

The Minister of Irrigation and Power (Shri S. K. Patil): Rs. 38-58 crores has been spent on the Bhakra Dam upto the 28th February, 1957.

**PAPERS LAID ON THE TABLE
BUDGET ESTIMATES OF DAMODAR
VALLEY CORPORATION FOR 1957-58**

The Minister of Irrigation and Power (Shri S. K. Patil): I beg to lay on the Table a copy of the Budget Estimates of the Damodar Valley Corporation for the year 1957-58, under section (3) of section 44 of the Damodar Valley Corporation Act, 1948. [Placed in Library. See No. S-25/57].

**ANNUAL REPORT OF HINDUSTAN SHIP-
YARD PRIVATE LTD. FOR 1955-56.**

The Minister of State in the Ministry of Transport and Communications (Shri Raj Bahadur): I beg to lay on the Table a copy of the Annual Report of Hindustan Shipyard Private Limited for the year 1955-56.

[Placed in Library. See No. S-26/57].

**AUDITED ACCOUNTS OF DELHI ROAD
TRANSPORT AUTHORITY FOR 1954-55.**

Shri Raj Bahadur: I beg to lay on the Table, under sub-section (3) of section 38 of the Delhi Road Transport Authority Act, 1950, a copy of each of the following papers in respect of the Delhi Road Transport Authority for the year 1954-55:

- (i) Balance-sheets;
- (ii) Profit and loss accounts together with Operating Accounts;
- (iii) Financial Review by the General Manager; and
- (iv) Audit Reports on the Annual Accounts.

[Placed in Library. See No. S-27/57].

REPRESENTATION OF PETITIONS

Mr. Speaker: There are some petitions to be presented. The first two are to be presented by Dr. Gangadhara Siva. The hon. Member is absent. There is one more petition which is also to be presented by the same hon. Member. But the hon. Member is absent.

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

Mr. Speaker: The House will now take up further consideration of the following motion moved by Shri Thirumal Rao and seconded by Shri M. P. Mishra on the 14th May, 1957, namely:—

“That the Members of Lok Sabha assembled in this Session are deeply grateful to the President for the Address which he has been pleased to deliver to both the Houses of Parliament assembled together on the 13th May, 1957.”

The House will also take up further consideration of the amendments to this motion moved yesterday. Regarding the amendments, I desire to state this. Ordinarily, amendments to the Motion of Thanks are neither admitted nor circulated after the motion has been moved in the House. It has been ruled previously that there shall be no amendment tabled when once the motion has been moved, because it cannot be expected that from day to day amendments should go on being tabled, making the debate more and more rambling. Further, those hon. Members who take part in the debate on the earlier day would have no opportunity to refer to those amendments which are tabled later.

But, considering the fact that a large number of Members are new to the House, I have relaxed the period of notice, as a special case, this year. Therefore, all amendments received until yesterday have been circulated to Members.

I would suggest that such of the hon. Members as could not move their amendments yesterday may hand in within 15 minutes to the Secretary at the Table slips intimating the number of amendments in their names, which they wish to move; and if the amendments are otherwise admissible, they will be treated as moved. The Chair will later on announce the numbers of the amendments proposed to be moved by the Members.

Acharya Kripalani (Sitamarhi): I am sorry to say that the Address of the President has a ring of formality about it. It indicates no ways and means by which Government propose to face present difficulties or the difficulties that are to come in the near future. It (the address) gives us no idea of the legislative programme before Parliament during this Session. There is nothing in the Address to enthuse the common man.

Yet, there is one happy feature in the Address, and it is this, that for the first time in ten years, the foreign policy has yielded the place of pride to home policy. Is it because we have slackened our efforts to project ourselves on the international scene? It may be like that, because our diplomats are no more in the air, descending periodically at the *darbar*—gates of a Prime Minister or a President or a dictator. They have come back to India and are concerning themselves with affairs at home and I hope, in course of time, they will be able to make the discovery of India.

I wonder if this slump in international affairs is not due to the fact that we have found that the world goes its own way irrespective of our efforts at preaching non-violence and peace, in spite of our efforts to tell the world the obvious, that war solves no problems, that it raises as many problems and more than it solves. Is it that neither our doctrine of *Panch-seel* nor our *bhai-bhai-ing* any more holds currency in the world, whether within the imperial Commonwealth or in the U.N.O. or round about us? Is it also that we have discovered that the doctrine of co-existence does not apply to imperialist nations who have their own interests and who want to expand at the expense of smaller nations?

However, I find there is one kind of co-existence which yet goes on in the world, and that is the co-existence of big imperial nations with their small neighbours. It is a queer kind of co-existence because in that co-existence the lamb (Hungary) finds its place

in the belly of polar bear Russia. It is certainly a matter of gratification that the lion of England was not able to make Egypt co-exist in that fashion in its stomach.

I am also glad that the reference to foreign affairs has been, as it ought to be, brief. But I am sorry that no reference has been made to problems that intimately concern us. Take, for instance, Goa. Time after time, we have been told that Goa is an integral part of India and the Government will do everything in its power to see that this territory is made a part and parcel of India, and that India will not be free unless this small foreign pocket is added to her. But this time there is no such reference, in spite of the fact that many of our nationals, men and women, are rotting in jails.

There is also no reference to Ceylon where many of the resident Indians have lost their citizenship rights. There is a passing reference to the Jarring Report about Kashmir. What the Government propose to do in this matter only the gods know.

It is natural that in home affairs the first place should be given to Five Year Plan, because it has created certain difficulties and these difficulties are appreciated by even our brave Finance Minister because he has to find the money and he knows he cannot find the necessary money.

Let us now examine what has happened to this Plan so far. We can do so only if we examine the assumptions on which this Plan was based. These assumptions were principally three. The first was that the world would be at peace; the second was that the prices of primary commodities will not rise; and the third was that our foreign exchange position will not worsen. But you will find that all these 3 conditions have failed.

First of all, there is no peace in the world. Of course, we did not expect that the cold war would disappear, but we thought that it had stabilised itself and people will be able to go

about—nations will be able to go about—their business freely. But, even when we were being assured by our diplomats that the world was moving towards peace, we had sudden eruptions in Egypt and in Eastern Europe. What happened was that the Suez Canal was for a long time closed and what we could get from outside was less than we would have got otherwise and it cost us more. It is a matter of gratification that the Suez Canal has been reopened; but prices when they once rise have a tendency to remain there for some time to come.

The second condition of success was that the primary articles of food and cloth would be stationary in price. This has not happened; especially, it has not happened in the matter of food. We were told that the Five Year Plan had been successful in increasing food production so that in 1955 the country was self-sufficient in food. Though it is not there, the Prime Minister told us that the second Five Year Plan was aiming at 40 per cent increase in food production and a proportionate reduction in prices. Not only that, very wonderfully we were told that we will produce agricultural products to such an extent that we will be able to export and earn the much needed foreign exchange. Nothing of the sort has happened. When we (the opposition) said that the easing of the food situation was not due to the Five Year Plan but due to a couple of good monsoons, we were assured that it was not so. Today when the food condition is stringent and the prices are rising we are told that it is Nature that is to blame; or, is it that new babies have been born who instead of taking their mothers' milk have consumed away our grain?

We have been importing food, when we thought that we will be exporting it. We have been importing food and agricultural produce to a very enormous extent. We are continuing to import them. We got something from America. We thought that what we

got from abroad was just to introduce some flexibility in our economy and also to check the inflationary trends, that were evident to everybody but the Government in our country. But, what have we done to these imports? We have simply consumed away all that came from the foreign lands. One wonders what happened to the extra food that was produced by so many river valley schemes and by the Five Year Plan and by those 220,000 villages of India where the Community Projects and National Extension Service Blocks are working. One does not know where all this food produced inside and imported from outside goes. I have a suspicion and it is this, that there is no deficit in food but the prices are rising because there is inflation in our economy. I have also a suspicion that it is not dearth of food due to which people are starving and dying but it is really their incapacity to earn money. It is unemployment, it is inflation that are responsible to the famine conditions that we find in Bihar, in U.P., in Bengal and in the South.

An Hon. Member: In Kashmir also.

Acharya Kripalani: In Kashmir also, I am told. Kashmir can always get food from here whether we have plenty or we are starving.

The third assumption was that the foreign exchange position would not deteriorate. The foreign exchange position has so deteriorated that it is considered even by the Finance Minister, to be dangerous, to be very critical. We have not been told how these things are to be remedied.

There were further conditions attached to the success of the Plan but I will talk of them later. I was greatly confused during the course of the election. I do not know if the Government will inform me whether the Five Year Plan is a national plan or a Government plan or the plan of the Congress Party. Because, in the elections, everywhere it was said that one should vote for the Congress because it had drawn up the Plan.

[Acharya Kripalani]

"You vote for the Congress because it wants to carry out this Plan." I am yet to learn that a political party has finances enough and technical personnel enough to draw up a Five Year Plan. I would like to be informed by the Treasury Benches whether this Plan for which we are asked to sacrifice is really a national plan or a Government plan or the plan of the Congress....

An Hon. Member: Or an election plan!

Acharya Kripalani:...or an election plan. More than that I would like to know how it happens—is it accidental and our rulers do not do anything designedly even as the English people did not do anything designedly but they somehow came in possession of the Empire—that our Government comes in possession of a favourable position and sticks to it. This favourable position is that every Five Year Plan synchronises with the general elections. This will continue to be so to the end of time because there will not be a time when there will not be an economic plan for the country.

Shri Joachim Alva (Kanara): The hon. Member is misleading the House. He was one of the high-ups in the Congress in 1935 when it constituted the Indian National Planning Committee.

Acharya Kripalani: My friend is only abusing the intelligence of my colleagues by saying that I misguide them. There are greater and more powerful people than myself in the Government to misguide the House, at least the majority of the House.

Shri C. D. Pande (Naini Tal): You cannot misguide even Mrs. Kripalani!

Mr. Speaker: Both the hon. Members are misguiding the House.

Acharya Kripalani: I do not claim to guide or misguide anybody; I am too humble for that. I was saying that three conditions that were at the

base of the Plan have not been forthcoming. There are some other, two or three conditions which I would, now state. They are that there should be perfect economy in the administration; that there would be no corruption in the administration and that the administration should be efficient. I am afraid, these three subordinate conditions are also not forthcoming.

As for efficiency, inspite of measures to simplify the procedures the financial sanction for some of the schemes taken up last year has not been coming forth even this year. Not only that, the schemes that ought to have been finalised last year have not been finalised yet. That is the measure of efficiency.

As for honesty, I am very glad to say, on account of the pressure of elections and because the Congressmen were themselves saying that people have lost faith in the Congress because of inefficiency and corruption in the Government, the Prime Minister's attention was powerfully drawn to this factor of corruption. But he modified it and said that corruption prevails in the lower levels. The higher levels are quite free from all suspicion. They are just like Caesar's wife. And, actually, Sir, they are like Caesar's wife about whose integrity only her gullible husband was sure but the world was not quite so sure. Here it is the gullible Ministers who are sure about the honesty and integrity in the higher ranks, but the public know much better.

Of course, I must say that there are many honourable people in the higher and lower ranks of the Government, and they do their jobs honestly. But, if you will permit me, Sir, I would like to give a few glaring examples. It must be understood that whatever happens in the higher ranks is not bribery, but it is only irregularity! In the lower ranks it is bribery and in the higher ranks it is irregularity.

There is the Damodar Valley Scheme which has been completed. It was discovered that there were many irregularities. An officer was appointed to probe into those irregularities. He did find certain irregularities; but it is surprising that that very officer was put in charge of the Damodar Valley Scheme and the newspapers now report that there are other fresh irregularities under his regime. I suppose some other officer will be appointed to detect those irregularities and then he will also be put in charge of the Scheme.

Sir, I happened to be, for a little while, the Chairman of, what is called the Railway Corruption Enquiry Committee. I say, and it has been put in my report, that officers in the lower ranks do not hesitate to put the Government to a loss of a few thousand rupees in order to get a small bribe of Rs. 10 or Rs. 15. Not only that, and it is recorded, that the money that is made by the goods clerks, and sometimes the station masters, is so large that even the members of the Railway Board may well feel envious. I have seen the children of these people going for education not in the Indian universities but in foreign universities. When I ask how this happened, they told me that they had ancestral wealth, and yet they became clerks in the goods office.

Then there are very interesting incidents that were exposed in another Committee of which I was a Member for a brief period—the Public Accounts Committee. In the Public Accounts Committee, looking at what happens in the External Affairs Ministry over which our Prime Minister presides, I found that one officer had purchased a car every year. He had taken three cars in three years, and he borrowed money for all these from the Government. One car was purchased, if I mistake not, when he was not there and it was to be used by his wife. I have personal experience that wives use cars more than their husbands. They have more

social engagements, and they have a good deal of shopping to do.

There was in one Embassy a silver fruit set, or whatever it is called; I am not familiar with these things. It was a silver set. When the diplomat transferred from the place, it was found that the silver set was getting blacker and blacker. His successor approached the company from which the silver set was bought and the company said: "We would like to see and examine it." The set was sent to them and they examined it. They said that that particular set was never supplied by them. "It does not bear our hallmark," they said. Then it was discovered that the silver set had been taken away by the former diplomat and the explanation given was that his wife—wives are more important than mere husbands—had made a mistake and that a tin set had been left in place of the silver set. It was again....

An Hon. Member: An irregularity.

Acharya Kripalani.....an irregularity, of course. All these are irregularities. It will be far from me to say that any higher officer can be suspect. I have great regard for their ability and efficiency and for the honesty of most of them. But these things are such that they injure the tone of the administration. However one thing is clear that even when the higher officials are men of integrity, they are unable to tackle corruption at the lower levels, nor are the Home Ministries, whether at the Centre or in the States, able to curb this corruption that corrodes the moral life of the country.

Then there is extravagance. We see it here in Delhi and in the capitals. As a matter of fact, our Raj has become just like the native Raj where everything was done for the capital cities and very little,—comparatively speaking—was done for the villages. The villager yet lives in poverty; he lives in his half-cracked mud hut or, even worse, in a straw hut. In cities he comes and finds himself in slums.

[Acharya Kripalani]

There is an effort to clean these slums in the cities. A great effort is made on account of the vigilance of the Prime Minister to clear the slums in Delhi. But the slums in Delhi or in any other capital town cannot be cleansed at all, because the whole of India—I say it with knowledge—is a slum. Go to the villages. You will find no drainage. You will find that people are huddled, 10 to 20, in one small house. You will find that all their property is a few rags and a few earthen pots and nothing more. In the monsoon, one cannot walk in the streets; and one cannot go from village to village. May I submit Sir that all these are slums? If you clean the slums here (in Delhi), next day other slums will grow up because more people will be coming (from the villages). This is an integrated problem. It is no use tackling it in one centre, because there it powerfully affects your eye and is offensive to your nose. These slum conditions have to be eliminated all round.

Further there must be some relation between the poverty of the people and the expenditure of the Government, which goes on ever increasing. The Prime Minister has himself complained about the pomp and show that is there in the offices and in the Ministries. I am conscious of the fact that when a great administration is to be conducted, there is need of some ceremony and some kind of show. But, may I submit that the show should be very modest and in keeping with the poverty of the people. Not only that; it should be in keeping with our traditions and with our culture. What have we here? The President came; he has been coming here to the Parliament to deliver his message, for which we are always thankful. And, we are always thankful also to have his *darsan*, because we cannot have his *darsan* unless we go to his place. If we do the next day our name will be in the papers that so and so went to see his old friend, the Rashtrapati. He comes in a carriage and over that carriage is an

umbrella. He is a Chathrapati. He has lived with us in the jails; we have worked together; we were colleagues. When did he become a Chathrapati?

Shri Joachim Alva: Do you want him to ride in a bicycle?

Acharya Kripalani: I want him to be up-to-date and come in a car. I do not want him to ride a carriage that was used in the 15th century by the King of a municipality like England.

Mr. Speaker: Then hon. Member will kindly resume his seat. So far as the general remarks that the Rashtrapati need not come in the coach-and-four and so on are concerned, of course I do not know whether it is not irrelevant or not out of order. But, to say that the individual who occupies it was such and such and therefore for him to carry a Chathra is not correct and so on, is certainly out of place. Whoever might occupy that position, may be a poor man, he occupies that position by the united voice of the entire nation. Is it open to the hon. Member to say that the man who occupies it never in his life enjoyed this? All that I can say is, if the hon. Member wants that a much simpler ceremony than this should be adopted, that is all right; but, to say that he was with me in jail and so on and so fourth, is not necessary and proper.

Acharya Kripalani: I have the utmost respect for the Rashtrapati. He is one of my oldest friends; we have worked together from 1917. I am far from saying anything that is derogatory personally to him. I am talking of the pomp and show about which the Prime Minister talked. Even pomp and show is allowable, but it should be according to our traditions and not according to the traditions that have been left by the imperial government. I say that the carriage in which he comes belongs to the 15th century, the carriage in which the King of a

municipality like England used to go to his *darbar*. I want him to keep to our traditions. I would much prefer that our Rashtrapati came in a *rath* driven by bullocks, which is the very appropriate sign for the Congress party. I am not against that; I am against what the Prime Minister himself denounced. Then I hold that the expenditure on the ministries is in all conscience too heavy. I do not know but I hear that even the electricity bills of some of the ministerial houses go to several hundreds of rupees and even to a thousand rupees. I have seen that the ministers in the provinces draw as much as Rs. 4,000 to Rs. 5,000 if you take into account their salary as well as other perquisites. Everywhere there is extravagance. When I open my post, even for a humble man like myself half the post consists of invitation cards about this, that and the other thing. I say these things not because I want to disparage or criticize anyone, but let me assure you I say it because I feel it. I say it because I see it is wrong, because it is wasteful and we will not be able to fulfil our aims if we go on like this. Already we are in a financial bankruptcy. It is no pleasure for me to criticize a party in which I have been for years since 1907, up to the time that I left it. It is no pleasure for me to criticize my old colleagues. I only say that this is not the way for a poor nation, whose people are dying for want of food and have no education. Education in Russia was given to every citizen in 10 years and in China in a much shorter time. Therefore we have to be very careful about every pie that we spend and we should see that every pie is well spent. The Government is determined to carry on this plan; I say that we cannot carry on this plan unless we cut our coat according to our cloth and unless we are more economical and less showy than we are at present.

Dr. Ram Subhag Singh (Sasaram):

I am thankful to the President for the reference which he made to the food problem in the country, especially in

Bihar and Eastern U.P. The failure of wheat, linseed, musure and gram in Bihar and Eastern U.P. has created conditions which are bordering on famine. This failure is due to rust and some other crop diseases and these diseases could have been easily cured and especially in this modern age when all sorts of insecticides have been found had there been a little alertness on the part of the experts in our administration. We were told yesterday that there has been about 60 per cent. of damage in our wheat crop. I am not interested whether there has been 60 per cent. or 100 per cent. damage but I am interested only in one point. When the peasants of Bihar and Eastern U.P. were watching restively the extinction of their crops, did the experts in our Ministry here in the Centre or in the States care to visit those fields where the crops were dying? I do say and say emphatically that it would not be possible for the country to co-exist with such an attitude in our administration. We are also told that grain-specials are being rushed to Bihar and Eastern U.P. and larger sums are being advanced for carrying out relief and other works. I do not think that these are proper solutions of this problem, because this practice has created a dole living mentality in the country and I want that this should be stopped. India is a deficit country; Bihar also is a deficit state. Before the Second Five Year Plan was put into execution Bihar had a deficit of about 3,20,000 tons. On the completion of the first Five Year Plan it was officially stated that Bihar has succeeded in achieving an additional food production of about 4,70,000 tons and it was also stated by the Planning Commission and by the Government that the agricultural production in our country has increased by 18 per cent. If such statements are made, naturally it will be asked where has all these food commodities gone and when we recollect the statements of 1955 when it was said by Government spokesmen that they are trying to find out all avenues for exporting agricultural commodities it becomes all the more

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ridiculous. In 1954 we imported about 8 lakh tons of foodgrains at a cost of about Rs. 47 crores. In 1955 also we imported about 7 lakh tons at a cost of about Rs. 33 crores and in 1956 also we imported about 14,20,000 tons at a cost of Rs. 58 crores. This increase in our food import in 1956 was attributed to building an adequate food reserve for lean periods, but when questions were asked in those periods as to how the prices of foodgrains are on the increase, it was categorically denied here and the Government spokesmen said that there was no shortage of foodgrains in the country, but at that very moment the index of food prices showed an increase and in 1955-56 the index number of food price was 313.2 with 100 as base in 1939 and that has now increased to 406 in February 1957. We wanted that the statement made by the Minister yesterday should be distributed among Members but we have not received it so far.

The increase in our food imports, as I said before, was due to the fact that the Government wanted to build adequate food reserves, but though there is some food reserve, still the food prices are going high and today the index number of the price of cereal is about 525 as against 448 in the corresponding period last year and of pulses it is 440 as compared to 389 last year. These are things which are of the highest importance for the public and especially for the producers. When this unprecedented situation has been created by the failure of only one crop in Bihar and Eastern U.P. one would naturally ask how is our administration of food being carried on because at the time of the preparation of the Second Five Year Plan the planners had said that much attention was given to the agricultural problem during the First Five Year Plan but later on they revised their attitude and then said that there should be an additional production of foodgrains and their food target is fixed at 40 per cent. and the State Governments agreed only to 28

per cent. and during all this period, that is during the First Five Year Plan and up to now during the Second Five Year Plan, as the President has said about 2,22,000 villages have been covered by the N.E.S. Movement. It has also been stated that there has been an increase of 25 per cent. of food production in those areas. In India there are only about six lakh villages and if there has been an increase of 25 per cent in about two lakh villages there is no reason why there should be a shortage. When as Government itself admitted yesterday that the total damage done to food crops in Bihar is only to the extent of 60 per cent. which comes to about 2 lakh tons of wheat the position becomes ununderstandable to an average man like me. A shortage of just 2 lakh tons in Bihar has shaken the food administration of the country. I say shaken because food prices are going up, though the Government have said that they have not gone up as compared to 1952 and 1953.

The Planning Commission have said that the expenditure incurred on major irrigation projects is about Rs. 400 crores and on minor irrigation projects about Rs. 110 crores. This is the share of the Centre. The States on their part have spent many crores of rupees. All this expenditure has brought about 63 million acres of land under irrigation according to Official Report. There were about 2,500 tube-wells when the first Five Year Plan was put into execution. Now there are about 5,850 tube-wells. It has been stated by Government that an additional 63 million acres of land has come under irrigation. Everybody knows that when we provide irrigational facilities, production is virtually doubled. On an average an acre of land will give an additional produce of 10 maunds. Then it comes to about 630 million maunds. But everybody is familiar with the actual state of affairs prevailing in the country.

I was anxious to know what was the acreage of land brought under cultivation by a tube-well. The Food Minister had told me on the 9th of this month that the average acreage of land under irrigation per tube-well is about seven acres. One can easily irrigate seven acres by an ordinary well. Then what is the necessity of booring a tube-well if only seven acres of land is irrigated by a well in Bihar. An hour or so back during Question Hour we could not get any definite answer as to how much of land is irrigated by a tube-well in the Punjab. The hon. Minister said the capacity is about 374 acres; but the full capacity is not being utilised. In Bihar also the capacity is 450 acres. One tube-well can actually irrigate 150 acres of *kharif*, 200 acres of *rabi* and 100 acres of *garma* (crops like sugarcane, etc., during the summer season). But the full capacity is not utilised anywhere in India, as was admitted by the Food Minister during Question Hour; therefore, that also may cause shortage of food production.

The Minister of Irrigation and Power said that there is shortage of cement in the country, particularly in flood affected areas. I say that there is no scarcity of cement in flood affected areas, at least in those areas where projects are under execution. In any of these areas one can buy plenty of cement, provided he is ready to give black price. Anybody can come with me and I can purchase for him truck-loads of cement in areas where construction of tube-wells or big projects is in progress. This is the efficiency of our administration.

In our area, where the crop has failed, if there are about 800 tube-wells, one would like to ask why those tube-wells were not fully utilised. That is a situation which no man can tolerate in a free country; if a tube-well is irrigating only seven acres of land, and if that point has been given to the Government not today but years ago, then this is a very serious matter.

One can say why such a situation has arisen. One reason is that the water rate has been enhanced by 300 per cent. Another reason is that you do not charge only the water rate. There is corruption in the department, and inefficiency also—corruption, because no government employee takes the real dues unless and until some consideration is given to him. And apart from that, they never supply the water in time. The government rule is that there should be one mile of *pucca mori* for all the tube-well; and there is a standard set for the canal also. But these standards, specifications and rules are never observed anywhere in the tube-well and canal areas.

In regard to minor irrigation also, you spend about Rs. 110 crores on Central account on minor irrigation. But what is the position of minor irrigation in the country? We are having *ahars* pynes in our area. In my constituency all the *ahars* were washed out by floods and not repaired. With regard to canals also, we are having one large system of canals, and that is the Son canal which our Agriculture Minister has seen. The condition of that canal has become antiquated. He has seen the spirit of the people also, how they feel about the canal administration there, to what difficulties the peasants were put, how they were brought about, and whether their problems have yet been solved or not. In such a situation I do not hesitate to say that it is a miracle that the peasants even under such difficulties are producing enough quantity of grain to keep the body and the soul of the country together. This they are doing because they have got accustomed to slavery and misrule.

As I said earlier, if only the failure of crop in Bihar to the tune of 2 lakh tons has shaken the food administration, I would ask the Government and the Planning Commission that they should change their attitude, especially in the matter of restoring efficiency in the Government, and they should

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see that the Community Development, Irrigation and Power, Food and Agriculture and the Planning Ministry work efficiently. I can give an instance here. I wrote a letter to the Planning Minister in 1954 and again in the early part of 1955, for which I received a reply a few days ago. It said: "Please refer to your letter dated nil addressed to Shri Gulzarilal Nanda, Union Minister for Planning, enclosing a copy of the letter No. 1135 dated February 21, 1955"—and this letter is dated April 3, 1957—and the latter part of it says: "The Joint Development Commissioner, Bihar has informed us that sanction for payment to Shri Basawan Singh of Rs. 1,122, being fifty per cent. of the total cost of the pump purchased, has since been issued." This is about community projects. People say that there has been an increase of 25 per cent in the production of food crops in the community project areas. I say that there has been a 25 per cent decrease in my area—and there is a community project in that area also. All the schools which were constructed by the community project were not constructed according to proper specifications, and the roofs of most of these schools have now collapsed due to wind and other inclemencies of weather. And the bridges also have collapsed, because all the cement went into the black market. On the basis of that experience I can therefore categorically repudiate the statement that cement is not available. It is not a correct statement; it is a statement produced by your officers and is not reliable.

I am thankful to the President for his call to the people. He has said: "Public opinion plays a large and well nigh conclusive part in the success of such endeavour. The determination and fervour of our people, their readiness to accept discipline, to respond to the call for efforts and their resolve not to be led into anti-social behaviour, such as by hoarding or wasteful spending, alone will help the country to pass successfully through the present crucial period of

our Second Five Year Plan." I am grateful to the President for this remark, but I would also respectfully suggest that while making such an appeal, the President should also appeal to the Government and the government machinery and ask them to be efficient, pure and honest in their public dealings.

I may also say something about the point which Acharya Kripalani just referred to. I noticed that even young Ministers were led to their seats in the swearing-in ceremony by the government officials, but even senior Members of Parliament like Acharya Kripalani or Shri B. Das—and there were so many elder Members of Parliament—were not told where to sit or where to go. I do not like this practice, and I want that this practice should also be ended.

Shri A. K. Gopalan (Kasergor): I am glad to find that the President in his Address has said that there will be no abandonment or slowing down of the progress of the Second Five Year Plan. The President has also pointed out the difficulties. We also know that as far as the Plan period is concerned, there are interested parties who want to see that the period is extended. But the President has assured us that even though there are difficulties, the Government will overcome those difficulties and there will be no question either of the abandonment or slowing down of the progress of the Second Five Year Plan. I am glad about it and I hope that the Government will stick to it and see that this promise that there will be no abandonment or slowing down of the progress of the Plan is carried out.

12.59 hrs.

[PANDIT THAKUR DAS BHARGAVA in
the Chair.]

I want to point out a very important thing in the President's Address. The President has said that the Government will try to see that there is increasing national self-sufficiency both in the field of industry as well as in that of agriculture. I want this

House to reckon with facts, and also see that we face the realities. That is what I said the other day when the statements were made by the Ministers, because the real situation in each State as brought forward by the Members as well as by the reports in the papers was different. We want to know from the Government whether they can say that there has been great increase in production and there is no scarcity of food, that there is no famine condition anywhere in India, either in U.P. or Bihar or in any other place.

13 hrs.

While speaking about production, I want to know from the hon. Minister one thing. In a statistical bulletin of the U.P. Government, they have said that as between 1951-52 and 1954-55, there has been a decrease in the total irrigated area. In 1951-52, it was 139 lakh acres and in 1954-55, it was 135 lakh acres. Has it improved all of a sudden in 1955-56? In 1953-54 and 1954-55 there was a gradual decrease. Certainly, the land under irrigation should be less. I want to know the actual position from the hon. Minister. Here is another figure. The total area under crops in 1951-52 was 82.3 per cent. In 1953-54, it was 80.6 per cent and in 1954-55, it was 80.5 per cent. This also shows that there has been a decrease. Naturally, the production should have come down. These figures are only up to 1955. I also want to know whether there has been an increase or decrease of acreage under irrigation after 1956. There are figures and I do not want to go into them because there is no time.

When we were discussing the Plan, we from this side asked the Government to take note that the most important thing is rapid industrialisation and that more money should be allotted for the machine-building industry. We were told that first things should come first and that the most important thing in the Plan is to see that we are self-sufficient in food. It is said that there were cala-

mities. There is true. Is that the reason why we were not able to achieve self-sufficiency. There are other reasons. There are no minor irrigation works in many States. Even that is not the main reason. The main reason is that, the basic problem in food production has not been solved. In the A.I.C. C. Economic Review of 1st May, 1957, there is an article entitled Kaladi and India's land problem. It is specifically stated there that the single biggest bottle-neck in our planning and allied matters is that the land problem is not solved. So long as the land problem is not solved, this bottle-neck cannot be removed. It is also clearly stated there that the biggest resource that we have got is manpower and without land redistribution, this power cannot be enthused, roused and utilised for national reconstruction. We say there is increased production. If there is increased production, there must be increased consumption by the rural masses. It is also necessary that there must be increased income for the rural masses. These peasants and agricultural labourers come to about 70 per cent of the population. If they have to get an increased income, a patch of land must be given to them for cultivation. I have no time; otherwise, I would have gone into the whole question in detail. If this bottle-neck is to be removed, the most important thing is that there must be land reform. If the land reform is not there, we will not certainly be able to attain self-sufficiency. It has also been pointed out in the same article that actual performance has not been in accordance with these declarations about ceilings upon land holdings, and

"the delay of almost six to seven years has meant that the land-owners, by various devices, have taken steps to so divide their property among their kith and kin, that it is seriously apprehended, if now serious steps are taken for the imposition of ceilings upon landholdings with a view to redistribute the surplus land, very little would be available."

[Shri A. K. Gopalan]

We discussed this question in the Second Plan also, and in the Land Reform Panel. I do not want to go into the details. We have been emphasising this point for the last three or four years. If the Government really wants to tackle this problem, some serious steps must be taken. First, stoppage of eviction, followed by immediate land reform. There should be legislation. The legislation should include a ceiling on landholding. Fallow lands and waste land should be given to the landless peasants. Arrangements should be made for credit facilities to the poor peasants so that they may produce more food. I may point out that the first thing that they have done after taking office is to issue Ordinances stopping all kinds of evictions. They have also enacted legislation. Within two or three months, they are having another legislation in land reform, as far as Kerala is concerned, I know how much these Ordinances stopping evictions have enthused the peasants.

As regards the food position in Kerala, I want to point out one thing. The food position there is precarious. The Food Minister has referred to certain remedies. Kerala is a very peculiar State. It is not only a deficit area today, but it will continue to be so for many years. More than 50 per cent of our food comes from outside the State or outside India. The availability of land is very low. Even if there are any schemes for growing more food, Kerala will not be able to reach self-sufficiency in food. It will continue to be a deficit area. There were some attempts to grow more food; but they have not been successful. Since the situation in other parts of the country is serious, the position of Kerala, which depends on other States for her food, has become very bad. The other day the Food Minister said that we can get rice from Tanjore and some other places in Andhra. The prices in Tanjore and Andhra areas have gone up. That shows that there is scarcity in those areas. The increase in price also shows that the merchants and

traders in those areas are trying to make as much as they can. There is one special feature in Kerala. During the coming two months, there will be rain in Kerala. Already the unemployment problem is very acute there. Even those who go to field work and other workers cannot go out for work in the coming two months. The difficulty is going to be all the greater. I request the Government to see that the food position does not deteriorate in the next two months and famine conditions do not come in. Certainly, the Government has to rush food supplies to Kerala to prevent famine conditions setting in there.

There is also a feeling whether the Central Government will be willing to help the State Government of Kerala because there is a change. We know what the change is. It is necessary to see that, so far as Kerala is concerned, whether it is the Communist Government or the Congress Government, the responsibility of the Central Government is fulfilled and this feeling is not there, that because of change of Government, the Central Government is not trying to send them supplies of food.

I have already written to the Minister regarding the supply of rice. It is a fact that the people in Kerala take only boiled rice. In the fair price shops, there is no boiled rice. What happens is, in the fair price shops, the price of rice is 8 annas and in the free market, it is 12 annas. If boiled rice is not supplied in the fair price shops, the price in the free market will go up tremendously. I would request the Government to attend to this problem. The coming two months are very bad months and they may lead to famine conditions in Kerala. Special steps have to be taken.

In some places where there are fair price shops, there are no godowns.

For instance, in places like Cannanore and Kesergod, there are no godowns, and those who have to get rice have to go to other far-off places

The result is that they also cannot sell the rice at reasonable prices; they will have to sell the rice at higher prices, because the charges for transport and other things are also there.

I want Government to look into these things and see that the food situation which has already become worse in Kerala does not deteriorate further and no famine conditions come about there, as a result of food scarcity.

Then, I would like to refer to one other thing which has not been referred to in the President's Address. It has been said that there must be increase in production. But what are the incentives given to the workers, which will enthruse them to produce more? When we were discussing the Second Five Year Plan, we had pointed out that unless the attitude of Government in regard to the workers was defined, and unless something was done to improve the lot of the workers, we could not expect more production.

But, what is the position today? The station masters have given notice of a strike. The Air India International's workers also have given notice of a strike. Even at the time of the First Five Year Plan, the unions of the employees of the Postal and other departments also had passed resolutions that unless some wage increase was granted to them, they will have to take some definite steps. But no increase in wages was there in the First Five Year Plan. It was said that there was inflation, but there was no increase in wages. According to the reports, there was increase in production; there was also increase in profit, but as far as the wages were concerned, there was no increase commensurate with the price structure.

The article in the *AICC Economic Review* to which I have referred has clearly shown how the prices have

gone up and how the cost of living index has also gone up. As far as food articles are concerned, the index in 1954 was 362.7 but in August, 1956, it was 397, in November 1956, 411.6, and in 1957, 400.2. As far as the consumer price index is concerned, the article proceeds to say:

"It may be pointed out that compared to the average cost of living indices for 1952 (103), 1953 (106) and 1954 (101), the average for 1955 (96) as a whole was lower. But since March, 1956, the trend has been continuously upward and ruled, almost every month, much higher than the averages for the three previous years."

If we bear this in mind, we can easily understand the justification for the demand of the workers. As many as 25 unions of workers have demanded that there must be a second pay commission appointed to go into the question of wages and salaries. The INTUC and also the other trade unions in the country have unanimously said that there must be a second pay commission and they have also said that a minimum increase of about 25 per cent in the wages should be assured to the workers, for it is on this increase in wages that the increase in production will depend.

But what do we find? Even the reports and recommendations that have already been made have not been implemented. For instance, the Central Pay Commission's recommendation is there to the effect that if there is an increase in the cost of living by 20 per cent, there must be an increase in the wages by Rs. 5. But there has been no increase in wages corresponding to the increase in the cost of living. Then, there was the Fair Wages Committee; that committee also had gone into the question of wages and made some recommendations. Those recommendations also have not been implemented. In the

[Shri A. K. Gopalan]

Constitution itself, under article 41 in the chapter on the Directive Principles of State Policy, it has been stated that Government will have to make every endeavour to see that the living standards of the workers are increased, and legislation should be passed to assure them a living wage. Then, there is the report of the Committee on Profit-sharing. That committee had said that there must be a sharing in the profits to the extent of 50 per cent. That recommendation also has not been implemented..

When even these recommendations have not been put into effect, if we ask the workers to produce more, how can there be any enthusiasm on their part, especially when they know that their cost of living is very high and their condition is bad?

While this is the position with regard to the wages, what do we find in regard to the rights of the workers? There is an attack on the rights of the workers. I have got here a report of an incident, and I shall get the letter also circulated; that letter was given to Shri V. V. Giri while he was travelling, in the Kundah station. One of the workers wrote something to Shri V. V. Giri, and Shri V. V. Giri had written a letter to the railway authorities in connection with that letter. After some time, it was found that the person who had written that letter to Shri V. V. Giri had been suspended on the ground that he had talked to Shri V. V. Giri. When that is the situation, what is the freedom that the workers have got? Shri V. V. Giri was an hon. Member of this House, belonging to the Congress Party. He had also been the Labour Minister here; besides, he had also been a railway union leader. If a worker is punished for having approached even a leader of that calibre, then what is the freedom that the workers have got? I would like to know whether this is correct. There are records with me here to show that the letter was sent. If a worker is suspended simply because a Member of Parliament is approached by

him, and that Member of Parliament writes to Government, then what are the rights that the worker has got? Not only is there no increase in the wages, but even the freedom of the workers to approach leaders of trade union movement, especially a person like Shri V. V. Giri, is not there. That is very bad.

In conclusion, I want to say just a word about Goa. No reference has been made to this in the President's Address. The Prime Minister had stated before that he would consult the Members of the Opposition in regard to the Goa policy, and then he would do something about it. But nothing has been done so far. It has been said that negotiation, persuasion etc. are the things that have to be attempted. But what the people would like to know is, supposing negotiation fails, supposing persuasion fails, and the Portuguese imperialism does not care for these things and they refuse to quit Goa, then what is the next thing that Government are proposing to do. We have waited for a long time, and we have not been able to change the behaviour of the Portuguese imperialism by persuasion or negotiation. So, it is time that Government come forward with a plan for some positive action in regard to this matter. Unfortunately, no mention has been made of this problem in the President's Address. I hope this will not be forgotten.

There are many other points that I would have liked to deal with, but since there is no time now, I shall conclude.

Shri Frank Anthony (Nominated-Anglo-Indian): I propose to devote my observations entirely to the food situation. I have given notice of an amendment to the Motion of Thanks, which reads as follows:

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

'but regret that the Address does not deal adequately with

the reasons for the present unsatisfactory food situation or with any positively articulated food policy to prevent a recrudescence of such a situation."

I feel that the situation with regard to food is not only unsatisfactory, but it is grave. I also feel that it is not a local or a State problem; it is a national problem, and because of that, I, for one, deprecate any attempt to make any political debating point in this House out of this serious national problem or to attempt to make political capital out of it. I feel that it is the duty of every Member of this House to attempt to make some kind of constructive approach, because on a correct solution of this food problem will depend not only this basic question of food, but on it will depend food prices generally, and on it will depend also the general level of the cost structure in the country. And unless we solve adequately this question of food, my own feeling is that it will undermine the whole position of the general cost structure in the country, and ultimately torpedo all our expectations with regard to the Second Five Year Plan.

The Minister of Food and Agriculture has stated that Government propose to appoint a high level committee. I shall not say with Shavian cynicism 'Better never than late'. I am one of those ordinary mortals, who believe in the ordinary maxim 'Better late than never'.

I can only hope that something Practical will emerge from this high-level Committee, because I believe that more than anything else we need a practical approach and a practical solution. But I feel that if this high-level Committee is weighted with brittle-minded civilian officials or with woolly-headed economists and theoreticians, then all that they will do will be to get into a welter of statistics and counter-statistics, into a welter of theory and counter-theory and then produce, or attempt to produce, a series of suggestions which

will render the Minister more confused than he is at present.

I am not blaming the Government in respect of the quantum of food production. I am quite prepared to accept the statement of the hon. Food Minister that we have reached more or less a peak position with regard to rice as also to wheat. But I cannot, quite frankly, understand the Government's fetish with regard to figures and statistics. There is this tendency in the Government today to be overborne by theory. There is this terrible clerical complex in the Government of India which has paralysed the railways and which is paralysing the whole administration. People get lost in files; they get lost in red-tape; they get lost in figures.

What are we being offered today? To adopt a Biblical phraseology, people are not being offered stones instead of bread; they are being offered statistics instead of bread! I do not, for one moment, suggest that statistics are not necessary. Reliable statistics are absolutely vital to any correct or proper planning. But it is a moot point as to whether the statistics which Government chooses to furnish this House with are so reliable as to enable Government to evolve a satisfactory food policy.

Sir, I know that comparisons are odious. But I know how the late Rafi Saheb used to hold meetings everyday with his officials; I think there was no Minister in the Government of India who had less to do with officials, who had less to do with files and who less to do with government statistics. I remember a government official trying to put over some kind of a thesis to Rafi Saheb on the basis of statistics. Fortunately, it was not possible for the poor civilian to come out with asseverations. Rafi Saheb said: "Burn your statistics". I would say with all respect to the present Food Minister that he could well emulate the attitude of Rafi Saheb and say "Burn your statistics". Let him not allow his high level committee to get inculcated either behind khaskhas tatties or enervated behind

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air-conditioned rooms; let him ask them to go out into the field and get their experience from the field.

This is a hard practical problem. What is the good of giving us statistics? What is the good of feeding the country on statistics? We have had I say with all respect, enough of paper solutions; we have even had newspaper solutions. According to one paper solution last year, we had solved the food problem and we were now getting to the stage where we would be able to export food. I am not blaming the Government. But the thesis I am trying to make is this: that we are living in an illusion created by statistics, about the reliability of which no two people can agree.

In an attempt to approach this problem in a realistic way, let us look at the stark facts. What are the stark facts? First of all, prices of rice and wheat have risen steeply. According to Press reports, and even according to statements made by some Congressmen, the price of rice in certain parts has gone up to Rs. 25 a maund and that of wheat in certain parts has risen to Rs. 24 a maund. Apart from this *ad hoc* rise, what is the overall so-called steady position? I was looking at the 'specialised' statistics of the Food Ministry the other day. According to the specialised statistics—incidentally, I do not know what the epithet 'specialised' connotes; perhaps the Food Ministry has specialists in statistics or the statistics are prepared for the special consumption of this House—foodgrain prices have gone up by 15 per cent by the end of the First Plan. Now, I am prepared to accept this computation given by the Food Ministry, but the *Hindustan Times*, which no one can accuse of being anti-Government, says 'no'. It says that these statistics are utterly unacceptable; the common experience of the common man would get the rise at the end of the First Plan at 30 per cent. But I am inclin-

ed to give the benefit of doubt to the Government. Let us accept the rise as 15 per cent.

But in passing, may I make this observation? I was also looking at the final forecast for rice production given by the Government. What is the Government's figure? 28.1 million tons. The Government second forecast, which was given just before the final forecast for rice production for 1956-57, put it at 23.9 million tons. It means just this, that the Government's statistical machinery, for what it is worth, is able to perpetrate this error of over 4 million tons between the second and the final forecast, an error of 16 per cent with regard to rice production.

Now, if I were inclined to be uncharitable, I would say that I would prefer the second forecast of 23.9 million tons, and that the final forecast was deliberately puffed in order to give the illusion to the House that rice production had reached a peak level. But I am not saying this. What I am trying to indicate is this: that your statistics, according to your own showing, are not reliable. Otherwise, how can this tremendous error of 16 per cent occur between the second and the final forecast? This is precisely what people say.

Then there is the other stark fact. Not only, according to Government, have we reached peak production, but prices have reached a peak figure. My hon. friend, Archarya Kripalani, has diagnosed the malaise. I submit he has sought to over-simplify it. He says that the whole problem can be simplified in this way: it is merely a question of inflation. I do not agree. Certainly, there is this tremendous, sudden rise. You have this peak reached in respect of prices. I do say that there is relative scarcity; there is acute scarcity that places food beyond the reach of the purchasing power of the poorer people, and to that extent, you get famine. But that is not a permanent feature. My own estimate

is that this is a temporary phase, that prices will recede and come down.

The Food Minister himself in a statement that he made to the Press the other day—on the 6th May—conceded that the country is living from hand to mouth. That is the admission which I find it very difficult to square—the statement that he made on the 6th May—with the thesis propounded here that we have reached peak production and that we have reached self-sufficiency.

The Minister has suggested an amalgam of causes for the present unsatisfactory position. He has said that it is due to deficit financing. The villain of the piece, according to Acharya Kripalani, is deficit financing-cum-development expenditure. I am not prepared to concede that thesis entirely. Then there is the contributory factor of natural calamities. It was almost suggested that hoarding at the present movement *vis-a-vis* this particular acute scarcity, was the villain of the piece.

Now, I am quite prepared to accept this analysis. But I come to this radical position: what is the inescapable conclusion that we arrive at from all these analyses? It is this. I am no longer a student of economics who wallows in economic theories. When I was a student of economics I was taught this: there is this basic economic law which is an inexorable law that prices are determined ultimately by the operation of the law of supply and demand. What do we arrive at? That is precisely what I am trying to say; that this present rise, this present temporary scarcity is due to inadequate supply. Whatever may be the cause; we may agree or we may disagree with the cause; we may agree or disagree with the quantum of production in the country and we may agree or disagree whether we have achieved self-sufficiency. But, we cannot escape this stark fact that today there is acute relative scarcity. What is the cause of this acute relative scarcity? It is because you have an inadequate supply. I am not seeking to oversimplify the position and I feel that we have perpetrated

this mistake, the Minister has done it, the Members on this side have done it. The whole time we are looking at the overall production. How much have you produced? Fifty-seven million tons or 58 million tons. How much do you hope to produce? That, I submit, is not the real determinant. Who are suffering? Not the agriculturists, not the producers; but the people who suffer are those who have to buy their food. How much of this food goes into what is technically known as the 'monetised sector'; that is the sector where food is bought? Only one-third; I think. That is accepted. One-third of 58 or 59 million tons; that is only about 19 million tons. You have to concentrate on that figure. Nineteen million tons go to the monetised sector. And, we have to determine whether these 19 million tons of food can feed the non-agricultural population of this country. I say, it cannot.

What I am trying to make is this. I know Government will say: We will plan; it is a long-term plan of achieving self-sufficiency. But, in the short term how are we to prevent this from happening; how to prevent it from recrudescing. It will recrudescence the next time we have a natural calamity, the next time we have drought, the next time we have hail or storm. We will have this recrudescence of relative scarcity. The poorer people will be unable to meet the peak prices. We will doubtless have near famine conditions. My answer to this is this. I know, when I say this, it will create resistance, psychological resistance. There is only one answer. I may be wrong. You have to get the amount. You may beg, borrow or steal. But, fortunately, we do not have to beg or steal. We can get it. I say this; the amount may be wrong, but I am trying to draw conclusions from facts. The Minister said that by December we will have 1 million tons of wheat and five lakhs tons of rice in reserve. It cannot be adequate. I am looking at the results. How can it be adequate? If it was adequate, you would never get this relative scarcity.

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I am not quarrelling as to where from you get it—whether from America or any other place. My communist friends may say that they do not like the complexion of American wheat. Let them get it from Russia. But, what I say is this. You will have to build up adequate reserves. Government's thesis is apparently that our import policy is adequate, and that we have sufficient stocks. If that is so, then, one of two things has happened. Either the State Governments have been incompetent or they have been inefficient. Either they have not given you the necessary warning when they should have. They should have known what conditions are likely to accrue and they did not give you time to send the necessary relief. Or transport bottlenecks operated and prevented the getting of the relief, as soon as you should have got relief. I am not going to talk about transport bottlenecks. But in my own humble view the position is going to get worse instead of better as you have not got an adequate provision for wagons.

It is not Government's case here that the State Governments have been either incompetent or inefficient. It is not Government's case that transport bottlenecks have intervened in the matter of sending a sufficient supply sufficiently early. What do we come down to? We come down to the basic and the ultimate cause; the Government has not got sufficient supplies. There is no other reason. I do not blame the Government. All I say is adequate and you have adequate supplies. In the long term we may be able to achieve food sufficiency. But, what are we going to do relieve a situation like this, to prevent the recrudescence in the next 6 months or in the next year. My humble opinion is this. You can get your economists and theoreticians to go on but you will have to decide as to what the minimum stocks must be with the Government so that you can unload at any time in order to break any kind of factors which stimulate temporary famine conditions.

It has been said that hoarding is there. But, how do you, get hoarding? I do not know to what extent the agriculturists hoards. But we all know who the middlemen are. I am not naming them; it gives offence. They are a parasitic, ravenous class who will fatten on conditions like this. They know precisely when it pays to hoard and they know that the Government has not got the capacity to check this sudden spiral of increasing prices and they know that by hoarding they can get peak prices. They would never hoard if you had sufficient supplies whether it is 2 million tons or 5 million tons, and you unload it in the market at the proper time. They will never get the benefit of hoarding. That is my submission.

What are the facts as they emerged from the Minister's statement. I was reading a statement from Bihar. The statement said that the fair price shops in Bihar were empty. Who is to blame. I hope the Bihar Government is not to blame. Obviously, if there are no transport bottlenecks, if the Bihar Government was vigilant, the blame was obviously that you did not have sufficient supplies to put into these fair-price shops. It is said that we must not unnecessarily create panic in the country. It is not a statement made here or there that creates panic. It is not a facts that create panic. What must have been the reaction on the minds of the average peasants, the non-agriculturists as soon as they found your fair-price shops empty? It must have acted as a tremendous impetus to this inflationary spiral. And, as I said, the Government, obviously, did not have the wherewithal to fill the fair-price shops.

I cannot reconcile all that the Minister says. In one part he says they will have adequate reserves. Apparently, this is internal sufficiency. In the Press statement he says that the off-take in respect of grains except rice will be almost equal to the imports. I fail to understand this.

Mr. Chairman: The hon. Member's time is up.

Shri Frank Anthony: Sir, I am speaking on behalf of my group.

Mr. Chairman: The hon. Member has already taken about 18 to 19 minutes.

Shri Frank Anthony: Sir, I hope as spokesman of a group, I will get 30 minutes. I am the only member speaking on behalf of my group.

Mr. Chairman: If the hon. Member only knew how many hon. Members were anxious to speak he will surely think twice before he makes a request for further time.

Shri Frank Anthony: I thought I would get 30 minutes; anyhow I will finish soon.

Yesterday, in a statement, the Minister, I think, said that the requests of one or two State Governments could not be fully acceded to. The Kerala Government has asked for certain aid. The statement says that what will be given to the Kerala State Government will depend on the availability of stocks with the Centre. Obviously, the Central Government has not got adequate supplies to meet fully the demands of the States. The meeting of the whole demands of the States will depend upon the availability of supplies at the Centre. You come back to the basic complaint that you have not got adequate supplies. You will not be able to accede to the demands of the States or break the back of any kind of anti-social activity like hoarding. There is thus a clear concatenation of facts. The statement of the Minister will lead to the one conclusion, the inescapable conclusion. Let us cut through the statistics; let us cut through the theories and counter theories with regard to production.

We come to the basic fact that the Central Government has not got sufficient supplies. How do you answer that problem? Internally, you cannot immediately produce enough; you will have to import. I do not know

what the quantum of imports is likely to be but it is suggested by knowledgeable people that you must have at least two or three million tons on hand; you must be able to release two million tons in the market immediately there is a scarcity condition to prevent hoarding. I know it is repugnant to the psychological susceptibilities of my hon. friends. My hon. friend, the Chairman, does not like any one to suggest that we are not self-sufficient in food. But, we have to face the facts.

The Finance Minister will come with an adequate objection: where will we get the money to pay for these imports? People are prepared to help this country and to extend credit. We need not pay immediately. I do not see how these imports will interfere with our resources. We get money immediately we sell the stocks. We will add to our resources.

I only want to say this that the present import policy will not prevent a recrudescence of a situation like this. Government will be criticised ultimately for a policy of too little and too late. Unless we have adequate stocks to meet a situation of relative scarcity like this, it enters into the general cost structure of the country. The index for food grains controls the food index to the extent of two-thirds. The food index, in turn, is a dominant factor in the general cost index; it enters in that to the extent of one third. Unless we control food and give our people food, how are going to control the general cost index in this country? If we do not control it what happens? People starve. It gives a tremendous impetus to the food index which in turn gives further impetus to the general cost index. My communist friends will come along making capital out of it and you cannot resist it. Already there is a demand for a second Pay Commission. If the prices of foodgrains are high, then the food index is high. Consequently, they want increased emoluments. How are you going to resist it? You cannot do it. You have got this tremendous vicious circle and it

[Shri Frank Anthony]

results in the demand for a second Pay Commission, higher wages, etc. Higher wages lead again to higher prices and once we let this vicious circle of wages chasing prices and then prices chasing wages and you and I can say good-bye to the Second Plan. That is why I say that this is a grave national emergency which has not only to do with food but which has to do something with the whole general cost structure which, in turn, is immediately concerned with our capacity to implement the Second Plan.

श्री व० प्र० सिंह (मुंगेर) : सभापति महोदय, राष्ट्रपति ने अपने भाषण में इस बात का जिक्र किया है कि खाद्य के विषय में देश को आत्मनिर्भर बनाने के लिए अभी बहुत कुछ करना है। कल हमारे खाद्य मंत्री ने एक वक्तव्य दिया और बताया कि हमारे देश में उत्पादन की कमी नहीं है, उत्पादन बढ़ रहा है, लेकिन केवल बिहार और उत्तर प्रदेश के पूर्वी क्षेत्र में विशेष आपत्ति के कारण यह कमी हुई है। यह आवश्यक है कि सरकार इस और विशेष ध्यान दे और वास्तविक स्थिति को मालूम करे। यह देखने का प्रयत्न करना चाहिए कि हम को जो सूचनायें और आंकड़े दिए जा रहे हैं, उन में कहां तक सच्चाई है। हमें याद है कि स्वर्गीय किदवई साहब ने कहा था कि गवर्नमेंट के आंकड़े गलत हैं और उन का सुधार कर उन्होंने इस देश में खाद्यानों से कंट्रोल हटाने का प्रयत्न किया था। इस अवस्था में मैं समझता हूँ कि सरकार की ओर से मंत्री महोदय ने जो वक्तव्य दिया है, वह पूरे का पूरा विश्वास के लायक नहीं है। गवर्नमेंट को यह देखना चाहिए कि इस में कहां पर छिद्र है और क्या कारण है कि हमारे देश में अन्न का अभाव न होते हुए भी अन्न-संकट की आशंका हो रही है।

कहा जाता है कि प्रथम पंच-वर्षीय योजना के दौरान उत्पादन में १८ प्रतिशत की वृद्धि हुई। साथ ही साथ हम यह भी उम्मीद करते

हैं कि दूसरी पंच-वर्षीय योजना में ४० प्रतिशत की वृद्धि होगी। राज्य सरकारों ने केंद्रीय सरकार को २५ प्रतिशत वृद्धि करने का विश्वास दिलाया है। १९५५ में प्लैनिंग कमीशन ने राज्य सरकारों को लिखा है कि वे अपने अपने राज्य में उत्पादन में दुगुनी वृद्धि करें। इन सब प्रयत्नों के बावजूद आज देश में जो परिस्थिति है, वह बड़ी भयानक और विचारणीय है। हम समझते हैं कि जो लोग इस कार्य में लगे हुए हैं, वे पूरी दिलचस्पी से काम नहीं कर रहे हैं। हमारे देश के सामने सब से बड़ी समस्या खाद्य की है और मैं समझता हूँ कि हमारी सरकारें चलाने वाले लोग, हमारे कार्यकर्ता और सरकारी कर्मचारी यदि पूरी दिलचस्पी और सहयोग से काम करें, तो कोई कारण नहीं कि हम इस समस्या का हल न निकाल सकें। जैसा कि मैं ने अभी कहा है, मालूम होता है कि हमारे आंकड़ें गलत हैं और इस लिए हम तरफ हमारा ध्यान जाना चाहिए। हमें देखना चाहिए कि कहीं हमारे उत्पादन में कमी तो नहीं हो रही है और अगर हो रही है, तो हमें उस के कारणों के विषय में गहरा चिन्तन करना चाहिए।

योजना आयोग ने प्लैन में एग्रीकल्चर को जो स्थान दिया है और जो उस की योजना बनाई है, उस को देखने से मालूम होता है कि आयोग के सदस्य देश की परिस्थिति को वास्तविक रूप से समझने में असमर्थ रहे हैं। उन्होंने निश्चय किया है कि फ्रैमिली होल्डिंग पांच एकड़ की होनी चाहिए और सीलिंग "थ्री टाइम्स आफ दि फ्रैमिली होल्डिंग" होनी चाहिए। मैं यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि इस देश में एक एकड़ में औसतन केवल चालीस रुपए नैट सेविंग है। इस के मुकाबले में सेंट्रल पे कमीशन ने सिफारिश की है कि सरकारी कर्मचारियों का मैक्सिमम वेतन तीन हजार रुपया मासिक हो। इसी प्रकार शहर के लोगों की वार्षिक आमदनी ३०,००० रुपए और देहात के लोगों की खेती से ३,६००

रूप है। आज सब धोर से आर्थिक समता धोर समाजवाद धोर सोशलिस्टिक पैटर्न की बात कही जाती है। लेकिन यह आर्थिक विषमता देख कर किसानों में बड़ी शंका पैदा होती है और उन में कोई उत्साह नहीं रह जाता है। परिणाम यह होता है कि वे लोग जमीन का पूरा पूरा उपयोग नहीं कर पाते हैं और पैदावार में जो वृद्धि हो सकती है, वह नहीं होती है। अगर किसानों को यह विश्वास हो जाय कि पैदावार के बढ़ने से उन को भी लाभ पहुंचेगा, और अगर कोई खतरा नहीं है तो वे पूरी दिलचस्पी और उत्साह के साथ काम करेंगे आज प्लैनिंग कमिशन में किताब पढ़ने वाले लोग ज्यादा हैं और वस्तुस्थिति का ध्यान रखने वाले कम हैं। उन को देखना चाहिए कि दूसरे देशों में जमीन और उत्पादन की समस्या को किस प्रकार हल किया गया है और किस प्रकार पैदावार को बढ़ाया गया है। इस सम्बन्ध में एक स्टैंडर्ड आफ कल्टीवेशन फिक्स कर दिया जाय और अगर कोई उतना पैदा न कर सके, तो मुआवजा दे कर उस जमीन की कानफिस्केट कर लिया जाय। अगर यह तय कर दिया जाय, तो किसान ज्यादा से ज्यादा पैदा करने की कोशिश करेंगे। लेकिन ऐसी कोई योजना देखने में नहीं आती है। गत वर्ष हम ने योजना मंत्री से निवेदन किया था कि एक स्टैंडर्ड आफ लिविंग फिक्स करना चाहिए और जब तक ऐसा न किया जायेगा तब तक न तो देश में समानता का भाव आ सकता है और न बंकारी की समस्या ही हल हो सकती है। मंत्री महोदय ने विश्वास दिलाया था कि यह बात उन के विचाराधीन है और वह ऐसा कुछ करने जा रहे हैं, लेकिन हम देखते हैं कि आज तक इस विषय में कोई प्रगति नहीं हुई है। इन बातों को दृष्टि में रख कर हमारा कहना यह है कि इस देश में ८० प्रतिशत किसान हैं और किसानों को आप ऊपर उठाना चाहते हैं, लेकिन आप का एक भी कार्य ऐसा नहीं है, जिस से कि किसानों में आप के प्रति विश्वास पैदा हो। आप जब आर्थिक समता की बात करते हैं, तो आप केवल किसानों

में ही समता की बात सोचते हैं। दूसरे वर्गों की तरफ, जिन के पास बड़ी बड़ी धन-राशि है आप का जरा भी ध्यान नहीं जाता है। प्रति, व्यक्ति आय—पर कॅपिटा इनकम—२८१ रूपए है, लेकिन पूर्वी भारत में एक किसान की ज्यादा से ज्यादा आय ११० रूपए है। आप आर्थिक समता और समाजवाद की बात करते हैं। मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि क्या आप के पास किसानों की आय बढ़ाने की कोई योजना है। आज किसानों की आर्थिक स्थिति कैसी है इस और आप विचार नहीं करते हैं और न आपको इसका अनुमान है। आज आपने जो टैनेन्सी लास बना रखे हैं वे किसानों को तबाह करते जा रहे हैं। आज आप किसानों की स्थिति को सुधारने के लिए मनीलैंड्स एक्ट बनाते हैं लेकिन आप उसको व्यवहार में लाने के उपाय नहीं सोचते। इसके बारे में भी आप के पास कोई योजना नहीं है। आज किसान के पास इतना पैसा नहीं है कि वह अपने खेतों के लिए बढ़िया खाद खरीद सके और पैदावार को बढ़ा सके। आज किसानों के पास इतना पैसा नहीं है कि वह बढ़िया बेल खरीद सके और उनकी सहायता से अच्छी तरह से खेती कर सके। आज किसानों को उनकी जमीन के ऊपर कोई कब्जा देने वाला नहीं है। आज देश के अन्दर लैंड मार्टगेज बैंक नहीं हैं जहां से किसान अपनी जरूरतों को पूरा करने के लिए कर्ज ले सकें। यदि यह सुविधायें उसको प्रदान की जायें तो वह निश्चय ही उत्पादन में वृद्धि कर सकता है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि आप इस तरह की ही योजनायें बनायें। आज किसी भी राज्य सरकार का ध्यान इस और नहीं है। राज्यों में जो हमारे मंत्रिगण हैं वे तो इन सब चीजों को करने के लिए व्यर्थ हैं लेकिन जो बड़े बड़े अफसर हैं और जो लाल फीताशाही बहाँ चलती है वे उनको कोई काम नहीं करने देते हैं। वे लाल फीताशाही में बंधे रहते हैं। इस तरह से कोई काम आगे नहीं बढ़ सका है। और न भागें बढ़ेगा, ऐसा मेरा अनुमान है। आज आपको सब से पहली बात जो करनी

[श्री व० प्र० सिंह]

चाहिये वह यह है कि किसानों के अन्दर उत्साह का संचार प्राप्त करें। साथ ही साथ उसका जो जीवन स्तर है उसको ऊंचा उठाने का भी प्रयत्न आपको करना चाहिए। आज आपने लोगों के जीवनमान का कोई खुलासा नहीं बनाया है, इसके बारे में आपने कोई निष्पत्ति नहीं किया है और आप यह कहे जा रहे हैं कि आप किसानों का स्टैंडर्ड आफ लिविंग ऊपर उठाना चाहते हैं, देशवासियों का स्टैंडर्ड आफ लिविंग बढ़ाना चाहते हैं। इसको ऊंचा उठाने के लिए आप के पास कोई योजना नहीं है, कोई खुलासा नहीं है जो हमारे दिल के अन्दर धंका उत्पन्न होती है कि आप ऐसा कर सकेंगे। आप इस चीज का आज अंदाजा नहीं कर सकते हैं कि सर्वसाधारण के जीवनमान में तथा बड़े बड़े सरकारी कर्मचारियों के जीवन मान में, पूंजीपतियों के जीवनमान में तथा राज चलाने वाले जो मिनिस्टर लोग हैं उनके जीवनमान में कितना अन्तर आ गया है। किसी भी समाजवादी देशों में जीवनमान में अन्तर १ : ६ से ज्यादा नहीं है लेकिन हमारे देश में यह १ : १०० का है। मैं चाहूंगा कि सरकार सब से पहले इस जीवनमान को स्थिर करे और उसको हासिल करने का यत्न करे। किस अनुपात को अपनाया जाए, इसका निर्णय पहले हो जाना चाहिए। यदि आप इसको फिक्स कर देंगे और तब किसानों की हालत को देखेंगे तो आपको पता चलेगा कि उनके लिए बहुत कुछ करने की अभी बाकी पड़ा है। ऐसा यदि आपने किया तो मैं समझता हूँ कि किसानों के अन्दर न उत्साह का संचार होगा।

आज आप माइनर इरिगेशन के लिए कितना ही रुपया खर्च करने जा रहे हैं। लेकिन मैं आपको बतलाना चाहता हूँ कि इस सब पैसा का सदुपयोग नहीं हो रहा है। आज माइनर इरिगेशन के सम्बन्ध में आपने बांध बंधादि बनाने की योजनाएँ बनाई हैं। यह सब तो बरसात के पानी पर निर्भर करता है।

आपने कुछ खोवने की योजना बनाई है। उनके सम्बन्ध में मुझे यह कहना है कि यदि ४ इंच डायामीटर के स्टैंडर्ड को अपना कर यदि आप बोरिंग करें तो ही उधारा से ज्यादा फायदा हो सकता है। लेकिन आज आपके कुछ वैडे ही पड़े हुए हैं और उनका कुछ भी उपयोग नहीं हो रहा है। एन० ई० एस० ग्ल्याक्स को तथा कम्प्यूनिटी डिवेलेपमेंट ग्ल्याक्स को मैंने देखा है। मैं आपसे पूछना चाहता हूँ कि एक एन० ई० एस० ग्ल्याक के लिए जितना पैसा निर्धारित किया जाता है तथा उसमें से कितना पैसा डिवेलेपमेंट में खर्च किया जाता है। जहाँ से मैं आया हूँ वहाँ के अधिकारियों से मैंने पूछा कि एन० ई० एस० ग्ल्याक का बजट कितने का है। उसने उत्तर दिया कि चार लाख का है। मैंने फिर पूछा कि विकास कार्यों पर कितना खर्च किया जाएगा, उसने उत्तर दिया कि दो लाख। बाकी का जो दो लाख है मकानात पर, एस्टेबिलिशमेंट पर तथा इसी तरह के दूसरे कामों पर खर्च किया जाएगा। तो आपको इन सब चीजों की तरफ गहराई से विचार करना होगा। बहुत ज्यादा हथपा खर्च कर देने से तथा सरकारी कर्मचारियों को संख्या बढ़ा देने से उत्पादन नहीं बढ़ सकता है। आपको वही कार्य करना चाहिए जिस से कि किसान को लाभ हो, साधारण जनता को लाभ हो। आप के अपने ही विशेषज्ञों का कहना है कि जितना पैदा होता है, यदि प्रयत्न किया जाए तो उस से पांच गुना पैदावार बढ़ सकती है। जब इतनी शक्ति हमारे पास है तो क्या कारण है कि उस शक्ति का हम सदुपयोग नहीं कर पा रहे हैं और बाह्य आडम्बर तथा लाल क्रीताशाही के फेर में फंसे हुए हैं। आपको ऐसे ही कार्य करने चाहिये जिनसे वास्तविक रूप में लाभ समस्या हल हो सके। अभी तक हमें लाभ समस्या का समाधान नहीं कर सके हैं। आज हम सोशलिस्टिक पैटर्न आफ सोसाइटी की बात करते हैं, बेकारी को दूर करने की बात करते हैं परन्तु आज तक हमारी सरकार हमारा जीवनमान भी स्थिर नहीं कर सकी है।

हमारे स्टैंडर्ड ग्राम लिविंग को किस अनुपात में फिक्स किया जाए, इसका निर्णय नहीं कर सकी है। ग्राम इसे फिक्स कर दीजिये। इसको फिक्स न करने में, मैं समझता हूँ सरकारी कर्मचारियों का बहुत बड़ा हाथ है। इसके फिक्स हो जाने से आज जो तीन तीन और चार चार हजार रुपया बतौर वेतन के दिया जा रहा है वह बन्द हो जायेगा। आज हमारे नेताओं के वेतन और भत्ते भी बहुत बड़े चढ़े हुए हैं और वे भी कम हो जायेंगे। बिहार में एक व्यक्ति की औसत आय १० रुपया महीना है और दस रुपया भी नहीं है बल्कि ६८ रुपये ६ आने सालाना है। तो वास्तव में यदि ग्राम खाद्य समस्या को हल करना चाहते हैं, लोगों की आर्थिक स्थिति को अच्छा करना चाहते हैं तो आपको इस सारे मसले पर गहराई से और करना होगा। यदि ग्राम गहराई में विचार करेंगे तो आपको पता चलेगा कि प्लानिंग कमिशन में जितने भी लोग हैं उनमें से शायद एक भी ऐसा नहीं है जिसको कि किसानों का कोई भी तर्जुबा हो। जहां आप ३,६०० रुपया वार्षिक आय की बात किसानों के लिए सोचते हैं वहां आप को इस पर भी विचार करना चाहिए कि सेंट्रल पे कमिशन के अनुसार जो तीन तीन और चार चार हजार रुपया मासिक वेतन पाते हैं उनका क्या किया जाए। किसानों को सूखा और बाढ़ इत्यादि से जो नुकसान हो जाता है, उसका आपको ध्यान ही नहीं है। शहरों में रहने वाले लोगों की आमदनी के बारे में आप ३०,००० तक की छूट देते हैं जबकि किसानों को ३,६०० तक की छूट देते हैं। ऐसी हालत में आप कैसे यह उम्मीद कर सकते हैं कि वे लोग उत्पादन बढ़ावें। किसानों को शंका है कि आज उनकी बात बड़े लोगों तक नहीं पहुंचती है। हमारे शासकों के पास पूंजिपतियों या दूसरे बड़े लोगों की आवाज पर ज्यादा ध्यान दिया जाता है लेकिन किसानों की ओर बहुत कम ध्यान दिया जाता है। इसलिए मैं कहता हूँ कि आपका ध्यान उनकी अवस्था को सुधारने की ओर भी जाए।

दूसरी बात जो मैं कहना चाहता हूँ वह शिक्षा के सम्बन्ध में है। पूज्य बापू ने बुनियादी तालीम पर जोर दिया था। लेकिन ग्राम आज तक शिक्षा के सम्बन्ध में एक रूपता स्थापित नहीं कर पाए हैं। आज ग्राम यूनिवर्सिटियों पर यूनिवर्सिटियां खोलते जा रहे हैं, ग्ररबन यूनिवर्सिटियां खोलते जा रहे हैं। मैं चाहता हूँ कि एकरूपता लाने के लिए आपको इन यूनिवर्सिटियों को रूरलाइज करना चाहिए, तब आपका काम सुचारू रूप से चल सकेगा। आपको संविधान के अनुसार सात वर्ष के अन्दर स्कूलों में जाने वाले ६ से १४ वर्ष तक के लड़कों के लिए शिक्षा की समुचित व्यवस्था करनी चाहिए थी। लेकिन दूसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना के अन्त में आप केवल ६ से ११ वर्ष तक की आयु वाले बालकों के लिए ६० प्रतिशत ही प्रबन्ध करने जा रहे हैं और ११ से १४ वर्ष तक के बच्चों के लिए तो आपने केवल १७ प्रतिशत की बात कही है। आप बड़े बड़े विद्वविद्यालय खोलते जा रहे हैं लेकिन जो न्यूनतम शिक्षा किसानों को दी जानी है उसकी ओर आपका कोई ध्यान ही नहीं है। आज जो देश के लिए खाद्य-पदार्थ पैदा करता है उसकी हालत सुधारने के लिए आपके पास कोई भी प्रोग्राम नहीं है और आप उसके अन्दर आकर्षण पैदा नहीं कर पा रहे हैं। उसके अन्दर उत्साह का संचार नहीं कर पा रहे हैं। आज ग्राम लोग कास्ट हार्जिसिंग की स्कीम बनाते हैं लेकिन किस के लिए। आज इसे इंडस्ट्रियल लेबर के लिए बनाते हैं, अपने कर्मचारियों के लिए बनाते हैं। क्या आप बता सकते हैं कि आपने किसानों के लिए भी कही पर कोई हार्जिसिंग की योजना बनाई है या इस नाम की कोई दूसरी योजना बनाई है। आज आपके सामने खाद्य की गम्भीर समस्या उत्पन्न हो चुकी है और आप इसका रोना रोते रहते हैं लेकिन इसकी हल करने के लिए गम्भीर सोच विचार के बाद योजना नहीं बनाते हैं, किसानों की आर्थिक दशा सुधारने का प्रयत्न नहीं करते हैं, उसमें उत्साह का संचार करने की कोशिश नहीं

[श्री व० प्र० सिंह]

करते हैं। मैं समझता हूँ कि इसे समस्या का बहुत थोड़ा प्रयत्न के साथ हल किया जा सकता है। आज आप फारेन एक्सचेंज का भी रोना रोते हैं। दूसरे देशों में भी आप गल्ला मंगा रहे हैं। आप यह भी सोचते हैं कि किस तरह से इंडस्ट्रीज को बढ़ावा दिया जा सकता है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि आप निश्चय कर लें कि हम गल्ला इम्पोर्ट नहीं करेंगे और अपनी जरूरतों के मुताबिक अपने देश में ही पैदा करेंगे। यदि हम पैदा नहीं कर सकते हैं तो हमें अपने जीवन को ऐसा व्यावहारिक जीवन बनाना चाहिए कि जितना गल्ला पैदा होता है उस गल्ले से ही आज हम अपना काम चला लें।

आज जो बहुत बड़ा हिस्सा किसानों का है उसके बारे में आपको सोचना होगा। आज जो टेनेंसी लाज आपने बनायें है, उन पर आपको पुनः विचार करना होगा। उनको शिक्षा देने का प्रयत्न करना होगा। जब तक जमींदारी प्रथा इस देश में थी तब तक तो पार्ट होल्डिंग की नीलामी करने की ही व्यवस्था थी। लेकिन आज जब आपने इस प्रथा को समाप्त कर दिया है तो आप सर्टिफिकेट जारी करने हैं और उसके बदले में उसकी चल सम्पत्ति को कुर्क करने हैं। उसका अनाज निकाल लेते हैं। तो मैं कहता हूँ कि रीजपुर तथा हरीपुर के किसानों के साथ कॉर्पोरेशन ने जो बादा किया था उसकी पूर्ति नहीं की गई है। जितने भी वादे आपने किसानों से किए थे उनको आज आप भूल गए हैं। आपने जो प्रतिशाये किसानों के साथ की है उनकी पूर्ति कीजिए और देश के आदर-ऐसा बातावरण पैदा कीजिए कि किसानों में आपके प्रति विश्वास की भावना पैदा हो और आप एक स्टैंडर्ड आरू कल्टिवेशन फिक्स कर के देश का धन धान्य बढ़ायें। हमारे पूज्य नेहरू जी ने बहुत बार कहा है कि हम कोई काम ऐसा नहीं करना चाहते जिससे देश के उत्पादन में कमी हो और हम तो अपने देश का खाद्य उत्पादन बढ़ाना चाहते हैं लेकिन यह

दुर्भाग्य का विषय है कि आज उसकी ओर सरकार का ध्यान आकषित नहीं हुआ है। मैं आपके लिए सरकार का ध्यान इस ओर आकषित करना चाहता हूँ कि खाद्य समस्या जो भारत सरकार हल करना चाहती है वह किसानों की उन सारी आवश्यकताओं की पूर्ति करके और किसानों में अपने प्रति विश्वास पैदा करके ही यह समस्या हल हो सकती है अन्यथा यह ठन होने वाली नहीं है।

14 hrs.

Mr. Chairman: The following are the amendments which have been indicated by the Members to be moved, subject to their being otherwise admissible:

Amendments Nos. 15, 17, 18, 19, 38, 67, 76 and 77.

Shri Bamra (Angul): I beg to move:

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

"but regret that the Government have signally failed to solve the food situation in the country."

Shri P. K. Deo (Kalahandi): I beg to move:

(i) "That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret to find that the Community Development and National Extension Service programme have not made adequate progress to solve various needs of the villages."

(ii) "That at the end of the motion the following be added, namely:—

"but regret to find that no effective step is being taken to stop the colossal wastage in various major projects taken up in this country."

Shri Mohamed Imam (Chitaldrug).
I beg to move:

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

"but regret that the Address gives no assurance of administrative competence or of measures necessary to meet the approaching economic and food crisis and the evil effects of inflation, so as to give relief to the people from their ever increasing hardships and national difficulties and that the Government's proposals for the future are either inadequate or injurious."

Shri Jadhav (Malgaon): I beg to move:

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

"but regret that reorganisation of the States has been completed by forming (i) Samyukta Maharashtra including Bombay City and (ii) Mahagujarath."

Shri P. K. Deo: I beg to move:

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

"but regret that the Address fails to take note of the ardent desire of the people of Seraikella and Kharswan to re-integrate those areas with Orissa State as expressed in the General Elections"

Shri Narayanankutty Menon (Mukandapuram): I beg to move:

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address regarding any measures for meeting the unemployment situation in the country with particular reference to the State of Kerala where the unemployment situation is extremely acute."

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

"but regret that no motion has been made in the Address regard-

ing the necessity of following a policy of increase in the overall wages for the workers both in the public and private sector."

Mr. Chairman: All these amendments are now before the House.

Shri A. S. Sarhadi (Ludhiana):
Mr. Chairman, Sir, as we look at the President's Address, as Members of the House, we are compelled to have a feeling of thanks. There is no gain—saying the fact, that the coming few years would be very vital in the history of India, internally as well as externally. Internally, we are embarking on a Five Year Plan. The strength solidarity and the economic stability of the country depend on the success of the Five Year Plans. No doubt, the Five Year Plan has been initiated by the Congress Party. But it is a national plan and failure in it is bound to have repercussions on the future of the country.

One is really surprised to find one hon. Member, the leader of a Group, who commands respect throughout the country ridiculing why the Congress should take credit for the Plan. Of course, I am new to the Congress Party. Yet from all democratic principles, when a party has initiated a certain plan, it can certainly take credit for it and there should have been no surprise when the Congress Party in the elections took credit for the first Five Year Plan and the second Five Year Plan.

As I was just now saying, Sir, the future strength of the country depends on the success of the five year plans. But it is gratifying to note that from no quarter in this House has there been any criticism of this Plan as such. There have been criticisms in the implementation of the Plan, but as a Plan, it has been accepted by all. The main criticism in this House has been on the rising trend of food prices. Certainly, there has been a rise. The prices are higher from what they were in 1956. They are higher than what they were in 1955. They are certainly higher from what they were in 1954. But they are not very much

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emergency and we shall be prepared higher than what they were in 1953. It certainly concerns the urban population. But there is another side of the picture. You have got to see to the interests of the producers and the growers also.

The Planning Commission suggested that any reduction in the prices of foodgrains must be automatically followed by the increased production and they suggested that 20 per cent reduction in the prices of foodgrains must simultaneously follow an increase of 40 per cent. in production. We have got to see the recent rise from that aspect. This should not create any panic. Certainly there has been a rise, and we should look into it.

The Government has appointed, or, is appointing a High-powered committee for this purpose. But, as I have just now submitted, we have got to look to the interests of the agriculturists and the producers also. Therefore, I agreed with my hon. friend Shri Frank Anthony that the high-powered committee should not concentrate its energies on the big places and towns but should go to the fields and consult the man behind the plough and see what the situation is.

In the first Five Year Plan, certainly much attention was paid towards agricultural economy of the country. But I regret to say that so far as the second Five Year Plan is concerned, not much attention has been paid towards agricultural economy. This was admitted by the hon. Minister of Food and Agriculture while giving his address at the inaugural session of the Agricultural Ministers' Conference in 1956. He conceded this fact at that time and said:

"Agricultural income all over the world lags behind the urban and industrial incomes. In India, as against the average per capita income of about 297 of the factory workers in 1950, the income of

the agricultural labourer in 1950-51 worked out to an average of about Rs. 200 only. The second Plan provides for an increase in national production of 25 per cent, whereas the increase in the agricultural sector is only 18 per cent. The disparity in the incomes of industrial sector and of the agricultural sector at the end of the second Five Year Plan will, therefore, if anything, be greater than at present. Seven out of every ten persons living in our country derive their livelihood from agriculture and at the end of the second Five Year Plan, the vast majority of the people living on agriculture will not have bettered their lot to the same extent as those dependent on industry and trade. This aspect of our planning cannot be overlooked lightly, and should legitimately be a cause for concern."

I was submitting for the consideration of the House that in the second Five Year Plan, the producer and the grower have not been paid that much attention which they should have received. From that aspect, I submit that this point should be looked into. Speaking as a Member from Punjab, I submit that 65 per cent of the population of Punjab is entirely dependent on agriculture. 81 per cent of the population is in the villages, but about 65 per cent, as I said, are dependent on agriculture. Therefore, their future should be looked into. I would, therefore, urge that, under the circumstances, heavy industries and other industries also should be distributed in a manner that no State should be left without industrialisation. In this respect, Punjab has got a grouse which, I am sure, will be attended to.

Coming to the next point in the Address, I must say that the unity of a country, or rather, the strength and solidarity of a country depends on

the unity of its people. I feel that that unity can only be attained if there is an emotional integration amongst the different sections residing therein. From that aspect, the Government deserves congratulations for having settled the Punjab problem. The hon. Member from Bombay City central said yesterday that there are murmurings about the language problem in Punjab. I do not know from where he got that information. Possibly, his information is based on news in the Press of the Punjab. But I must tell him and through you, the House, that this problem is settled once for all. There has been a compromise and we take it as settled. It pained me to find that one hon. Member has tabled an amendment that it should be reopened and looked into again. I feel it will be disastrous; it will be raising up old controversies. The matter is closed. Punjab is a border province and I believe that if that attention has been given to it previously before the partition, and man's mind is ingenious, probably we would have been able to settle it and there would have been no partition at all. But now, I respectfully submit that any reopening of it would have serious repercussions. Therefore, I beg of those who are from outside not to raise old controversies which have been settled.

As I have submitted previously, Punjab also expects some share in the industrialisation. I am glad that one of the Members, the Leader of the Communist Group, said that the private sector is also essential. So far so good, but I would submit that we are in an age of democracy and an age of socialism; we have got to follow and adopt a socialist pattern in our economy. The hon. Minister said that the rise in the prices of food-grains is partly due to the hoarding by the landlords and speculators. I say that this is entirely due to the hoarding by the speculators and the businessmen.

An Hon. Member: Where are the landlords?

Shri A. S. Sarhad: There are no landlords, I can speak for Punjab; out of the 65 per cent population dependent on agriculture, 90 per cent do not own more than 7 or 8 acres. So, there are no landlords. Therefore, if at all any person is hoarding, it is the speculator and the businessman. The best thing would be to eliminate the middlemen in between the agriculturists and the consumers. There should be co-operative societies and these co-operative societies should consist of the growers who should run the market. That would be in the interests of the economy of the country. I would submit further that the private sector should be limited to the minimum. We are out of the age of capitalism; we are in the age of socialism. Therefore, our policy should be such that the private sector's role is not increased.

It was really a treat to hear a speech yesterday wherein one of the hon. speakers, referring to our foreign policy, pleaded very strongly that our country should have military alliances with Russia and China. As I have said, the next five years are very vital to the country internally as well as externally. Both are linked together. We can have success of the Five Year Plan only if there is peace in the world. I will only submit that India's foreign policy of condemnation of military alliances is certainly very good, for, military alliances constitute the basis of war. The role that India has been playing in international politics has been noble indeed. Our policy has not been a policy of neutrality or isolation or inaction. It has been a policy of action in the sense India has always worked for peace. Some people say that India's Foreign policy has founded in the land of pharaohs. That is wrong. India still persists in the role of peace mission, which it has adopted so long. This has helped to avoid wars in Indo-China and Korea and in future also it will avoid wars.

The country's future is bright indeed, provided, as has been stressed in the President's address, there is

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public co-operation and public determination; I feel the times call for it. I submit through you, Sir, that there should be complete co-operation from all of us in the country in this matter.

Mr. Chairman: Swami Ramananda Tirtha.

Shri Mohamed Imam: I would like to know the procedure that is being adopted for the selection of speakers.

Mr. Chairman: The hon. Member is perhaps new to the House. I am therefore submitting for his information that there is no list or fixed rule which hinds the Chair any Member who can catch the eye of the Chair will be called on to speak. But regard is always had to the fact that all parties should be represented and back-benchers as well as front benchers should get opportunities to speak. There is no fixed rule for calling a speaker; there is no fixed list with the Chair.

Swami Ramananda Tirtha (Aurangabad): After the second general elections, we meet with the rich experience gained during the lifetime of the first Parliament. The first Parliament has laid down certain democratic traditions and conventions; and, you, Sir, as Chairman, and also as a Member of this House, have helped to promote the proper functioning of this House in a manner by which even the opposition parties could be satisfied. I am saying this because we are entering upon a second phase of our democratic life and therefore, it is but natural that we shall be going in for new experiments.

A new experiment is being conducted in Kerala. We believe that democratic opposition is necessary and is conducive to the happy functioning of democracy in any country. Therefore, it is but natural for us to wish all well of the new regime, if it acts up to the professions which have been made before the people of that State. This is the first time that

the communist party has been put into power by the democratic will of the people; and, if they truly believe in democratic methods, none will be happier than myself if this experiment succeeds. I wish them all success.

The President has very aptly stated that the limitation of the explosions of the nuclear weapons is not the right way of putting a stop to the mentality and psychology of cold war. There has been a complexity in the situation and we have to understand the problem very correctly. It passes my imagination when I see that Soviet Russia is trying to make a joint appeal to the United States and U. K. for the suspension of war and for the stoppage of the nuclear explosions. I do not know why the U.S.S.R. should depend upon the grace of U.S.A. or U.K. Why not have the courage if they are sincere to take unilateral action and stop its own explosions instead of appealing to the good sense of U. S. A. and U. K.? If as they say they are wedded to the path of peace, to the method of peace, then it is the bounden duty of Soviet Russia to suspend its experiments and set an example to U. S. A. and U. K. and not depend on them to take the first step and also request Japan to join it to make up the team.

I only voice my own view when I express this feeling.

The President has very truthfully dealt with the Jarring Mission. The Government of India and the Prime Minister deserve all congratulations of this House for having adopted a very firm policy in dealing with this question. The one great advantage which this Mission has brought to us is that it will give a new appraisal to the Members of the Security Council and the U.N.O. about the Kashmir problem and it will make them realize the impact in the changed context of the situation and, therefore, a re-appraisal of the whole issue. It is no more a question of a plebiscite and

there is no question of arbitration also and therefore today the question has been again taken back to the original position and has to be solved on that basis and in that context. Therefore, when the U. N. Security Council is about to meet in a few days' time the position of India has been stated very clearly and the Government of India has all the praise for it on behalf of this House.

Much has been said about the Second Five Year Plan and the food situation. I have my own fears about the food situation. I have had ample opportunities of moving through many parts of the country and, I am afraid the statistics which are being gathered and which are being placed before us are not going to take us very much far. I feel that the next three months, particularly June and July are going to give us much headache and from what I understand from very reliable sources, I feel that the prices are going to rise and therefore let the Government beforehand about the impending situation that may be created due to the scarcity of supplies. The President is quite right when he says that there is no question of being complacent but there is a feeling of deep concern when he considers the food situation and the food problem.

The Second Five Year Plan has been augmented and with the proposals enunciated by the Railway Minister it will be adding Rs. 200 crores more to the original size of the Plan. We have been adding to the size, but I am afraid there is one lacuna and that will harm the onward march of the Second Five Year Plan. We do not have the technical personnel. The Government is trying to promote as many endeavours, enterprises and institutions as possible. There is also another difficulty I am quite clear in my mind and I speak with all responsibility at my command and with all restraint that is possible that the administrative machinery also has been lacking in efficiency and in promptness. Only a few days' back I had the opportunity

to tour some of the parts and I have to say from my personal experience that even after 2 years of the first application made, the funds have not reached those people who are making the enterprise. I only point this out to impress upon the administration that the success of the Second Five Year Plan depends as much and much more upon the efficiency of the administrative machinery as upon the co-operation and initiative of the people. Therefore, the Government would be taking the correct step if it gears up the administrative machinery and helps us to promote the development under the Second Five Year Plan.

In this second Parliament, and soon after it has assembled, I would like to throw a suggestion for its serious consideration. We have had two elections and we have all gained ample experience about good and bad elections and the features of these elections. Responsible people who have been thinking about the effective and healthy democratic functioning of this country have come forward to say that the method of election must be changed and changed basically and radically. We have to spend lakhs and lakhs and sometimes crores and if the same method continues, I am afraid no man with meagre means will be able to find a place in this august, sovereign body of the country. I am saying this with all sense of responsibility. If this body is going to be a monopoly of the few, of those whose purses can play all good and bad things, that is not going to give a true democratic content to this country. I therefore plead that this House during its life time of five years, should devise ways and means with a view to seeing that the next election to the village panchayat or village unit is held under adult franchise with a direct method of election and all the superstructure is brought into existence by indirect method.....

Shri Shree Narayan Das (Darbhanga): Will that solve the problem?

Swami Ramananda Tirtha: Please think over the matter whether it will solve the problem. I am just putting it before you for your serious consideration. It may have certain defects, but those defects will have to be removed and they are not going to be so great as the ones which you faced today in this election. The only condition for this would be that you will have to invest the village panchayat with greater powers, with fuller responsibility and with adequate resources. (*Interruption*)

Let hon. Members not be so impatient. This has been well received by the Prime Minister of India. I have not got the text of his speech here. I think he says that we have to think of reorientating the method of elections that we have today and hence I am placing this point of view before the House in the very first session of the Second Parliament. If there are any defects let those defects be scrutinised and a better method devised. I am not laying any particular emphasis on this method only. I am only pointing out the difficulties. Let us not be blind to them and if there is any other method that also can be considered.

I have to say a few words about a matter which was referred to by a friend from the Opposition yesterday. I was not present in the House, but I have read a report of the speech in the newspapers. I have not got the text of it before me. But my views do not tally with those of the hon. Member. I have my own views about it and I thought it better to express those views in this House rather than outside. After the elections I have not said anything about what has happened in the State of Bombay. I purposely avoided giving expression to whatever views I held. But it would not be proper on my part to miss this opportunity. This House decided upon the present State of Bombay after the fullest consideration and after it had debated over the issue for more than a couple of months. I for one accepted the verdict of this august body as a democratic verdict and have tried to implement it to the best of my

ability and according to my sincere efforts. Because, after all, the verdict of this sovereign body has to be accepted. But at the same time I felt that if there is any lacuna, if there is any lapse, any defect, anything wanting, it will be only this House that can do away with it, that can remove it and it will be only through the method of argumentation and conviction to be carried to the hon. Members of this House.

The impact of the situation cannot be ignored. I would only plead with hon. Members that it would be wrong to brush aside the results of the elections in certain parts of Bombay State as merely emotional aberrations or outbursts. It is a deep-rooted sentiment. I say it with whatever knowledge I have been able to gain during these months. Therefore, if there is anything that is wanting in the decision, it has to be seriously considered and ways and methods devised to satisfy that sentiment, if it is true, if it is genuine and if there is anything worth in that. Sir, I would only say to the Members opposite who have been talking of resignations, satyagraha, no-tax campaigns, this and that in the very first session of this Parliament, that is not the way, that is not the method of carrying conviction to this hon. body. You may gain votes from the people, but you will not convert the House by threats and by talks of resignation. I would be only too glad. I stand for a unilingual State even today and I would be glad if this House in its own ripe wisdom changes its previous decision. Nobody should challenge the collective wisdom of this House. If this House has taken some decision it has to be respected and has to be acted upon. At the same time I plead humbly, sincerely and in all earnestness for a revision of it, if the people so feel it and the feeling of the people in that particular part of the country has to be respected.

Shri S. K. Banerjee (Cooch Behar): Sir, having had the opportunity of representing the tea growing areas

of West Bengal in North East India, I deem it my duty to invite the attention of this House to the great problems besetting the industry, not only in the particular interest of the people of my constituency but in the large interest of our country. I shall not take the time of the House in making observations about the national importance of this industry which is already known to it, nor do I like to burden you with details of statistics.

I do not wish to speak about any reduction or remission of taxes or other impositions, reduction of wages, etc. As matters stand now, common tea is often sold below cost of production. The gap in world supplies has been filled by increased production in Ceylon, by India's own efforts and marked rise in production in the African territories. These territories have so far tended to produce teas of a common nature, and as such, they are competitors with similar teas in the older tea growing countries like India.

The total production of tea in India is about 650 million lbs and out of this North East India alone produces about 520 million lbs. Half the production of the North East Indian tea is of common nature and the balance is of quality. As such there is keen competition between us and those countries which produce common tea at lesser cost. East Africa last year produced about 60 to 65 million lbs of common tea and she is rapidly increasing her production. On the top of that African tea has no export duty. Our out market buyers buy common tea from those countries which offer a lower price and as such the North East India producers had to face a competitive market in which on account of higher cost of production they are not in a position to compete.

In order to avoid overproduction the North East Indian producers regulated their crop during the end of last year by about 25 million lbs. By doing so the market was stabilised

and the common tea of North East India has escaped a great loss. This year again there is an apprehension that the total production of the world would exceed the demand and as such the common tea of North East India will be sold at the buyer's discretion. So to meet this catastrophe the North East Indian producers shall be forced again to cut down their crop as was done last year. The regulation of crop will not solve the problem, because the policy of the Government of India is to increase production. Some may ask why these gardens should not make quality tea. My reply to that would be that quality derives from good fortune of location, climate and soil. If this over-production is allowed to continue, the fate of the common tea producers in North East India is very grave. In the event of loss, Government will lose the taxes and labour will not share the prosperity and other will be deprived of their interests.

Tea in North East India is a seasonal production, and the season starts with the rain and goes with the rain. So tea should not be treated on the same lines as other industries.

I should mention here that about two-thirds of the total production of Indian tea is exported and one-third—which is about 200 million lbs.—is released in India for Indian consumption. I would now suggest that Government may advise the Tea Board to accelerate the internal consumption in such a manner that the North-Eastern Indian producers may not be required to regulate and the price realised for common tea be over cost of production.

Finally, it is of the utmost importance to India's tea industry that no stone should be left unturned to revive the International Tea Agreement as early as practicable, to control the exports from the principal producing countries. I again place it before the House that unless ways and means are found out to solve this

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problem, the fate of the common tea in North East India is very gloomy.

Shri Bharucha (East Khandesh): I am grateful to you, Sir, that at long last I have been able to catch your eye. It appears to me that fighting elections is comparatively a very easy task, compared to the task of catching the eye of the Speaker!

Sir, I propose to take exactly fifteen minutes, because I have been noticing that as a result of hon. Members encroaching upon the generosity of the Chair, there is a likelihood of other Members not getting a chance to speak. I desire to speak.....

Mr. Chairman: The hon. Member need not criticise the Chair. This is rather premature. When he ultimately finds how many speakers have spoken and from which parties, then he will be in a better position to appreciate things.

Shri Bharucha: May I submit that all that I was doing was I was trying to subject myself to a self-denying ordinance?

Mr. Chairman: At least for the first few days every Member must think that he is not the only Member who has to be called. The Chair has to look to the number of parties. Now, the hon. Member may have just seen that I have been calling several Members of the Congress Party; but if he remembers the proportion between the Congress and the other parties, he will certainly appreciate that still there is a restraint of some kind and that the Members on this side belonging to the Congress Party are not very much in evidence compared to other parties. So let him be patient and see ultimately whether the scales are even or are shifting in favour of any party.

Shri Bharucha: All I can say is this. Some of us have felt rather dissatisfied about it, and it would be desirable if the Speaker and some of the Members sit together and discuss this matter.

Mr. Chairman: He can refer to the Speaker if he is dissatisfied, but there is no cause for it so far. This is only the third day and he should not think that Members have not been dealt fairly.

Mr. Bharucha: I propose to speak on amendments Nos. 31 to 35 dealing with the States Reorganisation, the Second Five Year Plan—I shall briefly touch upon these questions—then I shall refer to the Life Insurance Corporation Act Amendment and also refer to the question of stoppage of thermo-nuclear tests.

With regard to States Reorganisation, we who have been elected on the Samyukta Maharashtra ticket have always felt that a very great injustice has been done when the principles of unilingual State has been accepted in the case of thirteen States and denied only in the case of Maharashtra and Gujarat. We have been repeatedly told that Maharashtra and Gujarat cannot be given unilingual States "in the interests of the country". But nobody has ever defined what the interest of the country is. And today, within the House, I enquire of the Government Benches if anybody could tell me "one, two, three, four, these are the interests of the country that will be endangered if the fourteenth and fifteenth unilingual States are created"—because thirteen have already been created. I submit that we in Maharashtra and Maha Gujarat have felt deeply this injustice. It is no use telling us that this is a passing linguistic fanaticism. I assure the House it has come to stay. May I tell you it is not linguistic fanaticism, because I, a non-Maharashtrian, went to East Khandesh and defeated the former Minister of Law after only thirty-five days of election campaign? What was that due to? It was because inherently the people voted for an ideology. Let Members completely dissolution their minds of this "passing phase". That particular ideology has come to stay, and the sooner this honourable House rectifies this error and injustice

that has been done the better for the country.

It is no use saying that the House has taken a decision and that it cannot be changed. It is a fundamental principle of democracy that the Opposition must have an opportunity to convince the other side. Four times the Government has changed its view with regard to Bombay. First they accepted the principle that was enunciated by the States Reorganisation Commission and then came the three-State formulae. Again they changed it and said that Bombay will be an industrial capital of India and that Bombay would be Centrally administered. And then came this question of a bigger bi-lingual State. If the Government could change its mind four times, why not for a fifth time also?

With regard to the Second Five Year Plan, if one must look at the Plan in the background of the financial statement that was produced before this House by the hon. the Finance Minister last March, one comes to these figures that the Centre has got, during this second year of the Second Five Year Plan, to fork out Rs. 772 crores, plus a deficit of Rs. 27 crores which the hon. the Finance Minister mentioned in his 19th March 1957 statement and Rs. 32 crores towards payment for maturing loans. In other words, the Centre has to provide for Rs. 831 crores. As against that, what we expect is that market loans will fetch Rs. 100 crores, small savings Rs. 80 crores, foreign aid Rs. 135 crores, and miscellaneous debt and remittance transactions might give you Rs. 151 crores. That is to say, your resources are Rs. 466 crores as against a demand on your purse to the extent of Rs. 831 crores, leaving a clear deficit of Rs. 365 crores—a deficit of Rs. 365 crores merely on paper, but which is very much enhanced if you take into consideration the difficulties, recently created due to various reasons like the stoppage of the Suez Canal or the enlargement of the Second Five Year Plan or the very heavy drafts on foreign resources that have been made recently. Some of the speakers

have referred in this House to the fact that we are in difficulties in connection with foreign exchange. Nobody has so far mentioned that only within ten months ending with January, 1957, this Government has drawn upon foreign resources to the extent of Rs. 235 crores, leaving a balance with them of Rs. 530 crores only. Therefore, it seems that we have come to the end of our tether with regard to foreign exchange.

Though one hates the idea of having to expand the Five Year Plan into a Six Year Plan or a Seven Year Plan, it seems to me that it is quite inevitable and the sooner we adjust ourselves to the view, that an expansion of the Five Year Plan into a Six Year Plan at least is inevitable, the better it would be for us and for others who have to execute the Plan. They will know the mind of the Government and the policy of the Planning Commission with more precision.

Coming to the food question, may I point out that I was rather surprised at what seemed to be contradictory statements in the Food Minister's statement that he placed before the House yesterday. In one part of the statement he mentioned that generally speaking, there is no rise in the price of foodgrains. And yet, he appoints a high-powered Committee to enquire as to why the price of foodgrains rose in spite of higher production. I would like to know what is passing in the mind of the hon. Minister of Food. Does he believe that there is any rise in the price of foodgrains or not? If he believes in it the appointment of the high-powered Committee is all right. If there is no such thing, what is this high-powered Committee going to say? This seems self-contradictory to me.

Also it appears to me that in the overall food position, if the statistics are correct, about which people entertain grave doubts, there is no shortage and it is a question of maldistribution. Whether it is maldistribution or wagon shortage, I do not know. If we are importing on such a huge unprecedented scale as

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a result of the American Agreement of August, 1956, I fail to see why there should be a rise in the prices. I for one will not believe that cornering in foodgrains is on such a colossal scale as to make any appreciable difference in prices. That is not so. The conclusion seems to be inevitable that there is overall shortage and the statistics given by the Government are not correct.

Coming to the Life Insurance Corporation Act amendment, may I say that while I am not against promulgation of Ordinances to amend such errors as may become patent as a result of pronouncement of judgments, in the case of the amendment of section 11 of the Life Insurance Corporation Act, amendment by Ordinance was totally undesirable. Here was a case in which the employees had won their right through recognised tribunals, through recognised law courts. Just because the Government substituted itself as a new employer, it has no moral right whatsoever to change the terms and conditions of service of the employees unilaterally. I strongly protest against that. I say that I am not against promulgation of Ordinance for rectifying such errors as they become patent as a result of judgments of law courts, provided that bread is not taken away from the mouth of workers.

Coming finally to the question of stoppage of thermo-nuclear tests, in the Address, reference has been made to the Standstill Agreement of April, 1954, which was mentioned by the hon. Prime Minister on the floor of the House. But, since April 1954, by now, three years have elapsed and vast changes have taken place in the development and technique of atomic energy. While we are mentioning in the Address the fact that the Prime Minister's suggestion of 1954 is there, may I tell the House that the atomic clock is ticking fast and it is really a race between the atom and the human being. Today it is not readily realised what great damage and havoc the hydrogen bomb can work. It has

been estimated that during the last world war, all told, 5 million tons of high explosives were dropped on enemy countries. Today, a single hydrogen bomb is capable of inflicting havoc equivalent to 15 million tons of high explosives. In other words, a single hydrogen bomb can work three times the havoc that all the high explosives during the entire war could do. And please remember that neither Russia nor the U.S.A. have got one hydrogen bomb in their stock-pile.

14.56 hrs.

[SARDAR HUKAM SINGH in the Chair]

Therefore, we are really faced with such a big problem that humanity has got to solve it or, in the end, perish. I feel that it is not merely a question of the damage that a hydrogen bomb can inflict as a result of high explosives. The resulting radioactivity of the bomb, particularly what is known as strontium-90 is of such a terrible character and cumulative in its nature, that unless our Government takes serious notice of the fact and calls a conference of nations, particularly, of the nuclear powers, and makes a deliberate, conscious, persistent effort, these nuclear tests are going to launch us into a very difficult position. Probably it is not realised by the layman what this radioactivity is. When a particular nuclear explosion takes place, fission or fusion, certain types of rays emanate. But, they do not stop or dissipate in space or disperse. They keep on emanating for half the life time of the mineral which is used as the fuel. For instance, if it is radium, for 1600 years. This radiation will keep on emanating and if any fish or human being or object is affected with a concentration of this radiation, then, for 1600 years, that particular object will also keep on emanating this radiation. Therefore, with every test, the results of the last tests

are not wiped out or dispersed or dissipated. The results are cumulative. Every time a test is made, the danger is aggravated. Today, I repeat, human ingenuity has discovered this hydrogen bomb, a single bomb capable of releasing all the explosive power that has been released since the dawn of human history—three times more than that. Its radiation effects have not yet been felt completely. The scientists say that for the explosions which took place in 1954, the fall out has travelled into ionosphere and stratosphere and it will be 1960 or 1965 or 1970 before the fall-outs will be descending on earth. Today, we do not even know whether they have not already saturated our higher atmosphere, stratosphere and ionosphere to such an extent that we have already passed the time or limit or dose which the human constitution can stand. That being the position, the President's Address refers only to the 1954 Standstill Agreement that our Prime Minister enunciated. I appeal to him—I know he looks into the question very seriously—to take the initiative, to call an all-power conference, particularly with the object of stopping these tests. I want the hon. Prime Minister to go with a beggar's bowl to the nuclear powers and tell them that in the name of humanity he begs this release from radiation to which humanity is subjected by a generous, kind, unilateral act of any nuclear power which will suspend nuclear tests unilaterally without waiting for other powers to do so. I do feel that this subject is so serious and so imminent that it is very necessary that a great deal more active interest must be taken by our Government, than a mere narration or mention in the address that the Standstill Agreement of 1954 is there. As I said, it is a race between the bomb and the human being. Who will win, one does not know. While we are sitting here debating, I repeat once again, the atomic clock is ticking fast. Mankind has secured knowledge enough to destroy humanity. May we pray that Providence grant him wisdom enough to preserve it.

15 hrs.

Shri Mahanty (Dhenkanal): The President's Address is a convenient peg on which one can hang all one's accumulated grievances. But I would like to utilise this occasion for mentioning only two points which I have referred to in my amendment No. 16, namely Kashmir, and the food situation.

Much has been said about the food situation in the country, and, therefore, I would not further dilate on it. I am happy to find that there has been a recognition from both sides of the House that the food situation today is not as hopeful and as reassuring as it has been painted in the President's Address.

But before I come to that, I should like to touch on the Kashmir question. I know this particular question bristles with difficulties, and I would therefore, have hesitated to speak on it at this stage, if only the Prime Minister had not made it an election issue during the recent elections. Wherever he went to canvass for votes for the Congress, he said, "vote for Congress to strengthen my hands to solve the Kashmir question".

So, naturally, I was scanning through the President's Address to find indications of the policy which the Prime Minister and his Government would pursue in solving the Kashmir question. But I regret to say that the President's Address contained even less than what the newspapers stated in this regard about a month ago.

The President's Address contained only a brief mention that Dr. Gunnar Jarring came to this country, had conferences twice with the Prime Minister and then left and submitted a report. The purpose why I have given notice of this amendment is to know from Government where actually Government stand, where actually the people stand so far as the question of Kashmir is concerned.

The genesis of this question is well-known. Therefore, I shall not dilate on it. It goes back to the year 1947.

[Shri Mahanty]

On 26th October, 1947, Maharaja Hari Singh acceded to the Union of India, after which Kashmir became a part of India. Thereafter started the most brazen-faced aggression by Pakistan under cover of tribal inroads. To me, it seems, as the years have rolled on, a minor domestic issue. While India has been facing almost every year such border troubles both in the east and in the west, I do not know why Government carried this question to the Security Council. India approached the Security Council on 1st January, 1948. But the question having been taken to the Security Council, it pains me to say that the record of our Indian delegation in the Security Council was a tale of bungling.

In the Security Council, India alleged that Pakistan had invaded in lawful part of the Indian territory. But anyone who goes through the agenda paper of 1st January, 1948, of the Security Council would find that it was mentioned as the Jammu and Kashmir question. I do not know why the scope of this simple question was enlarged, and all kinds of things were brought into, beginning from Junagadh to genocide. Then, the item 'Jammu and Kashmir question' on the agenda paper was changed to 'Indo-Pakistan question', which included all kinds of disputes that had been going on between India and Pakistan, as I said, from Junagadh to genocide. This thoughtless acquiescence of the Indian delegation in the enlargement of the scope of the item not only confused simple issues but committed a tragic mistake by conceding to the implication that both India and Pakistan stood on an equal footing so far as this particular question was concerned. That made a great deal of difference.

India went to the Security Council for Pakistan had invaded Indian territory. But our delegation came back after having acquiesced in all the allegations that Pakistan thought fit to level against India. This tragic mistake, this tragic shortcoming has vitiated that question since then.

In the meantime, various missions have visited India, beginning from the Graham mission to the Jarring mission. But I would like to know for how long the people will be kept in suspense. For the time being, place yourself in the position of the Kashmiris and I would like to ask you the question 'would you like to continue as a people under a sort of political vacuum *ad infinitum*?'. Certainly, you would not like it.

Now, the real test is this. You should tell the country what you are proposing to do about it. This brings me to another point and that is this. When the Kashmir question was being debated upon in February last in the Security Council, when it was proposed that a mission under the leadership of Mr. Gunnar Jarring would visit India to investigate whether the resolution of August 13th, of the Security Council had been fully implemented, the leader of the Indian delegation categorically stated that the acceptance of that resolution would mean that India's allegations were not correct and that they were subject to investigation. Therefore, the leader of the Indian delegation was of the view that the Government of India would extend all courtesies that are due to an eminent dignitary like Mr. Gunnar Jarring, but they would not go beyond that. But we found that something more than that was done. Mr. Gunnar Jarring came and had two conferences with our Prime Minister, contrary to what was stated by the leader of our delegation and by the Government of India; and he has left a report and has now given another handle to Pakistan to beat India with. It pains me to say that this vacillating attitude of the Government of India has been the main reason why the Kashmir question remains yet unresolved.

May we know what justification is there that India should still conform to the international commitment for plebiscite, which she gave in the year 1948, when the circumstances were different? In the meantime, a Con-

stituent Assembly elected on the adult suffrage of the entire people of Kashmir came into existence and that Assembly had unequivocally passed a resolution for integration with India. May I know, therefore, what justification there is now for still sticking to that commitment, when the circumstances have now changed, and changed beyond recognition?

Now, Pakistan or her sympathisers have no face to say that India is backing out of an international commitment. If the Security Council had acquiesced in Pakistan's default of implementing the resolution of August 13th, if the Security Council could swallow it, if the Security Council could let the matter lie, why should the Government of India be so afraid, especially in view of the popular will that has been expressed by the people of Kashmir, that she will still abide by the commitment which was given in the year 1948?

Without further dilating on the matter, we would like to know, and the country would like to know, how the Prime Minister is going to move about in the matter.

I now come to the question of food. I am glad, as I have said earlier, that there has been a great deal of recognition from both sides of the House that the food situation is not as hopeful and as reassuring as it has been presented, in the President's Address. But the problem has to be viewed in the proper perspective. In the First Five Year Plan, the whole bias was in favour of food and agriculture.

A total amount of Rs. 357 crores, representing about 15.1 per cent. of the total investment, was earmarked for food and agriculture. In the Second Plan also, the total amount which has been ear-marked for food is, I think, Rs. 568 crores, representing 11.8 per cent, out of which the volume of current outlay will be of the order of more than Rs. 250 crores. The Second Plan has also assured that the food production would increase from 65 million tons in 1955-56 to 75 million tons in 1960-61.

In spite of these prophecies, we are now faced with food shortages and reported starvation deaths. Crop failure and unfavourable weather conditions are assigned as the chief reasons for this catastrophe. But in view of the overall increase in food production, it really baffles my imagination why there should be this kind of food shortage. I do not hesitate to say that the failure of the Food Ministry in this particular matter has been almost brazen and dismal. I will substantiate this allegation by citing a simple example.

The House will remember that in the First Five Year Plan it was recommended that there should be set up a Central Warehousing Corporation and State Warehousing Corporations. This recommendation goes back to the year 1951. Now, this country had to wait for this simple thing till the year 1957. Only on the 2nd of March of this year the Central Warehousing Corporation came into existence, and one does not know when the State Warehousing Corporations will come into existence. If the Central Warehousing Corporation had been created and the State Warehousing Corporations had come into existence early, certainly this food shortage would have been met and today there would not have been this problem of spirally rising food prices.

If you do not call this a dismal failure, if you do not call this a brazen failure, I do not know what failure is. It is unfortunate that in this country one puts premium on such failures.

Connected with this question of food scarcity is also the question of spiralling increase of Food prices. The Minister in his statement has quoted certain figures to show that food prices have really recorded a decrease instead of increase. Quoting statistics to silence or mislead one's critics is a well-known Eurasian method. But I would like to know if the statements bear any correspondence to real facts as they obtain in this country today. Even the statistics, tell a dubious tale. For instance, the wholesale price index for January 1957 had recorded

[Shri Mahanty]

an increase of 12·3 per cent over the wholesale price index for January 1956. In January 1956, it was 376 per cent. and it shot up to 422·3 per cent. in January 1957. The break-up is as follows: industrial raw material have advanced by 1·5 per cent. manufactures by 0·1 per cent. and miscellaneous by 0·4 per cent. I hold and maintain that the rest accounts for the increase in the price of foodstuffs. If it is otherwise, I would very much like to be corrected by the hon. Minister that it is not so. The country should also be told so.

I was very much pained when the hon. Food Minister stated that this food shortage was due to increased consumption. It was almost a cruel joke to the thousands who have been starving. He could have spared the country this cruel joke. If he cannot give them food, at least he can spare them these cruel jokes. I will be failing in my duty if I really do not challenge it. Hoarding is the real cause. May I know if he has got any power in his hands to bring these hoarders and black-marketeers to book?

The other day while I was coming, I was told in Patna that at the Patna station large quantities of foodstuffs were seized by the police. While Bihar was starving, there were hoarders and black-marketeers who were exporting those foodgrains outside. The police had seized them. I do not know what is the amount of contribution to the Congress election fund. But the Government professes its inability to bring those persons to book simply because there is no law in the armoury of the powerful Government of India to do so. I hold and maintain—and I am quite emphatic about it—that hoarding is the real cause, and only to safeguard the interests of hoarders the Central Warehousing Corporation was not probably created until the 2nd March 1957.

An Hon. Member: Too much.

Shri Mahanty: That apart, I will make three constructive suggestions to solve this problem, and I hope the hon. Food Minister will give serious consideration to them. The first is that our food imports must be stopped here and now. If you mean business, you will never allow your foreign exchange to be wasted in importing rice and wheat. This may seem something very novel, but look at what they are doing in China. It was a deficit country. Overnight, an importing country has been exporting food. It is not by any magic or totalitarian methods as some would imagine. I have studied this question at some length.

Pandit K. C. Sharma (Hapur): But not intelligently.

Mr. Chairman: The hon. Member will do better if he remains impervious to such interruptions.

Shri Mahanty: Yes, Sir.

In China, they have been able to stockpile food and export foodgrains outside by adopting three methods. One was by imposing rationing in the cities. I do not know why there should be no rationing in the cities, because, after all, the city dwellers are not the primary producers (Interruptions).

An Hon. Member: Ignore the interruptions.

Shri Mahanty: The faces of my hon. friends are so charming that I cannot ignore their interruptions.

We, city dwellers, are not primary producers; we are parasites. May be, we are intellectual workers, but we are not the primary producers. Therefore, we have no right to demand an unlimited supply of foodstuffs while the primary producers are starving and really suffering, be it due to inflationary trends or be it on the score of actual shortage. One thing I noticed

in China was that in all the cities, there was rigorous rationing of food. I think that example is worth emulating.

The second method that they have followed in China very successfully is the requisitioning of foodgrains in villages beyond a certain level, allowing the villagers or cultivators foodgrains for their annual consumption necessities. The balance is requisitioned by the State.

The third method is that they realise their land revenue from the co-operatives not in cash but in kind, and that is usually in foodgrains.

This is how they have stockpiled foodgrains in China and have been able to export foodgrains outside. Here, when we are faced with an acute shortage of foreign exchange, when we have not got enough money to spend on our nation-building activities, it is really criminal to go on importing foodgrains year after year in increasing volume. It may be that our psychological make-up may not accept these suggestions with an optimistic spirit. But, I am sure the Communist party is there to lend all the support to Government for these unpleasant measures, if they consider them at all unpleasant. These are the measures they have followed in China to make the country self-sufficient in food. I do not know why the Government of India should hesitate to consider those policies and methods to make our country self-sufficient. Otherwise, they will be faced with the necessity of going on importing foodstuffs in an ever-increasing volume to the great detriment of the implementation of the Second Five Year Plan.

Lastly, I would like to say that quoting statistics has really no relevance to or correspondence with the life that we are living. It is really a tale of misery, a tale of tears, and probably too deep for tears. It is really criminal on the part of the Congress to have begged votes from them and assured them that the country would flow with milk and honey and now to pro-

cess incapacity and totter out some euphemistic reasonings like unfavourable weather, increased consumption, hoarding and so on and so forth to throttle the voice of the hungry and the starved.

With these words I resume my seat but before I do so I would like to offer my grateful thanks for your having given me an opportunity to speak.

लाला अर्चित राम (पटियाला) : साहिबे सदर, मैं आपका बड़ा महाकूर हूँ कि आप ने बगैर ज्यादा कोशिश के ही मुझे बोलने का मौका दिया है।

सभापति महोदय : लेकिन यह बात कही तो नहीं जानी चाहिए। इससे दूसरों को क्याल होगा कि आप को तो बगैर कोशिश के मौका मिल गया है, जब कि उन को कोशिश के बावजूद नहीं बुलाया गया है।

लाला अर्चित राम : प्रेजिडेंट साहब ने फोरन पालिसी के बारे में फरमाया है कि तमाम मुल्कों के साथ हमारी दोस्ती है। इसने पहले एड्रेस में यह कहा गया है कि सिवाय पाकिस्तान के सब मुल्कों के साथ हमारी दोस्ती है। मैं समझता हूँ कि पाकिस्तान के मुतालिक जो हमारी पालिसी है, वह मैं श्री और दोस्ती की है, और वह कामयाब हो रही है। जिस वक्त पाकिस्तान कायम हुआ, उस वक्त वहाँ मुस्लिम लीग की हुकूमत थी। उससे हमें टैम्पेशन हो सकता था कि हमारे मुल्क में भी किसी फिर्कावार पार्टी के हुकूमत हो। लेकिन हम ने अपनी सैकुलरिज्म की पालिसी को स्टिक किया और अपने उसूलों पर बराबर कायम रहे। आज हम महसूस करते हैं कि हम ने ठीक किया और हमारी वह पालिसी कामयाब हो रही है। आज पाकिस्तान में मुस्लिम लीग की जगह रिपब्लिकन पार्टी और अक्वामी लीग को मिल रही है। इसी तरह हिन्दुस्तान में शुरु से ही जायंट इलेक्टरेट रके गए, जब कि पाकिस्तान में सैपरेट इलेक्टरेट जारी किए गए। आज हम देख रहे हैं कि पाकिस्तान के

[लाला अचिंत राम]

कोनों हिस्सों में—ईस्ट और वेस्ट पाकिस्तान में—क्रायंट इलेक्टरेट के उसूल को कबूल कर लिया है। इससे जाहिर है कि हिन्दुस्तान की फारेन पालिसी को साथ ही साथ उस की इन्टर्नल पालिसी भी मुकम्मल तौर पर कामयाब हुई है। मैं महसूस करता हूँ कि पाकिस्तान में ऐसी हवा चल रही है, ऐसे आसार नजर आ रहे हैं कि वहाँ भी हिन्दुस्तान की एक्टिव स्पेट्रोलिटी की पालिसी को अपना लिया जायगा। इसके लिए अब वहाँ आवाज उठ रही है।

मैं यह भी देख रहा हूँ कि कंस्ट्रक्टिव ब्लॉक में खान अब्दुल गफ्फार खां पाकिस्तान में बड़ी आवाज उठा रहे हैं जो कि हिन्दुस्तान में आचार्य विनोबा भावे उठा रहे हैं। आचार्य विनोबा भावे का कहना है कि अगर हिन्दुस्तान की जमीन प्राबलम को हल करना है, इकनामिक प्राबलम को हल करना है, तो उस का रास्ता मूदान है। इसी तरह खान अब्दुल गफ्फार खां लाहौर में कह रहे हैं कि अगर पाकिस्तान की इकनामिक प्राबलम को हल करना है, तो उस का हल मूदान है। पाकिस्तान वाले इस रास्ते पर चले या न चले, यह एक अलग बात है। मैं गवर्नमेंट को—और खास तौर पर पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू को मुबारकबाद देना चाहता हूँ, क्योंकि इस मुल्क की फारेन पालिसी को मोल्ड करने में उन का बहुत बड़ा हिस्सा है। हम ने और मुल्कों को भी ठीक किया है और पाकिस्तान को भी ठीक कर रहे हैं।

प्रीजिडेंट साहब के एड्रेस में यह भी कहा गया है कि यहाँ की इकनामिक कन्डीशन्ज बेजरस नहीं हैं, लेकिन बेरी सीरियस हैं। अजलमन्द भावमो ऐसे ही कहते हैं। लेकिन इलाज क्या है इसका? उन्होंने चार इलाज बताए हैं। और वे इलाज यह हैं—एप्रोकलवर के माथ्रल में सैफ सफिशिएन्सी हासिल करना, अपनी इम्पोर्ट को कंट्रोल करना, एक्सपोर्ट को बढ़ाना और सेविंग करना। सवाल यह है कि ये सब बातें कौन करे! आखिर किस को, ये बातें एड्रेस में ही आ रही हैं! मैं समझता हूँ

कि उन्होंने एड्रेस में कहा है कि हम जनता से अपील करते हैं कि वह कोअपरेशन दे। उन्होंने फूड के बारे में जरा एहतियात से कहा है ताकि लोगों में एलार्म और डर न पैदा हो जाये, लेकिन इस मसले का हल आखिर जनता ने ही करना है। और वह जनता कहाँ है? वह हिन्दुस्तान के साढ़े पांच लाख गांवों में है। जब तक जनता को अपरेट नहीं करती, तब तक हमारा कोई मसला भी हल नहीं हो सकता है, चाहे हम कितने ही ऐलान और अपीलें करते रहें। हम ने देखा कि क्विडमै साहब ने किस तरह इस मसले को हल कर दिखाया। लेकिन अब वह हालत नहीं है। मैं समझता हूँ कि जब तक बुनियादी बात को टच न किया जायगा और कोअपरेशन देने वालों को एपरोच न किया जायगा, तब तक यह मसला हल नहीं हो सकता है—यद्यपि बरम तक भी हल नहीं हो सकता है, चाहे हमारे जैन साहब कुछ भी करें या कहें। यह चक्कर चलता रहेगा और हम कामयाब नहीं होंगे।

हमारे विनोबा जी पिछले ६—पाचों में इस मुल्क की इकानोमी को साउंड फुटिंग पर लाने की कोशिश कर रहे हैं। वह चाहते हैं कि हिन्दुस्तान के साढ़े पांच लाख गांवों में हर तरह की इन्फ्लैटी हो और इन-इन्फ्लैटी खत्म हो। वह हिन्दुस्तान के सब से बड़े मसले को हल करने के लिए जी जान से कोशिश कर रहे हैं। मैं समझता हूँ कि सब आदमी उत की तारीफ कर रहे हैं और हमारे प्रेमिडेण्ट साहब भी उनके बड़े महाहू हैं। लेकिन इस पर भी उनके एड्रेस में विनोबा जी की एफर्ट्स का कोई जिक्र नहीं किया गया है। शायद इनकी वजह यह हो कि वह गवर्नमेंट के हैंड हैं और गवर्नमेंट का हैंड होते हुए भी ऐसा कहना मुनासिब ना समझते हों। मैं बड़ी नम्रता के साथ कहना चाहता हूँ कि गवर्नमेंट के साथ ती घाप लोगों का साल्लुक अभी हाल ही में हुआ है। यह गवर्नमेंट रिजस्ट है उन एफर्ट्स का

जो कि सत्तर बरस तक आप लोग करते रहे। इसलिए मैं समझता हूँ कि इन मामलों में गवर्नमेंट में होने या न होने से कोई फर्क नहीं पड़ना चाहिए। इस वक्त तक ढाई हजार गांव विनोबा जी ले चुके हैं, जिनमें पूरी इन्क्रेडिटी है और जहाँ फूड प्राबलम नहीं रहेगी। इसलिए मैं अपने नेताओं से यह अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि वे गवर्नमेंट के चाने को एक तरफ रख कर इस तरफ आये और पूरे तौर पर इस काम में मदद दें।

मुझे इस बात की भी बहुत खशी है कि इस मामले में हम लोगों में कोई मत-भेद नहीं है। कॉंग्रेस, जन सव, कम्प्यूनिस्ट—सब एक है। केरल की कम्प्यूनिस्ट गवर्नमेंट ने ऐलान किया कि जमीन का मसला लैजिस्लेशन में हल नहीं हो सकता है। मैं ने अपने कानों में केरल के एक मिनिस्टर का यह स्टेटमेंट सुना। मुझे बड़ी ईरानी हुई। उन्होंने कहा कि पह मसला हल होगा लोगों के सहयोग से। जब कम्प्यूनिस्ट गवर्नमेंट यह बात कह सकती है, तो फिर यह बड़ी गवर्नमेंट क्यों नहीं कह सकती है। आज सारा हिन्दुस्तान इस पायंट पर इकट्ठा है। जहाँ तक मेरा ताल्लुक है, मैं बिल्कुल नान वायलेंट हूँ और को-अर्शन के हक में नहीं हूँ, लेकिन अगर इस मामले में लैजिस्लेशन के साथ साथ थोड़ा कोअर्शन भी करना पड़े, तो मुझे उस पर कोई ऐतराज नहीं होगा—मैं उस के हक में हूँ।

मैं चाहता हूँ कि आप तमाम पाँच लाख गाँवों का ग्रामीकरण कर दें। यदि आपने ऐसा किया तो यह मसला हमेशा के लिए हल हो जाएगा।

अब मैं चन्द एक बातें पंजाब के बारे में अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ। मुझे इस बात की खशी है कि पंजाब के मसले को सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट ने हल करने की कोशिश की है और मुझे इस बात की भी खशी है कि सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट ने इस मामले को हल भी किया और यह बात ठीक भी है। लेकिन इसके साथ ही साथ आपको इस बात पर भी ध्यान देना चाहिए कि क्या इस हल ने

पूरी सैटिसफैक्शन लोगों को दे दी है। अगर आप यह समझने हैं कि इन ने सब को सैटिसफैक्शन दे दी है, तो यह मुनासिब नहीं है और अगर आपने ऐसा सोचा तो यह अश्याब होगा गलती होगी। मैं आपके सामने एक छोटी सी मिसाल दे कर इस चीज को साफ करने की कोशिश करूंगा। एक आदमी को जूते की जरूरत है। यह जूता उसको दोनों पाँव के लिए चाहिए। वह मोची को कहता है कि मुझे जूता बना दो। मोची एक पाँव का नाप ले लेता है और यह समझ कर कि दूसरे पाँव का नाप भी यही होगा वह जूता तैयार कर देता है। लेकिन जब जूता बनकर तैयार हो जाता है तो एक पाँव में तो फिट आ जाता है लेकिन दूसरे पाँव में लगता है। क्या इसका यह फल निकलता है कि मोची ने गलती की है। नहीं, यह तो एक कामनसेंस की बात है कि दोनों पाँव एक जैसे होंगे और उनमें कोई फर्क नहीं होगा। लेकिन फिर भी एक पाँव दर्द करता है जब कि दूसरे पाँव में कोई दर्द नहीं होती है या कम दर्द होती है। तो मैं कहूंगा कि पंजाब का मसला भी ऐसा ही है। इस मसले को हल तो किया गया है और नेकनियती से हल किया गया है लेकिन मैं यह कहे बिना नहीं रह सकता कि इसको ओवर कानफिडेंस के साथ हल किया गया है। कानफिडेंस के साथ हल किया जाता तब तो ठीक था लेकिन ओवर कानफिडेंस के साथ जो इसे हल किया गया है वह ठीक नहीं है। कानफिडेंस और ओवर कानफिडेंस में फर्क है। जो अक्लमन्द मोची होता है, जो अक्लमन्द शू मेकर होता है वह यह देखता है कि जूता उसके पाँव में ठीक बैठता है या नहीं। अगर ठीक नहीं है तो इसके कई इलाज हो सकते हैं। वह इसको बदल सकता है या कोई दूसरा तरीका इस्तेमाल में ला सकता है। यह जरूरी नहीं है कि उस जूते को फेंक ही दिया जाए। उसमें तेल लगा कर, पानी लगाकर, होल्स करके, एक्सपैंड करके उसको ठीक किया जा सकता है या कोई दूसरा तरीका इस्तेमाल में लाया जा सकता है। अगर आप जूता दर्द करता है, तो इसका इलाज

[लाला अचिन्त राम]

भी मोची ढूँड सकता है। मैं समझता हूँ कि इस मामले के अन्दर ओवर कांफिडेन्स से काम लिया गया है और जो हल निकाला गया है उससे थोड़ी सी कठिनाई पैदा हो गई है। मैं कहता हूँ कि जूते को फेंकने की जरूरत नहीं है। इस जूते को ट्रायल दिया जाना चाहिए, इसको पहन कर देखना चाहिए और मोची को यह भी देखना चाहिए कि दर्द क्यों होता है और उसको दूर करने की भी कोशिश करनी चाहिए कि यह दर्द ऐसा नहीं है जो ठीक ही नहीं हो सकता है, थोड़ी सी कोशिश करने से दर्द हट सकता है।

Mr. Chairman: Could not the hon. Member refer to some better analogy?

लाला अचिन्त राम : मैं मानता हूँ कि आप अकेले ही इस हाउस में खड़े होकर इस मसले को इस हाउस के सामने बड़े ही अच्छे ढंग से रखते रहे हैं। आपने इसका हल सुझाया था और आप अकेले.....

Mr. Chairman: I do not mean to draw the attention of the Hon. Member towards me.

लाला अचिन्त राम : लेकिन जो चीज आपके क्रेडिट में जाती है, उसको मानने में मुझे कोई इन्कार नहीं है। मैं आपको उसके लिए क्रेडिट दिए बगैर नहीं रह सकता हूँ।

एक माननीय सदस्य : यह जूता कब तक दर्द करता रहेगा ?

लाला अचिन्त राम : जब तक आप इसमें मददगार नहीं बनते।

तो मैं यह कह रहा था कि जो दर्द है उसको दूर करने का कोई उपाय ढूँडा जाना चाहिए और क्यों दर्द होता है उसका पता लगाया जाना चाहिए। इस दर्द का नतीजा यह हो रहा है कि वे लोग जिन्होंने कि नैशनलिज्म की बुनियाद डाली, जिन्होंने कौम परस्ती का झंडा हाथ में लिया आज इससे विमुख होते जा रहे हैं और तबाही फिरका परस्ती की राह की तरफ देख रहे हैं। उन लोगों ने

जिन्होंने एस० आर० सी० की रिपोर्ट में जो सिफारिश की है उनको ठीक बताया, आज उनको भी दर्द होना शुरू हो गया है। आज हालात ऐसे हैं कि आप को इसके बारे में सोच समझ कर कोई कदम उठाना होगा। इसको फेंकने की जरूरत नहीं है। आप इसको पूरा ट्रायल दें और ईमानदारी से दें। इस दर्द का जो कारण है अगर आप उसको ईमानदारी से देखेंगे तो आपको पता लग जाएगा और आप उसको दूर भी कर सकेंगे। यह कोई मुश्किल काम नहीं है।

श्री सिंहासन सिंह (गोरखपुर): बात क्या है, यह तो बतलाइये।

लाला अचिन्त राम : इसको हाई कमांड के लोग जानते हैं यह बात उनके नोटिस में आ गई है। दो बार आदमी है जो इसको नहीं समझते हैं, यह कोई बड़ी बात नहीं है और गलती को सब जानते हैं।

एक और बात की तरफ मैं आपका ध्यान दिखाना चाहता हूँ और वह रिफ्यूजीस के बारे में है। मैं हैरान था कि प्रेसिडेंट साहब ने इस के बारे में कोई जिक्र क्यों नहीं किया है। क्या यह मसला हल हो गया है। लेकिन प्रेसिडेंट साहब ने इसका जिक्र तक नहीं किया है। हमारे मिनिस्टर साहब रात दिन काम करते हैं और इतना काम जिसकी कोई हद ही नहीं है। चार पांच सौ आदमी हर रोज मिनिस्टर साहब को मिल रहे हैं लेकिन यहां उसका जिक्र तक नहीं है। इसका भी कोई न कोई हल निकल आया। जिस तरह से वहां पर ज्वाइंट इलैक्टोरेट हुआ है रिपब्लिकन पार्टी बनाई गई है उसी तरह से आपकी जो पालिसी है उस पर आप मसलसल काम करते जायें। जिस तरह से बेवन साहब को समझ आ गई है उसी तरह से सुहरावर्दी को भी समझ आ जाएगी। पाकिस्तान में जो लोग रहते हैं उनके तथा भारत में हिन्दुओं तथा मुसलमानों के इंटरैस्ट में यह बात है कि

वे वहाँ से हिन्दुओं को न आने दें। मेरी गवर्नमेंट आफ इंडिया से भी वही दरखास्त है कि जैसे आप पिछले दस सालों में कामयाबी हासिल करते आए हैं वैसे ही आप इस के अन्दर भी कामयाब होंगे और यहाँ से जो रिफ्यूजी लोग हैं वे वापिस चले जायेंगे।

पुनर्वास तथा अल्पसंख्यक कार्य मंत्री (श्री मेहर चन्द खन्ना) : आप को यह कहना चाहिये था कि हिन्दुओं को ईस्टर्न पाकिस्तान से न आने दें।

लाला अचित राम : यही तो मैं कहता हूँ कि माइग्रेशन न हो।

Mr. Chairman: There is an announcement. In addition to the amendments announced a little while ago, amendment No. 52 will also be allowed to be moved, if it is otherwise admissible.

Shri S. L. Saksena (Maharajganj): I request that my amendment No. 82 also may be allowed to be moved.

Shri Mohamed Imam: What is the significance of admitting all these amendments? Is it to give priority to those who have tabled amendments or is it only a formal business?

Mr. Chairman: The significance was made clear by the Speaker. There was a large number of amendments. The hon. Members send in large numbers of amendments in the first instance but ultimately they confine themselves to certain selected amendments which they want to move. It was pointed out to them that they might send in the numbers of those amendments which they were keen to move and discuss here. They have sent in certain amendments and the Speaker was pleased to announce this morning as well that some numbers were being received even after the fixed time and that he would not have otherwise allowed them but because it was the beginning of the session and a large number of Members were new to the House, he would give this lati-

tude. That is why these amendments are announced even now. Otherwise, that time had expired.

Shri Mohamed Imam: Will those hon. Members who have tabled these amendments get any preference or should they be satisfied that their amendments have been admitted?

Mr. Chairman: No preference is given to any Member. It is not necessary that an hon. Member who has given that number and is keen to move his amendment should necessarily get an opportunity to speak. These amendments are before the House. They can be discussed by any Member who stands up. He knows that these are the amendments that are being discussed. There is an opportunity for every hon. Member to refer to them, to discuss them, to oppose them or support them and say whatever he wants to say about them. That is the only significance.

Shri S. L. Saksena: I want to move my amendment No. 82.

Mr. Chairman: He is an old Member and ought to have known the procedure. Anyway, if he wants to move it, I allow it to be moved subject to its admissibility.

Shri V. Raju (Visakhapatnam): I beg to move:—

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

“but regret—

(a) that a true and accurate picture of the growing financial crisis, consequent on the wasteful and unproductive plan expenditure undertaken by Government under its various plans has not been stated, and that no adequate steps have been indicated to safeguard the deteriorating financial situation in the country;

(b) that the extreme stringency in the food supply, a steep rise in prices of food-stuffs in the Eastern districts of Uttar Pradesh, the State of Bihar, the State of West

[Shri V. Raju]

Bengal, and also the rising prices of food-stuffs throughout the country has not been adequately stressed nor has any definite policy for redressing the said situation been indicated;

(c) that adequate censure to the Government of the United Kingdom for its proposed detonation of a test thermo-nuclear weapon has not been given by refraining from attendance at the forthcoming Commonwealth conference to be held in June of this year in England and no reference has been made of the intention to call upon the Governments of the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. to desist from undertaking all further tests of Atomic and Thermo-nuclear weapons;

(d) that the creation of unilingual Marathi-speaking State with the city of Bombay as its capital has not been indicated; and

(e) that no reference has been made to the unsatisfactory manner in which the General Elections have been conducted."

Shri S. L. Saksena: I beg to move:—

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

"but regret that there is no mention of:—

(1) any proposal to include a comprehensive multipurpose river valley project to control the mighty rivers, the Ghaghra, the Tapti and the Gandak, which alone could save three crores of people from recurring drought and floods and the consequent famines in Eastern U.P., by providing irrigation during the periods of

droughts, by stopping floods during the rainy season, and by providing huge quantities of electric power for electrifying the countryside, and setting up large-scale and cottage industries, which can bring employment and prosperity to the people of this area;

(2) any proposal to revise the order issued to sugar factories not to pay the minimum price of sugarcane, but to pay the price of sugarcane after May 8, 1957, on the basis of recovery, which will expose millions of sugarcane growers to a loss of crores of rupees and will also lead to their defrauding;

(3) any concrete and comprehensive plan to combat the rapidly developing famine conditions in Eastern U.P.; such as,

(a) issuing of imperative directions to start all the projects contained in the Second Five Year Plan for the development of these Eastern U.P. districts immediately during this year to enable people to get employment during the next six months so as to increase their purchasing power;

(b) starting of test works on an extensive scale in places where no Five Year Plan Projects are planned and guaranteeing a minimum wage of annas twelve to adult men and women and annas eight to children working at these test works;

(c) ensuring daily payments of wages to all men working in projects suggested in sub-para (a) above, and in test works in sub-para (b) above, and opening of government grain shops at each site where labourers are employed in projects on test works;

- (d) directing sugar factories in Ghughli, Khadda and other sugar factories in these famine-stricken areas to make immediate payments of the arrears of sugar price to cane-growers for sugarcane supplied this year and in the previous years, and arrears of wages to sugar factory workers for four to six months which have not still been paid in several factories;
- (e) ordering immediate refund of deductions made from the cane price of Annas Two per maund made several years ago as compulsory saving, the total amount of which runs into several crores;
- (f) opening of cheap government grain shops in each Adalati Panchayat Centre, in these Eastern U.P. districts with sufficient stocks of coarse rice in these shops;
- (g) ordering stern and exemplary punishment to be given to black marketeers and hoarders;
- (h) ordering of gratuitous relief to the destitute, disabled and starving persons in every village; and
- (4) any effective steps to be taken against the discrimination which is practised against the trade unions not belonging to the Indian National Trade Union Congress in the matter of registration under the Indian Trade Unions Act, 1926."

Mr. Chairman: These amendments are also before the House.

Shri Khagayati (Darrang): Mr. Chairman, Sir, we are thankful to the President for focussing attention on two vital problems of the day; one is the food situation and the other is the financial difficulty that confronts us today.

With reference to the difficulty that confronts us more particularly in relation to the Plan he has rightly said it to be a matter of serious concern. It is gratifying to note that the Government is determined to go ahead, keep to the targets and implement the Plan fully in spite of all these difficulties.

We are faced with dearth of capital. We are running short of foreign exchange. The question is, how to solve this problem. In Russia they faced this problem when they first took up their development projects. They were also in need of money, but they solved the problem by creating mass enthusiasm. With whatever money they had they got hundred times more work done. We have to work in the same way and get work worth Rs. 2 crores with a capital investment of Rs. 1 crore. That is possible only if we can generate mass enthusiasm. Therefore, the President has rightly laid stress on public opinion which, he says, plays not only a large part but will might a conclusive part. Indeed, public opinion is a force and if we can utilise that force for the development works we can do much with our limited finance; otherwise we will always be complaining about want of money and the work will be half done.

What have we to do if we want to create mass enthusiasm? For achieving this, I think, the Government should first of all remove all administrative defects. We are all agreed that the Government has taken up a very good Plan. Nobody is saying that the Plan is not good. Nobody is saying that the foreign policy adopted by the Government of India is not sound. Nobody is saying that the principle of having a socialistic pattern of society for us is not good. But then, why is the mass enthusiasm that should have been created is not there? It may be due to some minor defects in the administrative machinery. We know that the Government set up some committees to look into this question and those committees have recommended reforms in the administrative machinery. We do not

[Shri Bhagavati]

know as yet as to how the administrative machinery has been reorganised, but the defects are still there. That is a very vital thing which must be looked into. If one individual has to wait for months together to get a decision over a certain question, certainly he will get annoyed and irritated. If a trade union is to move for months together to get some grievances redressed, naturally they will adopt some other methods. These are matters of detail and yet are very vital for individuals. These can very easily be removed. So, if we want to create mass enthusiasm we have to reorganise the administrative machinery and see that these minor defects are removed.

Then again, for mass enthusiasm we have to show to the people that we are serious about removing economic inequalities. It is true that the Government has taken some very vital measures and those measures will have far-reaching effects. I am sure, if we go on like that the economic differences will disappear one day. But we have to go a bit faster. There is no denying the fact that the way in which we have been going ahead is not enough to enthuse the people. In the Plan we have laid down the principle that regional disparities must go and that individual differences in incomes should also disappear. But we have yet to implement that principle. We have yet to do much to remove regional and individual differences. There are differences in pay structure between one department and another. There is difference in pay scales given to State Government servants and Central Government servants. These differences should also go as far as is practicable. If these differences are maintained, I am afraid the mass enthusiasm that we want cannot be created. It is true that there is some risk for inflation if we increase the pay scales in the private sector as well as the public sector. But there is a greater risk if we do not eliminate these differences in the shortest possible time.

It is also necessary for all the political parties to think how to create mass enthusiasm. If it is thought that now the Congress party is in power and they will only fail if the popular enthusiasm is not created, I think that is a mistake. If the people are not educated and organised to do their utmost and make sacrifices to solve the national problems, the present psychology will remain and the people will always be depending on the Government alone to find money and for everything. That is not a very good thing. If the people think that money will descend from heaven or they will get money on everything which may be required from the Government and they have not to solve their own problems, I think no Government, to whatever party it may belong, will be able to solve all the problems with which it is confronted. That is the basic position. Our psychology is one of dependence or reliance on others. That must be removed.

We are very fond of analysing problems and we feel proud of it. We derive intellectual satisfactions in doing that. But we rarely apply our mind towards finding out a solution of our problems, nor have we the courage or determination to solve our problems. That is I should like to say, a national defect. If that defect is not removed, no Government can solve all these problems. A united effort is, therefore, necessary for that purpose. All parties should do propaganda to that end so that next time if and when some other party comes to power they will not have to face the similar situation and the same sort of problems.

Next, the food problem has been much discussed here. This is certainly a very serious problem for us. This is not as much a problem of scarcity of foodstuffs as it is a problem of high prices. The prices of cereals went up so high, all of a sudden, and nobody could say why. The Government has proposed to institute a committee to investigate into the causes. But I should like to say that Government

should have a machinery to foresee the situation. That is what is necessary.

Some years back, tea prices fell abruptly, and there was a crisis in the tea industry. Nobody knew how the situation arose. After one year, when everybody was debating or investigating into the causes of the fall in the price of tea, all of a sudden, tea prices rose very high, and there was an unprecedented prosperity in the tea industry. But there was nobody in India—I have not known of anybody—who could foresee this situation and sound a note of warning. So, it appears that we in India do not have that sense of forethought in the Economic field. We do not know watch or judge the Economic forces that act and react against each other. We cannot foresee anything. After the event, we grow wise and analyse things and we form committees to go and investigate into all these things. That is not the way of doing things.

Now, the problem is there. We are setting up a committee which will investigate into all these matters, but that is something like a *post mortem*. We should have a machinery to watch and judge the Economic trends. We should have some experts who can foresee the market trends and say when a bad situation may arise so that such a situation could be tackled before a crisis sets in.

The food situation is bad because we are not yet surplus. It may be said that the Government have shown some increases in production. Somebody from the Opposition said that at election time, the Congress Party made capital out of it, but at the same time, that very same Member from the Opposition showed from the figures of the Government that continuously for some years Government have shown decreases in production. These are all contradictions and confusions. But, as a matter of fact, it can be seen that if there is any surplus in any part of the country, that surplus is not more than five per cent or so. A surplus of five per cent is not surplus. We can-

not depend on such surpluses. If the weather becomes bad in some years, that surplus disappears, and we are in difficulties. So, we must stress on more production. We are giving stress and it is all right. But we are not taking it up as a life and death question.

That only question that we face is whether we produce more or we perish. That should be the approach and that should be the test. I think we should give much more emphasis on this question. Moreover, the Government should procure enough cereals just after the harvest from the cultivators through the co-operative societies and release those stocks at the time when there is shortage in the market and when there is a tendency of rise in prices in the market. If enough rice or atta or other cereals are released to the market, when, in the first instance, there is a rise in price, a situation like the present will not be there. If the Government does not come to the field all at once, then, there will be some grouse and it becomes difficult to tackle the problem. If, before some months, Government could release some rice to the market, I think, prices should not be rising very high. At the proper time, the Government, for some reason or other could not or did not release enough rice in the market, and so, the situation is bad. Now every individual might think that the food position is such that he should accumulate some maunds of rice or atta or any other cereal. In that way, people accumulate the stuff. But above all this, there may be some speculators who hoard. Though the hoarding of speculators is dangerous, individual hoarding is also not without danger. The accumulation by individuals occurs when they find that there is no certainty about the ability of the Government to cope with the situation. This tendency should not be allowed to grow. That is what I want to stress, and that can be done only if the Government releases the stock at the proper time, before the public can talk about it, before the public knows anything perceptibly about the rise in prices.

श्री बाजपेयी (बलरामपुर) : सभापति महोदय, इस से पूर्व कि मैं संघोषण क्रम संख्या ४०, ४१, ४२ और ४४ के सम्बन्ध में अपने विचार प्रकट करूँ, मैं राष्ट्रपति को उन के पुनः निर्वाचन पर बधाई देता हूँ। यह ठीक है कि कांग्रेस पार्टी ने राष्ट्रपति के निर्वाचन के सम्बन्ध में सभी प्रमुख दलों से विचार विनिमय करने की लोकतंत्रीय परम्परा का श्रीगणेश नहीं किया है, किन्तु एक बार राष्ट्रपति का चुनाव हो गया तो फिर वह किसी दल के या किसी दिशा के या किसी प्रान्त के नहीं है, वह सम्पूर्ण भारतीय गणराज्य के है। डा० राजेन्द्र प्रसाद को राष्ट्रपति पद पर निर्वाचित कर के हम ने स्वयं को ही गौरवान्वित किया है। सम्भव है, मेरे यह शब्द मेरे कतिपय मित्रों को पसन्द न हों.....

कुछ माननीय सदस्य : पसन्द है, पसन्द है।

श्री बाजपेयी : मैं विरोधी दल में खड़ा हूँ लेकिन विरोध के लिए विरोध मेरा उद्देश्य नहीं हो सकता। इस सदन में भारतीय जनसंघ के सदस्यों की संख्या यद्यपि कम है, किन्तु हमारे सामने स्वर्गीय डा० श्यामाप्रसाद मुकर्जी का आदर्श है, और हम इस बात का प्रयत्न करेंगे कि उस से अनुप्राणित हो कर राष्ट्र निर्माण के महान् यज्ञ में अपना भी योगदान दें।

डा० मुकर्जी का स्मरण आते ही मुझे काश्मीर का स्मरण हो आता है, और काश्मीर का स्मरण आते ही गुप्तं श्रीनगर के उस सरकारी अस्पताल का स्मरण आता है जिस के कोने में पुलिस के पहरे में डा० मुकर्जी को देश छोड़कर एकता के लिए अपना बलिदान देना पड़ा था। उन की मृत्यु को चार वर्ष हो गए, किन्तु उस पर जो रहस्य का पर्दा पड़ा था, वह अभी भी उठाया नहीं गया है। समय के सहलाने वाले हाथों ने धाब को भर दिया है, मगर दर्द अभी बाकी है। और जब कभी प्रधान मंत्री महोदय या सुरक्षा मंत्री महोदय काश्मीर समस्या के

सम्बन्ध में आजकल वही बातें बुराते हैं जिन्हें स्व० डा० श्यामाप्रसाद मुकर्जी चार साल पूर्व इस सदन में लड़े हो कर बुराते थे, तो मुझे लगता है कि यदि प्रारम्भ से ही काश्मीर के प्रश्न पर वही नीति अपनायी गयी होती तो हम को डा० श्यामाप्रसाद मुकर्जी के महान् जीवन की कीमत न चुकानी पड़ती।

16 hrs.

काश्मीर के बारे में सरकार की नीति दुबल और डिलमिल रही है। हम सुरक्षा परिषद् में शिकायत लेकर गये, किन्तु हमने प्रारम्भ से ही पाकिस्तान को आक्रमणकारी घोषित कराने पर बल नहीं दिया। हमारी सेनाएँ जब विजय पर विजय प्राप्त करती जा रही थीं, और आक्रमणकारी अपने पैर सिर पर रख कर भाग रहा था, तो हमने उन विजय-वाहिनियों के पैरों में युद्धविराम रेखा की जंजीर डाल दी। युद्ध के मैदान में जो कुछ जीता गया था वह नई दिल्ली के प्रासाद में खो दिया गया। हम लड़ाई में जीत गये पर सन्धि में हार गये, और आज काश्मीर का एक तिहाई भाग आक्रमणकारी के कब्जे में है। वह कैसे मुक्त होगा, उसका क्या तरीका है, सरकार की क्या नीति है? वेदों में भगवान के स्वरूप का वर्णन करने के लिये "नेति नेति" का उपयोग किया गया है। परमेश्वर यह नहीं है, परमेश्वर वह नहीं है। कभी कभी मुझे लगता है कि काश्मीर और गोया और पूर्वी बंगाल के हिन्दुओं की समस्या के बारे में भी सरकार की जो नीति है उसे "नेति नेति" के शब्दों में ही अच्छी तरह से प्रकट किया जा सकता है। क्या हम काश्मीर के एक तिहाई भू-भाग को सेना के बल पर मुक्त करवेंगे? नहीं नहीं। क्या हम उसे पाकिस्तान को तोड़के के रूप में पेश कर देंगे? नहीं नहीं। फिर हम क्या करेंगे? गोया में क्या हम पुलिस कार्यवाही

करने ? नहीं, नहीं । तो क्या फिर हम जनता को सत्याग्रह करने देंगे ? नहीं, नहीं । तो फिर क्या हम गोधा को भत्याकारी पुर्तगाल के हाथों में छोड़ेंगे ? नहीं, नहीं । यही बात पूर्वी बंगाल से हिन्दुओं के निष्क्रमण के बारे में है । हम पाकिस्तान पर दबाव डालने के लिये तैयार नहीं कि वह देश के बटवारे के समय जो समझौता हुआ था उस समझौते का पालन करे, और भारत में मुसलमानों के साथ जिस तरह का समता और सम्मान का व्यवहार किया जा रहा है पाकिस्तान में भी हिन्दुओं के साथ उसी तरह का व्यवहार करे । देश का विभाजन इसी आधार पर हुआ था और यदि पाकिस्तान उस आधार को स्वीकार नहीं करता तो हमें अन्य उपायों को अपनाने पर विचार करना चाहिये । लेकिन हम पाकिस्तान पर न तो दबाव डालने के लिये तैयार हैं, न निष्क्रमणार्थी हिन्दुओं को बसाने के लिये भूमि मांगने के लिये तैयार हैं । हमारी नीति क्या है । "नेति, नेति" । इसी से उसकी व्याख्या की जा सकती है ।

मैं काश्मीर की समस्या के सम्बन्ध में अपनी बात कह रहा था । एक तिहाई भू-भाग को मुक्त कराने के लिये हमारे प्रधान मंत्री बचनबद्ध हैं अर्थात् उसकी एक इंच भूमि भी आक्रमणकारी को न सौंपे जाये । कभी कभी ऐसी खबरें आती हैं कि इस तरह के प्रस्ताव रखे गये हैं कि युद्ध विराम रेखा पर पाकिस्तान से समझौता कर लिया जाये । मुझे खुशी है कि अब यह प्रस्ताव नहीं है, और मैं स्पष्ट कर देना चाहता हूँ कि कोई भी ऐसा प्रस्ताव जिससे काश्मीर का विभाजन होगा भारत की जनता स्वीकार नहीं करेगी । काश्मीर पूरी तरह से भारत में मिला चुका है और यदि काश्मीर की भाज कोई समस्या होगी तो यही समस्या है, कि पाकिस्तान उस भू-भाग को कब तक खाली करने जा रहा है जो उसके अवैध अधिकार में है । प्रधान मंत्री ने

कुछ दिन पूर्व कहा था कि यदि दो बातें मान ली जायें, नम्बर १, पाकिस्तान आक्रमणकारी है, और नम्बर २ एक तिहाई भू-भाग भारत का है, तो हम पाकिस्तान से बात करने के लिये तैयार हैं । यदि ये दोनों बातें मान ली गयीं तो फिर बात करने के लिये क्या बचेगा, फिर बात करने के लिये कुछ भी बाकी नहीं रहेगा । अगर बात कोई हो सकती है तो यही कि पाकिस्तान से पूछा जाना चाहिये कि वह काश्मीर के एक तिहाई भू-भाग से अपना विस्तर बोरिया बांधकर कब जाने की तैयारी कर रहा है । लेकिन ऐसे चिह्न नहीं दिखाई देते कि पाकिस्तान मान जायेगा । जो भू-भाग पाकिस्तान के पास है उसके मिलने की बात तो दूर रही, जो हिस्सा भारत में मिला है, आज उसी पर दांत लगे हैं । एक संकट खड़ा हो रहा है । पाकिस्तान युद्ध की तैयारियां कर रहा है । अमरोको हथियारों से सज्ज हो कर भारत की स्वतन्त्रता और सुरक्षा के लिये संकट का कारण बन रहा है । मैं युद्ध का हामी नहीं हूँ । मैं भी शान्ति का समर्थक हूँ, किन्तु मरघट की शान्ति नहीं जीवन की शान्ति का समर्थक हूँ । काश्मीर के एक तिहाई भू-भाग को पाकिस्तान को सौंपने से जो शान्ति होगी वह स्थायी शान्ति नहीं होगी और मैं समझता हूँ कि शान्ति के प्रावरण में हमारी दुर्बलता की नीति अग्रे नहीं चरनी चाहिये । हमें धर्मराज युधिष्ठिर के उदाहरण से शिक्षा लेनी चाहिये । युद्ध कोई नहीं चाहता मर दूसरे लोग हम पर युद्ध घोष सकते हैं । धर्मराज युद्ध नहीं चाहते थे, उन्होंने युद्ध को टालने का बड़ा प्रयत्न किया, अनुनय विनय की, शान्ति के संदेश भेजे, बटवारा तक मान लिया, द्रोणदी का अपमान सहा, लेकिन युद्ध से उनको बचाने नहीं मिला । जो युद्ध से भागता है युद्ध उसके पीछे भागता है, और जो युद्ध के सम्मुख हिम्मत करके खड़ा हो जाता है, उसका सामना करने के लिये तैयार रहता है, वह अपने अधिकारों

[श्री वाजपेयी]

की भी रक्षा करता है और शान्ति की स्थापना करने में भी सफल होता है।

मुझे इस बात के लिये खेद है कि राष्ट्र-पति के अभिभाषण में पाकिस्तान की जंगी तैयारियों से भारत की सुरक्षा और स्वतन्त्रता के लिये जो संकट पैदा हो गया है उसका कोई उल्लेख नहीं किया गया है। यह संकट वास्तविक है। पाकिस्तान ने हमारे की सहायता लेकर और उस सहायता के सम्बन्ध में यह स्पष्ट करके कि यह सहायता भारत के विरुद्ध ली जायेगी, हमें एक विषम परिस्थिति में रख दिया है, और अमरीका ने श्री पाकिस्तान को सहायता देकर भारत के विरुद्ध अमैत्रीपूर्ण कार्य किया है।

हम यह आशा करते थे कि प्रधान मंत्री की अमरीका यात्रा से अमरीका की नीति में कुछ परिवर्तन होगा। किन्तु बाद में जो चिह्न मिले है उनसे वह नीति अपरि-वर्तित मालूम होती है और इस दृष्टि से प्रधान मंत्री की अमरीका यात्रा को सफल नहीं कहा जा सकता। लेकिन हम दूसरों को दोष दे इससे हमारा कल्याण नहीं होगा। हमें दोषारोपण नहीं आत्मलोचन करना चाहिये।

मेरे कतिपय मित्रों ने विदेशीनीति की सफलता के लिये सरकार को अनेक बधा-इयां दी है। मुझे खेद है कि मैं उनमें शामिल नहीं हो सकता। हमारी विदेश नीति का उद्देश्य था कि हम दुनिया के किसी भी शक्ति गुट से नहीं मिलेंगे। और विश्वशान्ति के लिये प्रयत्न करेंगे और उस विदेश नीति का संचालन इतनी कुशलता से किया गया है कि युद्ध स्वयं हमारे दरवाजे पर धाकर खड़ा हो गया है। और हमारे धामने शायद इसके सिवा कोई चारा नहीं

है कि हम किसी शक्ति-गुट में सम्मिलित हो जायें। अगर इसी को विदेश-नीति की सफलता कहते हैं, तो फिर विफलता किसे कहते हैं, यह समझने में मैं असमर्थ हूँ। फिर तो शायद "विफलता" को शब्द-कोश से ही निकाल देना पड़ेगा।

मैं काश्मीर की आन्तरिक स्थिति के सम्बन्ध में भी कुछ निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ। भारत में शायद ही कोई ऐसा व्यक्ति होगा, जो बख्शी गुलाम मुहम्मद के हाथ मजबूत नहीं करना चाहता, लेकिन बख्शी साहब के हाथ मजबूत करने का यह तरीका नहीं है कि उन की शक्तियों पर पर्दा डाल दिया जाय। एक बात हमें भली प्रकार समझ लेनी चाहिये कि काश्मीर और भारत की एकता किसी एक व्यक्ति पर—फिर वह व्यक्ति कितना ही बड़ा हो, या किसी दल पर—फिर वह दल कितना ही सबल हो, या किसी सरकार पर—वह सरकार चाहे कितनी ही लोकप्रिय हो, निर्भर नहीं छोड़ी जा सकती है। व्यक्ति आयेंगे और चले जायेंगे, पार्टियां बनेंगी और बिगड़ जायेंगी, सरकारें कायम होंगी और बदल जायेंगी। उन पर भारत और काश्मीर के सम्बन्ध निर्भर करने चाहिये। हम सब की सद्भावनायें बख्शी साहब के साथ हैं, लेकिन काश्मीर के भीतर जिस तरह से शासन चलाया जा रहा है, उससे वहां की जनता संतुष्ट नहीं है। लोकतन्त्र को अभी काश्मीर की भूमि में अपनी गहरी जड़ें जमाना है। हो सकता है कि मैं जो कुछ कह रहा हूँ, उस का हमारा पड़ोसी पाकिस्तान नाजायज फायदा उठाने का प्रयत्न करे, लेकिन

श्री ल० ना० मिश्र (सहरसा) : यह जानते हुये भी कह रहे हैं।

श्री वाजपेयी : सत्य को केवल इतने लिये नहीं छिपाया जा सकता

कि कोई उस का नाजायब फायदा उठा सकता है। काश्मीर के बारे में चुप रहने की नीति का एक दुष्परिणाम हम भोग चुके हैं और अगर हम उसकी पुनरावृत्ति नहीं होने देना चाहते, तो हमें सत्यका सामना करना होगा।

श्री श्री जम्मू-काश्मीर में चुनाव हुए थे। मैं चुनाव में जम्मू गया था। मुझे दुःख के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि उस चुनाव में अनियमिततायें की गईं। मैंने स्वयं अपनी आंखों से देखा कि बोटर्ड-लिस्ट ऐसी बनाई गई—वे उर्दू में बनाई गई थीं—कि उसके अनेक पृष्ठों को पढ़ा नहीं जा सकता था और मजा यह कि जिस का पढ़ना प्रजा परिषद् वालों के लिये असम्भव था, उसका पढ़ना नेशनल कांग्रेस वालों के लिये सम्भव हो गया। जिस दिन मतदान हुये, तो पोलिंग-स्टेशन कहां होंगे, इसकी पूर्व-सूचना नहीं थी और कहीं कहीं तो उसी दिन—पोलिंग के दिन ही—पोलिंग स्टेशन बदल दिये गये। जो मतों के बक्से थे—मत-पेटियां थीं, अनेक स्थानों पर उनको प्रिजाइडिंग आफ्रिमर्ज के यहां रखा गया। प्रजा परिषद् के प्रधान, पंडित प्रेमनाथ डोगरा, ने चुनाव के सम्बन्ध में प्रिजाइडिंग आफ्रिमर्ज के सामने जो आपत्तियां की थीं, मेरे पास उन के फोटो-चित्र मौजूद हैं, जिन को मैं सदन के टेबल पर रखने के लिये तैयार हूँ। प्रिजाइडिंग आफ्रिसर ने स्वीकार किया है कि एक स्थान पर जब गणना हो रही थी, तो वहां एक बक्सा ही नहीं था।

सभापति महोदय : मैं माननीय सदस्य की वाकफियत के लिये यह बताना चाहता हूँ कि यहां पर स्पीकर साहब ने कल बनाये हैं कि अगर किसी सदस्य के पास कोई ऐसी दस्तावेज, कागज, फोटो वगैरह हो, जो कि वह यहां पेश करना चाहते हों, तो वह पहले दिखा लें, या कापी दे दें और फिर हाउस में उस का हवाला दें, चाकि पहले से यह देख लिया जाये कि ऐसी

चीज की इजाजत देनी है या नहीं। इस लिये माननीय सदस्य को चाहिये कि वह किसी मौके पर इस का जिक्र कर दें, जब कि यह पहले देख लिया जाये कि उस की इजाजत दी जाय या नहीं।

श्री बाणपेयी : मुझे स्वीकार है।

प्रधिष्ठाता महोदय, मैं आप से निवेदन कर रहा था कि जम्मू-काश्मीर के चुनाव में प्रजा परिषद् ने सत्रह उम्मीदवार खड़े किये और वे सत्रह उम्मीदवार अठारह चुनाव-क्षेत्रों में खड़े थे। उन अठारह चुनाव-क्षेत्रों में से बारह चुनाव-क्षेत्रों में जो बैलट-बाक्स थे, वे टूटे हुए पाये गये। ये अनियमिततायें ठीक नहीं हैं। मैं बक्सी साहब की कठिनाइयों समझता हूँ, लेकिन काश्मीर को हमें लोकतन्त्र के मार्ग पर आगे बढ़ाना है और इसके लिये यह आवश्यक है कि वहां ऐसा वातावरण पैदा किया जाये, जिसमें सभी दल और भारत के प्रति निष्ठा रखने वाले सभी पक्ष स्वतंत्रता से कार्य कर सकें। मुझे विश्वास है कि इस दृष्टि से काश्मीर सरकार की नीति में जो अपेक्षित परिवर्तन है, वे शीघ्र ही दिखाई देंगे। प्रजा परिषद् तो नेशनल कांग्रेस के साथ सहयोग करना चाहती है, लेकिन सहयोग एकतरफा नहीं हो सकता—उस के लिये उपयुक्त वातावरण होना चाहिये।

मैं ने अभी इस बात का उल्लेख किया है कि पाकिस्तान जंगी तैयारियां कर रहा है। भारत की स्वाधीनता और भारत के विभाजन के दस वर्ष बाद ही हमारे सामने बाहरी आक्रमण और आन्तरिक विघटन का खतरा खड़ा हो गया है। युद्ध हमारा दरवाजा खटखटा रहा है। यदि छोटा सा इसरायल ब्रिटेन और फ्रांस के इशारे पर मिस्र पर आक्रमण कर सकता है, तो पाकिस्तानी नेता भी, जो दूसरों के इशारे पर चलते हैं और अपनी भूखी नंगी जनता की प्राजायती को वाशिंगटन के बाजारों में नीलाम

[श्री बाबुरेयी]

पर बढ़ाने के लिये तैयार हूँ, भारत से टकराने का पुस्ताहस कर सकते हैं। मैं भारतक पैदा नहीं करना चाहता, लेकिन समझ रहना चाहिये। यह ठीक है कि हम राष्ट्र-निर्माण के महान यज्ञ में लगे हैं, लेकिन यज्ञ में विघ्न भी पड़ते हूँ और यज्ञ की रक्षा के लिये शस्त्र-सज्जित सेना, आगरूक जनता और अपने कर्तव्य के प्रति निष्ठावान् शासन होना चाहिये।

मैं एक बात और कहूँगा। राष्ट्रपति ने अपने अभिभाषण में इस बात को स्वीकार किया है कि राज्यों के पुनर्गठन के कारण पंचवर्षीय योजना की प्रगति कुछ मन्द हो गई है। क्या इस का विचार पहले नहीं किया जा सकता था? क्या प्रान्तों का पुनर्गठन करना इस समय आवश्यक था? और यदि किया गया, तो उसे ठीक ढंग से क्यों नहीं किया गया? मुझे तो ऐसा लगता है कि यह पुनर्गठन नहीं किया गया है, विघटन किया गया है। महाराष्ट्र और गुजरात की जनता की उपयुक्त मांगों को नहीं माना गया है। मैं उत्तर प्रदेश से आता हूँ, मैं मध्य प्रदेश का निवासी हूँ, किन्तु मैं महाराष्ट्र और गुजरात में घूमा हूँ और मैं जानता हूँ कि वहाँ की जनता के मन में अपने अपने पृथक प्रान्त के लिये किसनी प्रबल भावनाएँ हैं। उनकी उपेक्षा नहीं की जा सकती है, उनकी दबाया नहीं जा सकता है। कल यहाँ जो घमकियाँ दी गईं, मैं उन को ठीक नहीं समझता। उनसे अपनी बात मनवाई नहीं जा सकती। वह सही तरीका नहीं है, लेकिन मैं गैर-महाराष्ट्रीय सदस्यों से—और विशेषकर उत्तर प्रदेश और बिहार के सदस्यों से, जिन्होंने द्विभाषी बम्बई प्रदेश के निर्माण में पहल की और जिस भावना से प्रेरित हो कर उन्होंने पहल की, उस की मैं कद्र करता हूँ—निवेदन करूँगा कि उनकी भावना उच्च थी, लेकिन भाव की परिस्थितियों

का भी विचार होना चाहिये। विघटनकारी शक्तियाँ इस परिस्थिति का लाभ उठावगी और जनता को उमाड़गी। भाप चाहते हैं एकता पैदा करना, लेकिन उस का तरीका भाप ने ऐसा प्रपनाया है, जिससे विघटन बढ़ेगा। भ्रमी परिस्थिति को सुधारा जा सकता है। यह सदन फिर से विचार कर सकता है और मैं इस बात का विश्वास करूँगा कि जो परिस्थिति है, उस में संयुक्त महाराष्ट्र और महागुजरात के निर्माण के सम्बन्ध में पुनर्विचार होना चाहिये।

मेरे एक मित्र ने पंजाब की समस्या का उल्लेख किया है। मैं इससे सहमत नहीं हूँ कि पंजाब की समस्या का स्थायी हल खोज लिया गया है। जो हल निकाला गया है, उस ने परिस्थिति को और भी जलझा दिया है। भारा की समस्या ठीक ढंग से हल नहीं की गई है और विघटन के बीज बो दिये गये हैं।

Shrimati Renuka Ray (Malda): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I rise to support the motion of thanks to the President. Brief and cogent the Address has unerringly pointed out the main economic difficulties and the ways and means through which the Government and the people of this country are trying to overcome them. It has mentioned the achievements that have been made as well as the difficulties that still remain. The underlying note shows that there is no complacency in the Address. There is no feeling of behaviour like an ostrich to hide from the problems that confront us. Nevertheless, it is not a counsel of despair and frustration as some gloomy prophets would like it to be.

Sir, living as we do in close proximity to the times it is difficult for us in this generation to judge and assess all the achievements that have been made. It is but natural that we look

at things that have not been done as yet and not towards those things that have been accomplished. But I dare say that the future will recognise that a great deal has been done in the brief span of only a decade.

Sir, the face of rural India is changing, changing far more rapidly than we realise. To my mind the psychological change that is coming over the people of the country is the most important. The people under foreign domination had lost confidence in their own powers. We had begun to believe that we could not do things. Today we have regained that confidence. We are beginning to realise that it is on our inherent ability that we shall have to rely and that we shall be able to overcome our problems through these means.

The President's Address has rightly focussed attention on the fact that the Central and State budgets are deficit and that our foreign exchanges are being strained. At the same time it is the endeavour of the Government to keep to the targets of the Second Plan. Sir, in an admittedly backward country which has to develop in many ways it is natural and absolutely necessary to have deficit financing. But deficit financing has its concomitant evils and the inflationary spiral goes up and up, if not properly checked. It is obviously the endeavour of the Government to keep a balance; to go in for deficit financing when necessary and at the same time be careful to see that we do not expect greater sacrifice of the present to build up the future.

Mr. Chairman, there is one factor which I would like to bring to the notice of Government which I think is of equal importance. In our zeal to husband our resources and to utilise them to the best of our ability, let us not do something which may imperil our efforts. Too much scrutiny, too much red tape and too many difficulties put in the way of those who are trying to implement the actual work does not make for success. I am speaking not in the air. I speak

in the light of experience and I would like to say that it is essential for the success of the Second Plan to see that the authority that implements the Plan, a scheme or a project, whether it be a state Government, whether it be a project implementing committee, whether it be a district official or a local authority or a community project authority down in the district, must have sufficient resources both in money and in materials placed at its disposal in a co-ordinated manner in time and be able to make such alterations that local needs demand. If this is not done, then, as we have seen, many months of the financial year are spent in getting sanctions and the unfortunate person on whom devolves ultimate responsibility to implement the work gets the money at the eleventh hour and in the last few months of the year there is feverish activity. Naturally this is not very conducive to efficiency; nor is it the best way of carrying out our work. It leads also to unspent balances which are very injurious at a time when our money position is so very tight. Therefore, it is my earnest appeal to the Treasury Benches to avoid this situation, for I know that if we are anxious they cannot be less anxious than us. In regard to the allocations made by the Planning Commission to the different States, which will be going through the administrative Ministries in the Centre they should be made in such a manner that in the two—the administrative and Finance Departments that of the Centre of the State do not have too irritant checks at every stage. It is true that in a democratic procedure we have to have certain checks. These are essential. But such checks should not become irritants. It often happens that the authorities which are to bring about enthusiasm to the people in an area have to wait and wait for months while the people lose their enthusiasm, frustration sets in and that imperils our Plan.

The President's Address has rightly said that in the first year of the Plan we have not been able to go ahead and the reason given is the States re-

[Shrimati Renuka Ray]

organisation. That certainly is a reason. But it is essentially for us now when we want to go ahead more rapidly to see to it, in fact, to have some investigation made into the administrative procedure not only by the Government at the Centre and the States but also with the help of actual implementing authority. Their suggestions also should be taken into consideration in this matter. I think if this is done we shall be able to go forward more easily. It may be that some expenditure may have to be curtailed; I hope we do not have to curtail any expenditure. But even if this is done, let the money and the resources like cement, etc., be given in a planned, co-ordinated manner to the man who is actually implementing the Plan so that delays are eliminated.

Yesterday I heard an hon. Member saying that sanction was given for the construction of some tube wells, but they are not built. I was wondering whether it was the authority that had to build the tube well which was responsible, or whether perhaps the cement had not come, or perhaps the sanctioned money had not actually arrived. These are matters which need absolute vigilance today because if the Centre is coming to the assistance of the States, as the Planning Commission has laid down, and allocations are to be made for nation building services, let us see that we do not allow these to spoil our effort by over jealousy.

Sir, I have not got much time at my disposal, but there is one point which I want to bring to your attention. I feel that in the President's Address when mention was made of one or two areas where natural calamities have affected the food position, it might have added other areas such as West Bengal or Bombay where an equally difficult position has come about. In any way I am glad that the Food Minister has made a statement in the House and I entirely agree with him that it is not a proper thing to encourage hoarding, espe-

cially by the speculator or even the small hoarder by creating panic. There is no reason for any panic in this country, but there is reason to be cautious. The rainy season is approaching and during that period there are many areas in this country which are inaccessible and food reserves have to be built up in those areas, at once I should like to tell Members of this House that not very long ago I was down in northern Bengal in Malda and Murshidabad districts where the wheat crop stood high in the grounds and the people had expected a very good yield. But unfortunately the pathetic thing was that this wheat crop gave no yield at all because of rust and other diseases. The economy of this area, that is Malda and Murshidabad, is greatly dependent on the mango crop, and to this year it is 20 per cent. of the normal.

Mr. Chairman: Does the hon. Member intend to conclude within a minute or two, or would she like to have five minutes tomorrow?

Shrimati Renuka Ray: I would like to have five minutes either tomorrow or I can finish now itself within five minutes.

The Minister of Parliamentary Affairs (Shri Satya Narayan Sinha): It does not matter. She can take five minutes and finish.

Mr. Chairman: Just as the House desires.

Shrimati Renuka Ray: These are the matters to which I wanted to refer. I do not want to go into greater details. But with regard to West Bengal in particular, I hope that the request of the Government of West Bengal for an adequate amount of foodgrains, both wheat and rice, will be met. I understand that the Food Minister is well apprised of the situation and that he is looking into it. I hope that in this way the price of rice will be pegged, because it is essential that this rising price of rice should be kept under check. For instance, in Darjeeling the price of

coarse rice has risen to Rs. 27 and it is beyond the purchasing power of the people. I would suggest that rice should be subsidised and sold at the rate of Rs. 17-8-0. We must remember that last year there were unprecedented floods in West Bengal, and this has greatly affected the purchasing power of the people.

I have spoken about West Bengal because I have greater knowledge of that area. But the same thing applies to any other area where such conditions prevail.

There were other things about which I should have liked to speak, but I shall take some other opportunity. There is, however one point I will make, because it arises out of the President's Address. I will not go into any detail over international affairs, but there is one thing that strikes us here very much. Is there an attempt going on to corner India because she does not join military pacts? Is there any attempt to force her because she takes an objective stand on all issues, based on equity and justice? I wonder that those who speak so glibly about Kashmir, a settled fact, where the people of the area have decided and it is integrated in India, never have time to ponder that over a decade, day after day, month after month, year after year, refugees come and it is a one-way traffic from East Pakistan into eastern India. How is it that the world outside, all those countries which are so anxious about an area where admittedly in the last ten years there has been a great deal of improvement, why do they not think about this fact? I would suggest to them that they speak a great deal about free countries of the world; India is a country that is an admittedly backward country, trying against the heaviest odds to go ahead through the means of democracy. It is a great experiment which the world watches, which Asia and Africa watch. If due to external forces, if due to outside pressure which India cannot withstand, this experiment does not succeed, then those who will be responsible for that

should take warning now. In any case India which is guided by the principles that have been laid down by the Father of the Nation does not intend to give them up for any consideration; and with faith in our hearts we shall go ahead in spite of every difficulty that we face. With these words I support the motion of thanks to the President for his Address.

Mr. Chairman: I can very well understand the anxiety of a large number of hon. Members wishing to speak, and particularly in the beginning. But I would appeal to the hon. Members also to appreciate the difficulties of the Chair. It is not possible to accommodate all of them, and some of the hon. Members must feel disappointed, though the Chair would try to accommodate as many Members as possible tomorrow. But those who do not get an opportunity in this discussion on the President's Address shall have ample opportunity during the Budget debates and I assure them that their names would be considered in preference to others who have now spoken. And even this disappointment might be a good experience for beginners, because that will give them some tolerance.

The House now stands adjourned till five o'clock to listen to the budget proposals of the year.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned till seventeen of the Clock.

The Lok Sabha re-assembled on Seventeen of the Clock.

[MR. SPEAKER in the Chair]

PRESENTATION OF GENERAL BUDGET, 1957-58.

Mr. Speaker: The Finance Minister.

The Minister of Finance (Shri T. T. Krishnamachari): Mr. Speaker, Sir. In March last I presented to the predecessor of this House an interim budget for the year 1957-58 in order to obtain a vote on account to meet Government's expenditure until this House assembled. The expendi-