and deprivation. Is that the sort of socialist democracy that we have? Unfortunately it is the most conspicuous absence of reference to this vital question that is corroding the whole humanity of India. Millions of people are still intending to come to India, and one does not know what picture the post-election period in Pakistan will open out before them. All the meetings which the minorities have been trying to organise in E. Pak. have been stopped, and we have been supplied with a small document that is supposed to be a representation placed before the Governor of East Pakistan by some members of the minority community. I need not

quote from it, because it has been circulated to all the Members there.

So, if this vital question is left to take care of itself, if the question of minimum living wage, the question of stabilisation of prices, the question of housing, the question of ensuring the man with the right to participate in the process of development is left out of the picture, then this Address carries us nowhere except that it touches some points on the periphery of our national growth.

I would hereby draw the attention of the authorities to this that undoubtedly it has touched certain points, but it has to pin-point all these things and see that they are carried out and implemented in the letter and nothing should be left to take care of itself. Because, we are wedded to democratic socialism; we do not believe in fascism or in dictatorship, nor do we believe in any form of super-imposed will. It is only the play of human forces, it is the amalgam of the forces which must be brought into definite operation to bring us to our cherished goal, namely, the achievement of democratic socialism.

Shri Rama Chandra Mallick (Jajpur): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, I thank you very much for giving me this opportunity to say something on the President's Address. At first I did not want to speak at all, but when some hon. Members of the Opposition said many things about my State of Orissa I thought that I should say something, through you, before the House.

The campaign of villification master-minded by certain Opposition Members of the Orissa Assembly and their friends even in Parliament has been going on in a section of the Press against the leaders of the Orissa Congress Party in the State for months. I do not want to involve myself in this controversy, but when some Members said something I feel that I have to explain two or three points

Orissa did not have a stable government after the reorganisation of the States, till June 1961 when Shri Biju Patnaik assumed charges as Chief Minister of Orissa, following a sweeping victory for the Congress in the mid-term election that year. The Congress Government, after the mid-term election in 1961, was acknowledged on all hands to be one of the most efficient State administrations in the country. (An Hon. Member: Question). The efforts by Opposition reactionaries and their allies could not disturb the even tender of the State's economic advance or the steady consolidation of Congress influence.

The Opposition filed a petition before the Election Commission against Shri Biren Mitra to disqualify him from the Assembly membership on these very grounds. This petition was contested, enquired into by the Commission, and was dismissed.

As regards Orissa Agents, the firm of Orissa Agents was started by Mrs. Mitra in 1959. This has been certified by the Income-tax Department. The firm of Orissa Agents closed down altogether on 8th August, 1963. Sir, please mark this. It has to be noted that this firm was not sold, nor transferred to anybody, but was summarily dissolved. This was certainly consistent with public propriety.

Shri Biren Mitra assumed office as Chief Minister of Orissa on 2nd October, 1963 when the said firm was already dissolved. The firm was dissolved on the 8th August, 1963 and Shri Biren Mitra became Chief Minister on the 2nd of October, 1963, that is after about three months.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The hon. Member may come to the President's Address.

श्री हुकम चन्द कछवाय (देवास) :
उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, हाउस में कोरम नहीं है।

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The Bell is being rung—Now there is quorum. The hon. Member may continue.

Shri Rama Chandra Mallick: Even the Cabinet Sub-Committee consisting of eminent jurists has not found anything against the Orissa leaders excepting some careless handling of matters which they have considered as improprieties. As against this, it is widely known that these Orissa leaders, particularly Shri Biju Patnaik has rendered tremendous service to the State not only as Chief Minister, not only as Chairman of the Planning Board there, but even in his personal capacity, and now he is the mass leader there. On the 17th March 1960, Shri Patnaik wrote a letter to Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India, enclosing Draft No. 571925, dated 18th March, 1960 for Rs. 6,70,000 on Chartered Bank, New Delhi. Pandit Nehru declined to disburse this sum of Rs. 6,70,000 himself and returned it with his letter dated August 18, 1960 which is reproduced below:

'No. 1794-PHM.60

Prime Minister's House,
New Delhi.
August 18, 1960.

My dear Patnaik,

I enclose a demand draft for Rs. 6,74,088-82 nP. You had sent me Rs. 6,70,000. This sum is being returned with some interest which has accrued to it.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru.

Shri B. Patnaik,
33, Chittaranjan Avenue,
Calcutta-12.

Encl: Demand Draft No. 17156 dt. 18-8-1960 on teh United Commercial Bank Ltd., Calcutta."

Shri Ranga (Chittoor): Is it Orissa agency?

Shri Rama Chandra Mallick: Certainly not. Please see how Mr. Pat-

naik has done nice work. It is example for you. (Interruptions).

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Please speak on the President's Address.

Shri Rama Chandra Mallick: Yes, Sir. I am going to explain this. Shri Patnaik, however, disbursed this sum, himself as follows:

The Edwina Mountabatten Memorial Fund	Rs. 2,75,000
UNESCO—Kalinga Prizes for science and other subjects—	Rs. 80,675
Aircraft charges for dropping food packages to flood marooned people in Orissa and relief work	Rs. 33,325
Motilal Nehru Centenary Fund	Rs. 1,00,000
Cultural and Sports Organisations	Rs. 15,093
Scholarships to poor and meritorious students of Orissa	Rs. 62,602
Donations to educational institutions, prizes and research	Rs. 1,07,895
TOTAL	Rs. 6,74,590

He distributed the amount given by the Prime Minister in this manner. This is one example to show that he has done marvellous work.

Shri Ranga: What is all this? Donations?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Whatever it is, everything is painted black in Orissa. He is giving his views. You should have patience to hear him also.

Shri Rama Chandra Mallick: Shri Patnaik and Shri Mitra have gone to the courts of law and filed suits against those who defamed them. Why are the opposition members not going to the court?

One thing is very important. I want to read from the Rules of procedure and Conduct of Business in Lok

Sabha for your kind consideration, because the hon. Speaker is going to give his decision on this matter.

Shri S. M. Banerjee (Kanpur): On a point of order, Sir. I have nothing against the hon. Member. He can say anything about Mr. Patnaik. He is raising a point of order by reading the Rules of Procedure.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: No.

Shri S. M. Banerjee: Otherwise, Rules of Procedure cannot be mentioned in President's Address. Has the President mentioned in his Address about the Rules of Procedure?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: What is your point of order?

Shri S. M. Banerjee: He is trying to raise a point of order on the President's Address. We have been stopped by the hon. Speaker from saying something about the report. Otherwise, we had enough material to smash Mr. Patnaik to pieces, but we did not do it. He is trying to defend Mr. Patnaik by quoting the Rules of Procedure about the ruling to be given by the hon. Speaker.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Mr. Mallick, please speak on the President's Address.

Shri Rama Chandra Mallick: Yes, Sir. Rule 352 in page 149 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in Lok Sabha says:

"A member, while speaking shall not—

- (i) refer to any matter of fact on which a judicial decision is pending."

This is a very important point. (Interruptions).

Shri Biju Patnaik and Shri Biren Mitra are both ex-Chief Ministers of Orissa and they have filed suits against those who defamed them by publishing that both of them have utilised the authorities for personal benefits. Necessary legal steps were undertaken in the court of law against such defamation and the cases are still pending. So, it is a very im-

portant matter whether it will be proper to discuss or to refer to the matter in the House. I seek your ruling and consideration. The opposition members are afraid that they will not be successful in the coming elections because Shri Patnaik, Shri Mitra and other Congress members are there. That is why they are creating troubles here and there.

Mr. Jaipal Singh said many things about adivasis. After 17 years of independence in this country, the scheduled caste people are harassed, depressed and oppressed by the high-caste people. I have got so many applications from scheduled caste people. Some of those who have been occupying homestead land for 30, 40 or 60 years have got notices to vacate the houses. How is it possible? Where will they go? Will they go to Pakistan or to some other place? So, Government should consider this matter very sympathetically. These people should get the benefit and they should be helped. They should not think that there is nobody to look after their welfare.

In conclusion, I warn the opposition members that in the coming elections they will not come out successful.

Shri A. S. Alva (Mangalore): **Mr. Deputy-Speaker,** Sir, while supporting the motion for thanks I just want to touch one or two points that have been prominently mentioned in the President's Address.

Being of recent occurrence, it is but natural that the President has mentioned about the language issue which, unfortunately, took the toll of several lives in Madras State in spite of the broadcast address of our Prime Minister reiterating the assurance given by the late Prime Minister. The President expressed the hope that the language issue will be solved satisfactorily.

Unfortunately, on both sides, both in the non-Hindi areas and also in the Hindi areas, the extremists are making the position really very difficult. Yesterday, we listened to the

[Shri A. S. Alva]

speech of Seth Govind Das. It was really unfortunate. His plea was why the Prime Minister (*Interruptions*).

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Order, order.

Shri A. S. Alva: What happened was, he found fault with the Prime Minister saying that he has become panicky, the administration has become very weak and that is why he has called the Chief Ministers of different States for consultation. But he should realise that in a democracy it is the duty of the leader, the Prime Minister, whenever there is some disturbance, whenever things go wrong, to feel the pulse of the people. Naturally, for that purpose he has summoned the Chief Ministers and consulted several people also. As a matter of fact, he was pleased to make a statement today that the language issue will be solved after consultation with all people and not done in a hurry.

The incidents that took place in Madras were really deplorable. As a matter of fact, on the day in question I started from my place on the 11th and it ought to have taken me about 22 hours to reach Madras. But it really took me nearly three days and two more nights I had to spend in the train. Twice or thrice my train was stopped. There were not only students—we saw only young students—but lot of rowdy elements had joined together and created disturbance. At the same time we should not minimise or shut our eyes to the real apprehensions of the students. The students started the agitation rather peacefully and with a definite purpose. But they least expected that it would go out of their hands and rowdy elements would take the chance to create trouble. That is exactly what happened. After some time they realised that they never meant that the riots would take that toll of lives as it happened and they called off the agitation. Now they are appealing to the leaders to solve this problem.

As a retaliation or in response to that, we have also seen in the Hindi areas that sign boards are being effaced. Why should they be effaced? Why cannot they read the sign boards? As a matter of fact, all of us have agreed—all sections of this House have agreed—even at the time of the Official Languages Act, that as the Constitution stands Hindi is our official language because a larger segment of our people speak that language. It is not that there is anything inherently superior in that language. But as a single language that is spoken by the largest number of people in this country. All are agreed on that.

At the same time, even the Constitution itself envisaged that within a period of 15 years it will not be possible to change over to Hindi. For that purpose the Constitution itself had made a provision that unless the Parliament by law otherwise directs, on the 26th January, 1965 Hindi shall be the official language (*Interruption*). In 1963 we realised that Hindi could not replace English all at once in all the States. For that very reason it was said that in respect of Hindi States they could carry on their work in Hindi but as far as other States are concerned, especially in correspondence between the Centre and the States, English will continue as an additional language. Our leaders foresaw this difficulty and that is why the Official Languages Act was passed.

Unfortunately, some over-zealous people misunderstood the scope of the assurance given on the floor of the House. Even at that time when the Bill was being discussed we submitted that it is necessary to make a mandatory provision that English shall continue for a certain period. But then it was mentioned that the word "shall" may not be necessary, but "may" may be used which in that context will bear out the meaning of "shall". But we had our own doubts. Somebody

must have looked into the section and thought that it was not necessary that an English translation should accompany any of those communications which were sent to the non-Hindi States and therefore one or two statements went without such translations. The Food Minister was surprised and he said that it must have been done without his knowledge.

There is one thing which must be noted. The Centre ought to have seen that in all the non-Hindi areas Hindi was compulsorily being taught. Unfortunately, as far as Madras was concerned, they never introduced Hindi as a compulsory subject. That was not proper. The Centre ought to have seen that they compulsorily introduced Hindi in all the classes.

14.58 hrs.

[SHRI THIRUMALA RAO in the Chair]

Shri Ranga: They cannot just do it overnight.

Shri S. Kandappan (Tiruchengode): In Madras they introduced it.

Shri A. S. Alva: They stopped it. They ought to have continued it. Because some pressures were brought in, they stopped it. Why should not Hindi come? We are governed by the Constitution. As long as we do not change the Constitution, we have said there that we will switch over to Hindi which is the official language. So it is the duty of every State to see that Hindi is propagated and as soon as possible we switch over to Hindi. As a matter of fact, English was not our language. We did really study English. What objection could there be for anybody to study Hindi which is one of our own languages? Nobody could have any real objection.

Shri Ranga: We do.

Shri A. S. Alva: Now the three-language formula is really a very good

thing. The difficulty arises as far as non-Hindi areas are concerned. They have to study three languages. But in the Hindi areas it is enough if they study only two languages. For that purpose, if it made compulsory in all Public Service examinations that a candidate must get a certain percentage of marks in one South-Indian language and unless he gets that he will not be eligible for appointment, all the trouble will be over.

Sir, the impression in the minds of our hon. friends is that we are wedded to English and that we are fond of English. That is absolutely not correct. Because we happen to be here, we talk in English as we do not know Hindi. In my own State I never speak in any other language than Kannada. When we meet our friends from Andhra, Tamil Nad or Kerala, we converse with them in our own language. But when we meet outsiders who do not know Kannada, Tamil, Telugu or Malayalam, we are obliged to speak in English, because we do not know Hindi. So, the impression that we prefer English and not Hindi should be removed. When we from the non-Hindi-speaking areas come here, though it may look strange it is a fact, we converse with the people here in English because we do not know Hindi. Let us take the other side of the picture. Suppose a person from the north goes to South India. He is not going to speak in English and we do not know Hindi. How could we converse? Or is it the idea that people from the north should not go to the South at all? That is where the people from the north studying one of the South Indian languages comes in.

15 hrs.

During our independence struggle, even though we come from different regions and speak different languages

[Shri A. S. Alva]

we never quarrelled about the language in which we should converse. There was absolutely no difficulty at that time. After the achievement of our independence, we decided that Hindi shall be our national language. If that language is not sufficiently advanced, we decided, let us wait for some more time so that by that time that language may grow; instead of talking in different languages and building a tower of Babel, let us all join together, unite and work for a free and prosperous India. That is absolutely necessary. So, let us not be fanatic about these things. I am sure that no Indian, who has adopted our Constitution and our national language, will go against our national language.

Now we have come to a stage when people are talking of not responding to invitations if they are not sent in Hindi. They will not even look into anything which is not in Hindi. I hope they will not carry it to their extremes. A number of such people would be having currency notes with English words inscribed in them. Will they throw away such notes? They would also be having coins and cheques with English words? Will they throw them away? I am sure they will not.

We must realise the difficulties faced by the administration. Our Prime Minister, the Chief Ministers and our leaders are meeting and discussing how they could solve this problem. Let us not be in a hurry. The Official Languages Act will last for ten years. It is only after ten years that we will appoint a commission. So, let us examine the problem in all its aspects and see how the inequalities, troubles and difficulties that will be experienced in some quarters could be removed. Let us go slowly. All of us are interested in seeing that Hindi is made the official language as soon as possible. It will be in the interests of the non-Hindi-speaking areas to

learn Hindi early. After all, they are not going to confine themselves to their own States. They have to go to the other States for purposes of business, employment or other reasons. So, it is better that they learn Hindi soon.

That does not mean that we should neglect English. We should learn English. In fact, we should study more foreign languages apart from English. A number of our students are going abroad for further studies and we are holding a number of seminars in which many foreigners are participating. Since we must be able to understand each other, it is better that we study English and other foreign languages. Let us not shut our doors and windows to other languages. Let the wind blow from all directions; the only thing is we should not be blown off our feet.

We must have a national language which is our pride. Whenever we speak during ceremonial occasions, it should be in the national language. That will add respect and stature to our nation. We should not continue to have English as our national language, though at the same time we should not forget it. These are some of the matters which the President has highlighted in his address.

We are extremely sorry for the events that have taken place in the South. But, as I have stated earlier the leadership actually passed from the hands of the innocent students to the hands of rowdies. We must also realise the difficulties of the students. They have legitimate aspirations for competing for the Central Service Examinations. If the examinations are in Hindi and they do not know Hindi, they will be at a disadvantage. On the other hand, if all the different languages are used for examinations, then also there will be some administrative difficulties. It will create further trouble. So, let us not be in a hurry.

Just to satisfy some people, just to have some momentary satisfaction, let us not give up our principles and ideals.

A reference was made by some hon. Members to quota. What is the idea of having quota? Then why not have lots? The object should be to get the best talent, the brilliant students, for the important services. So, quota should never be there. Till we are in a position to switch over to Hindi—I think it will be earlier than we expect—let us continue as we are. I am sure Government will examine the Official Languages Act to see whatever changes are necessary and will bring forward the necessary legislation so that the misapprehensions of the people can be removed. Once that is done I am sure our country will progress and will become one of the foremost nations of the world.

Shri Narasimha Reddy (Rajampet): Mr. Chairman, Sir, never was the President's Address pitched in such a low tone as the one under discussion today. In the beginning he states that the national income had risen from 24 odd to 4 odd. We all remember that Dr. Lohia last year made the startling disclosure that the average income of a person in our country was only 3 annas. Though Government tried their best to riggle out of it, they could not. We expected the President's Address to give us some happy news that the income of the common man has risen. But unhappily, he has only told us that the national income has arisen. The national income may mean the income derived by rich people, by blackmarketeers and contractors who continually live under the patronage and shadow of the government.

Then the President has said that electricity is fast being spread to the villages. Undoubtedly it is true. It is spreading fairly fast, but electricity boards in the States are often filled with partymen, giving no representation to other people so much so that

the pace of electricity in villages is not carried along healthy lines.

Next, rural indebtedness is still there. It is increasing by leaps and bounds and the biggest creditor in rural areas is the government, more cruel, more exacting, more merciless than the private creditor.

Next, the President in paragraph 8 has stated:

"As you are aware, the production of foodgrains did not show any appreciable increase during the three preceding years."

It is a strong condemnation of the Planning Commission which, when they are asked to plan for an agricultural country, have been laying great emphasis on industry, with the result that while the pace of industry itself has been halting, dubious and amorphous, agriculture, which is the vital life blood of our nation, has been woefully neglected. I wish that the Members of the Planning Commission would be shifted from this eerie capital of the Mughals to somewhere in the rural areas and be given, instead of their salaries, 30 acres of land, the ceiling fixed by themselves for the sustenance of a family. Then alone agriculture will improve and agriculturists would have some hope. But I doubt very much how many Members of the Planning Commission would stay in the villages without running away.

Dr. Ambedkar, speaking on article 31A to the Constitution gave this assurance:

"There is no intention on the part of the Government that the provisions in article 31A are to be employed for the purpose of dispossessing ryotwari tenants. I believe that whenever any such measure comes before the President, the undertaking given in this House would be binding upon the President in giving his sanction so far as any such measure is concerned."

[Shri Narasimha Reddy]

This was repeatedly quoted by Prof. Ranga during the debate on the Constitution (Seventeenth Amendment) Bill and also mentioned in lakhs of communications, through letters and petitions, both to the Government and the President. We expected that there would be some explanation in the President's Address as to why this salutary and wholesome assurance in the Constituent Assembly has not been acted upon.

Another point that the President's Address states is that a number of Bills have already been introduced in the House and a number of other Bills are waiting for introduction. No doubt, Bills have been introduced in galore and they become Acts of Parliament. Some of them have been so confusing and so contradictory that they often clog the smooth working of the administrative machinery. I wish the Government would take care that before they introduce the Bills, they would not offend the established habits of the people or their social tenor. Laws are intended to be obeyed and any law that is not universally obeyed should not disgrace the statute book. The prohibition laws of the States and the Gold Control Act of the Centre are monuments of unmatched stupidity.

The President has not made a mention of an important matter, that is the agitation carried on throughout the country against corruption in administration. This has been mostly against Chief Ministers and Ministers. The very universality of the charges rouse the apprehensions in the human mind. How can there be a deterrent among the Chief Ministers when they know fully well that they have got god fathers in the Government and all that they have to do is to send up their resignations, stay down for a while, and after three months walk boldly into the Central Cabinet to carry on their depredations under wider field. In England the Prime Minister, Mr. Anthony Aden, who had an unblemished public and pri-

vate record, for a single fatal flaw of his regarding the invasion of Egypt, had to go out of his office. Another Minister who lent his car to his friend which subsequently met with an accident had to vacate his place. So exacting is the English public opinion; so sensitive is the mother of Parliaments. Mr. Profumo had to go out of office as a Minister under universal condemnation. But the spirit of England was such, the tumult in England was such that even the Prime Minister had to go out. Can they ever hope to come back to office? Can anyone gone under a cloud come back to office either by the front door or the back door?

In India, may it be said to its credit, the judiciary is still untarnished. In India, whenever, the highest courts pass strictures upon a Chief Minister, he is promoted within barely three months, to the Central Cabinet. I do not know why such a thing has happened. I do not know why the Centre thought it fit to import this kind of sediment from the provinces when I see before me among the Congress ranks men and women who can fill any Cabinet position with credit and honour and capacity and rectitude. I thought that our Prime Minister, impeccable in many ways undoubtedly the best leader in the Congress Party in Parliament today, would uncompromisingly stick to the path of rectitude and honour and would not deviate from the straight path by making an appointment so uncomplimentary to the judiciary, so appalling in its consequences to the healthy growth of a new born nation, so derogatory to the dignity and sanctity of a throbbing and vibrant democracy. I, in the name and on behalf of those illustrious sons of our country whose voices have reverberated in these halls for a just and honest Government, call upon our Prime Minister to erase this blot upon our administration and send the rich and unwanted syndicate Minister back to his native place to spend the remainder of his time in abstinence, penitence and prayer.

Lastly there is this language question which has been agitating the minds of all. Emotion is in the air and the dool judgment of the Intellect is showed in the background. There is no use of us all behaving like the old Roman crowds. Each of us has his inner most convictions which cannot be changed by noise or fury or sound. On the 20th of January, Kamraj Nadar, in Madras, spoke as follows:

"If anybody writes to us something we do not understand, we will just throw it away and nobody can boss over us".

Mr. Chairman: Has he issued any correction to that?

Shri Ranga: Only about the waste paper basket.

Mr. Chairman: I would like the hon. Member to quote it fully.

Shri Narasimha Reddy: I will lose my time if I quote it fully.

In Calcutta, on January 28, Mr. Atulya Ghosh said like this:

"People from NEFA to Mysore would certainly resist the imposition of Hindi by force."

Mr. Ghosh said further:

"Any such attempt will undermine the unity of the country and harm it materially."

In Hyderabad, on February 6, Mr. Sanjiva Reddy had expressed the opinion that Hindi had been the language of disruption. Subsequently, all these gentlemen met in Mysore during the sixtieth birth-day celebrations of Shri Nijalingappa and reiterated the sentiments. People are wondering, whether it be in the north or in the south, as to why these wise gentlemen were tongue-tied all these years, and why it is that at the first flush of agitation, at the first upsurge of popular passions these people should come out, and why they did not come out and apprise Panditji when he was alive, of the sentiments that have been

agitating the South or of their own innermost convictions; if they had represented this matter to Panditji, probably in his own inimitable manner, with the impress of his commanding personality, he would have smoothened out these things. But, unfortunately, there are people in this world who run with the hare and hunt with the hound.

Shri Shastri and Shri Nanda in the hectic gaiety of the changeover celebrations from English to Hindi on 26th January, 1965, made certain speeches which have had plenty of repercussions in the south. I might say that their speeches were the two matches that ignited ill-feelings in the south. When I was speaking on the Official Languages Bill in 1963, I said that the implementation of Panditji's assurances to the south would depend upon the English or Hindi colour of the personality that presided over the Home Ministry. Subsequent events, the circulars that have been issued, the phobia that was generated after January 25th, justify the apprehensions of the southern people.

Mr. Chairman: The hon. Member should try to conclude now.

Shri Narasimha Reddy: Have I taken so much time already? I have hardly started.

Mr. Chairman: The clock is not stopping but it is moving.

Shri Narasimha Reddy: Please give me five minutes more.

Shri Kapur Singh (Ludhiana): He has hardly started his argument.

Mr. Chairman: I had already rung the bell. But the clock does not stop on the conclusion of an argument.

Shri Narasimha Reddy: I suggest that the much-harassed Food Minister Shri C. Subramaniam may be entrusted with the Home Ministry, and the irrepressible and energetic Shri Nanda be given the Food portfolio so that he can feed the starving millions of our country.

Shri Sham Lal Saraf (Jammu and Kashmir): We do not want a soft man to go there.

Shri Narasimha Reddy: Two minutes have already been taken by these interruptions.

Mr. Chairman: The hon. Member can go on with his speech. He need not pay attention to interruptions.

Shri Ranga: The bell may not be rung, because it upsets him. Let him have five minutes more.

Shri Narasimha Reddy: Shri Nanda and Shri Shastri made two statements on two different occasions. I am sorry to say that they have not said a single word nor shed a single tear for those young tender students who had been brutally beaten down by police lathis.

Shri Ranga: Shame!

Shri Narasimha Reddy: We are all very sorry for the brutal incidents that took place, which culminated in the burning of those two sub-inspectors, but we expected.....

Dr. M. S. Aney: My hon. friend is not condemning those things?

Shri Narasimha Reddy: I am sorry I cannot answer these interruptions, because my time is limited.

Shri Ranga: He says that he is very sorry.

Shri Narasimha Reddy: We are very sorry for the incidents, but still we expected from great statesmen statesmanlike words reassuring the students that nothing bad would occur to them.

Mr. Chairman: The hon. Member should conclude his speech now.

Shri Narasimha Reddy: I am concluding. But please be a little bit charitable.

Mr. Chairman: I have exhausted my charitableness already.

Shri Narasimha Reddy: Please give me five minutes or at least four minutes more.

Mr. Chairman: The hon. Member has to conclude his speech within two minutes.

Shri Narasimha Reddy: The most galling and the saddest thing that we have heard so far has been the immolation of four young men in Madras. We are told that one man went with his wife and his babe and his other small children to a square and ignited himself there in the presence of so many people and made the supreme sacrifice of his life. For how many of us death has no terrors, and how many of us can face death with a calm and quiet determination, and yet these young men have faced those scorching pitiless flames with a bold defiant courage. There is a tendency to mock and scoff at them. I say, scoff them not, mock them not, because they had the stuff of heroes and martyrs, martyrs for a cause which they held dear to their hearts.

Shri Brij Raj Singh: Should that practice be praised?

Mr. Chairman: The hon. Member should conclude now. Now, Dr. M. S. Aney.

Dr. M. S. Aney: I commend the motion by my hon. friend Shri Heda and seconded by Maharajkumar Vijaya Ananda for acceptance by the House, particularly for the appeal that the President has made to the Members of Parliament in the last paragraph of his Address, to guide the nation for the attainment of our objectives which are known and our goals which are clear, with unflinching faith and firm resolve.

In view of the limited time that you must have fixed for each speaker, I do not want to go into the other details, but I shall straightway come to the burning question of the day, namely the question of the official language. If after dealing with that,

some time remains, then I shall come to the other points.

I wish to refer to the burning question of the day to which a passing reference has been made in para 21 of the Address. It has been stated there, in order to assure those whose minds have been agitated owing to the language issue that the assurances given by the late Shri Jawaharlal Nehru and reaffirmed by our Prime Minister will be carried out without qualification and reservation, with an emphatic assertion that that is essential for the unity of the country. Then, the President has said:

“While Hindi is the official language of the Union, English will continue to be an associate official language. This will continue as long as the non-Hindi-speaking people require it.”

I shall not quarrel with the language of the assurances referred to above and reproduced from the Address itself. But it is better for the Government and the people concerned to know what exactly is meant and what this means and what is expected of them. It means that this policy is to lead the nation to install Hindi in its position as the real and only official language of India at some time in the future, and English which is the associate official language would cease to exist and occupy its present position at that distant time and it must go.

I think it has been practically agreed that Hindi is to be the official language and English has to go sometime. So we have to read the assurances given by the late Pandit Nehru in the light of these two things which are mentioned there. We have to work within this period for the attainment of these two objectives. Once we have put Hindi as the official language, English, which we have put in as associate language, should also be displaced from its place as associate language. My suggestion to the Prime Minister and the Chief Ministers who have come here is that they should bear in mind this particular fact.

It is stated that we have to carry out the assurances given by Pandit Nehru. I will mention one thing, English can never be the official language of India and therefore, cannot permanently remain as associate official language. That is an inseparable part of the assurance given by the late Pandit Nehru himself. But this fact seems to be lost sight of. Many people in their enthusiasm for immediate gains or concern for immediate loss proceed without putting the case on a reasonable basis and overlook this essential fact, that we can work in this country only with one language, one national language, and that that national language can only be Hindi. English which is now in use as associate official language, which we have adopted for use for some time, has to be removed.

So the programme that we have to have for the intermediate period should be designed to achieve these two results, and not merely to say that for an indefinite period one language goes and the other remains. It is just the reverse of the ideal which the members of the Constituent Assembly have worked for. I am coming to that in a moment.

Now, it has been stated—and probably correct also—that at that particular time—I was not present in the Constituent Assembly as a member—when the issue of language was discussed, it was carried by a narrow majority. But there is the other fact which has to be remembered. A Schedule was prepared to the Constitution listing all the national languages, Schedule Eight. This Schedule was passed unanimously. There was no amendment moved by any Member seeking to include English in that Schedule. That was carried unanimously. So I say that if by compromise, they have put Hindi as the official language of India, by unanimous vote they, at the same time, did not include English in the list of 14 languages, national languages.

[Dr. M. S. Aney]

In addition, I would put a third proposition before the House, namely, no language which is not national can ever become the official language of this country.

These are the main propositions on the basis of which we have to work.

Shri Ranga: At that time, they were working under an emotion. What is the reality today? What happened during all these 15 years?

Dr. M. S. Aney: I have great respect for my hon. friend, Shri Ranga.

Shri Ranga: To say that Hindi alone is the national language and therefore I must learn it is absurd (*Interruptions*).

Mr. Chairman: I would request the hon. Shri Ranga not to become emotional himself.

Dr. M. S. Aney: There is at least one man in this country who knows how to keep his head cool, how to remain calm, how to retain his balance I refer to Rajaji. What did he do in that period?

Shri Ranga: He was Governor-General advising Shri Jawaharlal Nehru. Till the very last Shri Jawaharlal Nehru did not agree. He was forced to agree by his friends. (*Interruptions*).

Mr. Chairman: The hon. Member may allow Dr. Aney his own time.

Dr. M. S. Aney: Notwithstanding this, I want to make a comment on this point. The Constituent Assembly adopted this provision. Then there was a period of ten years when Rajaji was associated with the Government in one way or the other. Then Rajaji severed his connections with Government as Chief Minister of Madras. During all that period, Rajaji was sincerely working, honestly working for creating an atmosphere favourable to Hindi, popularising the Hindi language in the south. Why? Because Rajaji believed that it is the only language

that can be the official language. Because Rajaji believed that it was the official language that could preserve and promote the unity of the country. Because Rajaji believed that in order to maintain the unity of the country, it was necessary to have one common official language. That is the point.

If now at this time, he is arguing differently, if at this age he is doing that—he is older than myself—if he is feeling differently on the issue, it is because he is surrounded by fanatics. Among them, of course, I do not include my hon. friend, Shri Ranga. The result is that he is finding it impossible to keep in proper balance. But for this circumstance, he would have been more amenable and his views would have been more acceptable to the country. This is a point that has to be appreciated.

It has been said that English has acted as the link language and we were able to organise an all-India agitation, all-India movement which ultimately resulted in our getting our freedom. This is a claim made by some people. But I want to inform the House, I want to stress with all the emphasis at my command, that nothing is farther from the truth than this absurd claim based on the English language. I say this because there were very few persons who knew English or could speak the English language. Right from 1897 to 1947, the masses were moved not through the medium of English but through the instrumentality of the various national languages, the mother tongues of the respective regions. This has been the case for fifty years. I also had my humble share in doing that work. Mahatma Gandhi moved the millions not by talking in polished English of the Oxford or Cambridge style. He spoke to the people in Hindi. Along with him, other friends were there who spoke to the people in their respective languages. My friend talked in Telugu; others talked in Tamil, others in Marathi, others in Bengali and so on. English played very little part in serving as a link between the

leaders and the people. So to say that without English swaraj would have been a distant dream, unattainable, is a travesty of facts.

It was realising the importance of the respective regional languages that Mahatma Gandhi used to say, 'If you want to really prepare the people for being proper citizens of independent India, then the vernacular languages should be properly cultivated and developed'. There was one mistake which we made, according to me and that is the creation of the linguistic provinces. My point is this: we must work in this period to give encouragement to the languages of the people and bring them up to higher levels and we must also work for making Hindi fit medium for the national and the official language. This should be the work of all of us and in this work even those who had agitated this time should be asked to join. Let the speakers of the other languages also join together with a view to create a proper Hindi so that at the end of 10, 15, 20 or 25 years—I do not mind the period—that shall be the national language and the official language of India. The other national languages shall also take their places. You should also create the possibility for that language to be used for international purposes; they do not use it now. An attempt should be made for that. If we proceed further on the formula that is being devised, about which some suggestion was read out in the morning by the Prime Minister, it may probably open some way for a satisfactory solution of this difficult problem.

Shri Jashvant Mehta (Bhavnagar):
Mr. Chairman, Sir, I would like to offer my remarks on the President's Address. Our country is passing through a critical period and we are faced with this problem of language which has overwhelmed us. There is all round frustration and defeatism. Right from Delhi to the village level power politics has crept in. You go to any section of our society; you find frustration and discontent all over the

country. The whole body politic suffers from this attitude. The middle class intelligentsia is also feeling frustrated. There is no clear cut political policy or programme. Even if you take the opposition parties, they are in confusion and doldrum position. Take the example of the communists; they are also divided. Take any other party in this country. There is not a single opposition party which can deliver the goods or do something constructive for the nation. Our whole problem is the problem of national integration. National integration is at stake. It is good that one hon. Member asked the Prime Minister to clarify whether Government is going to revive the national integration council. If you look at the language problem, the same thing has happened. In the last few days it was clouded with a crisis. But the picture is now becoming clearer. The Prime Minister has declared that all the political parties in this country would be invited to discuss this national language problem; it will not be a party problem but it will be discussed as a national problem. There was one important aspect which has been stated in the Prime Minister's statement and the House has already welcomed the decisions of the Chief Ministers and by and large it will go deep down to the country and an atmosphere of solidarity and unity will be created in the country which is the crying need of the hour. At present all our economic and defence problems are being pushed back and only the language is in the forefront. It is a dangerous trend and if it continues the whole nation will break into pieces. There was also the point about the distribution of services among the States. That is a dangerous trend, if that policy is accepted, it will hamper the unity of the country... (An Hon. Member: It is a suggestion only) I am saying it should not be accepted because it will harm national unity. The problems of the services should be discussed at a different level.

In this country, no political party or political leadership will deliver the goods and change the country's face

[Shri Jashvant Mehta]

unless our whole economic programme becomes successful. Today the position of our country is like that of France of ten years before. We can consider it as the sick man of Asia. If we want to go out of this, what is the programme? The programme is the plan. Government is coming forward with the Fourth Plan and if we want to make it a major success, there should be more emphasis given to implementation. Unless we concentrate on the success of the Plan, the economic prosperity of the country will be in confusion. Instead of putting emphasis on parochial problems, we should concentrate on economic programmes and to remove economic disparities from our country.

The third important point is the food problem. At present, we have seen, whatever may be the decisions taken by the Chief Ministers' Conference and whatever the formula put forward in the Chief Ministers' Conference, the surplus States do not respect the agreement, the demand or the commitment to carry the foodgrains to the deficit States. Every State has become a zone. Unless the Government reviews the zone policy and removes the food zones, there will not be equitable distribution. There are a large number of States in which 80 per cent of the land is under cash crops and cash crops are very important for earning our foreign exchange. If this policy is not reviewed, all the States will try to concentrate on, and divert their attention to, food crops, and ultimately, the real importance of the cash crops which earn foreign exchange for us will be lost.

15:51 hrs.

[SHRI KHADILKAR in the Chair]

So, instead of making these compartments, the time has come when we have to review the food zone policy, so that equal distribution may be achieved.

We have seen that this food problem has become a psychological problem. The market has turned again

and favourable factors have been created. There is an all-round good harvest all over the country, and in these circumstances, if we cannot take a decision and remove the food zones, we will not be able to remove them at any time. This is the proper atmosphere and the Government should immediately consider the removal of the food zone problem.

The next problem to which I would like to draw the attention of the Government is about the appointment of Ombudsman, or the Ombudsman system, for which my hon. friend Shri Harish Chandra Mathur, has always been pleading. I would only like to suggest that unless we create a confidence in the country by appointing this type of independent authority to deal with important issues such as corruption which crop up in the administration or problems in regard to political personalities, things will not improve.

An hon. Member: Sadachar samitis are already there.

Shri Jashvant Mehta: I am referring to the system of Ombudsman which is functioning in Switzerland and in the Scandinavian Countries: it is something like a higher judiciary which will create faith and confidence in the people that here is an authority which will be able to tackle all types of problems and which will be able to satisfy the people. If this system is adopted here, it will certainly create faith and confidence among the people.

For achieving economic prosperity, I would like to emphasise that the whole administration requires to be geared so as to implement successfully the Plan and other programmes. The main problem is the implementation of the Plan. Whatever the planners may frame, unless the implementation is proper, we will not be able to deliver the goods. By proper implementation of the Plan, a climate could be created in the country, and to that

end, we must mobilise the manpower and resources and a new atmosphere and a new faith have to be created. If the Government succeeds in creating that new atmosphere in the country, then, and then alone, will we be able to make the Plan a success.

15:54 hrs.

[Mr. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय : श्री जय बहादुर सिंह

श्रीमती सहोदराबाई राय (दमोह) :
उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, दस मिनट मुझे भी मिलने चाहिए ।

श्री ज० ब० सिंह (घोसी) : उपध्यक्ष महोदय, राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण में जो सवज बाग दिखाये गए हैं, मैं उन से सहमत नहीं हूँ । वादा करना और उसको तोड़ना, यह इस सरकार का चरित्र है और चूँकि इस अभिभाषण में पूरी सरकार की समझ है और वह क्या करना चाहता है और उस न क्या किया है, वह सब इस अभिभाषण में दिया गया है, इसलिए इस अभिभाषण पर मुझे यकीन नहीं है ।

इस अभिभाषण के पेज 2 पर यह बताया गया है :

"Apart from the measures adopted to deal with the food problem that emerged in recent months, a long term policy of increasing food production has been adopted."

कहा गया है कि खेती-बाड़ी की पैदावार को बढ़ाने के लिए सरकार सब कोशिशें कर रही है, खाद दे रही है, पानी दे रही है । इसमें यह भी बताया गया है कि किसानों की पैदावार की कीमतें मुक़रर की जा रही हैं । मैं आपके जरिये यह

निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि जहाँ तक किसानों की पैदावार का सवाल है, सरकार उसकी कीमतें मुक़रर करने के लिए तैयार है—वे कीमतें गलत हों या सही, कम हों या बेस । लेकिन मैं सरकार से यह पूछना चाहता हूँ कि किसानों की जरूरत की जो और चीजें हैं, क्या वह उनके दाम भी मुक़रर करेगी या नहीं । यह उसूल और सिद्धान्त मेरी समझ में नहीं आता कि किसानों की पैदावार के दाम तो सरकार तय कर दे, लेकिन किसानों के इस्तेमाल की चीजें जैसे कपड़े और नोहे आदि के जो दाम बढ़ते चले जायें सरकार उनको तय न करे, अगर किसानों की जरूरत की चीजों के दाम बढ़ते चले जायेंगे, उन को सरकार रोकेंगी नहीं और किसानों की पैदावार के दामों पर वह रोक लगायेगी कि वे चौदह रुपये, बीस रुपये या पचास रुपये हों, जब तक यह व्यवस्था रहेगी, तब तक सरकार दामों को रोक नहीं सकती है, किसानों की पैदावार के दामों को वह रोक नहीं सकती है ।

मुझे इस बात का तजुर्बा है कि आजमगढ़ जिले में धान का दाम चौदह रुपये मन तय किया गया । क्या हुआ ? एक तरफ सरकार धान के दाम चौदह रुपये मन तय करती है और दूसरी तरफ किसान को धान के दाम तीस रुपये मन मिलते हैं । तो क्या किसान चौदह रुपये मन में बेचेगा ? नहीं बेचेगा और उस वक़्त उसका यह भी खयाल नहीं होता है कि यह राष्ट्र का सवाल है । वह सोचता है कि यदि यह राष्ट्र का सवाल है, तो जो लूटेरे कपड़े और दूसरी चीजों में लूट रहे हैं, उनके दाम क्यों नहीं तय किये जाते हैं । अगर सरकार इस तरह की नीति और तरीके से चीजों के दामों को बढ़ाने में रोकना चाहती है, तो वे रुकने वाले नहीं हैं । अगर सरकार दामों को रोकना चाहती है, तो यह जरूरी है कि किसान की जरूरत की जितनी भी चीजें हैं, उनके दाम भी तय

[श्री ज० ब० सिंह]

किये जायें और किसान को पैदावार के दाम भी तय किये जायें । तभी यह मसला हल होगा । दूसरा कोई तरीका नहीं है ।

मैं ने अभी कहा है कि यह सरकार वादा करती है और तोड़ती है । अभी अभी यू० पी० की चीफ मिनिस्टर, श्रीमती सुचेता कृपलानी, ने पार्लियामेंट के हर मेम्बर को लिख कर भेजा है—मेरे पास तो आया है—कि यू० पी० का ओरजिपल कोटा 105 लाख टन प्रति मास गेहूँ का था । क्या हो रहा है ? उसके बाद यह तय किया गया कि यू० पी० को हर महीने 90 हजार टन गेहूँ दिया जायेगा—बाहर का गेहूँ, जो कि देश में आता है । लेकिन वास्तव में जनवरी, 1964 में 64,700 टन गेहूँ भेजा गया । कोटे को रेड्यूस करके 90 हजार टन किया गया, लेकिन वह भी नहीं भेजा गया यह खयाल कर के कि अब सब्ज, हरे हरे, खेतों में पैदावार बढ़ने वाली है, अच्छी फ़ल होने वाली है, इसलिए कोटा भेजने की ज़रूरत नहीं है । नतीजा क्या है ? नतीजा यह है कि आज देहातों में जितनी दुकानें हैं—करीब आठ हजार दुकानें हैं—उनमें कहीं गल्ले का नाम नहीं है, वहां पर गेहूँ नहीं मिलता है । यह बात मैं नहीं कह रहा हूँ, बल्कि यू० पी० की चीफ़ मिनिस्टर कहती हैं कि गल्ला नहीं मिलता है । शहरों में जो पांच हजार के करीब दुकानें हैं, वहां से छः किलोग्राम प्रति-यूनिट मिलता है, जब कि ठीक टाइम हो, तो बारह किलोग्राम प्रति-यूनिट मिलना चाहिए । छः किलोग्राम प्रति-यूनिट उन शहरों और कस्बों में मिलता है, जहां होहल्ला मचने का डर है । सरकार ने यह वादा क्यों किया कि हर महीने 105 लाख टन गेहूँ यू० पी० को दिया जायेगा ? सरकार के लिए यह फैशन हो गया है कि वह वादा करती है और मुकर जाती है और इसी लिए क्राइसिस पैदा होता है ।

16:00 hrs

मैं आपको बताऊँ कि इसी हाउस में 1962 में गाजीपुर के कांग्रेस के हमारे एक दोस्त बहुत रोए कि पूर्वी जिलों में एक दिन की मजदूरी दो आने मिलती है । बेचारे बहुत रोए । नेहरू जी को बड़ा तरस आया । जब हम लोग कहते थे तो यह कहा जाता था कि मुखालिफ पार्टी के है, इनका इस तरह की बातें कहना एक पेशा है । उनके आंसुओं का असर हुआ । एक कमीशन मुकर्रर हुआ जिसका नाम पटेल कमीशन था । इसकी नियुक्ति 1962 में हुई । प्लानिंग कमीशन ने इसकी नियुक्ति की । पटेल कमीशन पूर्वी जिलों के अन्दर गया और उसने चार पूर्वी जिलों की जांच की, यानी आजमगढ़, गाजीपुर, जौनपुर और देवरिया । मैं उस कमीशन की तारीफ़ करता हूँ । उस कमीशन ने बड़ी ईमानदारी से सारे फ़ैक्ट्स को स्टडी किया और सारे फ़ैक्ट्स हमारे सामने ला कर रख दिये । तीन सौ पेज की उसकी रिपोर्ट है जो छप चुकी है । उस रिपोर्ट को किस तरह से लागू किया जा रहा है, इसको अब आप देखें । अब हो यह रहा है कि वहां पर सिचाई के जो छोटे छोटे साधन हैं, वे मुहैया किये जा रहे हैं, ऐसा कहा जा रहा है । इतने से ही इस नतीजे पर पहुंचा जा रहा है कि पूर्वी जिलों की तरक्की हो रही है । कमीशन ने भी माना है कि दो आने रोज़ मजदूरी न सही, चार और आठ आने के बीच मजदूरी रोजाना है । जब से यह कमीशन बना और इसकी रिपोर्ट आई, तब से सिर्फ़ छोटे छोटे कुओं को मदद मिल रही है जब कि मांग थी सब पार्टियों की, कांग्रेस पार्टी, कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी आदि सब की, वहां पर उद्योग धंधे खोले जायें । ये वे जिले हैं जहां पर आबादी का घनत्व सब से अधिक है । उत्तर प्रदेश के वे जिले हैं जहां एक परिवार के पास एक एकड़ भी जमीन नहीं पड़ती है । ये वे जिले हैं

जहां पर आम की गुठलियों की रोटियां बरसात के मौसम में खाई जाती हैं। दो तीन सौ पेज की रिपोर्ट छप गई और तसल्ली हो गई है, ऐसा मालूम पड़ता है। पटेल कमीशन ने अपनी रिपोर्ट ईमानदारी से लिखी है, यह सब मानेंगे। मैं उस कमिशन की तारीफ करता हूँ। उस कमिशन ने चार पूर्वी जिलों के लिए लिखा है कि उनमें करघे उत्तर प्रदेश में सब से ज्यादा चलते हैं, इसलिए एक सूत की मिल स्थापित की जाए। उन्होंने रिपोर्ट किया है कि आजमगढ़ में एक सूत का मिल खोला जाए। इस मिल को क्यों नहीं पब्लिक सेक्टर में खोला जाता है। अगर प्राइवेट सेक्टर वाले वहां जाना नहीं चाहते हैं क्योंकि वह पिछड़ा हुआ इलाका है तो क्या आप भी नहीं जाना चाहते हैं? मैं आपसे जानना चाहता हूँ कि आप भी वहां जाना चाहते हैं या नहीं जाना चाहते हैं? आप भी उन इलाकों को विकसित करना चाहते हैं या नहीं करना चाहते हैं? क्या आप उन्हीं इलाकों को विकसित करना चाहते हैं जिनके पेट बहुत भोटे हैं? आपकी नीति क्या है? आपकी पालिसी क्या है? क्या चाहते हैं आप?

मैं हैरान रह गया इस रिपोर्ट को पढ़ कर। रिपोर्ट में कहा गया है कि दो शूगर मिलें वहां खोली जाएं। उन्होंने रिपोर्ट किया है कि वहां मोलेसिस बहुत अधिक पैदा होते हैं, इसलिए डिसटिलरीज खोली जायें, पेपर मिल खोली जाएं, वगैरह वगैरह। ये तमाम रिपोर्टें पटेल कमीशन ने की हैं। लेकिन आज तक सिवाय चन्द कुओं के लिए जो कुछ रुपया दे दिया गया है और कुछ नहीं हुआ है। वह रुपया भी किसी की जेब में जाता है यह भी आप लोग सब जानते हैं। रुपया तो अपनी जगह पर है। वह करप्शन का पहलु है, उसको आप छोड़ दीजिये। कोई भी उद्योग धंधा आज तक सरकार ने अपनी तरफ से चाहे प्राइवेट सेक्टर में या पब्लिक सेक्टर में इस बीच नहीं खोला है।

वहां दो बड़ी बड़ी नदियां हैं घाघरा और गंगा। गाजीपुर में यह मांग उठी है और यह सही मांग है कि तारीघाट पर एक पुल बना दिया जाए तो वहां से लेकर बिहार तक का सारा इलाका एक हो सकता है, तिजारात हो सकती है, वह बढ़ सकती है। अगर दोहरी घाट में एक पुल सरजू पर बनवा दिया जाए तो वहां से ले कर सारे नेपाल तक एक रास्ता हो सकता है। इस तरह से ये पिछड़े हुए जिले विकसित हो सकते हैं, बढ सकते हैं। ये दो पुल भी सरकार नहीं बनवा सकती है।

आपकी हर पंचवर्षीय योजना में घाघरा पर पुल बनाने की योजना रखी जाती है, पुल बनने वाला होता है, हर योजना में गंगा पर पुल बनाने की तजवीज रखी जाती है लेकिन बनता कुछ भी नहीं है। यह जो सरकार है यह वादा करती है और वादा खिलाफी करती है। यह इसका एक पेशा सा हो गया है। यह एक तरीका इसका हो गया है। यह इसकी नीति हो गई है। इस कारण से ये जिले विकसित नहीं हो पा रहे हैं।

तीसरी बात मैं कोओप्रेटिव के बारे में कहना चाहता हूँ। कोओप्रेटिव के बारे में बहुत बड़ चढ़ कर बातें की जाती हैं। बहुत कहा जाता है कोओप्रेटिव मिलों को खोलो, कोओप्रेटिव खेती करो, कोओप्रेटिव शुगर मिलज लगाओ यह करो वह करो। मैं मिनिस्टर साहब से कहता हूँ कि वह मऊ में जा कर देखें, वहां एक बूनकर कोओप्रेटिव है जिसका वहां के इंडस्ट्री के अफसर के द्वारा चार बरस से आज तक रजिस्ट्रेशन नहीं किया गया है। आज हालत यह है कि चालीस हजार रुपया उस बूनकर सोसाइटी से इनकम टैक्स के वसूल करने के लिए नोटिस जारी कर दिया गया है। हम रजिस्ट्रेशन कराने जायें तो रजिस्ट्रेशन नहीं किया जाता है और रजिस्ट्रेशन नहीं किया जाता है तो चालीस हजार रुपया इनकम टैक्स का लगा

[श्री ज० ब० सिंह]

दिया जाता है, एक दो पैसा नहीं, चालीस हजार इनकम टैक्स लगा दिया जाता है। आप बतायें कि कोओप्रेटिव्स किस तरह से पनप सकती है। आप तो कोओप्रेटिव्स के हामी हैं और इनको बढ़ावा देना आपकी घोषित नीति है। होडबाजी की वजह से ये जो इस तरह की बातें होती हैं, इनका अन्त होना चाहिये। जब इस तरह की बातें हों तो इनके खिलाफ किस के पास शिकायत की जाए? कोई सुनता ही नहीं है। आप जायें और उस कोओप्रेटिव सोसाइटी को देखें। वहां पर, इन पिछड़े हुए इलाकों में जाने की हमारे मंत्री महोदय के पास फूसंत ही नहीं है अभी के० ल० राव साहब इलाहाबाद और बनारस गये थे। ये गंगा के किनारे हैं। जो इलाके डैजट होते जा रहे हैं, इनकी तरफ आपका ध्यान गया। बड़ी खुशी की बात है कि आप इलाहाबाद गये। इलाहाबाद से मूसे कोई नफरत नहीं है। आप बेशक बनारस भी जायें। लेकिन खिसक कर आप इधर भी आयें जहां पर हजारों लाखों एकड़ जमीन पड़ी हुई है और जहां पर खेती हो सकती है लेकिन होती नहीं है और उसका भी कोई आप उपाय बतायें। हर साल बाढ़ें पूर्वी जिलों में आती हैं और मामुली सी बाढ़ से हजारों एकड़ भूमि हर साल तबाह हो जाया करती है लेकिन राहत का कोई इंतजाम ही नहीं किया जाता है। इलाहाबाद और बनारस इलाके अपनी जगह पर हैं। लेकिन आपको दावत देता हूं कि आप पूर्वी जिलों में आयें, आजमगढ़, बलिया, गाजीपुर, जौनपुर, देवरिया, गोरखपुर आदि जिलों को देखें कि किस तरह से बाढ़ से हर साल तबाही और बरबादी होती है, पैदावार को किस प्रकार क्षति पहुंचती है, हजारों लाखों मन गल्ला हर साल तबाह और बरबाद हो जाता है।

मैं अब लैंग्वेज के बारे में एक शब्द कहना चाहता हूं। मैं विश्वास करता हूं कि हिन्दी

राष्ट्र भाषा है और इसको राष्ट्र भाषा होना चाहिये। लेकिन मैं इस बात का भी हामी हूं कि किसी के ऊपर कोई भाषा लादी न जाए। शिक्षा के जरिये तथा दूसरे तरह तरह के तरीके अपना करके हिन्दी को राष्ट्र भाषा बनाने की तरफ हमारे कदम बढ़ने चाहियें। इतना ही मेरा निवेदन है।

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Shri Tahir.

Shri Sivamurthi Swamy rose—

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I have called Shri Tahir.

Shri Shinkre (Marmagoa): On a point of order Sir. On every important debate, it has been already accepted that the time allotment for every group shall be strictly adhered to. I was informed by the Table Office the day before yesterday that our Group has still got some time.

Shri Gauri Shankar Kakkar (Fatehpur): 5 minutes have been left. Shri Sivamurthi Swamy may be given that time.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I will give him 5 minutes. Shri Tahir.

श्री मुहम्मद ताहिर (किशनगंज): जनाबे सदर जम्हूरिया का जो एड्रेस है उस सिलसिले में जो शुक्रिये की तजबीज आई है, उसकी में ताईद करता हुआ मैं चन्द बातें अर्ज करना चाहता हूं।

मैंने एड्रेस को सुना है और इसको पढ़ा भी है। इसको पढ़ने के बाद जो इम्प्रेशन मुझपर हुआ वह यही हुआ कि यह एड्रेस कुछ जोरदार नहीं है। ऐसा मालूम होता है कि इस में कुछ दम नहीं है। प्रेजीडेंट का एड्रेस ऐसा होना चाहिये था कि उसका असर सिर्फ इस मुल्क पर न होता बल्कि दुनिया के तमाम मुल्कों पर होता। सब लोगों के कान खड़े हो

जाते कि वाकई हिन्दुस्तान का प्रेजिडेंट ऐसा कह रहा है ।

ऐसी कुछ बातों में नहीं पाता हूँ । मिसाल के तौर पर मैं बतलाना चाहता हूँ कि अभी मेरे दोस्त श्री चक्रवर्ती ने यह बतलाया था कि बंगाल के अन्दर रिफ्यूजीज जो यहां आये हैं ईस्ट पाकिस्तान से, उनका कोई जिक्र नहीं किया गया है । वाकई इसका कोई जिक्र नहीं है । इसी जमाने में ईस्ट पाकिस्तान में पिछले साल वहां की माइनारिटीज पर, जो कि हिन्दू माइनारिटीज हैं, कितने जुल्म हुए, कितनों का खून हुआ, कितने उजड़ गये, कितने बिछुड़ गये और हमारे मुल्क में चले आये, लेकिन हमारे प्रेजिडेंट साहब ने इस का कोई जिक्र नहीं किया है । मैं समझता हूँ कि यह एक ऐसा इश्यू हमारे सामने है कि हम इस पर पाकिस्तान से जंग कर सकते हैं, हम पाकिस्तान के खिलाफ़ लड़ाई कर सकते हैं । यह बहुत बड़ा इश्यू हमारे सामने है । इस के बारे में अगर हमारे प्रेजिडेंट साहब दो चार अल्फाज ऐसे कह देते जिन से पाकिस्तान गवर्नमेंट को यह महसूस करने का मौका मिलता कि नहीं भाई, यह हमारी गलती है, हमें ऐसा नहीं करना चाहिये तो बेहतर होता । लेकिन उन्होंने ऐसी कोई बात अपने बयान में नहीं दी । उन को देना चाहिये था ।

यही नहीं, हमारे अपने मुल्क में जो फसा-बात हुए हैं, जहां की मुसलिम माइनारिटीज का खून बहाया गया है, पिछले साल इन्हीं दिनों में, आप ने सुना होगा, बंगाल और बिहार में, उड़ीसा में कितने लोगों का खून किया गया । क्या हमारे प्रेजिडेंट साहब का यह फर्ज नहीं था कि एक दो अल्फाज कहते कि जो कुछ हुआ वह हुआ, लेकिन आइन्दा ऐसा होगा तो याद रखिये स्टेट्स हमारी जद में है और हम वहां प्रेजिडेंट्स रूल भी कर सकते हैं । अगर इस तरह की बात कहते तो उस का असर होता और वह कुछ एहतियात से काम करे । जहां उन्होंने साउथ में तूफान आने की बजह से

जो नुकसानात हुए और जो मुसीबतजदा हो गये हैं उन के बारे में कहा, वहां उन को यह भी कहना चाहिये था कि पिछले साल जो हाद-सात बिहार, बंगाल और उड़ीसा में हुए या जो रिफ्यूजीज आये हैं उन के रिहैबिलिटेशन के बारे में गौर किया जायेगा । लेकिन वह बात उन्होंने नहीं कही । उन्हें कहना चाहिये था क्योंकि वे सद्र हैं इस मुल्क के । जहां जहां लोगों को तकलीफ़ होती है उन के बारे में कहना चाहिये था, लेकिन अफसोस है कि उन के बारे में उन्होंने कुछ नहीं कहा । हालांकि हजारों की तादाद में अपने मुल्क में लोग बेघर हो गये हैं, बिछुड़ गये हैं, उजड़ गये हैं लेकिन उन के रिहैबिलिटेशन के बारे में क्या इन्तजाम हो रहा है इस के मुताल्लिक उन्होंने कुछ नहीं कहा ।

अभी उन्होंने साउथ में जो लैंग्वेज इश्यू आई उस के बारे में फरमाया है कि ऐसा ऐसा वहां हुआ । यह सही है कि हिन्दी हमारी नैशनल लैंग्वेज हो चुकी है, इस में कोई दो रायें नहीं हो सकती कि इस साल हिन्दी तमाम मुल्क में हमारी नैशनल लैंग्वेज हो गई है, लेकिन इस के करने में और सोचने में जरा दिल में भी गुंजाइस और इन्साफ़ का जज्वा भी पैदा करना चाहिये । जब हिन्दी लैंग्वेज को हम मुल्क की जबान रखने जा रहे हैं तो हमें यह भी सोचना चाहिये कि और दूसरे जवानों जो हैं उन को इस सर जम न से उजाड़ कर न फेंक दें, इसलिये कि हमारे मुल्क में बहुत सी जवानें हैं और उनके बोलने वालों को यह शुबहा हो चुका है कि हिन्दी अगर फैल गई तो जो उन को रोजनल लैंग्वेज है वह खत्म हो जायेगी । इस की वजह भी मैं आप को बतलाता हूँ । मसलन में कहता हूँ कि अपनी गलतियों पर हम कभी निगाह नहीं करते हैं । आप के सामने मैं उन गलतियों को गिना रहा हूँ जिन की वजह से हिन्दी चल नहीं रही है । एक तो यह है कि हिन्दी को चलाने के लिये कोई काम हमने नहीं किया । पन्द्रह वर्ष हो गये हैं, आप बंगाल में जाइये, एक दर्बास्त भी आप हिन्दी में

[श्री मुहम्मद ताहिर]

लिखकर कोट में नहीं दे सकते हैं, समन हिन्दी में जाते हैं तो वापस आ जाते हैं क्योंकि इस लैंग्वेज को जानने वाले इस सूबे में नहीं हैं। वहाँ पर आप ने क्या किया हिन्दी के लिये। इस सिलसिले में मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि जब हिन्दी को आप फँलाना चाहते हैं तो अपनी गलतियों को भी आप देखिये। सब से पहली गलती जो हम ने की है वह यह है कि महात्मा गांधी, ने जो यह फरमाया था और जो आदेश दिया था कि मुल्क के आजाद होने के बाद यहाँ की जवान हिन्दुस्तानी होगी जो हिन्दी और उर्दू दोनों में लिखी जायेगी। हम ने उसे नहीं माना। हिन्दी हमारी जवान हो गई। कांस्टिट्यूशन में प्रोवाइड किया गया कि चौदह और जवान होंगी। उन में एक गरीब जवान उर्दू भी है। आप को याद होगा कि सन् 1958 में कांग्रेस वकिंग कमेटी ने एक रेजोल्यूशन पास किया, उस वक्त डेवर भाई उस के सद्र थे, उन्होंने उर्दू को बिहार, यू० पी० और दिल्ली वगैरह में पूरा हक देने की तजवीज पास की। कांग्रेस वकिंग कमेटी की तजवीज हवा में उड़ जाती है, उस का कोई असर स्टेट्स पर नहीं होता है। स्टेट्स को हिदायत दी गई लेकिन उस का कोई असर नहीं हुआ। उसके बाद सन् 1958 के वकिंग कमेटी के रेजोल्यूशन की रोशनी में होम मिनिस्ट्री का प्रेस नोट निकलता है और उस में तमाम स्टेट्स को हिदायत दी जाती है कि उस रेजोल्यूशन के मुताबिक आप अपने यहाँ उर्दू को पोजीशन दीजिये। उस वक्त इसी हाउस में, जब कि पंत जी यहाँ मौजूद थे, सवाल किया गया तो जबाब दिया गया कि हर स्टेट ने, बिहार और यू० पी० सब ने हमारे प्रेस नोट को मान लिया है। लेकिन अफसोस के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि आज तक उस प्रेस नोट पर निगाह नहीं डाली गई। किसी स्टेट ने उस पर अमल नहीं किया। उसके बाद हमारे महबूब लीडर पंडित जवाहर लाल नेहरू आजिज आ गये और बाद में कहा कि खैर इसे जाने दीजिये। श्री

लैंग्वेज फार्मूला उन्होंने तजवीज किया और कहा कि इस को लाना चाहिये। खैर यह भी सही। यह भी एक बहुत अच्छी चीज थी। मैं समझता हूँ कि अगर वाकई इस को किया जाता तो आज हिन्दी कहीं की चली जाती। सिर्फ यू० पी० में ही फँलती बल्कि और जगह भी फँल जाती। इसकी मिसाल मैं आपके सामने पेश करता हूँ कि जब यू० पी० को श्री लैंग्वेज फार्मूला दिया गया तो लोगों का ख्याल था कि श्री लैंग्वेज में एक अंग्रेजी होगी, दूसरी हिन्दी होगी और उसके साथ उर्दू को भी जगह मिल जायेगी। लेकिन आप को मालूम है कि यू० पी० में तीसरी लैंग्वेज की जगह संस्कृत को दी गई। सन् 1961 का लैंग्वेज सेन्सस है उसे आप उठा कर देखिये। एक भी आदमी यू० पी० में संस्कृत बोलने वाला नहीं है।

एक माननीय सदस्य : क्या एक भी नहीं है।

श्री मुहम्मद ताहिर : एक भी नहीं है। आप सेन्सस रिपोर्टें देख सकते हैं। एक भी आदमी संस्कृत बोलने वाला नहीं है, संस्कृत जवान यू० पी० में कहीं नहीं है।

एक माननीय सदस्य : कहां पर है।

श्रीमती सहोदराबाई राय : बनारस में संस्कृत बोलने वाले पंडित लोग हैं।

श्री मुहम्मद ताहिर : हो सकते हैं, लेकिन सेन्सस रिपोर्ट यही कहती है। अगर हैं तब तो गवर्नमेंट की गलती है।

श्री रामदेवरानन्द : यह क्या आप की शिकायत है कि लोग वहाँ संस्कृत नहीं समझते हैं।

श्री मुहम्मद ताहिर : आप जरा बँटिये। सेन्सस रिपोर्टें देखिये। उससे पता चलेगा कि वहाँ पर संस्कृत है या नहीं। खैर इस को जाने दीजिये।

उर्दू जवान यू० पी० में सेकेन्ड पोजीशन रखती है, लेकिन उस को जगह नहीं दी गई बल्कि संस्कृत को दी गई है। इसके माने यह हैं कि एक जहनियत यह काम कर रही है कि उर्दू जवान को पनपने न दें बल्कि जड़ से उखाड़ कर उसे फेंक दें। यही नहीं, मैं कहता हूँ कि लैंग्वेज सेन्सस अगर आप उठा कर देखेंगे तो आप को अफसोस होगा। काश्मीर में जहां की स्टेट लैंग्वेज उर्दू है उस के बारे में लैंग्वेज सेन्सस की रिपोर्ट है कि एक आदमी भी वहां उर्दू बोलने वाला नहीं है। उर्दू जवान वहां है ही नहीं। छः आदमी सिर्फ हिन्दुस्तानी बोलते हैं, बाकी काश्मीरी बोलते हैं या कोई और जवान बोलते हैं। लेकिन फिर भी वहां की जवान उर्दू है। वह हालत ऐसी है कि कुछ खतरा लोगों के दिलों में पैदा हो गया है और खतरा जाईज है। मैं कहता हूँ कि प्रेजिडेंट साहब को कहना चाहिये था ...

श्री क० ना० तिवारी (बगहा) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, क्या यह भी सेन्सस रिपोर्ट में है कि छः आदमी उर्दू बोलने वाले हैं।

श्री मुहम्मद ताहिर : हिन्दुस्तानी। हिन्दुस्तानी बोलने वाले छः आदमी हैं और उर्दू का एक भी नहीं। इसके अलावा मैं यह कहता हूँ कि उर्दू बोलने वाले जो लोग हैं उन्होंने कानून के मुताबिक, कांस्टिट्यूशन की दफा 347 की तहत, यू० पी० और बिहार के करीब 40 लाख लोगों ने दस्तखत कर के यह मांग की थी कि हमारे यहां रीजनल लैंग्वेज उर्दू को करना चाहिये और उसे जेरे लीडरशिप जनाब डा० जाकिर हुसेन दिया गया। आज कितने बरस हो गये लेकिन उस पर एक लब्ज भी प्रेजिडेंट साहब के यहां से नहीं आया। मद्रास में जरा सा लैंग्वेज इश्यू पर झगड़ा हुआ उसके बारे में कह दिया। यकीनन उन्हें कहना चाहिये था लेकिन जो मुहिम पांच बरस से चालीस लाख लोगों की चल रही है जिसमें हिन्दू मुसलमान

सब शरीक हैं, जिसमें उन्होंने मांग की है जवान के मुताबिक कि बिहार और यू० पी० में उर्दू को रीजनल लैंग्वेज का दर्जा दिया जाय, क्या यह इन्साफ के खिला नहीं है कि प्रेजिडेंट साहब ने उस पर कुछ नहीं कहा उनके वाइस प्रेसिडेंट ने खुद इस चीज को उनके सामने पेश किया। इसलिए अगर नान-हिन्दी स्पीकिंग एरियाज में यह शुबहा पैदा हो कि अगर हिन्दी हमारे इलाकों में फैल जाएगी तो हमारी जवानें खत्म हो जा सकती हैं तो यह गलत नहीं होगा। इसकी वजह यह है कि वे देखते हैं कि उर्दू जो हिन्दी की बहिन कहलाती है और जो उसके साथ साथ पैदा हुई और हिन्दुस्तान में फली फूली उस का तो नामो निशान मिटाने के लिए लोग कोशिश कर रहे हैं, तो फिर तमिल, तेलगू और बंगला जवानों से उनको क्या उन्सियत हो सकती है।

Shri K. N. Tiwary: Sir, on a point of order. He is misrepresenting the whole thing. Urdu is taught in the primary schools, high schools and colleges. He is misrepresenting facts.

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

श्री मुहम्मद ताहिर : मैं तो कहता हूँ कि आप लिग्विस्टिक माइनारिटी कमीशन की रिपोर्ट को उठा कर तो आपको साफ पता चल जाएगा उत्तर प्रदेश के बारे में उस कमीशन ने साफ लिखा है कि प्राइमरी स्कूलों से तो उर्दू करीब करीब गायब हो गयी है। इसके अलावा उत्तर प्रदेश में ऐसा एक भी सेकिंडरी स्कूल नहीं है जहां उर्दू में तालीम दी जाती हो।

एक माननीय सदस्य : यह गलत है।

श्री मुहम्मद ताहिर : जो रिपोर्ट में है वह मैं आप के सामने पेश कर रहा हूँ। मैं कहता हूँ कि आप इन्साफ कीजिए। हम

[श्री मुहम्मद ताहिर]

हिन्दी के खिलाफ नहीं हैं। हम अपने बच्चों को हिन्दी पढ़ाते हैं। लेकिन जो उर्दू हिन्दी के साथ चली और बढ़ी उसको भी जिन्दा रखिए। (Interruptions).

जो हकीकत है वह मैं कह रहा हूँ। मैं कहता हूँ कि उर्दू को उसका स्टेटस क्यों नहीं दिया जाता है। हमारी पार्लियामेंट में कितने ही लोगों ने इस बारे में कहा है और उत्तर प्रदेश में एम० एल० एच० ने मेमोरेण्डम दिए हैं और बिहार में दिए हैं। मैं अपने मोहतरिम प्राइम मिनिस्टर से अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि जिस भाषा के बारे में चालीस साख के करीब दस्तखत का मुहिम सदर के सामने मौजूद है, जिसके लिए आवाजें उठ रही हैं और जिसको आप जानते हैं कि बहु रोजनल लेंग्वेज की हैसियत रखती है, जब आप लेंग्वेज का मामला डिसकस करें तो मेरी दरखास्त है कि उर्दू को भी उसकी पोजीशन दी जाए।

अभी आपने फरमाया तीन लेंग्वेज पालिसी के बारे में। चाहे तीन लेंग्वेज की पालिसी हो या और कोई पालिसी हो, उसको आप हवा में न छोड़ दीजिए। अगर आप तीन लेंग्वेज पालिसी को लाना चाहते हैं, तो मैं अर्ज करता हूँ कि इससे सारे हिन्दुस्तान में हिन्दी फैल जाएगी, लेकिन इस फारमूले को लीगल पोजीशन दीजिए। अगर आप इसको स्टेटस गवर्नमेंट्स पर छोड़ देंगे तो वही होगा जो कि पहले हुआ है और इसको कोई कामयाबी नहीं मिलेगी। अगर आप इसको कामयाब करना चाहते हैं तो इसके लिए बिल लाइए और उसको पास करके इस तीन लेंग्वेज की पालिसी को तमाम हिन्दुस्तान में जारी कीजिए। फिर आप देखेंगे कि अगले दस सालों में हिन्दी कितनी तरक्की करती है। इसी के साथ मैं अर्ज करूँगा कि उर्दू को भी न भूलिएगा।

[श्री मुहम्मद ताहिर (कशन گلج) -

جناب صدر جمہوریہ کا جو ایڈریس ہے اس سلسلے میں جو شکوہ کی تصویر ہے اس کی میں تالیف کرنا ہوا چند باتیں عرض کرنا چاہتا ہوں۔ میں نے ایڈریس کو سنا ہے اور اس کو پڑھا بھی ہے۔ اس کو پڑھنے کے بعد جو امپریشن مجھے ہوا وہ یہی ہوا کہ یہ ایڈریس کچھ زوردار نہیں ہے۔ ایسا معلوم ہوتا ہے کہ اس میں کچھ دم نہیں ہے۔ پریزیڈنٹ کا ایڈریس ایسا ہونا چاہئے تھا کہ اس کا اثر صرف اس ملک پر نہ ہوتا بلکہ دنیا کے تمام ملکوں پر ہوتا۔ سب لوگوں کے کان کھڑے ہو جاتے کہ واقعی ہندوستان کا پریزیڈنٹ ایسا ایسا کہہ رہا ہے۔ ایسی کچھ باتیں میں نہیں پاتا ہوں۔ مثال کے طور پر میں یہ بتانا چاہتا ہوں کہ ایسی میرے دوست شری چکورتی نے یہ بتلایا تھا کہ بلکال کے اندر وہوچھز جو یہاں آئے ہوں ایسے پاکستان سے۔ ان کا کوئی ذکر نہیں کیا گیا ہے۔ واقعی اس کا کوئی ذکر نہیں ہے۔ اس زمانے میں اہست پاکستان میں پچھلے سال وہاں کی مائٹاریٹیز پر - جو کہ شندو مائٹاریٹیز ہیں - کٹلے ظلم ہوئے۔ کٹلوں کا خون ہوا کٹلے اچو کٹے۔ کٹلے بچھز گئے اور ہمارے ملک میں چلے آئے۔ لیکن ہمارے پریزیڈنٹ صاحب نے

س کا کوئی ذکر نہیں کیا ہے - میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ یہ ایک ایسا ایشیو ہمارے سامنے ہے کہ ہم اس پر پاکستان سے جنگ کو سکتے ہیں - ہم پاکستان کے خلاف لڑائی کر سکتے ہیں - یہ بہت بڑا ایشیو ہمارے سامنے ہے - اس کے بارے میں اگر ہمارے پریزیڈنٹ صاحب دو چار الفاظ ایسے کہہ دیتے جن سے پاکستان گورنمنٹ کو یہ محسوس کرنے کا موقع ملتا کہ نہیں بھائی - یہ ہماری غلطی ہے - ہمیں ایسا نہیں کرنا چاہئے تو بہتر ہوتا - لیکن انہوں نے ایسی کوئی بات اپنے بیان میں نہیں دی - ان کو دینا چاہئے تھا -

یہی نہیں - ہمارے بچے ملک میں جو فسادات ہوئے ہوں - جہاں مسلم مائنڈریٹیز کا خون بہایا گیا ہے - پچھلے سال انہیں دنوں میں - آپ نے سنا ہوگا - بنگال اور بہار میں - آریسا میں کتنے لوگوں کا خون کیا گیا - کیا ہمارے پریزیڈنٹ صاحب کا یہ فرض نہیں تھا کہ ایک دو الفاظ کہتے کہ جو کچھ ہوا وہ ہوا - لیکن آئیندہ ایسا ہوگا تو یاد رکھئے اسٹیٹس ہماری زد میں ہیں اور ہم وہاں پریزیڈنٹس رول بھی کر سکتے ہیں - اگر اس طرح کی بات کہتے تو اس کا اثر ہوتا اور وہ کچھ احتیاط سے کام کرتے - جہاں انہوں نے سارنہ میں طوفان آنے کی وجہ سے

جو نقصانات ہوئے اور جو مصیبتزدہ ہو گئے ہیں ان کے بارے میں کہا - وہاں ان کو یہ بھی کہنا چاہئے تھا کہ پچھلے سال جو حادثات بہار - بنگال اور آریسا میں ہوئے یا جو ریفوجیز آئے ہیں ان کے ریفیجیلیٹیشن کے بارے میں غور کیا جائے گا - لیکن وہ بات انہوں نے نہیں کہی - انہیں کہنا چاہئے تھا کیوں کہ وہ صدر ہیں اس ملک کے - جہاں جہاں لوگوں کو تکلیف ہوتی ہے ان کے بارے میں کہنا چاہئے تھا - لیکن افسوس ہے کہ ان کے بارے میں انہوں نے کچھ نہیں کہا - حالانکہ ہزاروں کی تعداد میں اپنے ملک میں لوگ بے گھر ہو رہے ہیں - پچھو گئے ہوں - آج گئے ہیں - لیکن ان کے ریفیجیلیٹیشن کے بارے میں کیا انتظام ہو رہا ہے اس کے متعلق انہوں نے کچھ نہیں کہا - ابھی انہوں نے سارنہ میں جو لینگویج ایشو آئی - اس کے بارے میں فرمایا ہے کہ ایسا ایسا وہاں ہوا - یہ صحیح ہے ہندی ہماری نیشنل لینگویج ہو چکی ہے اس میں کہنی دو رائین نہیں ہو سکتی کہ اس سال ہندی تمام ملک میں ہماری نیشنل لینگویج ہو گئی ہے لیکن اس کے کرنے میں اور سوچنے میں ذرا دل میں لگجائیں اور انصاف کا جذبہ بھی پیدا کرنا چاہیئے - جب ہندی لینگویج کو

[شری محمد طاہر]

ہم ملک کی زبان رکھنے جا رہے ہیں تو ہمیں یہ بھی سوچنا چاہیئے کہ اور دوسری زبانیں جو ہمیں ان کو اس سر زمین سے اکھاڑ کر نہ پھینک دیں اس لئے کہ ہمارے ملک میں بہت سی زبانیں ہیں اور ان کے بولنے والوں کو یہ شبہ ہو چکا ہے کہ ہندی اگر پھیل گئی تو جو ان کی ریجنل لینگویجیجز ہیں وہ ختم ہو جائیں گی اس کی وجہ بھی میں آپ کو بتلانا ہوں۔ مثلاً میں کہتا ہوں کہ اپنی غلطیوں پر ہم کبھی نگاہ نہیں کرتے ہیں۔ آپ کے سامنے میں ان غلطیوں کو گدا رہا ہوں جن کی وجہ سے ہندی چل نہیں رہی ہے۔ ایک تو یہ ہے کہ ہندی کو چلانے کے لئے کوئی کام ہم نے نہیں کیا۔ یلدرہ سال ہو گئے ہیں۔ آپ بدمال میں جائیں۔ ایک درخواست بھی آپ ہندی میں لکھ کر کورٹ میں نہیں دے سکتے ہیں۔ سن ہندی میں جاتے ہیں تو واپس آ جاتے ہیں کیونکہ اس لینگویج کو جاننے والے اس صوبے میں نہیں ہیں۔ وہاں پر آپ نے کہا کہا ہندی کے لئے۔ اس سلسلہ میں میں کہنا چاہتا ہوں کہ جب ہندی کو آپ پھیلانا چاہتے ہیں تو اپنی غلطیوں کو بھی آپ دیکھئے۔ سب سے پہلی غلطی جو ہم نے کی ہے وہ یہ کہ مہاتما گاندھی نے جو یہ فرمایا تھا۔ جو یہ آدیہں دیا تھا۔ کہ ملک

کے آزاد ہونے کے بعد یہاں کی زبان ہندوستانی ہوگی جو ہندی اور اردو دونوں میں لکھی جائے گی۔ ہم نے اسے نہیں مانا۔ ہندی ہماری زبان ہوگی کانستیشن میں پرووائڈ کیا گیا کہ چودہ زبانیں ہونگی۔ ان میں ایک غریب زبان اردو بھی ہے۔ آپ کو یاد ہوگا کہ سنہ ۱۹۵۸ء میں کانگریس ورکنگ کمیٹی نے ایک ریزولوشن پاس کیا۔ اس وقت ڈیپٹی سیکریٹری اس کے صدر تھے۔ انہوں نے اردو کو بہار۔ یو۔ پی۔ اور دہلی وغیرہ میں پورا حق دینے کی تجویز پاس کی۔ کانگریس ورکنگ کمیٹی کی تجویز ہوئی اس میں آج جاتی ہے۔ اس کا کوئی اثر اسٹیٹس پر نہیں ہوتا ہے۔ اسٹیٹس کو ہدایت دی گئی لیکن اس کا کوئی اثر نہیں ہوا۔ اس کے بعد سنہ ۱۹۵۸ء کے ورکنگ کمیٹی کے ریزولوشن کی روشنی میں (Home) ہوم منسٹری کا پریس نوٹ نکلتا ہے اور اس میں تمام اسٹیٹس کو ہدایت دی جاتی ہے کہ اس ریزولوشن کے مطابق آپ اپنے یہاں اردو کو پوزیشن دینیجئے۔ اس وقت اسی ہاؤس میں۔ جب پلٹ جی یہاں موجود تھے۔ سوال کیا گیا تو جواب دیا گیا کہ ہر اسٹیٹ نے بہار اور۔ یو۔ پی۔ سب نے ہمارے پریس نوٹ کو مان لیا ہے۔ لیکن افسوس کے ساتھ کہتا پرتا ہے کہ آج تک اس پریس نوٹ پر نگاہ

نہیں ڈالی گئی - کسی اسٹیٹ نے اس پر عمل نہیں کیا - اس کے بعد ہمارے محبوب لیڈر پلڈت جواہر لال نہرو عاجز آگئے اور بعد میں کہا کہ خیر اسے جانے دیجئے تہوں لینگویجیٹ فارمولا انہوں نے تجویز کیا اور کہا کہ اس کو لانا چاہیئے - خود یہی صحیح - یہ

بھی ایک بہت اچھی چیز تھی - میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ اگر واقعی اس کو کیا جاتا تو آج ہندی کہیں کی کہیں چلی جاتی - صرف یو - پی - میں نہیں پھلتی بلکہ اور جگہ بھی پھیل جاتی - اس کی مثال میں آپ کے سامنے پھس کرتا ہوں کہ جب یو - پی کو تہری لینگویجیٹ فارمولا دیا گیا تو لوگوں کا خیال تھا کہ تہری لینگویجیٹ میں ایک انگریزی ہوگی - دوسری ہندی ہوگی اور اس کے ساتھ اردو کو بھی جگہ مل جائے گی - لیکن آپ کو معلوم ہے کہ یو - پی - میں تیسری لینگویج کی جگہ سنسکرت کو دی گئی جو سنہ ۱۹۶۱ء کا لینگویج سنس ہے اسے آپ اتھا کر دیکھئے - ایک بھی آدمی یو - پی - میں سنسکرت لکھے والا نہیں ہے -

ایک مائذہ سدسہ : کہا ایک بھی نہیں ہے -

شری محمد طاہر : ایک ہی نہیں ہے - آپ سنس ریپورٹ دیکھ سکتے ہیں - ایک ہی آدمی وہاں اردو بولنے والا

والا نہیں ہے - سنسکرت زبان یو - پی - میں کہیں نہیں ہے -

ایک مائذہ سدسہ : کہاں پر ہے -
شری سہو نرا بانی رائے (دسوح) :
ہندس میں سنسکرت بولنے والے پلڈت لوگ ہیں -

شری محمد طاہر : ہو سکتے ہیں لیکن سنس ریپورٹ یہی کہتی ہے - اگر ہوں تب تو گورنمنٹ کی غلطی ہے -
شری رامشورائند : یہ کہا آپ کی شہیت ہے کہ لوگ وہاں سنسکرت نہیں سمجھتے ہوں -

شری محمد طاہر : آپ ذرا بیٹھئے سنس ریپورٹ دیکھئے - اس سے پتہ چلے گا کہ وہاں پر سنسکرت ہے یا نہیں - خیر اس کو جانے دیجئے -

اردو زبان یو - پی - میں سیکنڈ پوزیشن رکھتی ہے - لیکن اس کو جگہ نہیں دی گئی - بلکہ سنسکرت کو دی گئی ہے - اس کے معنی یہ ہیں کہ ایک ذہنیت یہ کام کر رہی ہے کہ اردو زبان کو پٹھیلے نہ دیں بلکہ جڑ سے اکھاڑ کر اسے پھینک دیں - یہی نہیں - میں کہتا ہوں کہ لینگویج سنس اگر آپ اتھا کر دیکھیں گے تو آپ کو افسوس ہوگا - کاشمیر میں جہاں کی اسٹیٹ لینگویج اردو ہے اس کے بارے میں لینگویج سنس کی ریپورٹ ہے کہ ایک آدمی بھی وہاں اردو بولنے والا

[شری محمد طاہر]

نہیں ہے - اردو زبان وہاں ہے ہی نہیں
۶ آدمی صرف ہندوستانی بولتے ہوں -
باقی کشمیری بولتے ہیں یا ٹوٹی اور
زبان بولتے ہیں - لیکن پھر بھی وہاں
کی زبان اردو ہے - یہ حالت ایسی ہے
کہ کچھ خطرہ لوگوں کے دلوں میں
پیدا ہو گیا ہے اور خطرہ جائز ہے -

میں کہتا ہوں کہ پریزیڈنٹ صاحب
کو کہنا چاہئے تھا -

شری ک - نا - تواری (بگھا):
ابادیکس مہودے - کہا یہ بھی
سنس رپورٹ ہے کہ ۶ آدمی اردو
بولنے والے ہیں

شری محمد طاہر: ہندوستانی -
ہندوستانی بولنے والے ۶ آدمی ہیں
اور اردو کا ایک بھی نہیں - اس کے
علاوہ میں یہ کہتا ہوں کہ اردو بولنے
والے جو لوگ ہیں انہوں نے قانون کے
مطابق کانستٹیوشن کی دفعہ ۳۲۷ کے
تحت پو - پی اور بہاو کے قریب ۴۰
لاکھ لوگوں نے دستخط کر کے یہ مانگ کی

تھی کہ ہمارے یہاں ریجنل لیڈنگویج
اردو کو کرنا چاہئے اور اسے زہر لیڈرشپ
جناب ڈاکٹر ذاکر حسین دیا گیا - آپ
کتنے برس ہو گئے لیکن اس پر نیک
لفظ بھی پریزیڈنٹ صاحب کے بیان
میں نہیں آیا - مدراس میں ذرا
لیڈنگویج اشہو پر چھکوا ہوا اس کے بارے
میں کہہ دیا - یہی انہیں کہنا چاہئے

کہا - لیکن جو مہم پانچ برس سے ۴۰
لاکھ لوگوں کی چل رہی ہے جس میں
ہندو مسلمان سبھی شریک ہوں -
جس میں انہوں نے مانگ کی ہے زبان
کے متعلق کہ بہار اور یو - پی - میں اردو
کو ریجنل لیڈنگویج کا درجہ دیا جائے -
کہا یہ انصاف کے خلاف نہیں ہے کہ
پریزیڈنٹ صاحب نے اس پر کچھ
نہیں کہا -

ان کو وائس پریزیڈنٹ نے خود اس
چیز کو ان کے سامنے پیش کیا - اس
لئے اگر نان ہندی اسپیکنگ ایریاز میں
یہ شبہ پیدا ہو کہ اگر ہندی ہمارے
علاقوں میں پھیل جائے گی تو ہماری
زبانیں ختم ہو جا سکتی ہیں - تو یہ
غلط نہیں ہو گا - اس کی وجہ یہ ہے کہ
وہ دیکھتے ہیں کہ اردو جو ہندی کی
بہن کہلاتی ہے اور جو اس کے ساتھ ساتھ
پیدا ہوئی اور ہندوستان میں پھیلی
پھولی - اس کا تو نام نشان مٹانے کے لئے
لوک کوشش کر رہے ہیں - تو پھر عمل -
تیلگو اور بلگلا زبانوں سے ان کو کیا
انسیت ہو سکتی ہے -

Shri K. N. Tiwary: Sir, on a point of order. He is misrepresenting the whole thing. Urdu is taught in the primary schools, high schools and colleges. He is misrepresenting facts.

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

شری محمد طاہر - میں تو کہتا
ہوں کہ آپ انکوستک مائڈارٹھز کمیشن
کی رپورٹ کو اٹھا کر دیکھیں تو آپ کو

صاف پتہ چل جائے گا - اتر پردیش کے بارے میں اس کمیشن نے صاف لکھا ہے کہ پرائمری اسکولوں سے تو اردو قریب قریب غائب ہو گئی ہے اس کے علاوہ اتر پردیش میں ایسا ایک بھی سیکولری اسکول نہیں ہے جہاں اردو میں تعلیم دی جاتی ہو -

ایک مائلنگھہ سدھیہ : یہ غلط ہے -

شری محمد طاہر : جو رپورٹ میں ہے وہ میں آپ کے سامنے پیش کر رہا ہوں - میں کہتا ہوں کہ آپ انصاف کیجئے - ہم ہندی کے خلاف نہیں ہیں - ہم اپنے بچوں کو ہندی پڑھاتے ہیں - لیکن جو اردو ہندی کے ساتھ چلی اور بڑی - اس کو بھی زندہ رکھئے - *(Interruptions)* جو حقیقت ہے وہ میں کہہ رہا ہوں - میں کہتا ہوں کہ اردو کو اس کا اسٹیٹس کہوں نہیں دیا جاتا ہے - ہزاری پارلیمنٹ میں کتنے ہی لوگوں نے اس بارے میں کہا ہے - اور اتر پردیش میں ایم - ایل اینز - نے میمورنڈم دیئے ہیں اور بہار میں دیئے ہیں - میں اپنے مستخدم پرائم منسٹر سے عرض کرنا چاہتا ہوں کہ جس بھاشا کے بارے میں چالہس لاکھ کے قریب دستخط کا محکم صدر کے سامنے موجود ہے - جس کے لئے آوازیں اٹھ رہی ہیں - اور جس کو آپ جانتے ہیں کہ وہ ریجنل لینگویج کی حیثیت رکھتی ہے - جب آپ لینگویج کا معاملہ

تسکس کریں تو میری درخواست ہے کہ اردو کو بھی اس کی پوزیشن دی جائے -

ابھی آپ نے فرمایا تین لینگویج پالیسی کے بارے میں - چاہے تین لینگویج کی پالیسی ہو یا اور کوئی پالیسی ہو - اس کو آپ ہوا میں نہ چھوڑ دیجئے - اگر آپ تین لینگویج پالیسی کو لانا چاہتے ہیں - تو میں عرض کرتا ہوں کہ اس سے سارے ہندوستان میں ہندی پھیل جائے گی - لیکن اس فارمولے کو لیگل پوزیشن دیجئے - اگر آپ اس کو اسٹیٹ گورنمنٹس پر چھوڑ دینگے تو وہی ہوگا جو کہ پہلے ہوا ہے اور اس کو کوئی کامیابی نہیں ملے گی - اگر آپ اس کو کامیاب کرنا چاہتے ہیں تو اس کے لئے بل لائیے - اور اس کو پاس کر کے اس تین لینگویج کی پالیسی کو تمام ہندوستان میں جاری کیجئے - پھر آپ دیکھیں گے کہ اگلے دس سالوں میں ہندی کتنی ترقی کرتی ہے - اس کے ساتھ میں عرض کروں گا کہ اردو کو بھی نہ بھولیئے گا -

श्री शिवमूर्ति स्वामी (कोपल) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय भारतवर्ष में बहुत से प्रश्न हर साल बढ़ रहे हैं। हमारे प्रधान मंत्री अन्य मंत्रिगण तथा पार्लियामेंट के सदस्यों की यह जिम्मेवारी है कि वे इन का मुकाबला डटकर और बिल्कुल शुद्ध भावना से करें।

आज हमें चीन का मुकाबला करना है तो हमें महात्मा गांधी का बोध याद आता है।

[श्री शिवमूर्ति स्वामं:]

जब तक हम इस राष्ट्र की एकता को कायम नहीं रखेंगे, जब तक एक मजबूत राष्ट्रीय सरकार नहीं बनाएंगे तब तक हम चीन के हमले को दूर नहीं कर सकेंगे। यह दलबन्दी की सरकार आज भारतवर्ष में इमरजेंसी के समय काम नहीं दे सकती है।

भाषा के प्रश्न पर मुझे बहुत से विचार आपके सामने रखने हैं लेकिन में केवल दो चार मसलों पर ही आपका ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूँ।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, भाषा के मामले में जिम्मेदारी केवल शासन की या मंत्रिगण की ही नहीं है, भाषा का सम्बन्ध तो सारी जनता से है यह तो सारी जनता का प्रश्न है हमें इसे इस दृष्टि से देखना चाहिए।

हमें खुशी होती यदि लोग अपनी प्रादेशिक भाषाओं को उनका उचित स्थान दिलाने के लिये झगड़ा करते। यदि लोग कन्नड़ को, तामिल को तेलगू आदि भाषाओं को उनका उचित स्थान दिलाने के लिए झगड़ा करते और कहते कि हम अपनी इन्हीं भाषाओं में पत्र व्यवहार करेंगे तो हमें खुशी होती। लेकिन मुझे अफसोस है कि लोग अंग्रेजी को इस देश की परमानेंट आफिशियल लैंग्वेज बनाने के लिए नड़ते हैं।

भारत एक राष्ट्र है। इस राष्ट्र को जिन्दा रखने के लिये हमें अपनी संस्कृति को जिन्दा रखने के लिये अपनी भाषा की आवश्यकता है। जब तक अंग्रेजी यहां की राजभाषा रहेगी हमारा देश ऊंचा नहीं जा सकेगा। आज से चालीस साल पहले महात्मा जी ने हिन्दी के बारे में जो नीति निर्धारित की उसको तमाम लोग मानते हैं। संविधान में भी जो 14 भाषाएं मानी गयी हैं उन में अंग्रेजी का स्थान नहीं है। अगर आप अंग्रेजी को दो चार साल रखना चाहते हैं तो और बात है लेकिन उस को भारतीय भाषाओं की सूची में शामिल नहीं किया जा सकता।

इस बारे में मैं आपके सामने कर्नाटक के प्रसिद्ध कवि के विचार रखना चाहता हूँ जिनको राष्ट्रीय कवि का प्रशस्ति पत्र मिल चुका है। 26 जनवरी से हिन्दी के बारे में गड़बड़ चली है और उन्होंने 27 जनवरी को अपने यहां के चीफ मिनिस्टर से और दूसरे मंत्रिगण से तथा विधान सभा के सदस्यों से कहा था :

यानी ऐसे लोग जो देश के शत्रु हैं जिनके पास जरा भी देशभक्ति नहीं है, जिन के हाथ में शासन है जिस तरह से भागवत में कथा है कि बच्चों को दूध देने के बहाने विष दे कर मार दिया वे लोग वैसे ही अंग्रेजी को स्कूलों में कम्पलसरी करके कर रहे हैं। वे बच्चों की घुटटी में अंग्रेजी को डाल कर लाखों बच्चों की जिन्दगी को बरबाद कर रहे हैं। इस को हम बरदाश्त नहीं कर सकते।

वह आखिर में कहते हैं कि अंग्रेजी को ऐच्छिक भाषा बना दिया जाए ताकि जो सीखना चाहें सीख सकें, पर शिक्षा का माध्यम कन्नड़ भाषा होनी चाहिए। उनका कहना है कि हिन्दी हमारी राष्ट्र भाषा रहनी चाहिए।

जब तक आप अंग्रेजी को ऐच्छिक नहीं बनायेंगे तो यह दस या पन्द्रह साल में भी नहीं जा सकेगी। इस बारे में चीफ मिनिस्टर लोगों ने निर्णय लिया है। लेकिन अगर इस समय जिन लोगों ने झगड़ा किया उनकी इच्छानुसार निर्णय लिया गया तो उनको उत्साह हो जाएगा कि वायलेंस करने से हमारी बात दिल्ली में सुनी जाती है। अगर आप अंग्रेजी को कुछ समय के लिए स्थान देना चाहते हैं तो उस में मुझे आपत्ति नहीं है लेकिन मेरा कहना है कि इस मौके पर कोई सहूलियत न दें।

नेहरू जी ने आफिशियल लैंग्वेज बिल को सारे चीफ मिनिस्टरों की राय ले कर पास किया था। उन्होंने साफ कहा था कि

राज्यों में आप चाहें अपनी राज्य कं भाषा का इस्तेमाल करें या चाहें तो अंग्रेजी का इस्तेमाल करें। उन्होंने हिन्दी को कम्पलसरी नहीं किया। अब उस कानून को बदलने का अर्थ नेहरू जी पर अविश्वास करना होगा। वह कानून इसी हाउस ने पास किया था। इस लिए मैं समझता हूँ कि आप चाहे कोई आश्वासन दे सकते हैं या गवर्नमेंट का कोई नोटिफिकेशन निकाल सकते हैं लेकिन संविधान में यह संशोधन करना कि अंग्रेजी को 15 साल तक या अनिश्चित समय तक आफिशियल भाषा के रूप में रखा जाए मैं समझता हूँ कि देश के लिए अच्छा न होगा।

उपध्यक्ष महोदय : माननीय सदस्य का समय समाप्त हो रहा है।

श्री शिवमूर्ति स्वामी : आखिर में मैं उनके अन्त के कुछ शब्द सदन के सामने पढ़ देना चाहता हूँ :—

मैं एक कवि हूँ मैं आप को क्या समझा सकता हूँ? मंत्रिगण और शासक पार्टी के जो सदस्य बैठे हैं उन से मैं इतनी ही अपील करता हूँ :—

इसका ट्रांसलेशन मैं समझता हूँ कि लोगों को मुन लेना चाहिए कि वे क्या कहते हैं। जो मैसूर यनिवर्सिटी के वाइस चांसलर भी हैं वे कहते हैं कि अंग्रेजी को कम्पलसरी करने के बाद वहाँ पर गवर्नमेंट ने एक सरकुलर निकाला है कि युनिवर्सिटी में कोई भी प्राफेसर कन्नड़ भाषा का प्रयोग न करे वह किसी दूसरी भाषा में अपनी बात न कहे। उसे सिर्फ अंग्रेजी में ही अपनी बात करनी चाहिये। यह अजीब सरकुलर है। क्या उनकी मातृ भाषा कन्नड़ इतनी गरीब है हिन्दी इतनी गरीब है कि उन को अल्फाज ही नहीं मिल सकते? उस के बारे में वे कहते हैं कि यह जो अंग्रेजी को आप ने कम्पलसरी कर दिया है उसकी बजह से जो लाखों बच्चे करीब 60 परसेंट

बच्चे नाकामयाब हो गये तो उस के लिए कौन जिम्मेदार है मंत्रिगण जिम्मेदार है, मुख्य मंत्री जिम्मेदार है या शासक दल जिम्मेदार है मुझे बतलाया जाय? हर साल जो इनकी जिदगी बब दि हो रही है यह आखिर क्या बात है? दरअसल हो यह रहा है कि जो शहरों में रहते हैं और जिनके बच्चे कोनवेंट्स और क्रिश्चियन स्कूलों में अंग्रेजी अच्छे तरीके से पढ़ते हैं, उन के बच्चों की तो सर्विसेज महफूज हो जायेंगी लेकिन जो ग्राम गरीब जनता है उनके बच्चे सर्विसेज में नहीं आ पायेंगे। आप किसी गांव में जाकर देखिए कि यह दो फीसदी जो अंग्रेजी सीखने वाले हैं इन लोगों की अपनी स्वाय साधक डिमांड होगी जब वे अंग्रेजी की वकालत करते हुए हिन्दी और मातृभाषा का बिल्कुल प्रयोग नहीं करना चाहते हालांकि हर कोई जानता है कि हमारे बच्चों को अंग्रेजी में दक्षता प्राप्त करने के लिए बहुत समय लगेगा और बहुत सिर पटकना पड़ेगा लेकिन उन्हें तो बस अपना उल्लू सीधा करने से काम है। इसके विपरीत कन्नड़ जानने वाला बड़ी आसानी से हिन्दी सीख सकता है। खाली क्रियापद बदल देने से हिन्दी ठीक तरह से उसकी बन जायेगी। दोनों में कोई विशेष फर्क नहीं है।

इसके बांद में दो, चार शब्द और कह देना चाहता हूँ और वह यह है कि आप चीफ मिनिस्टर्स की राय लेकर कोई पांच या दस साल के बाद डेट फिक्स कर दें कि उस दिन से अंग्रेजी को हटा कर रीजनल लैंग्वेज को उसका उचित स्थान दिया जाय और अंग्रेजी के स्थान पर उसको बिठाया जाय। इसके अलावा केन्द्र के लिए हिन्दी को राज भाषा माना जाय और पूरे तौर से माना जाय इसके सिवाय और कोई बात नहीं होनी चाहिए।

इसके अलावा मैं बहुत संक्षेप में यह भी निवेदन करना चाहूँगा कि कुछ हमारी

[श्री शिवमूर्ति स्वामी]

समस्याएं काफ़ी असों से बिना हल हुए पड़ी हुई हैं। जब मैं यहां सेशन में आ रहा था तो मुझे लोगों ने कहा कि स्वामी जी ज़रा देखिये मद्रास वालों ने भाषा के ऊपर शोर मचा कर और दंगा फिसाद करके केन्द्रीय सरकार को घबड़ा दिया और भारत सरकार को इसको लेकर बड़ी चिन्ता हो गयी और वहां पर बड़ा सोच विचार चल गया तो क्या हमारा जो नदी के पानी का झगड़ा है वह क्या इसके बारे में मूवमेंट करने से सरकार चेतगी और उस पर कोई इनक्वायरी कमेटी बैठाने को राजी हो जायगी। एक लाख पचास एकड़ जमीन में गन्ना पैदा हुआ है उस के लिए हम क्या मांगते हैं? हम पैसा नहीं मांगते, हम तो केन्द्रीय सरकार से केवल लाइसेंस मांगते हैं। इसी तरह से आयरन और की जो खानें हैं उनके लिए हम पैसा नहीं बल्कि वहां पर आयरन और की फैक्ट्री कायम करने के लिए लाइसेंस मांगते हैं लेकिन इसके लिए वहां लाइसेंस देने के लिए केन्द्रीय सरकार तैयार नहीं है। वे लांग पूछते हैं कि स्वामी जी तमाम एम० पीज० से मिल कर रिप्रेजेंटेशन करने पर भी नाकामयाब रहे हैं और क्या हम कभी नदी के पानी को इस्तेमाल में ला सकेंगे? कभी तुंगभद्रा का डैम बना कर हम गरीब जनता को राहत दे सकेंगे और क्रह्त को खत्म करने में सफल भी हो सकेंगे या नहीं? क्या आप चाहते हैं कि हम बिल्कुल मायूस हो जायं और मद्रास से मिल कर सेंटर से अलग हो जायें? इस स्थिति का क्या आते ही मेरा तो दिल कांप जाता है। इसलिए मैं चाहता हूं कि भारत सरकार तत्काल इन समस्याओं की ओर विशेष ध्यान ओह उनको राहत पहुंचाये।

हम प्रादेशिक स्तर पर प्रादेशिक भाषा को अंग्रेजी की जगह दिलायें। जहां तक हिन्दी का सवाल है अंग्रेजी को खत्म करके हिन्दी को केन्द्र में उसका उचित स्थान

दिलाया जाये। बस इतना कह कर मैं अपना स्थान ग्रहण करता हूं।

श्री ह० च० सोप (सिंहभूम) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण में जो बहुत सारी बातें कही गयी हैं सब के साथ तो मैं सहमत नहीं हो सकता हूं। राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने अभिभाषण में यह ठीक ही कहा है कि देश की खाद्य स्थिति चिन्ताजनक है। लेकिन उनका यह कहना कि वह सुधरती जा रही है विशेष कर नई फसल के बाद मैं समझता हूं कि राष्ट्रपति को इस सम्बंध में जो इतिला दी गई है उससे उनको गलतफहमी हो गई है। वास्तविक बात तो यह है कि पिछले सालों में जहां चावल के दाम 17 और 18 रुपये मन होते थे नई फसल आने के बाद भी इस वक्त चावल के दाम 21 व 22 रुपये मन हैं। इसी तरह से सरसों के तेल के बारे में मैं बतलाऊं कि पिछले साल इस समय सरसों के तेल का भाव जहां डेढ़ रुपये और दो रुपये प्रति सेर था वहां इस वक्त भी सरसों के तेल का भाव 4 रुपये से लेकर 5 रुपये तक है। पता नहीं है कि आगे चल कर सात, आठ महीने बाद क्या स्थिति होगी? इसलिए राष्ट्रपति जी ने जो यह कहा कि चीजों के दामों में कमी आ गई है यह गलत बात है।

राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने अभिभाषण में कृषि उत्पादन पर जोर देने के बारे में जो कहा है वह ठीक है और मैं उस से पूरी तरह उनसे सहमत हूं। लेकिन मैं यह नहीं समझ सकता हूं कि क्या कारण है कि बिहार राज्य में कपास उपजाओ स्कीम चालू की गई है हालांकि बिहार राज्य के दक्षिणी हिस्से में जहां हमारा औद्योगिक विकास बढ़ जोरों से हो रहा है, आवादी भी तेजी से बढ़ रही है जहां अन्न की बड़ी कमी पड़ती जा रही है उस जगह पर बिहार गवर्नमेंट ने यह नया कपास का धंधा शुरू किया है।

प्रकृत इस बात की थी कि उस इलाके में बजाय कपास के बाजरे, मूंगफली और इसी तरह के दूसरे अनाजों की खेती की जाती। उस इलाके में जहां अनाज की बड़ी कमी है उस जगह पर कपास उपजाने की स्कीम लागू करना मैं समझता हूँ कि यह हमारे देश के रिमोमेंज का दुरुपयोग हुआ है। सब से ज्यादा हैरानी तो इस बात के कारण होती है कि राज्य ने अपनी कपास उपजाओ स्कीम के सम्बन्ध में केन्द्रीय सरकार से स्वीकृति ले ली थी। जहां हमारी केन्द्रीय सरकार खाद्य समस्या के बारे में इतनी परेशान व चिन्तित हों वहां केन्द्रीय सरकार बिहार को इस बात की स्वीकृति दे और उस इलाके में कपास उपजाए यह बड़ी गलत और मूर्खतापूर्ण बात है।

एक और चीज उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं आप के जगह केन्द्रीय सरकार को कह देना चाहता हूँ कि कृषि उत्पादन के संबंध में केन्द्रीय सरकार की जो अलग अलग मिनिसट्रियां हैं वे निचले स्तर में कृषि उत्पादन में सहयोग नहीं देती हैं बल्कि कई जगहों में तो देखा गया है कि वे कृषि उत्पादन के प्रयत्नों का विरोध भी करती हैं। ऐसा मैं क्यों कहता हूँ? इस की एक मिसाल यह है कि हमारी उसाउथ ईस्टर्न रेलवे, में चक्रधरपुर डिवीजन में चक्रधरपुर में ब्राह्मनी नहर की स्कीम है। उस नहर की स्कीम के अनुसार रेलवे लाइन के एक तरफ से दूसरी तरफ नहर वाले पानी ले जाना चाहते थे और पब्लिक की मांग है लेकिन रेलवे वाले अब तक इस को पार करने नहीं दे रहे हैं। इस सम्बन्ध में कई दरख्वास्तें साउथ ईस्टर्न रेलवे के अधिकारियों को दी गईं लेकिन अभी तक उनका कोई भी नतीजा नहीं निकला है और अभी तक इस लाइन को इस पार से उस पार पानी ले जाने की मंजूरी नहीं दे रहे हैं और नहर का पानी बरबाद जा रहा है। इसी तरह से एक और दूसरी स्कीम है, रोरो इरीगेशन स्कीम, वहां भी

रेलवे अधिकारियों के कठोर विरोध के कारण वह नहर बेकार पड़ी हुई है। इस का नतीजा यह हो रहा है कि नहर के जिस पानी का उपयोग कृषि-उत्पादन में हो सकता था, वह सारा बेकार चला जा रहा है। उसी तरह मैं समझता हूँ कि केन्द्रीय सरकार की दूसरी मिनिसट्रीज भी कृषि के उत्पादन में सहयोग नहीं करती हैं।

हमारे अपने क्षेत्र में चाइना-क्ले और लोहे की बड़ी बड़ी खदानें चलती हैं। माइनिंग के नियम के अनुसार जब चाइना-क्ले और लोहे की खदानें खत्म हो जाती हैं, तो उस ऊबड़-खाबड़ जमीन को समतल कर देना चाहिए, ताकि वहां पर बाद में कृषि-उत्पादन हो सके। मगर अफसोस है कि खनिज और हैवी इंडस्ट्रीज की मिनिसट्री खदानों के मालिकों पर दबाव नहीं डालती है, जिस के परिणामस्वरूप वह हजारों एकड़ जमीन बेकार पड़ी हुई है, जिस को कृषि-उत्पादन में लगा सकते थे। इसलिए केन्द्रीय सरकार से मेरी दरख्वास्त है कि रेलवे मिनिसट्री और खनिज विभाग

श्री हुकम चन्द कछवाय : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मेरा एक व्यवस्था का प्रश्न है। सदन में इतने महत्व की बहस चल रही है, लेकिन यहां पर कोई कैबिनेट मिनिसटर नहीं है।

श्री ओंकार लाल बरवा (कोटा) : कोई कैबिनेट मिनिसटर होना चाहिए।

श्री हुकम चन्द कछवाय : यहां पर इतने महत्व की बहस चल रही है और कोई भी कैबिनेट मिनिसटर नहीं है। अध्यक्ष महोदय का फंसला है कि सदन में कोई कैबिनेट मिनिसटर होना चाहिए।

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: No Cabinet-rank Minister is there.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: It is not necessary to have a Cabinet Minister here; one of the Ministers will be here.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: There, I am sorry, I have got to question your ruling. The Speaker clearly, categorically and unequivocally said on the opening day of the debate on the President's Address that there must be at least one, possibly two or three, Cabinet-rank Minister present.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I have looked into the records. He has not said that there should be a Cabinet Minister.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: No,

श्री ह० च० सोय : मैं कह रहा था कि मैं आप के जरिये से केन्द्रीय सरकार से विनती करूंगा कि कृषि-उत्पादन में वृद्धि करने के लिए जो प्रयत्न हो रहे हैं, केन्द्रीय सरकार की अन्य मिनिस्ट्रीज उन का विरोध करने के बजाये उन में सहयोग करें। मैं यह बात विशेष कर रेलवे मंत्रालय के बारे में कहना चाहता हूँ, जो हमारे अपने क्षेत्र में नहरों को पूरा करने में बाधा उपस्थित कर रही है। उसी तरह से खनिज मंत्रालय से भी यही निवेदन है।

मैं सच्चे दिल से राष्ट्रपति जी को अभिवादन देता हूँ कि उन्होंने चौथी पंच-वर्षीय योजना के सम्बन्ध में सही संकेत दिया है। उन्होंने कहा है कि जब आगे हमारे देश का संतुलित विकास होगा, तो रोजगार की वृद्धि होगी। यह बड़ी अच्छी बात है, लेकिन शायद उन्हें पता नहीं है कि तृतीय पंच-वर्षीय योजना के पूरा होने तक 120 लाख बेरोजगार पड़े रहेंगे। सब से ज्यादा अन्नसोस इस बात का है कि यद्यपि हमारे पूर्वी हिन्दुस्तान में इतना औद्योगिक विकास हो रहा है, बड़े बड़े कारखाने बन रहे हैं, रांची की हैवी इंजीनियरिंग फ़ैक्टरी, राउरकेला का कारखाना और दामोदर घाटी जैसी बड़ी योजनाएँ चल रही हैं, लेकिन हमारे यहां के लोगों को

रोजगार नहीं मिलता है। अभी यु० पी० के एक माननीय सदस्य ने इस बात की शिकायत की कि चूंकि यु० पी० के पूर्वी जिलों में उद्योगों का विकास नहीं हो रहा है, इसलिए वहां पर लोगों को रोजगार नहीं मिलता है। लेकिन हमारे यहां बिहार में शिकायत इस बात की है कि बड़े बड़े कारखाने तो खूल गए हैं, मगर वहां के लोगों को रोजगार नहीं मिलता है। अपने क्षेत्र में वह बेतरह उपेक्षित है।

मैं आपको बताना चाहता हूँ कि दामोदर घाटी योजना को पूरा करने में करीब चौदह हजार लोगों को अपने घर और जमीन से उजाड़ा गया, मगर उनमें से केवल तीन हजार कुटुम्बों को अभी तक बसाया गया है। बाकी सात हजार कुटुम्बों का क्या हुआ, दामोदर घाटी योजना वालों को इस बात की फ़िक्र नहीं है। उसी तरह से रांची में करीब दो सौ गांवों के लोगों को हटाया गया। रांची की हैवी इंजीनियरिंग योजना पूरी हो गई है और उसका उत्पादन शुरू हो गया है। मैं सरकार से पूछना चाहता हूँ कि उन उजाड़े गए लोगों का पुनर्वास करने की क्या व्यवस्था गई है। क्या हमारे देश के औद्योगिक विकास और देश की समृद्धि की यही क्रम होगा? हम आशा करेंगे कि इन विकास कार्यों में जो लोग उजाड़े जाते हैं, वे भी देश की समृद्धि में शामिल होंगे।

मेरा विचार यह है कि इस सम्बन्ध में डेबर कमीशन ने एक बहुत ही उपयुक्त सुझाव दिया था। उसका कहना था कि इस तरह के बड़े बड़े कारखानों के बनाने में और बड़ी खदानों के स्थापित करने में जो लोग उजाड़े जाते हैं, उनके पुनर्वास की व्यवस्था उन्हीं बड़े कारखानों और खदानों के खर्च में जानी चाहिए। डेबर कमीशन का यह सुझाव बहुत ही सुन्दर और मौजूं था। मैं यह आशा करूंगा कि चौथी पंचवर्षीय योजना को तैयार करने में प्लानिंग कमीशन इस बात का ध्यान रखेगा कि बड़े कारखानों और खदानों को बनाने में

जो हजारों लोग अपने घरों और जमीनों से उजाड़े गये हैं, और होंगे उनको फिर से बसाने की स्कीम भी पंच-वर्षीय योजना में सम्मिलित की जानी चाहिए, अन्यथा यह सारी समृद्धि और विकास उन लोगों के लिए बर्बादी होकर रह जायेगा ।

इस साल के अभिभाषण में राष्ट्रपति ने प्रथम बार हरिजनों और आदिवासियों की समस्याओं के बारे में सरकार के सजग होने का संकेत किया है । इस बात से हमें खुशी है, मगर मैं चाहता हूँ कि इस बात पर भी विचार किया जाये कि हम ने अपने संविधान में हरिजनों और आदिवासियों के प्रति जो गारण्टी दी है कि एक निश्चित समय तक उन लोगों को संरक्षण और रिजर्वेशन दिया जाये, ताकि उनका आर्थिक और सामाजिक विकास इतना हो जाये कि उन को विशेष संरक्षण की जरूरत न हो, इन 17 बरसों में हम उस उद्देश्य की पूर्ति की दिशा में कहां तक आगे बढ़ पाए हैं । इसकी सबसे नई ज़िन्दा मिसाल डेबर कमीशन की रिपोर्ट है । जो लोग उस रिपोर्ट को पढ़ेंगे, उन को मालूम होगा कि हरिजनों और आदिवासियों को हमने जो गारण्टी दी, उस को पूरा करने में हम बहुत बड़ी हद तक नाकामयाब हुए हैं ।

हाल ही में लैंग्वेज के सम्बन्ध में आदरणीय पंडित जी के एशोरेंस को पूरा करने के प्रश्न को लेकर देश में इतना बड़ा हंगामा हुआ । लेकिन हरिजनों और आदिवासियों के प्रति हमारे संविधान में जो पवित्र गारण्टी दी गई है, उस को पूरा न करने के प्रश्न पर रिपब्लिकन पार्टी की ओर से इतना बड़ा आन्दोलन चला, उसके सम्बन्ध में सरकार की ओर से कोई ध्यान क्यों नहीं दिया गया? क्या इसके माने ये हैं कि अगर किसी आन्दोलन में हिंसा और फ़ोर्स का उपयोग हो, तभी सरकार उस की बात सुनेगी ? यह कोई अच्छी बात नहीं है । इसलिए मैं सरकार से निवेदन करूंगा कि डेबर कमीशन के जितने भी सुझाव

हैं उन को पूरा करने के सम्बन्ध में चौथी पंच-वर्षीय योजना में इन्तजाम किया जाये ।

पिछले साल यू० पी० विधान सभा में एक माननीय सदस्य ने इस बात की मांग की थी कि मिजापुर डिवीजन में आदिवासियों की 22 ऐसी जातियां हैं, जिनकी ओर से यह मांग की गई थी कि उन को आदिवासियों की गिनती में शुमार किया जाये स्कालरशिप्स और दूसरी सुविधाओं के सम्बन्ध में । बिहार और दूसरे राज्यों में जो जातियां आदिवासियों की गिनती में आती हैं, वे यू० पी० में आदिवासियों में सम्मिलित नहीं की गई हैं । इसका नतीजा यह है कि स्कालरशिप्स तथा दूसरी सुविधाएँ उनको नहीं मिल रही हैं । मैं दरखास्त करता हूँ केन्द्रीय सरकार से कि उनकी इस मांग पर विचार हो और उन्हें आदिवासियों में शुमार किया जाए ।

श्री रामेश्वरानन्द : यथे याम् वाचम् कल्याणी मात्रदानि जनेभ्य ब्रह्मराजन्याभ्याम् शुद्राय च चार्याय च ।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, सृष्टि की उत्पत्ति के साथ साथ परमेश्वर ने मानव को वेदों का ज्ञान दिया और वेदों के ज्ञान के साथ साथ बोलने के लिए उसको भाषा दी । भगवान् ने जब संसार को पैदा किया तो साथ ही उनको बोलने के लिए वैदिक वाणी दी और इस वैदिक वाणी का प्रचलन सृष्टि की उत्पत्ति से महाभारत पर्यन्त सारे संसार में रहा । सब लोगों की एक ही भाषा थी । दुर्भाग्य इस देश का कि महाभारत की लड़ाई के बाद संसार में चक्रवर्ती राजा तो क्या करते, भारत भी अखण्ड न रह सका, अपने आप को स्वतन्त्र न रख सका ।

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: Sir, I may now refer to the point of order. It was on Friday last—19th February—when I raised the point of order. Mr. Speaker was in the Chair I said:

[Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath].

"On a point of order, Sir. I am sure you will agree that when the President's Address is being debated by the House, there should be more than or at least one or two Cabinet Ministers present in the House. There is not one single Cabinet Minister in the Treasury Benches . . ."

(There is not one single Cabinet Minister at the moment in the Treasury Benches.

"It is empty. There is profound vacancy in the Treasury Benches. It is too bad. Government is totally indifferent."

Then the Speaker said: "I agree there."

Now, apparently, to my mind, you have—I would not say you have taken shelter—tried to interpret the Speaker's subsequent word when he said "Ministers". But it must be viewed with reference to the antecedent. (Interruption). The Speaker's reference to Ministers later on has obviously a reference to the world 'Ministers' antecedent to it. He said "I agree there."

श्री हुकम चन्द कछवाय : बहुत खेद की बात है कि कोई भी मंत्री यहाँ उपस्थित नहीं है। जो मंत्री लोग हैं वे राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण पर जो बहस हो रही है, उसकी उपेक्षा कर रहे हैं।

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I do not agree with your remark.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: Let me raise it tomorrow. Let us have it tomorrow. How can you say you differ from it? The Speaker has said, "I agree". How could you say, Sir, you disagree?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I have got a letter from the Speaker,

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: Please read it.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: You can raise it tomorrow.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: All right: I will do it tomorrow. Since you have asked me, I will raise it tomorrow.

श्री रामे.वरानन्द : मैं यह कह रहा था कि बहुत लम्बे समय तक एक ही भाषा चलती रही और संसार के लोग एक बहुत समय तक एक ही मूत्र में बंधे रहे। आज दक्षिण और उत्तर का प्रश्न खड़ा करके खास तौर पर संसार के पढ़े लिखे लोगों को धोखा दिया जा रहा है। यह कहा जा रहा है कि दक्षिण के लोगों पर हिन्दी लादी जा रही है। मैं इसका एक विवरण देना चाहता हूँ।

1962 के चुनाव में सौ में 75 स्त्री पुरुष अनपढ़ थे सारे देश में। उनको अंग्रेजी से बोर्ड मोह नहीं। सबसे अधिक पढ़े लिखे लोग हिन्दी के थे। सौ में इस समय भी पचास प्रतिशत के लगभग जो पढ़े लिखे लोग हैं वे केवल अपनी प्रान्तीय भाषायें जानते हैं। हमने कभी यह नहीं कहा कि प्रान्तीय भाषायें पनप सकती हैं, जबकि दक्षिण के नाम पर जो इस सरकार के द्वारा मिथ्या प्रचार किया जा रहा है, उसका अन्त हो। मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि प्रान्तीय भाषायें तभी पनप सकेंगी जबकि अंग्रेजी यहाँ से चली जाए। प्रान्तों की सरकारी कामकाज की भाषा जब अंग्रेजी नहीं रहेगी। हम मानते हैं कि वहाँ पर प्रान्तीय भाषाओं का प्रयोग होना चाहिये, अंग्रेजी के एक शब्द का भी प्रयोग नहीं होना चाहिये। जो कठिनाई

देहातों के लोगों को, उत्तर के विद्यार्थियों को पड़ती है, वही कठिनाई दक्षिण के लोगों को, वहां के विद्यार्थियों को भी पड़ती है। हिन्दी जो लोग नहीं जानते हैं उनको अंग्रेजी पढ़ने में उतनी ही कठिनाई होनी है जितनी कि हिन्दी वाले जो लोग हैं, उनको पढ़ने में होती है। आप सारे देश के विद्यार्थी वर्ग की इस बारे में राय ले कर देख लें। यह एक प्रकार से उन चालाक लोगों की ही बात है, उन छद्म व्यक्तियों की ही बात है जो राज्य के ऊंचे से ऊंचे पदों पर इस समय बैठे हुए हैं। मैं पूछता हूँ कि दक्षिण के अनपढ़ लोगों को क्या अंग्रेजी से कोई प्यार है, तेलंगू, तमिल, गुजराती आदि बोलने वाले जो लोग हैं, उनको क्या अंग्रेजी में कोई किसी किसिम का प्यार है? उनको इससे कोई प्यार नहीं है। अंग्रेजी किसी भी प्रान्त की मातृभाषा नहीं है। किसी भी प्रान्त की मातृभाषा न होते हुए भी उसके लिए आन्दोलन जो किये जा रहे हैं यह आश्चर्य की ही बात है।

मुझे राजा जी पर आश्चर्य हुआ और मैं सोचने लग गया कि क्या आज उनकी बुद्धि सही है या उस समय सही थी जब वह यहां पर राष्ट्रपति के पद पर थे या मद्रास में मुख्य मंत्री थे। हिन्दुओं में एक कहावत है कि अगर कोई व्यक्ति साठ वर्ष से ऊपर का हो जाता है तो वह सठिया जाता है, फिर उसकी अक्ल ठीक नहीं रहती है क्या यह कहावत उन पर लागू नहीं होती है, मैं आप से पूछता हूँ? जिस समय वह राष्ट्रपति के पद पर बैठे थे उस समय भी हिन्दी के बारे में उन्होंने कोई आपत्ति की थी? जब वह मद्रास के मुख्य मंत्री बने थे, उस समय भी हिन्दी पर उन्होंने कोई आपत्ति की थी? समझ में नहीं आता है कि आज उनकी बुद्धि को क्या हो गया है? मैं समझता हूँ कि यह कुर्सी की वरामात है। जब कोई व्यक्ति कुर्सी

पर रहता है तब तो सही चलता है लेकिन जब कुर्सी पर नहीं रहता है तो वह इस प्रकार की बातें करने लग जाता है।

हम नहीं चाहते कि किसी पर हिन्दी लादी जाए। लेकिन मैं पूछता हूँ कि हिन्दी तो न लादी जाए परन्तु जो हिन्दी भाषी लोग हैं पचास प्रतिशत हिन्दी भाषी लोग हैं, उन पर अंग्रेजी क्यों लादी जाए? क्या इसका कोई भी व्यक्ति जवाब दे सकता है। आप तो प्रजातंत्र को मानते हैं। आपको तो इस पर कोई आपत्ति नहीं करनी चाहिये। प्रजातंत्र के आधार पर आप चुन कर आये हैं, बहुमत के आधार पर चुन कर आये हैं और जब हिन्दी भाषा बहुसंख्या में है तो आपको उनकी बात मानने में क्या आपत्ति हो सकती है? क्यों उन पर अंग्रेजी आप लादना चाहते हैं? मैं तो यहां तक कहूंगा कि जो व्यक्ति हिन्दी का विरोध करता है वह प्रजातंत्र का विरोध करता है और वह भारत के विधान का विरोध करता है।

17-02 hrs.

जो लोग इसका विरोध करते हैं ये वे लोग हैं जो राम का पुतला जलाते हैं और रावण को मानते हैं, ये वे लोग हैं जो भारत के साथ रहना पसन्द नहीं करते हैं। हिन्दी तो उनके लिए एक आड़ मात्र है, अपने उद्देश्य की सिद्धि के लिए, वे भारत के साथ रहना पसन्द नहीं करते। ऐसे लोगों के आगे सरकार हथियार न डाले। उनके आगे सरकार अगर झुक गई तो नलीजे बहुत खतरनाक होंगे। उन्होंने बड़े बड़े भव्य भवनों को आग लगाई है, उन्होंने जो संरक्षक हैं, उनको मार डाला है। चाहिये तो यह था कि उनको कठोर दण्ड दिया जाता, उनको फांसी पर लटकाया जाता लेकिन यह न करके हमारी सरकार उनके सामने घुटने टेकना चाहती है। यह जो घुटने टेक नीति है,

[श्री रामेश्वरानन्द]

यह हानिकारक है। अगर आपने भाषा के फार्मूले को बदलना चाहा तो इसके खतरनाक नतीजे निकलेंगे। उनका अभ्यास है, अंग्रेजों के वक्त में जबकि हिन्दी प्रान्तों के लोगों ने हिन्दी पढ़ी, अंग्रेजी नहीं पढ़ी और इस कारण से वे बेचारे आज तक पीछे रह गये, वे लोग प्रेजेजी पढ़ कर आये निकल गये और ये तत्व आज भी शासन में हैं और ये चाहते हैं कि अंग्रेजी रहे। आप गरीब देहात वाले को पूछिये, उससे पूछिये, जिसके माता पिता पढ़े हुए नहीं हैं और जिनका लड़का आठवीं तक भी नहीं पढ़ पाता है, उनकी अंग्रेजी के बारे में क्या राय है। किसी तरह से अगर वह आठवीं पास भी कर लेता है और दसवीं तक जाता है तो अब्बल तो वह बेचारा फेल हो जाता है और अगर फेल नहीं होता है और किसी तरह से पास हो जाता है तो तीसरी श्रेणी में ही पास हो पाता है। तृतीय श्रेणी वाले को कोई ग्रहण नहीं करता है सिवाय मौत के। न उसे उच्च शिक्षालयों में प्रवेश मिलता है और न ही नौकरी में उस गरीब को कोई पूछता है। अंग्रेजी पढ़े लिखे सब लोग कोरे होते हैं। अंग्रेजी पढ़े लिखे उन लोगों के हम विरुद्ध हैं जिनको हिन्दी नहीं आती है, और उनमें से भी सबके नहीं, केवल उनके विरुद्ध हैं जो कि राज्य के ऊंचे से चें ऊंचों पर बैठ कर कचिया कचिया नोट आए महीने लेते हैं और हजारों की संख्या में लेते हैं। वे समझते हैं कि हिन्दी आ गई तो हमारे लड़कों को स्थान नहीं मिलेगा। उनको यह चिन्ता

है और इसलिए वे नहीं चाहते हैं कि हिन्दी आये। जो अंग्रेजों के वक्त में लाइन उखाड़ा करते थे, अंग्रेजों के वक्त में जेल काटा करते थे वे पुराने अभ्यासी हैं, इसको भूल नहीं जाना चाहिये। हम नहीं चाहते हैं कि इस सरकार को कठिनाई में डाला जाए क्योंकि देश अपना है। उस समय अंग्रेजों को निकालने के लिए हमने यह सब किया था। इसके निश्चित उदाहरण हैं कि किसी भी उत्तर भारत के वासी ने, हिन्दी भाषी लोगों ने इस तरह के उपद्रव, इस प्रकार की गड़बड़ इनके पूर्व नहीं की है स्वतंत्रता के पश्चात्।

यदि सरकार ने घुटने टेकने का काम किया तो मैं आपको विश्वास दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि लोगों का धैर्य ज्यादा नहीं टिक सकेगा। धैर्य का बांध टूट चुका है। आप जो कुछ लोगों को प्रलोभन देना चाहते हैं वह भी आज नहीं दिया जा सकता क्योंकि उन लोगों को भी यह सोचने के लिए विवश होना पड़ेगा, वे लोग भी सोचेंगे कि आखिर हम क्या करें।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय : पांच बज गया, आप खत्म करें।

श्री रामेश्वरानन्द : मैं पांच मिनट और लूंगा।

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: He may continue tomorrow.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Friday, February 26, 1965 | Phalguna 7, 1886 (Saka).