

[Mr. Speaker]

not a matter of privilege or contempt. Therefore, I am sorry I am not able to grant permission to raise this matter.

Shri V. P. Nayyar (Quilon): May I..

Mr. Speaker: I have finished it.

MOTION ON ADDRESS BY THE
PRESIDENT

Mr Speaker: The House will now take up the motion on Address by the President for which 12 hours have been allotted excluding the time to be taken by Government to reply to the debate

Before I call upon Shri Jaganatha Rao to move his motion of Thanks to the President, I have to announce that under rule 21, I have fixed that the time limit for speeches shall ordinarily be 15 minutes, with the exception of Leaders of various Groups for whom 30 minutes will be allowed, if necessary.

The Prime Minister, who, I think, will reply to the debate, on behalf of the Government, may intervene or reply at a later stage, and take the necessary time therefor.

Shri Jaganatha Rao (Koraput): Sir, I beg to move:

"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 10th February, 1958."

The motion that I have just moved is of the very texture of parliamentary propriety.

All of us heard the President on Monday with the deference due to him as Head of the State—and all of us, without any of the limitations of party labels, would like to thank him for

the honour he did us and for the light he shed on the Government policy and programme.

I am deeply sensible of the great privilege accorded to me in having been allowed to initiate the debate on the Address. On this occasion, I would like to express the hope that we will not let ourselves be unduly swayed by prejudices and passions arising out of issues extraneous to the Address.

The President's Address both because of its text and tone gives little or no room for political differences and party tensions. As a sober review of affairs and as a dispassionate recital of facts, it calls for not only serious but respectful consideration. In his survey, the President did not confine himself to conditions at home, but also referred to our foreign relations in brief. There was a time when parliamentary discussions were limited to domestic politics alone, but that was quite long ago. In later years, when the very security of parliamentary institutions was influenced by the actions of other countries, every country had to reconsider its relations with foreign countries and shape its policies. It is a tribute to India's sense of awareness that she is deeply susceptible to events abroad. It is, if I may say so, our great Prime Minister's gift to us that we are in no way isolated from the rest of the world. Nothing in our ten-year old history as a free country has won wider recognition than our intense desire not only to live peacefully but to promote the cause of peace everywhere.

It is in this perspective and unto this end that the President, in his Address, made a pointed reference to the issue of disarmament, the move for summit talks and the supreme need for agreed solutions. All this is in conformity with our well-known policy of non-alignment and of peaceful co-existence. Our Prime Minister's tours abroad are pilgrimages in the cause of peace and in this peace effort,

he is so ably supplemented by our esteemed Vice-President. Indeed we have got the eloquent testimony of the Prime Minister that wherever he went and whomsoever he addressed, our Vice-President spoke words of wisdom and cemented bonds of friendship. It is such a healthy sign, and a proud reality that in the sphere of external relations, we have no internal differences. I feel I am but echoing a general sentiment when I say that, in so far as our foreign policy is concerned, our political faith is belief in our Prime Minister. The broad principles of our foreign policy are embodied in article 51 of the Constitution. Our policy of non-alignment and non-interference in others' affairs has won us the appreciation of the whole world. Our motto is friendship with all and malice towards none. The visits of foreign dignitaries to our country bear testimony to this.

We have been championing the cause of the colonial peoples and our country made a notable contribution for the independence of Malaya and Ghana, for the cease-fire in Korea and for the cessation of hostilities in Indo-China. I am sure our efforts in the matter of the settlement of the West Irian dispute and also in the matter of Algeria will prove fruitful. Our voice is heard all over the world because it is the voice of reason, voice of justice and voice of human rights and freedom.

We have condemned the formation of military pacts and advocated non-interference in other peoples' affairs. We have condemned the Eisenhower doctrine of vacuum in the Middle-East and we have in strong terms condemned that no country has any right to interfere in others' affairs. This principle laid down by our Prime Minister was recently appreciated by Mr. Gaitskell, the British Labour leader who said that the western powers should disengage themselves from Europe. I am sure that the western powers will learn a lesson from what our Prime Minister said.

Our Prime Minister was the first person to appeal to the big powers to agree to disarmament and to stop nuclear explosions as a first step towards total disarmament. It is gratifying to note that our Prime Minister's appeal has been responded by the great powers and it is earnestly hoped that these great powers would come to a decision regarding disarmament. I am sure that our country, our Prime Minister and Sri Krishna Menon at the United Nations will do their best in this regard and their voices will be heard.

With the emergence of the I.C.B.M., I.R.B.M. and the Sputniks, military strength as an instrument of foreign policy is no longer tenable. So, the principle of co-existence is the only alternative before mankind. The choice before mankind is total annihilation or peaceful co-existence. Our resolution in the political committee of the United Nations on the 12th December, 1957 on peaceful co-existence was accepted unanimously by the committee and it is hoped that our efforts in this regard will bear fruit.

The President in his Address has rightly given precedence to our second Five Year Plan and the difficulties facing us. The Second Five Year Plan seeks to rebuild rural India, to lay the foundation of industrial progress and to secure to the greatest extent possible opportunities to weaker and under-privileged sections of our people and the balanced development of all parts of our country.

The principal task of the second Five Year Plan is to secure an increase in the National income by about 25 per cent. In the first Plan period, the national income rose to 10,800 crores and it is expected that by the end of the second Plan period, it will rise to Rs. 13,480 crores. This means an increase of 18 per cent. in the per capita income from Rs. 281 in 1955-56 to Rs. 331 in 1960-61. The programme of investment envisaged in the second Five Year Plan is Rs. 6,200 crores on the assumption that external resources to the tune of Rs. 1,100 crores will become available to supplement

[Shri Jaganatha Rao]

domestic savings. It is the second Five Year Plan and our determination to go ahead with it that has attracted the attention of western countries. Ours is the largest democracy in the world and the western countries are impressed that under-developed nations like India can go ahead with building their economy by democratic methods. It is for this reason that the western countries have so generously come forward to help us in our foreign exchange difficulties.

In the matter of food production to which the President has been pleased to refer, it is gratifying to note that there is an appreciable increase in output. In the second Plan period, 25 major irrigation projects to irrigate 12.7 million acres, in addition to 430 irrigation projects have been included, with a view to bring 37 million acres of land and a total yield of 10 million tons of additional food. Steps have also been taken by the Government to call upon the people to go on with intensive cultivation. The scope for increased yield per acre by intensive cultivation is even larger in India. China produces 1600 lbs, Egypt 3165 lbs, Japan 3281 lbs and Italy 4050 lbs of rice per acre while India produced only 800 lbs per acre by the end of the first Plan. Steps have been taken to intensify production by supplying improved seeds, chemical fertilisers and by teaching methods of improved and intensive cultivation. It is hoped that in the next year, our agriculturists would be in a position to produce more with the available facilities.

Government have also taken note of the recommendations of the Foodgrains Enquiry Committee and have implemented them, the result being that the food position in the country today is much better and the prices of foodgrains are also slowly coming down. As observed by our President in his Address, it is also up to the people to observe austerity measures in matters of food and to change their food habits to make surplus food available to the people living in deficit areas. I may

recall to hon. Members that we had a similar food scarcity during the second World War and we were supplied only 8 ozs. of rice, supplemented by wheat products. How could we get on then? Similarly, it is up to the people living in surplus States to realise that they owe a duty to the country and should reduce the rice-content of their diet, supplementing it by other food. Thereby we would also be saving our foreign exchange by reducing imports of food.

In the field of industrial development also, India has maintained the momentum that was gained and has gained speed. The general index of industrial production which stood at 102 in 1952 and at 133 in 1956 rose up to 148.8 in the first nine months of 1957. Considering that this year was one of stresses and foreign exchange difficulty, it is remarkable that there was no diminution in output even in the industries which depend greatly on imported raw materials. As a means of achieving balanced development of industrial economy, considerable importance has been attached to the development of ancillary industries. With the objective of rapid advance in view, a sum of Rs. 750 crores has been provided in the Second Five Year Plan for heavy industries. The three steel plants which are under construction are expected to go into production in a year or two. The small-scale industries are also making much progress. The automobile industry has progressed well, and automobiles worth Rs. 50 crores are being produced.

As observed by the President in his Address, the restrictions imposed by Government in their import policy have helped to conserve our foreign exchange, and it is gratifying to note that Government are going to continue that policy, and with that end in view, Government have given a decent burial to liberalisation of imports. I am sure this policy will help us in conserving our foreign exchange.

Our exports have also earned us about Rs. 619 crores as in the previous year. Though there has not been

much improvement in the export trade position, still the previous year's rate has been maintained, the main articles of export being jute, tea, textiles, ores and agricultural commodities, which constitute about 80 per cent. of the exports. Attempts are being made to intensify and broad-base the list of exported goods, so that our foreign exchange position could improve. Government have decided on a new policy of export, it being to export only finished goods and not export raw materials as heretofore. It is also a matter of satisfaction to know that the value of engineering goods exported is expected to touch the figure of Rs 15 crores during the year 1957-58.

I have briefly touched the points on which I wanted to address this House, and I would now like to add a few words in conclusion. It is true that we are living in troublous times and amidst tensions of varying intensity. We should bear in mind that peace is indivisible and that prosperity can only be the product of unwearyed home-effort. Every passing day confirms the wisdom of the Prime Minister's warning and caution that we must under any circumstances implement the Second Plan. Failure to do so would mean our disappearance into oblivion. Doubtless, our path is beset with great difficulties, but we must face them like men and surmount them at any cost, hopeful of the future and conscious of our destiny. Let me recall a great Victorian statesman's stimulating dictum, namely:

"There is no danger in facing a difficulty, but much in running away from it."

It is to emphasise our duty to the motherland and to make us prepared for the necessary sacrifices that our revered President set his Address in a high key, a key which unlocks the door to national prosperity and international peace. Let us render to him what is due to him, namely our heartfelt thanks.

श्री म० सा० द्विवेदी (हमीरपुर) .
अध्यक्ष महोदय, राष्ट्रपति ने जब दोनो सदनों के समक्ष अपना अभिभाषण किया था, उस समय मेने उसकी बड़े गौर से सुना था। उसके बाद मेने उनके अभिभाषण को बड़े गौर से पढ़ा है और उसका अध्ययन किया है। राष्ट्रपति जी ने एक बड़ी विशेष प्रतिभा दिखालाई है। यह मैं इस लिये कहता हूँ कि उस अभिभाषण में वर्तमान भारत की स्थिति और उसके सर्वतोमुखी विकास का ऐसा सुन्दर चित्रण किया है और इस ढंग से किया है कि कोई चीज ऐसी विशेष जानकारी की नहीं रह जाती जिस पर कि नुक्ताचीनी की कोई गुजाइश हो। मैं यह जानता हूँ कि बहुत सी बातें विरोधी सदस्यो न निकाली हैं जिनका वे इस सदन में जिक्र करेंगे और उन पर विवाद करेंगे। लेकिन एक बात उनको स्मरण रखनी चाहिये और वह यह है कि जिन समय के बीच मैं से हम गुजर रहे हैं वह एक निर्माण का समय है। हमारा देश एक ऐसे युग में होकर गुजर रहा है जबकि अधिक सक्रम है, युद्ध का वातावरण उत्पन्न हो रहा है और ऐसे समय में हमारा जो ध्यान है वह सर्वतोमुखी विकास की ओर होना चाहिये, समस्याओं को सुलझाने की ओर होना चाहिये न कि टीका-टिप्पणियों की ओर। इससे देश का ध्यान बट जाता है। निर्माण के इस समय में निर्माण पर अपना पूरा ध्यान केन्द्रित कर देने से यह लाभ होगा कि हर एक का ध्यान उस तरफ चला जाएगा। इसके प्रतिरिक्त समस्याओं पर आप ध्यान दें। किसी गम्भीर परिस्थिति के बारे में यदि हम छोटी छोटी बातों को ले कर उस अवसर को बिगाड़ देते हैं तो उस की गम्भीरता नष्ट हो जाती है।

राष्ट्रपति जी देश के एक सर्वोच्च अधिकारी हैं और उन्होंने जो अभिभाषण दिया है उसमें बड़ी बड़ी बातों का ही जिक्र किया है और सूक्ष्म दृष्टि से किया है।

[श्री म० ला० द्विवेदी]

सभी बातों पर प्रकाश डालना उनके लिये सम्भव नहीं हो सका है। इसका एक कारण यह भी है कि बजट प्रादि प्रस्तुत होने वाले हैं और माननीय सदस्यों को बहुत से ऐसे प्रश्न मिलेंगे जिन को पाकर कि वे सभी बातों पर अपनी टीका टिप्पणियां कर सकेंगे। इसलिये मेरा माननीय सदस्यों से अनुरोध है कि वे इस अभिभाषण पर निर्माण की दृष्टि से और करें और उसके ऊपर अधिक टीका-टिप्पणियां न करके अपना ध्यान इसी पर केन्द्रित रखें कि किस तरह से देश प्रागे बढ़ सकता है और किस तरह से हमारी द्वितीय पंचवर्षीय योजना सफलतापूर्वक कार्यान्वित की जा सकती है। यों तो हमारे देश में बहुत ही बातें होती हैं और टीका-टिप्पणी की दृष्टि से वे की जाती हैं लेकिन हम प्रश्न को ध्यान में नहीं रखते हैं। मुझे स्मरण है कि कवि लोगों ने हमारा ध्यान दो प्रकार के जन्तुओं की ओर दिलाया था, दो प्रकार के प्राणियों की ओर दिलाया था। एक होती है जोक और एक होता है हंस। जोक का काम यह है कि वह गाय के धन पर भी लगी हो तो दूध नहीं पीती है और केवल रुधिर पीती है, केवल रक्त पीती है। लेकिन हंस के लिये कवि ने कहा है :—

जड़ चेतन गुण दोषमय, दिव्य कीन्ह करतार।
सन्त हंस गुण पय पिये, परिहरि वारि विकार ॥

इसका सरल भाषा में यह अर्थ है कि हंस के प्रागे आप दूध में पानी मिलाकर रख दें तो वह जो दूध है उसको तो पी जाएगा लेकिन पानी को छोड़ देगा। इसी प्रकार से जो सज्जन लोग होते हैं, जो साधुजन होते हैं, जो सन्त होते हैं वे क्या करते हैं? वे प्रवृत्तियों को तो त्याग देते हैं और गुणों को ग्रहण कर लेते हैं। वे प्रवृत्तियों की परवाह नहीं करते लेकिन गुणों को कद्र करते हैं। उसी तरह वे लोग करते हैं जिस तरह से कि

हंस पानी के विकार को छोड़ देता है। आप लोगों का ध्यान इस समय पर भारत सरकार की सर्वतोमुखी प्रगति की ओर होना चाहिये। प्रायः हम अपना मुकाबला करें दूसरे देशों से। पाकिस्तान में भी उसी समय पर स्वतंत्रता प्राप्त की थी जिस समय कि भारतवर्ष ने प्राप्त की थी। आप देखें कि दोनों देशों में से किसने अधिक उन्नति की है, किसने अधिक तरक्की की है। हमारे देश में बहुत सी तरक्कियां की हैं, बहुत से उन्नति के काम किए हैं, जैसा कि हमारे राष्ट्रपति जी ने हम को बतलाया है।

अभी हाल ही में दो सालों से इस बात की चर्चा चल पड़ी थी कि हमारे देश की आर्थिक स्थिति बहुत खराब हो गई है और विदेशी विनिमय की कठिनाई का भारत को बहुत ज्यादा सामना करना पड़ रहा है। लेकिन मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि जितना शोर मचाया गया था और जितनी स्थिति को खराब बताया गया था उतनी स्थिति खराब नहीं थी। यह संतोष का विषय है कि राष्ट्रपति जी ने कहा है कि हमारी विदेशी विनिमय की स्थिति सुदृढ़ है और हमें विदेशों से ऋण प्राप्त हो रहे हैं जिनके कारण योजना का काम सफलतापूर्वक चलेगा। जब हम संकट की बात कहते हैं तो यह होता है कि तबाही मचा दी जाती है और सारे देश में अस्थिरता का वातावरण उत्पन्न कर दिया जाता है और लोगों में अविश्वास की भावना उत्पन्न हो जाती है। जब ऐसा होता है तो इसका प्रसर विदेशों पर भी पड़ता है। जब देशमुख जी हमारे वित्त मंत्री थे उस समय कोई आर्थिक संकट की बात हमारे दिमाग में नहीं थी। मुझे मालूम यह पड़ता है कि हमारा देश एक अच्छे वातावरण में से हो कर गुजर रहा है और जैसे हमने पहली योजना को सफलतापूर्वक कार्यान्वित कर लिया है उसी तरह से हम द्वितीय योजना को भी जिसका सूर्योदय हो चुका है, सफलतापूर्वक

कार्यान्वित कर लेंगे। जब से इस योजना का सूत्रपात हुआ है उस समय से अधिक संकट के बावजूद धिरने लगे हैं। हमें प्रसन्नता है कि हमारे प्रधान मंत्री ने श्रीर हमारे विस मंत्री ने विदेशों का दौरा करके फिर से एक नए वातावरण का सृजन किया है जिससे कि हमारी आर्थिक स्थिति और भी सुदृढ़ हो गई है। मैं माननीय सदस्यों का ध्यान इस ओर आकषित करना चाहता हूँ कि एक तो आपके सामने यह रास्ता है कि आप नुकताचीनी करके और एक तबाही मचाकर देश में और विदेशों में भी एक कठिन और जटिल परिस्थिति उत्पन्न कर दें और दूसरा स्थिति को सुधारने का रास्ता है। मैं मानता हूँ कि हम एक ऐसे युग में मे गुजर रहे हैं जो जटिलताओं का युग है और इसमें बड़ी बड़ी विषम परिस्थितियाँ हैं। लेकिन देखना यह है कि हमारे देश का किस में भला है। अगर हमने ऐसी हवा पैदा की जो कि हमारे प्रतिकूल होगी, अस्थिरता की हवा फैलाई तो दूसरे देश भी उसको देखकर हमारे लिये कितनी सहानुभूति करेंगे? यह सब हवा बनाने की बात है। अगर अच्छी हवा बनती है तो उससे देश में नई सम्भावनाओं का सूत्रपात होगा और हमारी स्थिति सब ठीक हो सकती है और हमारे काम को पूरा करने में लोगों की बड़ी भारी सहायता प्राप्त हो सकती है। डीका-टिप्पणी से कोई लाभ नहीं होता है, लेकिन वह ठीक ढंग से की जानी चाहिये और ठोस तथ्यों के आधार पर की जानी चाहिये। आप ठीक करें और ठीक बात बतावें तो सुधार हो सकता है। मैं एक उदाहरण देता हूँ। यहाँ पर एक संसत्सदस्य श्री फीरोज़ गांधी ने एक मसला उठाया था जिस का परिणाम यह हुआ कि हमारी सरकार ने अपने ही एक मंत्री के खिलाफ एक आरोप बिठा दिया और उस मामले की जांच कराई। अब वह जांच सम्पन्न हो चुकी है और उस जांच पड़ताल के निष्कर्षों पर इस सदन में वाद-विवाद होगा। इसके बाद जो उचित समझा जाएगा,

किया जाए। मैं चाहता हूँ कि माननीय सदस्य एक बात ही चाहे निकालें और सारे देश भर में उसे निकाल कर लायें और देखें कि सरकार ठीक तरह से करती है या नहीं। इसके विपरीत दूसरा रास्ता यह है कि आप सौ सौ संशोधन पेश करे लेकिन उन सब के पीछे कोई वजन न हों, जैसे ही वे संशोधन हों, तो उनका कोई अधिक मूल्य नहीं होता है। हमारे यहाँ बुदेलखंड में एक कहावत है "एक गज की लोमड़ी, सवा गज की पूछ"। यदि सब के सब संशोधन मंजूर कर लिये जायें तो धन्यवाद का प्रस्ताव तो होगा संक्षिप्त सा और यदि उसमें संशोधन को जोड़ दिया गया तो वह इतना लम्बा हो जाएगा कि केवल रिपेट रिपेट ही उसमें दिखलाई पड़ेंगे और यह कहावत कि हाथ भर की लोमड़ी, सवा गज की पूछ, उस पर चरितार्थ होगी। मैं चाहता यह था कि आप एक संशोधन देते या हर एक सदस्य एक एक संशोधन देता लेकिन खूब सोच समझकर देता उनके पीछे उसका अभ्ययन होता, उसकी पूरी तरह से उसने जाच पड़ताल की होती और उसका कुछ नतीजा निकाला होता। ऐसे नहीं होना चाहिये कि खोटा पहाड़ निकली बुद्धिया। संशोधन तो एक सौ या दो सौ हों लेकिन उनमें तथ्य की बात कोई भी न हो। इस किस्म के संशोधन का कोई लाभ नहीं होता। आपको संशोधन हमलिये भी कम देने चाहिये क्योंकि बजट पर आपको सजी बातों पर बहस करने का काफी अवसर मिलेगा।

मुझे प्रसन्नता है कि राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने अभिभाषण में किसी भी विवादग्रस्त मामले पर अपने विचार प्रकट नहीं किए हैं क्योंकि वे समझते हैं कि ऐसे अवसरों पर विवादग्रस्त बातों का शिक्र करने से कोई लाभ नहीं हाता है.....

श्री ब्रजराज सिंह (फिरोज़ाबाद) • यह उनका भाषण नहीं, सरकार का है।

श्री म० ला० द्विवेदी : भाषण तो उन्होंने ही दिया है। राष्ट्रपति जी आपके अधिपति हैं, राष्ट्रपति हैं। वह सरकार के मंत्रियों को भी बता सकते हैं और सही रास्ते पर चलने के लिये कह सकते हैं। लेकिन सरकार के भाषणों को भी अगर आप सुनते तो आपको पता चलता कि सरकार यह जानती है कि किम समय पर क्या करना है। मैंने अभी एक मदस्य का उदाहरण दिया है और बताया है कि उसके सवाल उठाने पर जाच का आदेश दिया गया और जाच की रिपोर्ट उपस्थित कर दी गई है। ऐसे ही और भी उदाहरण आपके सामने आते रहेंगे और पहले भी आये हैं। मैं यह नहीं कहता कि.....

श्री बाबुपेयी (बलरामपुर) : कौन से आते रहेंगे ?

श्री म० ला० द्विवेदी : जैसे आते रहे हैं। हम लोग यहाँ किस लिये हैं ? हम यहाँ पर इसलिये हैं कि यदि एक जगह पर भी गलती हुई हो तो जनता की रक्षा करने के लिये, उसके हितों की रक्षा करने के लिये प्रस्तुत रहे और संसद् के सामने तमाम बातों को प्रस्तुत करते रहें।

पंचवर्षीय योजना के सम्बन्ध में राष्ट्रपति जी ने बताया है कि कितनी प्रगति हुई है। उन्होंने यह भी बताया है कि सामुदायिक विकास केन्द्रों की संख्या इस समय २,१५२ है जिनमें २,७६,००० ग्राम आते हैं, जिसमें कि लगभग हमारे देश की १५ करोड़ आबादी आ जाती है। मैं समझता हूँ कि करीब करीब आधी जनता को हमने ही वह लाभ पहुँचाया है जो पंचवर्षीय योजना के अन्तर्गत आता है।

श्री बजराम सिंह : २३ करोड़ बाकी रह जाते हैं।

श्री म० ला० द्विवेदी : हो सकता है कि अभी बढ़ गये हों और ५० करोड़ हो गये हों और हो सकता है कि और काम आगे बढ़ जाये धीरे धीरे हमें आगे बढ़ना है और तमाम देश भर में एक नई जागृति और तरक्की के काम खोलने है और संसद् सदस्यों का कर्तव्य है कि वे अपनी समस्याएं यहाँ रखें और सरकार का ध्यान उनकी ओर आकृष्ट करें। मेरा विद्वास है कि शीघ्र ही सारे देश भर में यह काम फैलेंगे और तरक्की के काम होंगे।

मैं उन बातों का जिक्र नहीं करना चाहता जिनका कि राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण में उल्लेख है अथवा जो विभिन्न प्रतिवेदनों में आ चुकी है। मैं इस मौके पर केवल उन बातों की ओर सदस्यों का ध्यान आकृष्ट करना चाहता हूँ जिनकी कि तरफ हमें आगे बढ़ने में सहायता मिल सकती है। बजट पर बहस के अवसर पर हम तमाम छोटी छोटी बातों पर अपने अपने विचार प्रकट करेंगे और इसलिये आज इस अवसर पर उन बातों को न लाकर आप उन महत्वपूर्ण बातों को लायें जिनके कि कारण राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण की महत्ता बढ़े और दूर देशों के लोग समझे कि हमारे यहाँ के सदस्य किन्हीं खास वस्तुओं पर केन्द्रित होकर देश को आगे बढ़ाने के काम में सफलतापूर्वक बहस करने का मादा रखते हैं।

जहाँ तक देश में कृषि उत्पादन बढ़ाने का सवाल है मैं बतलाना चाहता हूँ कि बिहार और उत्तर प्रदेश के इलाकों में लोगों की भुखमरी का सामना करना पड़ा। वहाँ पर बाढ़ आने के कारण फसल खीपट होगई। हालांकि राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण में उसका जिक्र नहीं किया गया है लेकिन मैं मानवीय सबस्यों का ध्यान उस ओर आकषित करते हुए कहना चाहता हूँ कि जिस समय वहाँ पर बाढ़ आई और कठिन परिस्थिति उत्पन्न हुई, उस समय सरकार ने बहुत अधिक

सात्कालिक सहायता बाढ़ग्रस्त क्षेत्रों को पहुंचाई और उनको भूखों मरने से बचाया, हर प्रकार से उनको हर संभव सहायता पहुंचाई। यह सहायता हमारी सरकार द्वारा केवल अपने अपने देश के ही संकटग्रस्त क्षेत्रों को नहीं अपितु सीलोन में जब वहां पर भयंकर बाढ़ आई तो उसने हवाई जहाजों के द्वारा खाद्य सामग्री और अन्य प्रकार की सहायता तत्काल वहां पर पहुंचाई और लोगों को भूखों मरने से बचाया। जब सरकार बाहर के देशों को संकट के भ्रवसर पर मदद पहुंचाती है तो फिर स्वयं अपने देश के संकट से पीड़ित क्षेत्रवासियों को सहायता न पहुंचाना, ऐसी बात नहीं है। हां, उस विषय में कुछ नुटियां सम्भव है रह गई हों, उन नुटियों की ओर सरकार का ध्यान आकृष्ट करना यह हम सब लोगों का कर्तव्य है और वह हमें अवश्य करना चाहिये।

जहां तक हमारी अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय नीति का सम्बन्ध है, मेरे ख्याल में उसके सम्बन्ध में किसी का मतभेद नहीं होगा कि हमारी न्यूट्रैलिटी, बगैर किसी का पक्ष लिये हुए, शान्तिपूर्वक आचरण करने, युद्ध को सर्वत्र रोकने की प्रयत्न निश्चस्तीकरण की जो हमारी नीति है उसका बाहर सब जगह स्वागत हुआ है और सब से उसकी प्रशंसा की है और देश के भीतर सभी दलों के लोगों ने उसका स्वागत किया है। यह बड़े हर्ष का विषय है कि भारतवर्ष ही केवल एक ऐसा देश है जिसने देश-देशान्तर में इस बात का ठंका बजाया है कि युद्धों से और बमबारी से हम अपनी सभ्यता का नाश करते हैं और युद्ध के चलते हम कोई बड़ा काम नहीं कर सकेंगे और प्रगति नहीं कर सकेंगे। हमें आशा है कि सदस्य लोग इस नीति का फिर से प्रतिपादन करेंगे और हमारे प्रधान मंत्री का हीसला बढ़ायेंगे और इस नीति को अन्य देशों में भी व्यापक करने के लिये अपना पूरा समर्थन देंगे जिससे कि अविष्य में अणु बमों और उच्चबल बमों का प्रयोग करना बंद हो जाय और साथ ही साथ विध्वंसक

कार्यों के लिये इस अणु शक्ति का प्रयोग न किया जाय, इस पर हम पूरा बल दें।

साथ ही साथ हम इस बात के उपर भी हर्ष प्रकट करते हैं कि यूरोप और एशिया के बड़े बड़े राष्ट्रों ने इस बात की चेष्टा की है कि वे भारत की बात को मानें। भारत के सहप्रतिनिध और पंचशील के सिद्धान्त को उन्होंने स्वीकार किया है। आप जानते हैं कि कुछ ऐसे देश हैं जो हमारे सिद्धान्तों को मानते तो हैं लेकिन आचरण उनके विरुद्ध करते हैं। उदाहरण के लिये मैं इंग्लैंड का नाम लेना चाहता हूं। अभी इंग्लैंड के प्रधान मंत्री जब हमारे बीच में आये हुए थे तो उन्होंने कहा था कि हम भारत की नीति से सहमत हैं और निश्चस्तीकरण होना चाहिये, युद्धों को सर्वत्र रोकना चाहिये लेकिन साथ ही साथ आण्विक परीक्षणों को रोकने के वे पक्ष में नहीं हैं। मैं समझता हूं कि जिस बात को वह मूल से कहें उस पर आचरण न करें, यह सही चीज नहीं है। एक तरफ तो वे भारत की नीति को अपनायें और दूसरे देशों को अपनायें के लिये कहें लेकिन आचरण उसके विरुद्ध करें, तो यह बात ठीक नहीं है। उनको कथनी और करनी में एक रहना चाहिये और भारत की आवाज में अपनी आवाज मिला कर संसार में सब जगह सदा के लिये युद्ध बंद हो जाय, ये अणुशक्ति के परीक्षण बन्द हो जायें इसके लिये बल देना चाहिये और हम फिर एक दूसरे के साथ बैठ करके ऐसे वातावरण का सृजन करेंगे जिससे कि मानवमात्र अपनी बुद्धि का विकास कर सके और प्रगति कर सके।

मुझे हर्ष है कि स्पूतनिक नाम की एक चीज बनाई गई। घाने चल कर हो सकता है कि लोग चन्द्रलोक तक पहुंच जायें और वृक्षों, नक्षत्रों तक जाकर एक ऐसे नये विश्व की खोज कर डालें। विध्वंसक कार्यों को छोड़ कर यदि लोग उस और अपनी बुद्धि लगायें और चेष्टा

[श्री म० ला० द्विवेदी]

करें तो इसमें कोई संशय नहीं है कि हम एक बड़े विश्व का निर्माण करेंगे और मानव जाति का सिर हमेशा के लिए ऊंचा करेंगे। छोटी छोटी बातों से काम नहीं चलता है। बड़े कामों के करने से ही हम ऊंचे उठते हैं। मानव मात्र का कर्तव्य हम दिशा ये यह होना चाहिए कि भारतवर्ष की जो व्यूटैन्टि की नीति है उसको मभी देश माने, रूस और अमरीका के लोगों में एक विश्वास का वानावरण उत्पन्न हो ताकि वे मिल कर के इस निष्ठास्त्रीकरण को स्वीकार कर लें। वे आपस में एक उच्च स्तरीय वार्ता करके फिर से नई नीति का मुजान करें जिस में कि विश्व का कल्याण हो।

अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं सदन का अधिक समय नहीं लेना चाहता हूँ। मैं केवल दो, चार बातों की ओर ध्यान दिला कर अपने भाषण को समाप्त कर दूंगा। कुछ बातें ऐसी भी हैं जिसकी कि तरफ सरकार को कुछ ध्यान देना चाहिए। मुझे विश्वास है कि सरकार का ध्यान उनकी तरफ पहले से है लेकिन फिर भी मुझे जो यह एक अवसर मिला है उसका लाभ उठाते हुए मैं कुछ बातों की ओर सरकार का ध्यान आकृष्ट करना चाहता हूँ।

पहली बात तो यह है कि कर्मचारी वर्ग में जो बढ़ता हुआ भ्रष्टाचार है, उसको हमें रोकना है। उस सम्बन्ध में अभी हमने कल ही एक कानून बनाया है जिससे कि भ्रष्टाचार की रोकथाम की जा सकेगी। इस सम्बन्ध में मेरा कहना है कि अगर ज्यादा जोरदार तरीके से हम काम करेंगे तो उससे जनता में एक विश्वास की भावना पैदा करने में कामयाब होंगे और ऐसा होने से यह जो भ्रष्टाचार की हवा बड़ी हुई वह खत्म हो जायगी।

दूसरी बात मुझे यह कहनी है कि योजनाएं जो हमारी बनती हैं वे अभी ऊपर से आती हैं,

जनता की ओर से नहीं आती हैं और इसी कारण उनके रास्ते में कुछ कठिनाइयां पड़ रही हैं। पूर्ण जनसहयोग उनके लिए प्राप्त करने में कठिनाई अनुभव होती है। इसके लिए मैं चाहता हूँ कि हमारी योजनाएं ऊपर से न आकर नीचे ग्रामों और जिलों के स्तर से लाई जायें। लोगों के सुझाव उन पर मागे जायें और उन पर विचार करने के बाद उनको सरकारी योजना की शेष दी जायें। इसके लिए यह भी किया जा सकता है कि जो हमारी संसद् के सदस्य हैं उनमें से प्रत्येक सदस्य के लिए कम से कम एक वर्ष में एक लाख रुपये की योजना बनाने का अधिकार दिया जाय और उस योजना को आपके विशेषज्ञ जांचे और इस तरह यदि प्रत्येक सदस्य के निर्वाचन क्षेत्र के लिए एक वर्ष में १ लाख रुपये की मंजूरी दी जाय तो ५ वर्ष में ५ लाख रुपये खर्च आने हैं और इस तरह ५०० सदस्यों पर २५ करोड़ रुपये आयेगा। सदस्य लोग अपने अपने वहाँ के लिए जनता से परामर्श करके योजनाएं बनायेंगे और उन पर आपके विशेषज्ञों द्वारा जांच हो जाने के बाद उनको चलाया जायगा और मैं जानता हूँ कि अगर इस तरह काम किया गया तो गावों में काफी काम होगा और साथ ही उससे जनता में भी विश्वास उत्पन्न होगा। यह कार्य विधि अपने आप से हमारी जो योजनाएं हैं वे ज्यादा तेजी से आगे बढ़ेंगी। अल्प बचत योजना और अन्य तरीकों से धन की प्राप्ति होगी और जनता का धन, श्रम और सहयोग हमें प्राप्त होगा और उस अवस्था में हमारी दूसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना बिना किसी दूसरे प्रकार की सहायता के पूरी हो सकती है।

13 Mrs.

तीसरी चीज जिसकी कि ओर मैं सरकार और सदन का ध्यान आकृष्ट करना चाहता हूँ वह है पिछड़े इलाकों की समस्या। अभी यह देखने में आता है कि जो भी विकास कार्य हो रहे हैं वे उन ही इलाकों में हो रहे हैं जहाँ कि

पहले से ही काम किया हुआ है, पिछड़े इलाकों में विकास कार्य शुरू करने की ओर ध्यान नहीं जाता है और वे उसी प्रकार पिछड़ी अवस्था में बने रहते हैं। मेरा कहना यह है कि पिछड़े इलाकों में तीव्र गति से विकास कार्य शुरू किये जायें और उनकी दशा सुधारने की ओर सरकार ध्यान दे। उदाहरण के लिए रेलों की ही बात ले लीजिये। रेलों के बड़े बड़े स्टेशन जहाँ पर पहले से मौजूद हैं वही पर और नये स्टेशन बनाये जा रहे हैं और जहाँ पर पहले रेलवे लाइन मौजूद हैं वही पर और नई रेलवे लाइने बिछाई जा रही हैं लेकिन एम स्थानों पर जहाँ रेलवे लाइन नहीं है, जहाँ पर मुसाफिर-खाना नहीं है, गुड्स शैंड नहीं है, वहाँ पर यह सब काम करने की ओर हमारा ध्यान नहीं जाता। मुझे पूर्ण आशा है कि हमारे रेलवे मंत्री महोदय इस स्थिति में पूर्ण तथा अवगत हैं और वे आवश्यक कदम शीघ्र उठावेंगे।

उद्योगों के सम्बन्ध में हमें व्यापक प्रचार करने की आवश्यकता है। इस सम्बन्ध में मेरा सुझाव यह है कि जितने प्रकार की छोटी छोटी मशीनें हैं उनके लिये हमें एक उद्योग प्रदर्शनी दिल्ली में खोलनी चाहिये ताकि दिल्ली के आस-पास के जिलों के लोग यहाँ आकर उन मशीनों और मशीनारों को काम करते हुए देखें और उन्हें मालूम हो जाय कि ऐसे काम किया जाता है। अभी तक हमारी बातें ऊपर से पहुँचती हैं, उनका प्रचार भी करते हैं लेकिन उनका प्रत्यक्ष उदाहरण हमें देखने को नहीं मिलता है। इसलिये जिलों के स्तर पर इन उद्योग केन्द्रों को खोलने की आवश्यकता है ताकि लोग वहाँ पर नये नये प्रकार के मशीनार, नई प्रकार की मशीनरी और छोटे छोटे उद्योग बंधों के काम करने का डंभ जान लें।

कौची चीक जो मैं कहना चाहता हूँ वह यह है कि सेवानों में काम दो तरह से होता है, एक कचरा मालख से। जहाँ मालख से काम होता है वहाँ उनको कोई प्रोत्सा

प्रयत्न तरक्की मिलनी है ता वे काम करते हैं या वे काम तब करने हैं जब उनको भय हो। हमारे प्रशासन में इन दोना चीजों को कुछ कमी है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि गृह-मन्त्रालय इसको तरफ ध्यान दे कि प्रशासन का ठीक तरह में पालन हो और यह कि हर विभाग में कर्मचारियों का पूरा पूरा काम करने का मिले। जहाँ काम न हो वहाँ छुट्टी की जाये ताकि लोग मुस्त न रहने पावें। साथ साथ उनका यह विश्वास होना चाहिये कि जो अच्छा काम करेगा और जो सही श्रादमी हागा उसी को तरक्की दी जायेगी, फेरिटिज्म में या किसी दूसरे ग में कोई श्रादमी प्रागे नहीं बढ़ सकेगा।

साथ ही साथ मैं गृह मन्त्रालय की तारीफ भी करता हूँ कि इन दिनों बहुत से बर्कत और चोरा को पकडा गया और देश में एक नये वातावरण का मूजन हा रहा है। यह गृह-मन्त्रालय की योग्यता का प्रमाण है कि उन्होंने इतनी सूझ बूझ से काम लिया जिसमें कि ला एंड आर्डर की व्यवस्था ठीक होती चली जा रही है। मेरा विश्वास है कि इस ओर गृह-मन्त्रालय और भी तेज कदम उठायेगा।

एक जालरीय सदस्य . यह काम तो राज्य सरकारों ने किया है।

श्री ए० सा० द्विवेदी लेकिन उसमें गृह-मन्त्रालय का सहयोग भी रहता है।

मैं देखता हूँ कि हमारी शिक्षा नीति में बहुत सुधार हुआ है। जिन गावों में स्कूल नहीं थे वहाँ स्कूल बनते चले जा रहे हैं। बहुत से स्कूल और कालिज बड़े हैं। लेकिन हूँ इस बात को ध्यान में रखना चाहिये कि विश्वविद्यालयों में और कालिजों में प्रशासनहीनता बढ़ती चली जा रही है और

[श्री म० ला० द्विवेदी]

शिक्षा का स्तर गिरता जा रहा है। इसलिए शीघ्र ही शिक्षा नीति में कुछ ऐसा परिवर्तन करने की आवश्यकता है कि जिससे नवीन समाज सुशिक्षित बन सके और उमें आदर्श शिक्षा मिल सके ।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं प्रस्ताव का अनुमोदन करता हूँ जो हमारे मित्र श्री जगन्नाथ राव ने प्रस्तुत किया है ।

Mr Speaker: Motion moved.

"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 10th February 1958"

Shri Gopalan

Shri A. K. Gopalan (Kasergod): Mr. Speaker, Sir, the President's Address generally is an occasion when we can evaluate the Government's record for the past year . .

Shri Naushir Bharucha (East Khadesh): What about our amendments?

Mr. Speaker: I find there are over two hundred amendments to the Motion on Address by the President. I would, therefore, request hon. Members who wish to move their amendments to please hand in at the Table within fifteen minutes a slip intimating the numbers of the amendments which they would like to move. Such of them as are in order would be treated as having been moved.

We have circulated all the amendments without cutting any portion

Shri V. P. Nayar (Quilon): Not all

Mr. Speaker: Most of them. I shall go through them once again. Only such hon. Members as are present today will send in slips, not on behalf of any others; not that they do so: I say that only by way of abundant caution.

Shri A. K. Gopalan: Mr. Speaker, Sir, the President's Address is an occasion when we can evaluate the Government's record of the past year and also chart out the future course of action for our country's advance. But in this Address, I have with regret to say, that there is a lack of imagination, lack of finding out the reality and a sense of utter complacency. In regard to the question of food situation in the country, industrial production and other matters, the Address shows lack of reality and also a sense of complacency.

The Address says that the upward trend in the prices has been checked, production has been increasing and the overall situation in the country is good. That is the picture that the Address gives. Take the food situation. We must understand that this is the period when the new harvest comes into the market. When the new harvest comes into the market there is a decrease in prices. The Address says that Government had been able to restrain the upward trend in prices. But this has not happened. According to information available here the price of cereals showed 1 per cent increase in the month of December 1957 as compared to December 1956. The all-India consumer price index for the working classes also showed a continuous increase during last year. The index number for December 1956 was 109, while it stood at 114 in December 1957 which shows that there was an increase of 5 per cent. How can it be said that the upward trend of prices had been stopped? If the situation has improved, there should be evidence of it at this time of the year when the new harvest comes to the market. Not only here the prices not gone down, but on the other hand it has gone up. This itself is a testimony of the grim reality that the country is still in the grip of a menacing food situation. If at this time prices have not gone down, it only shows that the situation is grave and we have not

been able to stop the upward trend in prices.

Another statement in the President's Address is that large quantities of foodgrains from Government stocks had been sent to the fair-price shops. This is also not the correct position today. As far as Hyderabad is concerned, I have got reports that the fair-price shops are closed. As far as the Madras Government is concerned, they have announced that all fair-price shops will be closed by the first week of March. The Kerala Government is finding it impossible to supply the fair-price shops with rice as the Central Government was not able to send or allot a single ton of rice during the current year. So, if no supply is given, in Kerala also the fair-price shops will have to be closed.

As far as the solution of the food crisis is concerned, as we have shown before, there are certain important things and certain policies that have to be accepted by Government. In the Gauhati session of the Congress it has again been said that land reform is the means of increasing agricultural production. In the last one year, in many speeches as also in the National Development Council, it had been said that there must be land reforms and it is only by land reforms that we can have increase in production. But till now nothing is done. As long as that is not done, certainly, we cannot expect increase in production and also lowering of prices.

The second thing is that there are three ways by which we can increase production. One is that with the land available today, with the land under the plough, give water, good manure and use all other scientific methods by which we can increase production. As far as irrigation is concerned, the irrigation rates are concerned, they are so much that peasants who have got one or two acres of land are not able to use the water. The Balwantray Mehta Committee report has specifically said that if you want to in-

crease agricultural production, there must be a slight decrease in the water rate.

I will give the example of the Punjab. Besides the basic land revenue, there is an advantage rate from Rs. 1.8 to Rs 3 per acre. Then there is the local rate, 50 per cent of the revenue. Thirdly, there is the surcharge on land revenue. Fourth is the water tax. Besides these 4, it is proposed to levy betterment charges.

As far as the water charges are concerned, not only is interest on the capital—of the project and other things—taken but about Rs 1½ crores is taken as profit from the water tax that is levied. Water tax must not be a source of profit. It must be so given that every peasant in the country who has got a small piece of land is able to use the water and thus increased production is achieved. Unless we reduce the water rate and do not impose taxes like the betterment levy and other things, there cannot be any increase in production.

Next thing is distribution of waste and fallow land. There are 120 million acres of waste and fallow land in this country. As far as agricultural labourers are concerned, their annual income is only Rs. 104/- when the national income is Rs. 294 and they have got work only for 218 days in the year. If half of these 120 million acres of land were given to the agriculturists, there would be no unemployment in agriculture and there will be work throughout the year. There will also be increase in production.

I do not know why we do not utilise to the maximum the available human resources of the country. There are idle lands and there are idle hands in the country. Why not the idle lands be given to the idle hands so that they may work. According to Government figures, there are 120 million acres of waste and fallow land and no step is being taken by any

[Shri A. K. Gopalan]

State Government to distribute these fallow lands.

The next thing is industrial production. Industrial production has increased; I do not doubt that. But, what is the effect of this production? What must be the effect of increased industrial production? There must be an increase in the living standards of the people also and there must also be an increase as far as employment is concerned. The more we produce the more people are employed and the standard of living of those who produce also goes high. If that is not there, I do not know what is the use of increase in industrial production.

Cloth production has increased and reached its record last year, it is said. What is the result of this? Eighteen mills have closed down throwing out the workers. As far as the handloom products are concerned, they are lying idle in the market. There is the report of the Handloom Co-operatives in Madras. They had a meeting last month and they have given a report in which they say that the sale of handloom cloth dropped from Rs 16 lakhs in September to Rs. 5 lakhs in December; and, at present there is unsold cloth worth Rs. 2½ crores. If that is the case in one State, what is the magnitude of the problem throughout the whole of India. In the textile industry also, there were questions and answers and it was said that there was a large amount of stocks, worth crores of rupees, lying idle and the workers are also thrown out and the mills had been closed.

Increase in production depends not only on machines but also on the enthusiasm of the workers. What is the condition of the workers? The Indian Labour Conference in July took a decision on wage, rationalisation, workers' participation in the management and all these things. But, what has happened so far as these decisions of the Conference are concerned?

Wage Boards are set up. In the Address also it is said that the Wage Boards are going to be set up in the plantation, transport, port, dock, rubber and cement industry also. As far as wage is concerned, it had been said even at the beginning of the Second Five Year Plan by all the labour organisations of different political groups in this country that there must be an increment of 35 per cent. I want to know whether there has been really any increment in any industry and how much was the increment. Where these Wage Boards are set up, when a decision is given by the Wage Board it is not implemented.

There is also the worker's participation in the industry. Government says it is a very good thing. But, where there is worker's participation in industry, what is the power of the worker? How can he help the management to increase production? He must have some powers. If the worker is taken to participate in the industry without any such power the purpose for which it is done will be defeated.

As far as the Central Government employees are concerned, they have got an interim relief of Rs. 5. They wanted to go on strike but their patriotism told them that they should not do so and they withdrew. There are two conduct rules, rules 4(a) and 4(b). One is against the right given by the Constitution—banning of demonstrations. The second says that the worker should not join any union he likes. That means, he must compulsorily join some union, and the recognition of the union is on that basis. I do not know how, by this, the enthusiasm of the worker, whether he is a government servant or he is working in other private industries, can be got. Not only that 4(a) and (b) of the Conduct Rules must be removed. I hear that next month they are going en masse to break these rules. But this is a situation where everybody must work to

his full capacity and see that the reconstruction of the country is shared by him. But the Government servants are not allowed to do things properly and so they say that they will break these rules unless they are withdrawn. Under such conditions, they say they will not be able to work. It is something for the Government to think about so that they can obtain the co-operation of all the Government servants and the general public also. Discipline is one thing; recognition of the union is another thing. Discipline must be there certainly. If discipline is to be enforced, there must be some method for the recognition of the Union. Government has promised to bring forward some Bill as far as the recognition of the Union is concerned. It is one of the important things for industrial peace. There must be principles and based on these principles the Union must be recognised. There must be co-operation between the employers and the employees. Then only there will be peace in the industry. The majority of the railway workers are in the South Indian Railway Union. Even then, that union is not recognised.

The President has promised that his Government will give a definition to the core of the Plan. Two years after the Plan has started, 1½ years after the crisis in foreign exchange and eight months after the Finance Minister indicated that the Government will somehow carry out the core of the Plan, we still lag behind. We do not know what is the core. For the whole of the Plan, the private sector was allotted 590 crores but in the first two years, that sector has already spent Rs. 716 crores. The Plan is thrown to the winds.

13.22 hrs.

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

At the time of the nationalisation of insurance and the State Bank, we were told that the money would be used for developing the public sector. We have seen in the last few days

what has happened. There are persons at the helm of affairs who do not see the strategy of the Plan and they go against it. Certainly, the Plan cannot succeed this way. I do not want to enter into a discussion of the Mundhra affair because a day has been allotted for this thing. But one sentence will show how things are going on. It reads:

“Therefore sometime before the 4th September the Minister must have been in possession of all the facts with regard to this transaction. It is most unfortunate that in answering the question the Minister did not think it proper to place all the facts fully and frankly before the Lok Sabha.”

That is to say, persons who are responsible for carrying out the Plan and see that the core of the Plan is carried through behave like this. In order to help a racketeer and see that he does not sink, money that is there in the public sector is taken and that is wasted like this to see that some individual is favoured. This is why there was no checking up of the allotment of Rs. 590 crores made to the private sector when that amount was exceeded. Rs. 716 crores had already been used within two years and there are several promises.

When we talk about the Plan, certainly those who are responsible for the finance must be those who are not connected with the business. It may be that their brothers or sons or some others are interested in the business. We are after all human beings and when a man is in such a position, there is a possibility of helping this section or that section. The report definitely says that the Finance Minister who is in charge of the Plan is responsible for certain things. He should not have left this kind of impression in the public mind.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The hon. Member has himself said that it is to be discussed later on.

Shri A. K. Gopalan: I am not discussing the whole thing. I am only saying that when it comes to the core of the Plan, if you want to save the core, certain things are to be done. Whoever it may be, whether high or low, those who are responsible for doing such things but who do not care for the strategy and the progress of the Plan, must be seriously dealt with. One Finance Minister comes and he does something and resigns. Another comes and helps or does something against the principle of the Plan and he resigns. Where will the Second Plan be?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The hon Member should not despair.

Shri A. K. Gopalan: Hundreds of thousands of people in the country feel that way. The report is there. Even then it is said that the Finance Minister somehow, by discussion this way or that way, will be protected. When there is the slightest doubt or reflection on the Finance Minister by an enquiry body, the first thing is that he must resign. When there was a railway accident, what did he do? He said 'I am not directly responsible for that but I have got a responsibility because I am the Minister.' He resigned. Here what do we see? He comes today. I do not know whether he will continue coming. When we are discussing about the core of the Plan, something happens on the other side. I do not know whether there is any use of talking about the core of the Plan.

The next thing is about the foreign exchange. Is there no way in which we can get foreign exchange? We say there is a crisis. There are certain methods in which we can get some more money. We are not taking steps to get full value of things exported. Take for instance, tea. The market for tea in general has been confined to a few countries mainly in the British hands. Countries like West Germany and other continental countries are great con-

sumers of tea. Today those markets are not tapped. We are losing a considerable amount in tea sales because of the process of resale. Since the last two years, the agency houses have been diverting bulk production of the gardens under their management direct to U.K. at prices lower than those prevailing at the Calcutta auction. The evidence given by a dealer before the Plantation Enquiry Commission shows that fine quality leaves were resold to continental market depriving India of the valuable foreign exchange.

What is the result of this? Cannot the Government take any action? The result of this had been that the consumer in the United Kingdom and other purchasing countries had been obliged to pay high price for Indian tea while India gets only a small sum of the foreign exchange which will not do.

I will show you what are the prices of tea in India and other places. A pound of tea in the Calcutta auction fetches Rs. 1/8 to Rs. 1/12. A pound of tea in London costs Rs. 4 to Rs. 5. In West Germany, it is Rs. 16 and in Egypt and other middle east countries, it is between Rs. 10 and 12. So, it can be imagined how much foreign exchange this country is losing, because we are producing nearly 600 million tons of tea a year. So, the result is this because we are not purchasing from the garden itself and send it, and thus we are losing so much of foreign exchange.

Now, the State Trading Corporation is taking up certain lines of trade. Trading is now more and more under the State Trading Corporation. So State Trading Corporation should also enter the Calcutta auction as well as the Cochin auction and get tea from there and also, they should directly go to the field of purchase from the gardens and export the product. In this way, the foreign exchange earning of tea may be increased by at least 80 per cent over what we get now.

These are some of the methods by which the foreign exchange difficulties could be overcome. There are other methods also. I do not go into them. We see that the tea which is sold at Rs. 1/8 here is sold for Rs. 16 and Rs. 4 to 5 in other countries, I say that the State Trading Corporation is there, and it should enter the market and directly go and purchase the tea from the gardens so that we can get at least 50 per cent of the foreign exchange.

The other question that I have to bring up is about linguistic States. There were two questions formerly. As far as the bilingual State of Bombay was concerned, it was said that when the people show by action that they are for a linguistic State, then it will be done. So, the elections in Maharashtra, the elections in Gujarat, the elections in Bombay Corporation as well as in other panchayats and also in Parliament and elsewhere were fought on that basis. The results have shown that the majority of the people in the country are for linguistic States and I do not know what action the Government is going to take. I do not know whether the Government are going to allow these things to continue or whether they are going to solve these problems.

Another important point is this. Under a democratic set-up, the States or the Provinces have got autonomy. But what has happened in Kerala for the last six months will show that as far as the Kerala Education Bill is concerned, that Bill is still to be assented to. There was some kind of political discrimination. The Bill was not assented to and it is said that the Government will be advised to send it to the Supreme Court. Before passing a Bill, the State sends it to the Centre for its recommendation and for its suggestions, and when the Bill is returned and when almost all the suggestions are accepted, and when again it is sent up, it is held up. I do not know whether there was any instance in the history of

this country for the last ten years when any Bill was sent to the Supreme Court for opinion and decision was taken thereafter. The President can assent to it.

In 1956, more or less a similar Bill was passed by Andhra Pradesh. It came here and very smoothly it was returned. I do not know why this Bill from Kerala, even after a long time, is still under consideration and an opinion is given that it should be sent to the Supreme Court. As far as the Supreme Court is concerned, any Bill can go there, even those Bills which we pass in the Parliament are going there and the Supreme Court is taking a decision. But as far as the Bill from Kerala is concerned, I am sorry to say that there is a very open political discrimination and that is the reason why such a step has been taken. Such a step, even if taken in respect of any other State, is not the way in which we respect provincial autonomy. The right of the States has to be safeguarded. That is another point that I wanted to say.

These are some of the failures of Government which I wanted to point out in regard to the President's Address.

Shri Achar (Mangalore): Sir,....

Shri V. P. Nayar: We are discussing the President's Address, the Address which was made before the Joint Session of Parliament and we have had a motion of thanks under discussion. The Opposition Member was speaking, especially the Leader of the Opposition. But it is very regrettable that the Treasury Benches should be represented by only one gentleman and he also does not happen to be a Cabinet Minister. I find also that his attention has not been undivided, because I find him with a bundle of papers.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: He might be taking notes of the speeches.

The Minister of State in the Ministry of Home Affairs (Shri Datar): I am taking notes.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I also expect that some more Ministers should be present here when the Address is being discussed.

Shri V. P. Nayar: It is the President's Address—

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I agree with the hon. Member and I shall take note of it.

Shri Punnose (Ambalapuzha): Make him a Cabinet Minister.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: If I had the authority, I would have done it immediately.

Shri Achar: I thank you very much for giving me this chance to speak immediately after my good neighbour, Shri A. K. Gopalan, who comes from my neighbouring district. I am glad of it more because certain problems which he referred to are more or less similar to those with which I am concerned.

He began his remarks by stating that the President's Address lacks reality and that most of the observations in the Address are far away from true facts. The first item he took up was the question of rise in prices in the country. There is one thing which I can assure Shri A. K. Gopalan as well as this House. Though he may not be having facts and figures from all parts of the country, one thing is certain so far as the area from where we come, whether it be Kerala or a place which is north of it, namely, the South Kanara district, there is a trend towards lowering of prices for the last four or five months if not earlier.

Shri Subiman Ghose (Burdwan): What is the assurance?

Shri Achar: It is not a question of assurance at all. That is an existing fact. Just compare the

commodity of that area, rice, with the other things. About rice, I have a grievance against my Kerala friends populated as they are to an extent of about 1,200 persons per square mile. They are often taking away the rice which we are having in our parts. Apart from that question—who is responsible for this rise in price,—one thing is certain. As I pointed out just now, the price is certainly going down from the last four or five months at least. All that the speech of the President says in this respect is that there is a trend of the prices going down now. I do not think that the facts and figures which my hon. friend Shri Gopalan gave or the general reports which we are having from all parts of the country could contradict this bare statement. This bare statement could not be contradicted. Prices are really going down, and there is no doubt about it. So, one item of attack that the President's Address is far away from reality falls to the ground.

The next point my hon. friend took up was the question of land reform. He was pleased to remark that nothing is being done on this question. Is this correct? If that is so, I have also to blame the Government set up by his own party. But I am glad to say that it is not a correct fact. We know that in Kerala as well as in other areas attempts are being made to have very effective land reforms. It may be that all of a sudden, all the required reforms may not be implemented. It is a very difficult problem.

There are people who have earned their property by their sweat. All of a sudden, you cannot say "I will confiscate all this property and distribute it among the tillers of the soil." We also agree to the principle that ultimately the land must go to the tiller. But reforms cannot be carried out in a day; and I hope Mr. Gopalan will agree with me on that point. Even their own Government—I refer to the Government of Kerala—could not carry it out.

An Hon. Member: Are you justifying it?

Shri Achar: I am not justifying it. I am only saying that there are difficulties and reforms cannot be effected in a day. This matter has been considered both in this House, with which I am more familiar, and in other Legislatures and some reforms have been effected. The tiller has been given permanent interest in his land and attempts have been made to settle fair rent. In Kerala also such reforms cannot be brought about overnight. They have appointed a committee and a Bill...

An Hon. Member: It is wrong.

Shri Achar: That is my impression.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: If the hon. Member is attempting to reply to all the interruptions, he will not be able to proceed.

Shri V. P. Nayar: He could have approached us for facts.

Shri Achar: I do not want to divert my attention. So far as Kerala is concerned, though they have formed a Government about 8-9 months ago, still they have not been able to pass a statute. My impression is that a committee was appointed. I am not quite sure about it. My friend to my right contradicts it. Whether there is a committee or not is not the material point. They have not been able to have a statute, giving effect to all the reforms they wanted to have.

I am only stating these facts to rebut the charge against the Government, whether it be the State Governments or the Central Government, that no efforts have been made by them to have land legislation. It is not at all correct. If anybody is far away from lack of reality, I may say that it is the hon. Deputy Leader of the Communist Party,

because efforts are being made to have this legislation.

Then my neighbour referred to the question of linguistic provinces. I have a specific grievance there against my neighbour. I have spoken on this subject on former occasions also. Now Kasargode taluk is an area which belongs to the Kerala State. In fact, this point was raised even before the States' Reorganisation Commission, and they have almost conceded the point. Subsequently, I may point out, Mr. Gopalan also, during the election campaign, conceded that at least two of the *firkas*, Manjeshwar and Kumbia should go to the Mysore State and only Kasargode should be referred to arbitration.

Mr. Gopalan was very eloquent about the results of the two elections held in the bilingual State of Bombay. I may point out that so far as this area is concerned, even recently—of course, it does not form part of a separate constituency: it has only a population of 1,80,000—almost all the *panchayats* in that area have passed resolutions that this portion must go to Mysore.

Shri Punnoose: When was the last panchayat elections? Was it some-time back or recently?

Shri Achar: Recently. No, there were no panchayat elections. These are the resolutions.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: If the hon. Members want to rule some part of the country, they must be prepared to listen to criticism even when they think it is not justified.

Shri Achar: In fact, they have committed themselves to that during the last election. I refer to that aspect of the question. As I said, if they value the results of elections, as Mr. Gopalan referred to the elections in Bombay State, I suppose they must also value the results of the resolutions passed by the *panchayats* in his own constituency. Not only that, I may point out that the Malabar

[Shri Achar]

District Board agreed to this principle and they said that Kasargode portion must go to Mysore.

So, if Mr. Gopalan can claim this principle in dealing with bilingual Bombay State, I hope he will adhere to what is happening in his own constituency. If the Chief Ministers of Mysore and Kerala agree, this question could be very easily solved, and the grievance of the Kerala people, especially the people of that area, would be solved. As the Home Minister has been repeatedly saying, if the two Chief Ministers come to an agreement, the question could be easily solved. So, if Mr. Gopalan could plead for this principle in Bombay, may I request him to persuade his Chief Minister to agree to this principle, so far as Mysore is concerned, in respect of Kasargode taluk?

Shri B. S. Murthy (Kakinada—Reserved—Sch. Castes): What about giving Kolar to Andhra?

Shri Achar: If the Andhra and Mysore Chief Ministers agree, probably that could also be solved. But I do not know whether Mr. Gopalan is agreeable to what he said during the elections. During the last election it was an issue.

Shri Dasappa (Bangalore): The Kolar people do not want it. I do not know why other people are enthusiastic about it.

Shri V. P. Nayar: He is inviting interruptions.

Shri Achar: So far as Kolar is concerned, it is different.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Now we should come out of Kerala.

Shri Achar: I wanted to speak on other subjects also. I would only emphasise one aspect of the question. When I read the entire Address, the most important thing that struck me

was that in this Address of seven pages with 38 paras,....

An Hon. Member: How many lines?

Shri Achar: You may count it yourself.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Hon. Members should hear what he has to say.

Shri Achar: I was only trying to point out one aspect that the Address does not emphasise the problem of the agriculturists as much as it does deal with the other problems. As I pointed out, very few paras are devoted to agricultural problems. No doubt, the question of increase of food production is touched. Even when that aspect is considered, it is only from the point of view of getting food for the town people some attention is paid. Para after para, only the other problems are discussed. In fact, our country is repeatedly stated to be an agricultural country with probably 80 or 85 per cent. of the population.

Shri Nath Pai (Rajapur): 76 per cent.

Shri Achar: Even in regard to statistics, there is difference. Anyhow, there can be no doubt that at least more than three-fourths of the population are agricultural. But, problems relating to agriculturists or the conditions of the people in the rural areas are not at all dealt with with as much emphasis as are other problems. In the most of these matters, it is only the voice of the merchants and lawyers probably, and other vociferous people that is very much heard, but the real welfare of the villagers is not sufficiently attended to. I appeal to the Government to consider that aspect of the question more than it is being done now.

Shri P. R. Patel (Mehsana): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, we are very thankful to the President for the Address

that he has given to the House. But I must submit that the Address has not done justice to the agricultural classes of the country. In this whole address, there are only two or three paras, paragraphs 5, 6, and 7 which refer to agriculturists and agriculture. Mainly it refers to the downward trend in prices and more production in the country as if the agriculturists are the happiest creatures on earth. Their miseries, their difficulties are not referred to. It seems from this that the attitude of the Government is not for the welfare of the agriculturists. I must say it is anti-agriculturist.

Our country is mostly populated by agriculturists. I may be permitted to say that 28 crores of people or more live in the villages. More than 82 per cent. of the people live on agriculture directly or indirectly. When a vast population of the country is composed of agriculturists, naturally, the Address of the President should refer much more to the agricultural side of the country than anything else.

It has been said not by one, but by many, that the core of the Second Plan is agriculture. They have gone a bit further and said that it is the base of the Second Plan. It is the base of Indian prosperity if at all it is to be. When it is the base, it should be looked after first than anything else. But, it is most unfortunate that they least care for the agriculturists of this country and agriculture of this country.

Everybody likes that the prices should go down. May I submit that those persons in this country who say that foodgrains prices should go down are enemies No. 1 of the country. What is the condition of the agriculturists? I would only refer to the Rural Credit Survey done by the Reserve Bank. It has been said in Vol. I, at page 72 that one-third of the agriculturist families of this country, their gross produce comes to

less than Rs. 200 per year. That shows the poverty among the agriculturists. God is also very kind to the agriculturists. I know mill-owners and capitalists pray to God for a son. But, God is very gracious to the agriculturists to give 4, 5, 6. Generally, an agriculturist family will be composed of five or six. With a gross income of Rs 200 a year, what is the condition of the agriculturists of this country? Do these people who talk of lowering the food prices want to make the agriculturists more poor, I ask them? Do they desire that the people who do agriculture should do something else? In that report, it is said that for more than one half of the agriculturist families, their gross income comes to about Rs. 400 a year. That shows the condition of the agriculturists. Do we desire that people should be blind to agriculture?

14 hrs.

Some days back, our Vice-President had been to Poona. There was some ceremony in the Poona Agriculture College and a paper was read by some student of the college. He proudly said, the students of our college have either become Directors of Agriculture or Magistrates somewhere. Then, the Vice President said that it is a sorry tale. The students who learnt agriculture should have gone to the villages and should have been of help to the villagers and agriculturists. In spite of this, they too go to service. This is a sorry tale. Why do these people go to service, I ask? Why do the some of agriculturists like to be primary teachers or patwaris? Why do they not continue in agriculture? The reason is this, that agriculture attracts nobody. Everybody talks of agriculture and more production, but they do not know the condition of the agriculturists; they do not care to see why the educated people are not attracted to agriculture.

The reason is that there is hard labour and less income in agriculture,

[Shri P. R. Patel]

I would say the least income, and so the people are not attracted to agriculture. It pains me to say that the President who ought to have spoken of these things, who comes from an agricultural community, has been silent on this point as if there are no woes of the agriculturists; and that too—this is a sad tale for the country—he delivered the Address to hon. Members of both the Houses who have been sent here with the votes of the agriculturists. It is the agriculturists who have sent them here by their votes, but when they come here they forget them. They talk much of labour, strike, hunger etc. If a man goes on hunger-strike for a day or two, we have adjournment motions here, but the agriculturist community keeps on hungry years together, and there is no adjournment motion, nothing of the kind. It has become a fashion nowadays, just to please the city people, the urban people, the educated people and to forget the agricultural community. My submission is that the House should be very kind to the agriculturist class.

It has now become the fashion to talk of co-operative farming, and this talk comes from those who have no farms and who know nothing of agriculture. I may submit that is not the cure for the agricultural community. What is required is that they should be given agricultural implements at low prices, fertilisers and water at low prices. Instead of that, what is happening? If you compare the prices of fertilisers of 1949 and today, you will find that they have increased by 400 per cent.

Look at the charges levied for water. There is a clamour, resolutions are passed at Mussoorie, but nothing is done. In my area, there are tubewells and tubewells water charges are levied, but if the water is taken to crops other than food crops, there is a penalty ranging from Rs. 15 to Rs. 25 per acre. Why this

penalty because the water is taken for cotton crop? Is cotton not agriculture? Should the agriculturist only take to food crops and no more? Should they be ever poor? Should they not have money to buy clothes and medicine for their children? What this means I do not understand. They must work just like cattle and give the best they can, nothing more than that; then they should die.

My submission is that the country should look at the agricultural problem, and for this purpose I have moved certain amendments to the President's Address. My amendments are 108, 22, 23 and 24.

One point is about arresting the fall of prices of foodgrains. It has been said that the prices are going down, and the President is happy over the matter. Prices going down means a great thing to the agriculturists, and if we go on importing foreign foodgrains, I do not think we shall be self-sufficient in agriculture. We have to draw a line somewhere, even though we are required to pay more for the foodgrain we should do it rather than import foreign foodgrains. The President of the Congress Party a month back said that we spent about Rs. 75 crores to pay the freight charges of foreign foodgrains. If the Government can pay Rs. 75 crores for freight charges, if they can pay Rs. 100 crores a year for the import of foodgrains, why should not that money be spent here, and people be asked to pay a rupee or two more for foodgrains produced in this country? This is the way to encourage agriculture in this country and remove the poverty of the agriculturists. The present policy is suicidal to the country, and I must say that it mortgages the future of the country to foreign countries. We know that the foreigners came here for trade and they usurped the whole country. Today we are mortgaging our country to foreign countries. God knows what will happen. I humbly submit that the policy should be changed.

Whenever the prices go down, it should be the grave concern of the Government to see that they do not go down beyond a particular extent. Government says: "Yes, we are there. When the prices go down, we shall come forward" but when will they come forward I want to know. What should be the price? They say "economic price". Have they defined anywhere what is the economic price? It is an expression used for the satisfaction of the agriculturists.

If teachers go on strike, Government comes forward. They say, everybody says that there must be living wages. I want to know what should be the living wages for agriculturists, whether an agriculturist family's living wages should be Rs. 100, Rs. 200, Rs. 500 or Rs. 1,000 a year. There should be some standard. First we must come to the conclusion that an agriculturist having an economic holding should get a net income of Rs. 1,000 or Rs. 1,500 and then the prices should be fixed so that the agriculturist may get living wages.

Today we are talking of giving living wages to the mill labourers, to the sweepers, to the clerks, to everybody. They want living wages and they must have, but the agriculturist need not have any living wages. This is an injustice to the agriculturist community. Injustice is done by those persons who had been fortunate to come to this hon. House with the votes of the agriculturists. The only reason is that the agriculturists are not organised. Everybody is organised. From the beginning of this world, agriculturists had been there, but they thought not of organising themselves. At that time they had been praised like anything. The poet said: माप तो जगत के दाता है "You are the father of the whole universe". The father had torn clothes and an empty belly and the sons became happy. That became the condition of the father.

Very lately our Congress President has been good enough to say that the Congress is a farmers' organisation. Just in order to see that they do not

organise themselves it has been said that this is farmers' organisation. If the Congress is a farmers' organisation, the Congress being in power and commanding a majority in this House, the President also coming with the support of the Congress, why do they not talk of the agriculturists and their difficulties? That falsifies the story that the Congress is a farmers' organisation.

There is one thing more. The Government should now appoint a committee to find out what is the equitable fair and reasonable price of foodgrains. Without doing that if you say that we are for an economic price, that is a very vague term. I desire that a committee should be appointed and I request this House to look to the worries of the agriculturists. Especially, I request the hon. Members on the Congress side to bring pressure on the party and on the Government to see that such a committee is appointed. At the same time, the committee may be asked to fix a minimum standard for the agriculturists. An agriculturist having 15 or 20 acres must get Rs. 1,000 net for his family per year. That should be the standard. I do not want more. But if nothing is done, it will be a very pitiable story.

Reference has been made in the President's address to the community projects—so many villages are covered by the projects and so on. There is one project in my district. I have moved in the area, but I do not find that the agriculturists have become happier because of the project. There are some school buildings and library buildings here and there; it is a good thing. But what is required is that the people, the agriculturists, should be inspired and enthused. They must feel that they are working for the nation and the country is theirs. Ten years have passed since our independence, but the feeling is not there in their minds that the country and the Government are theirs. The feeling is that instead of Britishers, the Congress people are ruling. We should remove that feeling and for that

[Shri P. R. Patel]

purpose I have an amendment No. 21 with a view to bring that matter to the notice of Government.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: That the Congress should not rule?

Shri P. R. Patel: No, Sir. I personally feel that if there is any political party in the country today which can govern the country, it is the Congress.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, Hear.

Shri P. R. Patel: But the Congress should manage the affairs in the most democratic way. Today I feel that the Congress is giving up democratic methods; it is talking of democracy but following undemocratic methods.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Both "Hear, hear"s cancel each other and we remain where we were

Shri P. R. Patel: Through my amendment No 21, I have requested the Government to implement the spirit of democracy and Constitution. Our Constitution is most democratic. I have read the Constitutions of Russia and China and I must say that they are as democratic as ours. But what is required is that the spirit of democracy should be implemented.

Everywhere, in Bombay State and throughout the country, there is a development board. In my district, before we were elected, the nomination was limited to 18. But unfortunately out of 12 seats, we bagged 11 seats and 2 M.P.s. Therefore, the nomination was increased to 38. That is the way democracy is working. Those persons who were defeated have been brought into this democratic institution. A man who was defeated in the Assembly election was put as the Vice-President of this board. Is it democracy? I have seen taluk committees where also these defeated persons were put. This is the most undemocratic way of working. A

regional council was nominated for the whole of Gujerat excluding Surat and Saurashtra. There all Vice-Presidents of the district development boards were put. The Vice-Presidents of these district development boards were nominated by the Government and fortunately they were all defeated members.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The hon. Member has got a good handle to go to the voters.

Shri P. R. Patel: Should I fight against my Government if they leave democracy? Let democratic methods be there. I for one prefer the Congress to any other political organisation, because I have the faith that at least the Congress will take up this matter, that youngsters will take up this matter and it will be a democratic body.

We know how newspapers are controlled by Government advertisements and advertisements of Corporations managed by Government. There are secret circulars. Mr. Bharucha will be a witness for the fact that the Bombay Government was pleased to issue a secret circular that the advertisements be given only to certain newspapers and none else. This is the way public opinion is sought by the Government. My only humble submission is that for country's sake, for democracy's sake, for the Constitution's sake, the Government should be more democratic.

श्री श्रीकार लाल (कोटा—रजित—
अनुसूचित जातियाँ) : माननीय उपाध्यक्ष
जी, बजट अधिवेशन के प्रबन्ध पर जो
राष्ट्रपति महोदय ने अभिभाषण दिया वास्तव
में वह बहुत ही सरहनीय है। और उसके
लिये हम उनके बहुत ही आभारी हैं और
हार्दिक धन्यवाद भी देते हैं।

यह सही है कि आजाद की नीति में
हमको काफी सफलता मिली है और देश

में कई जगह पर खाद्याणों के मूल्य में कमी आई हुई है। हमारे विरोधी भाइयों ने खाद्याण की नीति को कोसा है और कहा है कि सरकार अपनी नीति को सफलीभूत नहीं बना सकी है। यह नितान्त असत्य है।

इसी प्रकार हमारी विदेश नीति भी पूर्ण रूप से सफल रही है। हमारी आर्मी में जो कार्य कोरिया, इंडोचाइना और ईजिप्ट में किये हैं वे सराहनीय हैं और काश्मीर के सवाल को जिस तरह से हमारे प्रतिरक्षा मंत्री ने ० एन० ओ० के सामने रखा वह बहुत ही प्रशंसनीय है इसमें कोई सन्देह प्रकट नहीं किया जा सकता।

यह भी सत्य है कि जितनी प्रगति हमने इस बोर्डे से अर्से में की है उतनी अब तक और किसी अन्य देश ने नहीं की है। लेकिन साथ ही साथ मैं यह भी निवेदन करना चाहूंगा कि राष्ट्रपति महोदय के अभिभाषण में बेरोजगारी को दूर करने का, भारत की शिक्षा पद्धति में सुधार करने का और हरिजनों की स्थिति को और भी अधिक मजबूत बनाने का जिक्र नहीं किया गया है। भारत के नौजवान बेरोजगारी की तरफ बढ़ते चले जा रहे हैं। यह एक भयंकर बीमारी है जिसका कि हमको सामना करना है।

शिक्षा पद्धति में अभी तक कोई परिवर्तन नहीं हुआ है हालांकि हमको स्वतन्त्र हुये दस वर्ष से अधिक हो गये हैं। वही पुरानी शिक्षा पद्धति चल रही है। शिक्षा पद्धति में आमूलचूल परिवर्तन करने की नितान्त आवश्यकता है। इस पेशे की ओर लोगों का ध्यान खिचना कम होता चला जा रहा है। इसका एक मात्र कारण यही हो सकता है कि अध्यापक वर्ग अपनी स्थिति से संतुष्ट नहीं है क्योंकि उनके वेतन में कोई बृद्धि नहीं हुई है। उनके वेतन में बृद्धि होना बहुत ही आवश्यक

है। अध्यापक वर्ग ही हमारे देश के बच्चों को सही तरीके पर पालने में सहायक होगा और वे बच्चे आगे चल कर इस देश का भार संभाल लेंगे और स्वतन्त्र नागरिक बनेंगे। मैं तो कह सकता हूँ कि अध्यापक वर्ग वास्तव में देश के बच्चों के निर्माण की कुंजी है। यही उन बच्चों को तैयार करेगा जोकि आगे चल कर इस देश का शासन चलायेगा।

दिन पर दिन भ्रष्टाचार भी बढ़ता चला जा रहा है। इसके रोकने के लिये एंटी करप्शन विभाग खोल दिए गये हैं लेकिन ये विभाग इस समस्या के सही हल साबित नहीं हुये हैं। यह भ्रष्टाचार और भी तेजी से बढ़ता चला जा रहा है जिस की ओर भारत सरकार का ध्यान जाना बहुत ही आवश्यक है और अगर इस ओर सरकार का ध्यान नहीं गया तो मैं नहीं कह सकता कि आगे क्या होने वाला है। भारत सरकार को इस ओर कोई न कोई ठोस कदम उठाना चाहिये जिससे कि हम भ्रष्टाचार का उन्मूलन कर सकें। चीन और रूस में करप्शन को खत्म कर दिया गया है। हम चाहते हैं कि भारत सरकार भी इसी प्रकार का कोई ठोस कदम उठाये जिससे कि हम भ्रष्टाचार को दूर करने में सफल हो सकें।

यह सही है कि इन दस ग्यारह वर्षों में हरिजनों की स्थिति में काफी सुधार हुआ है। इसमें कोई दो रायें नहीं हो सकती। लेकिन अभी उनकी स्थिति पूर्ण रूप से नहीं सुधर पायी है। अभी उनका स्तर अन्य लोगों के मुकाबले में इतना नहीं हो पाया है कि हम कह सकें कि वह पूर्ण रूप से आगे बढ़ चुके हैं। उनके लिये रिजर्वेशन का पीरियड और अधिक बढ़ना चाहिये। ताकि वे अपने आपको संभाल सकें और आगे बढ़ सकें।

साथ ही मैं कोटा डिविजन के बारे में, जो कि राजस्थान में है, कुछ लोकल प्रोब्लम्स के बारे में निवेदन करूंगा। राजस्थान

[श्री श्रीकार लाल]

सभी विभागों में देश के अन्य प्रान्तों से पिछड़ा हुआ प्रान्त है। कोटा के अन्दर चम्बल बराज बनाया जा रहा है जिस पर ५० करोड़ रुपया खर्च करने का अनुमान है। यह काम सन् १९५६ में समाप्त होना है लेकिन इसकी प्रगति इतनी धीमी है कि सन्देह होता है कि यह काम उस समय तक पूरा नहीं हो सकेगा। हमलिये मैं इस सम्बन्ध में यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि भाखरा नंगल योजना के किमी अनुभवी इंजीनियर को यह काम सौंपा जाये ताकि यह कार्य सुचारु रूप से चल सके। इस बराज के पानी में एक लाख एबड भूमि में सिंचाई होने वाली है। अगर यह जल्दी बन जायेगा तो वह सिंचाई होने लगेगी।

कुछ बगाली भाई बहिन कोटा के घट्टी गाव में बसाये गये हैं। ये कोई ४२ परिवार हैं। मैंने जा कर देखा है कि इनकी दशा शोचनीय है। इनके लिये जो मकान बनाये गये हैं वे इस प्रकार के हैं कि बीच में एक पक्की दीवार बना दी गयी है और उस पर टिन शीट डाल दिया गया है। चारों तरफ चटाइया लगा दी गयी हैं। इस भीषण सरदी में वे लोग किम प्रकार इन घरों में शीत में अपनी रक्षा कर सकते हैं। उनको खान आदि कोई भी चीज नहीं दी गयी है जिससे कि वे अपना गुजारा चला सकें। ये लोग काश्तकार बताये जाते हैं। उन्हें प्रति फैमिली ५० रुपया मासिक दिया जाता है। वहाँ पर चावल और सरसों के तेल की कीमत तनी अधिक है कि इन ५० रुपये में इनका पूरा नहीं पडता। और इनको बहुत कठिनाइयों का सामना करना पड रहा है। उनके लिए पीने के पानी का भी कोई प्रबन्ध नहीं है। वह उनको बहुत दूर से खाना पडता है।

साथ ही साथ मैं यह निवेदन करना चाहूँगा कि कोटा जिले के अन्दर रेलवे लाइनों

की बहुत कमी है। जहाँ पहले से स्टेशन हैं वहाँ उनको नये सिरे से बनाया जा रहा है लेकिन जहाँ रेलवे लाइन नहीं है और स्टेशन नहीं है वहाँ स्टेशन नहीं बनाये जाते। अगर वहाँ स्टेशन बनाये जायें तो उस जगह की उन्नति हो सकती है। मेरा निवेदन है कि बारा से शिवपुरी और छावड़ा से झालावाड़ रोड को लाइन बनायी जाये और छावड़ा पर गुड्स शैंड बनाया जाये। इसकी निस्तान्त आवश्यकता है।

इस डिवीजन में अफीम की खेती बड़ी तादाद में होती है। सरकार काश्तकारों से २६ रु० से ३२ रु० प्रति सेर के भाव में अफीम खरीदती है। यह दाम बहुत कम है। सरकार इसको अधिक दामों पर बेचती है। इस कारण काश्तकारों के अन्दर बहुत असन्तोष फैला हुआ है। बहुत से बड़े बड़े व्यापारी अफीम का स्मगलिंग करते हैं क्योंकि इसमें बड़ा फायदा है। गेट कम होने के कारण वे काश्तकारों से अफीम खरीद लेते हैं और उसका स्मगलिंग करते हैं। इस प्रकार भ्रष्टाचार बढ़ता चला जा रहा है। सरकार को इसकी रोकथाम के लिये आवश्यक कदम उठाने चाहिये और इस प्रकार की नीति निर्धारित करनी चाहिये कि जिससे काश्तकार वर्ग में असन्तोष की भावना न रहे।

आजकल कोटा में लो-इनकम हाउसिंग स्कीम के अन्तर्गत बड़े बड़े लोगों को कर्ज दिये जाते हैं, गो कि इस स्कीम का वास्तव में मतलब यह है कि जिन लोगों की इनकम कम है—ग्रामदनी कम है, उन्हीं लोगों को कर्ज मिलने चाहिए, ताकि वे लोग अपने अपने मकान बना सकें। इसके विपरीत हो यह रहा है कि जिन लोगों के पास पहले से ही मकानात हैं और जो काफी धनी हैं, उन लोगों को ही कर्ज दिए जाते हैं। यहाँ तक

कि एक ही परिवार में दो दो, तीन तीन व्यक्तियों में कर्ज लिए ह। इस प्रकार की बचामुक्तियों की जांच होनी चाहिए और इस सम्बन्ध में कड़ा कदम उठाया जाना चाहिए।

कोटा में कुछ हरिजन बन्धु भी हैं, जिनको बस्ट पाकिस्तान से भ्राए हुए दस वर्ष हो गए हैं, लेकिन अभी तक उनको क्लेम्ब पर कम्पेन्सेशन नहीं दिया गया है। मैं निहायत श्रद्धा से श्रज करना चाहता हूँ कि इन लोगों को कम्पेन्सेशन जल्दी से जल्दी मिलना चाहिये, ताकि वे अपनी स्थिति को सुधार सकें।

तहसील साहाबाद में पेट्रोलियम, ग्लास, एलुमिनियम, लोहा, सीमेंट और ताम्बा इत्यादि पाए जाते हैं। मैं भारत सरकार के सम्बन्धित मंत्रालय का ध्यान इस ओर आकर्षित करना चाहूँगा कि इस ओर सर्वे कराया जाय और वहाँ पर जो खनिज पदार्थ उपलब्ध हो सकते हैं, उनको निकालने की व्यवस्था की जाए।

सालपुरा स्टेशन एक बहुत बड़ा स्टेशन है। बैस्टर्न रेलवेज पर गाडियां वहाँ से एक मील दूर अन्वेरी नदी पर पानी लेती हैं। उस स्थान पर काफी जंगल है और इस कारण यात्रियों के जान व माल का खतरा है। इसके प्रतिरिक्त अफ्रीम का काला बाजार करने वाले वहाँ ही ठहरते हैं, क्योंकि वहाँ पर कोई स्टेशन नहीं है। वह जगह उन लोगों के लिए बड़ी उपयोगी सिद्ध होती है। सालपुरा स्टेशन पर पानी की टंकी बनी हुई है। अगर अन्वेरी नदी से वहाँ तक पाइप डाल दी जाय, तो गाड़ी अन्वेरी नदी से पानी न ले कर सालपुरा स्टेशन पर ही ले सकती है। इससे अफ्रीम की स्पर्गलिंग को बन्द करने में भी सहायता मिलेगी और साथ ही साथ सालपुरा स्टेशन पर पैसेजर्स के लिए भी पानी उपलब्ध हो जाएगा।

वहाँ पर पहले से ही पाइप डाली हुई है। उसकी खोज करके सालपुरा स्टेशन पर पानी पहुँचाने की व्यवस्था की जानी चाहिये।

परवननदी, जो कि झालावाड़ डिस्ट्रिक्ट में है, काफ़ी बड़ी है। उस पर काला टोल या घाटोली पर डम बनाया जा सकता है। मैं भारत सरकार का ध्यान इस ओर आकर्षित करना चाहता हूँ। मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि इस विषय में जांच की जाय। अगर यह डैम बनाया जा सके, तो चालीस हजार बीघा भूमि काबिल-काश्त बनाई जा सकती है और हम लघु सिंचाई योजना के द्वारा खाद्यान्न की स्थिति को ज्यादा मजबूत बना सकते हैं।

अन्त में मैं यह निवेदन करना चाहूँगा कि जिन बातों का मैंने अभी उल्लेख किया है, भारत सरकार के सम्बन्धित मंत्रालय उस पर ध्यान देने की कृपा करें और कोई न कोई रास्ता ऐसा निकालें, जिससे हमारे देश के सामने भ्रष्टाचार की जो बरनिंग प्रबलम—ज्वलन्त समस्या—है, उस को हल करने में हम सफल हो सकें और भ्रष्टाचार का पूर्णतया उन्मूलन कर सकें।

माननीय उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, आपने बोलने के लिये मुझे जो समय दिया है, उस के लिए मैं आपका बहुत ही आभारी हूँ और आपका धन्यवाद करता हूँ।

Shri Braj Raj Singh (Ferozabad):
Even Ministers of State have evaporated. Your wish was that Cabinet Ministers should be here.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I had asked that some other Ministers should also be here, but there was some special function, a lunch in honour of a distinguished visitor. Therefore, there were certain compulsions. They will be here very soon.

Shri Siva Raj (Chingleput-Reserved-Sch. Castes): There is no quorum in the House.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The bell may be rung—Now, there is quorum. **Shri Dharmalingam.** The Speaker has allowed him to speak in Tamil. It looks as if he can speak in English also.

****Shri Dharmalingam** (Thiruvannamalai): **Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir,** I rise today with mixed feelings of pleasure and pain to express my views on the President's Address. I regret very much that the Address has woefully failed to delineate the sorry state of affairs prevailing all over the sub-continent, particularly in the South.

As the House is fully aware, the language problem has of late been agitating the minds of all of us with more force and strain today than ever before. It is more so due to the fact that very important members of Government go about making irresponsible and ill-conceived comments on this issue all over this sub-continent. I humbly beg those who man the Government at this moment to pay heed at least to the wise counsel of **Shri C. Rajagopalachari**, their erstwhile colleague and leader, if considerations of prestige induce them to turn deaf to "all reason and logic" from any other quarter. (*Interruptions*).

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Order, order. Though hon. Members may not follow what is being said, they should listen. We have to try to learn and we cannot learn unless we listen.

Shri Dharmalingam: I am really horrified when I even imagine the lot of the South Indians, if, to use a milder word, the "Hindi enthusiasts" succeed in their nefarious attempt to impose their language on the people of the south. I sincerely hope and fervently plead that wiser counsels would prevail with the Government and would successfully persuade them

to shed their '42 per cent' complex. A language, I humbly submit, is something which is evolved gradually in the minds of a people for ages and can't be overnight super-imposed on them by a stroke of pen. A language has to permeate all the facets of a man's life before it can have its sway over him. **Shri C. Rajagopalachari** has rightly pointed out that the mere fact that 42 per cent of the people of this sub continent speak a language in a distinctly contiguous geographic entity, cannot be a valid ground for imposing it on the people in the other portion of this sub-continent who speak distinctly a different group of languages, namely, the "Dravidian group of languages". Apart from considerations of contiguity, sentiment and ethnic identity, even the consideration of utility does not go in favour of Hindi being made the "Inter-State language" in this multi-glot sub-continent.

The recent incidents in the Punjab go to prove beyond a shadow of doubt that the "Hindi enthusiasts" are dreaming of a Hindi Empire. The mammoth procession of the Sikhs, headed by **Master Tara Singh**, in which our hon. **Deputy-Speaker, Sardar Hukam Singh**, also participated, we all witnessed in this city in the wake of the Republic Day festivities cannot be ignored or dismissed aside as mere "exhibitionism". It represents the true and innate sense of indignation of the Sikhs in Punjab against the diabolic attempts of the communalists to obliterate the Sikhs as a people in the name of "Language".

Allow me to take this opportunity to appeal to the Government to ponder well over the incidents which occurred in Madras on the 6th January last when Prime Minister **Nehru** visited that city. They are truly indicative of how the minds of the people of the South are exercised over the language issue. I may also admonish the Government as our Prime Minister was wont to remind often the British imperialists before 1947 that an ancient

****English translation of speech delivered in Tamil.**

and heroic people like the South Indians cannot be coerced into meek submission by a policy of suppression.

I have only to hope that calm and dispassionate thinking and better judgment on the part of the Government will convince them of the imperative need to continue the *status quo* by retaining English because "efficiency, scientific inquiry, wide dissemination of knowledge and international contacts" have to be continued and promoted. English is *par excellence* eminently suited to all these purposes.

Sir, I am afraid, I am constrained to make a few observations on the glaring omission in the Address of any steps at least contemplated by the Government of India to ameliorate the conditions of the South Indians who are faced with harassing problems abroad in countries like South Africa, Burma and Ceylon. The plight of Tamils especially in Ceylon merits more serious consideration and sympathy than it has hitherto been given by the Government. I may also exhort the Government not to be callous and indifferent towards the sufferings of these people just because their origin happens to be from the unfortunate South, which is far distant from Delhi.

Sir, even in the matter of allocation of funds in the Plan to the States, South is meted out a step-motherly treatment. I will cite, on the floor of this House, only one prominent instance due to dearth of time, where out of a total provision of Rs. 20 crores for the construction of 3581 tube-wells all over the sub-continent, 1500 are to be in U.P. alone. Uttar Pradesh is a state which is rich in water resources where a tube-well can be considered only as a "fifth wheel to the coach." On top of this injustice, even the Neiveli project, which has been doled out by the Centre after much heart-burning is being delayed badly. If the Government is really sincere to implement a policy of indiscriminate industrialisation all over the sub-continent they could have by this time explored the possibilities of a raw film manufacturing industry in

Madras where the film industry has struck deeper roots than elsewhere in India, barring, probably, Bombay. They could have thought of a heavy chemicals industry in Polur taluk, Madras State. They could at least have disabused their minds of all prejudices they developed against the enterprise sponsored by no less a person than a stout Congressman and former Minister of the Madras State, Mr. J. L. P. Roche-Victoria. I will confine myself to these few examples today.

May I in peroration warn those at the helm of affairs that should they fail to concede the legitimate and just demands of the people of the South on such issues, the ill-feeling already existing between South and North will be magnified still further to gigantic proportions and may take ugly turns. May reason substitute their sentiments and the object of all their gubernatorial activity be justice.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: One thing I might make clear. When an hon. Member speaks in a language which is neither English nor Hindi but his own mother tongue, then, it is his responsibility that the version that he releases to his own Press must be in conformity with the translation that he has given here in the office. Nothing beyond that should go there. This might be explained to the hon. Member if he does not understand English.

Shri Dharmalingam: I have already given it.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I think he can speak English. I am not asking for a fresh translation. I have got the translation. I only say that the version that he releases to his own Press in the south should be in conformity with the translation that he has filed here.

Shri Dharmalingam: Yes.

Swami Ramananda Tirtha (Aurangabad): The President's Address is not expected to refer to all the issues that face the country, and, therefore, it is

[Swami Ramananda Tirtha] wrong to call it unrealistic. It only points out some of the main issues that need solution and gives a general indication of the manner in which Government desires to move in order to solve them. Therefore, one should not be disappointed if one does not find all that he desires contained in the Address.

Sir, as far as I have been able to gather, the Address contains a note of cautious optimism. It is not oblivious of the hardships and difficulties. It also gives us some hope and expectation as to how the future is going to be shaped.

The core of the Plan has to be implemented, whatever the difficulties we have to face. We shall have to deviate them and the core has to be implemented. Therefore, it is quite necessary that a continued vigilance is exercised over all the activities which pertain to this Plan. As the Address has stated there has been some improvement in the situation. It is not good and proper to depend upon external aid, whether in the form of loans or grants, for a long time in order to build up the economy, industrial and agricultural, of the country. There is nothing humiliating or nothing derogatory in asking for help; but, that should be only for a certain period and not beyond that. Anyway, our country finds itself in a difficult situation and, therefore, if we ask for external aid, there is nothing wrong and we should welcome and thank all those countries who have helped us at this critical moment.

I have to point out one or two points in regard to our production activity, particularly, agricultural production. I do not want to dispute any of the observations made by the Government from time to time. But the price structure has got to be stabilised at some level or other. So far as agricultural produce is concerned, I speak with some experience—I am not an agriculturist but I have intimate contacts with the peasantry of the country—and I would like to make two suggestions.

Only last month I had an occasion to address a training centre of the Gram Sevaks, one of the 48 centres in the country. The Principal of that college told me very emphatically that unless a minimum price for agricultural produce is fixed, it is very difficult for an agriculturist to go in for more production. Why? There is a bumper crop and the prices go down. There is no incentive, they say, for the agriculturists to grow more. Either there must be a social instinct or there must be some minimum guarantee of the prices. If there is a downward trend, the agriculturist will naturally feel that more efforts are uncalled for because they stand to lose. Let us understand that psychology. Let us fix the price of agricultural products at some minimum level which is commensurate with the price structure in other categories also. It is one suggestion which I would like to make.

There is another suggestion. It may be a novel one. All the same it is imperative. I do not say that the Government has not done anything in regard to enacting land legislation. Certain steps have been taken. They have gone some way in raising the agricultural production but the land problem is being pursued in a halting manner. We talk of provincial autonomy. Are we going to leave the question of land reform to the sweet will of the State Governments? While speaking on the General Budget last year, I appealed to the Government to lay down a definite target of period in which certain things have got to be done. The ceiling is not yet coming though the Congress Party has very clearly stated that the land reform must be executed here and now. I do not want to refer to any particular State Government because they would not like to be referred to. In some of the southern parts—leave alone the northern parts which are big and so, slow—it does not seem that the Governments have made up their minds finally and completely to put a ceiling on personal holdings. The peasantry is suffering enormously.

I had a chance to visit a score of villages only last month in connection with bhoodan work. If we analyse the content of the population of a particular village, we find so many landless agricultural labourers.

I want to suggest one thing for the consideration of the Planning Commission and the Government of India as a whole. I am given to understand that in Japan and China the agricultural land which is cultivable cannot be sold or purchased. I do not know but it must be correct because it has come from a very responsible person who was speaking at a seminar. I was present there. If that is so, can we not do something in that direction? When the land is sold the person who holds the land has no interest. He will not cultivate it and there will be no greater production. This may be a revolutionary suggestion but today or tomorrow India will have to accept it. Otherwise, there is no solution to the problem. I am confident, whether the Parliament agrees or not, that many people in the country believe that personal ownership of land has to go. This may be a revolutionary suggestion but unless it is accepted, there is no way for increasing agricultural production and economic prosperity.

On page 4, the President's Address refers to community development and national extension service projects. The Mehta Committee has gone into this matter very carefully and deeply. I must in all earnestness pay a tribute to the Chairman and the Members for having studied the problem thoroughly and given certain concrete suggestions which have been accepted by the Government and which others also may accept. What is the defect? In these five years, though we have constructed some buildings and laid down certain roads, we have not touched the agricultural sector. We have not been able to create that enthusiasm in the people which is the main object of the community development projects. People have to act. They have to be their own leaders and not the BDOs or others. It is a bureaucratic machinery that is working these deve-

lopment projects. I think there is something very fundamentally wrong in the approach. This was so clearly made out by that Committee's report. I hope all the Members have gone through it. It is a valuable report. It has been said that at the lowest level in the national extension service, there should be a co-ordinated and integrated administrative pattern of all the developmental activities. If that is so and if the gram sevak or the BDO is made the *ex-officio* Secretary of the organisation, his responsibility will be greater. The failure of the community development activity is more due to the laxity on the part of the administrative machinery to reach the village in time. We have seen so many approach roads being destroyed in the rainy season. The school buildings will go down if they are not helped in time.

I do not want to take the time of the House in detailing all these handicaps. We talk of agricultural production. If we leave all these villages where the NES and CD projects are being worked out of the pattern, we shall not be able to show much progress.

I also wanted on this occasion to make a reference to the problem of official language for India about which the President has something to say in his Address. Parliament will have an opportunity of discussing this particular matter in due course. The Committee of the Parliament is sitting and I do not know whether I should say much about it. But since the matter has been stated by the President in his Address, I have to say one thing with great and due respect for our revered leader Rajaji. I fail to understand and also I am very much pained to see that—it is not a personal reference and I am speaking about a particular issue—still some of our countrymen, very eminent persons, fail to see that after all it would be one of India's indigenous languages that will be an official language. Let us once for all mentally reconcile ourselves that *English will not and cannot and is not going to be the official language of this country. It has to be one of the Indian languages that is to come*

[Swami Ramananda Tirtha]
in as an official language. English is not an Indian language though it has its value. I stand for its progress and for its retention in whatever it is possible and necessary and desirable for the progress of this country.

Well, the matter has developed to such fearful and terrible extent that there is a talk of getting rid of Delhi. What do they mean? What does that section of the people mean by saying that they want to get rid of Delhi? When they want to get rid of Delhi, they want to get rid of India. Delhi will be there. In all humility and earnestness, with pain and anguish, I would appeal to the friends who stand for this secession: please halt; reconsider the position; do not act in the way in which you are acting today. And God forbid, let us not divide this country once again. That is all I have to say on this subject at this stage. Being a Member of the Parliamentary Committee on official language, I do not want to express any of my opinions.

I am coming to a close. We have heard much about corruption and only the day before yesterday, there was a Bill and so much was talked about it. The Minister in charge had something to say there. He stated that the volume of corruption had not grown. There was a greater exposure of it. It is being more and more exposed. I do not know. But the feeling amongst the people is that corruption is growing. Let us not be blind to the realities of the situation. Corruption is there. People feel it is growing. It is now the duty of us all, including the Government—I do not exclude the Members of Parliament—to see that this feeling is removed by taking certain effective steps. This feeling has to be changed. If the people carry the feeling that the Government is corrupt and administration is corrupt, then there is no hope. All your progress will be halted. So, it is no use taking shelter under certain procedural rules that you cannot remove X and Y because of certain rules which stand in the way. Amend those rules here and now, immediately. You cannot take shelter under

the procedures. If there is corruption and you are convinced of it, do not wait for the proof. The proof will never come, because it is done in a very insidious manner. But once when there is a *prima facie* case, and circumstantial evidence is there, let us be bold enough to remove that lapse even though I agree that there will be some small element of injustice done.

Even the Constitution, if necessary, will have to be amended if we have to root out this corruption, because this Constitution also comes in the way. So, what I suggest is this. Let us be bold enough even to amend the Constitution if it is necessary and not make this administrative personnel something sacrosanct and not to be touched. All of us are very keen about it and this democracy which we claim to build up in a healthy manner must be strengthened. We have made once for all a resolve that our economic progress will be achieved only through democratic process. So, it is necessary that democracy is healthy, is pure, is incorruptible and there is enthusiasm among the people. If there is lack of enthusiasm, as I understand it, it is due to our own lapse. It is no use crying hoarse against one party or another. The nation as such has to enliven its own conscience. Let us appeal to our own conscience first. Let us first be ourselves incorruptible—each one of us. Even in public life there is corruption, as we know; it is not only in the administrative sector.

So, if each one of us looks to himself and wherever there is any lapse, if we remove it with a strong hand, with firm determination, democracy will function more healthily.

15-06 hrs.

Shri Naushir Bharucha (East Khandesh): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir I am afraid I am unable to share the enthusiasm of several of the hon. Members who, without the reservation of expressing official regret, desire to support the motion moved by the proposer for voting thanks to the President.

An Address like this is expected to convey the programme of the Government as well as to point out to the nation the difficulties it has to encounter. One regrets that in this particular case, one does not find either the correct statement as to the state of the nation nor any idea about the difficulties which the nation is going to encounter very shortly nor any suggestion as to how these difficulties are going to be overcome. I therefore have tabled a motion saying that the Address unfortunately tends to create a sense of self-complacency which is truly dangerous for the nation to entertain.

We have got the second Five Year Plan looming large on the horizon, and the numerous difficulties with which this Plan is teeming, particularly in the matter of inadequacy of resources both internal and external. Ever since I have been in this House, on the various occasions whenever I have had an opportunity, I have been seeking information from the Government where the internal resources with which you propose to finance even the core of the Plan is to come from. God alone knows up till now what the core is going to consist of. Figures have been repeated *ad nauseam* showing how originally the planners desired to provide the internal resources. We were told that Rs. 800 crores were going to come from taxation and additional taxation, and Rs. 1,200 crores from market loans and small savings. There was going to be Rs. 800 crores of external aid and Rs. 1,200 crores of deficit financing. It was proposed to fill up a gap of Rs. 400 crores from various domestic resources which I fail to notice. There was also a proposal of railway contributions and also that the provident fund deposits will provide another Rs. 400 crores, totalling Rs. 4,800 crores which is an old figure.

Since then we know that as a result of the rise in prices of various things which the planners did not foresee, the cost of the Plan is going to be Rs. 5,400 crores plus an additional

import of foodgrains because of a bad harvest plus Rs. 50 crores of additional defence expenditure, all this totalling to Rs. 5,900 crores. The resources fall short by nearly half of this amount.

I have repeatedly asked where the resources from which you are going to finance even Rs. 4,800 crores will come from. I accuse this Government that it is holding back vital information which is of utmost importance to the nation. If an Address on an occasion like this does not give the slightest indication as to wherefrom either the internal or external resources are going to be acquired, I ask, what use is this Address?

Take only the case of external aid. The Finance Minister, just about the time of the last budget stated that Rs. 750 crores was our requirement. Since then, he has revised it and stated that the foreign exchange gap will be bigger still. But today there is not even the slightest indication in the address as to how this abnormal gap is going to be bridged. Instead of that, there are self-deluding references that the withdrawals from the Sterling Balances are going to be on a smaller and smaller scale.

I ask: what type of address is it that refuses to take the nation into confidence? Do I understand that the Government believe that this nation is so very foolish that if difficulties are placed before the nation in their correct perspective, the nation will do something unwise? Why is the Government afraid of taking the nation and this hon. House into confidence?

I have been asking this question and I regret to say that so far Government have evaded replying. If the House does not know how the core of the plan is going to be financed and what is the state of the nation's economy, what is the use of sitting here? If even this information is denied to us in spite of repeated requests, there is no point in our sitting here.

[Shri Naushir Bharucha]

I also desire to stress about the foreign exchange business. Out of the Rs. 800 crores that we badly require—and the gap is increasing—we have acquired only 225 million dollars or Rs. 113 crores from the United States, Rs. 20 crores from France and Rs. 25 crores from Japan, making in all Rs. 158 crores. We are deeply thankful to those countries which have staved off our immediate bankruptcy; but the gap remains still unfulfilled. To my mind the additional amount that would be required to be spent by the country for foodgrains and defence equipments might practically swallow up the aid which we have secured from the United States, Japan and France.

So, the major problem stares us in all stark reality and for that the President says in his address that our resources are diminishing gradually. Is that a solution? Therefore, I have stated in my amendment that the address tends to create dangerous self-complacency in the nation and the Government should have come out boldly and narrated to the nation the difficulties that it must encounter in all their stark reality.

With regard to food situation and the price-level, I am amazed that again there has been signs of self-complacency. We have been told that the prices are going down. As everybody knows, particularly the women section, the prices are going up by leaps and bounds. Consumers' goods are scarce. If a point has fallen here or there in the price of foodgrains, I see no cause for jubilation, much less for coming to the conclusion that the prices of foodgrains have started falling. There might be various set-backs and a little bit of fall on account of local conditions or other causes may occur. But that should not lead us to this wide, sweeping generalisation, for which this Government is responsible in the Address, that the prices of foodgrains have fallen.

What is more, even the position with regard to foodstuffs is not being revealed to the nation in all its stark reality. I accuse this Government of concealing from the nation the true state of affairs, and the true state of affairs is that they are going to encounter a serious situation. In spite of that, what do we find? The President says that we have got ample reserves. We have got about 1,200,000 tons of foodgrains and that will last only for one week—168 hours; nothing more than that. And we shall be eating into these reserves from the beginning of April or finish perhaps by the end of April.

I ask: why is it that this Government is so very complacent? Why is it that this Government deludes the people into a false sense of security? The President says that there has been a fall in prices, and yet I was surprised to read an answer by the Deputy Finance Minister, Mr. B. R. Bhagat, explaining the particular reasons for the falls in collections of small savings in the Rajya Sabha on the 11th of this month. He stated:

“The continued rise in prices and the higher cost of living reduced the capacity to save.”

I ask: which of the two versions are we to accept as correct?

It has also been stated times without number that the amount by which our production of foodgrains has fallen short is only ten per cent. On one occasion I said that this is not a small thing. Ten per cent means anywhere round about 6½ million tons. It really means ten per cent. on the basis of the existing population, that is, 3½ crores of people. 3½ crores of people will be affected by famine or near-famine conditions and yet we are told in the address as if everything is all right. I fail to see the reason why the nation is lulled into a false sense of security.

Coming to the question of our part in world affairs, I have no hesitation in paying a tribute to the very able manner in which the Prime Minister has been handling foreign affairs. We, who are really militarily a fifth-rate power, make no mistake about it—we have built up a stature in the comity of nations, which really is the admiration of the entire world, and that is due to the fact that we have followed a policy of non-alignment, a very wise and sensible policy. We have sincerely made efforts to see that world tension has been relieved as much as possible. But our efforts have not been successful.

Then I do think that much more can be done by India, possessing as she does the advantage of moral stature in the comity of nations, by inviting small nations to a conference, not only for denouncing the policy of the major powers in not stopping thermo-nuclear tests and not banning thermo-nuclear weapons, but also for condemning them for their failure to arrive at some measure of agreement on disarmament. It might be said that smaller nations are attached to one bloc or the other, and the conference may not be of any use. But my reading of history has taught me to believe that often very small and insignificant nations reach at conclusions which are really milestones in the history of humanity. I would, therefore, urge the Government to consider this aspect of the situation.

I desire to refer briefly to the Kashmir problem, which has been hanging fire for a long time and particularly to two factors which engage the attention of the country. The release of Sheikh Abdullah, unfortunately, contrary to our expectations, has created some minor difficulties. It is rather unfortunate that the man who did so much for Kashmir at one time and who affirmed accession of Kashmir to India in unmistakable terms should have gone back on his word, either as a result of embitterment due to imprisonment or some other reason. I think this House will take a more firm stand and stand

solidly behind Bakshi Ghulam Muhammad that accession is final and there is no power on earth that can alter that fact.

I am also concerned about the construction of the Mangala Dam. In breach of the agreement and very clear and categorical assurance given to the Prime Minister, the Pakistan Government has entered into a treaty with certain American and British firms for the construction of the Mangala Dam. I call it nothing short of consolidation of aggression by the Pakistan Government, a unilateral action which frees India from responsibility in the matter of observing any terms and conditions of any agreement whatsoever. I would like the Government to consider the fact that if today we cannot militarily retaliate, lest there might be wider conflagration as a result of our action, let us also consider the fact whether we cannot retaliate by withholding supplies of water from our canals, if Pakistan goes on unilaterally committing breaches, thereby releasing us from all our obligations.

This is an important point. If the Government makes a declaration of policy that it will not hesitate to consider this retaliatory measure, I think, it may have a salutary effect. At the same time, I would like notes of protest to be sent to the U.K and U.S.A. that companies formed by their nationals should not help Pakistan in consolidating its aggression.

There is one important matter, last but not the least, to which I would like to refer and that is the question of Samyuktha Maharashtra. It has been repeatedly said that agitation on this score has died. It is not so.

An Hon. Member: Not at all.

Shri Naushir Bharucha: Repeatedly, in elections after elections in which nothing but this issue was in the forefront, the results have shown that the people still feel deep down in their hearts that a great injustice has been done to them. It is not our intention

[Shri Naushir Bharucha]

that we should create any trouble on this score. But, I appeal to the Government to take this fact into consideration that when huge masses of people, nearly three crores, as one man feels that injustice has been done and that feelings persists for two years now—perhaps more than that, two and a half years—it cannot be called a passing phase. It is very dangerous to tinker with the sentiments of 3½ crores of people. I repeat that it is wrong to say that the Samu-yktha Maharashtra movement violates against the unity of the country. Nobody is more keen than the Maharashtrais today about the unity of the country. I hope that the Government will not any longer stand on prestige, but will give this problem a fresh thought, if necessary, call a round table conference of all interests concerned and do the right thing.

I am sorry I have moved these amendments. But, I feel that it is necessary that the nation should be taken into confidence on the most important topics of the day and because the Address has failed to do this, I have been compelled to move my amendments.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The following are the selected amendments to the Motion on Address by the President which will be treated as having been moved subject to their being otherwise admissible:

No of amendment.

1, 2, 3, 4, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 20, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 120, 121, 124, 125, 126, 127, 132, 133, 135, 137, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 199, 200, 201, 202, 205.

Shri B. K. Gaikwad (Nasik): On a point of information, Sir, I have amendments Nos. 113, 114, 120 and 121. They should be taken as moved. They were not mentioned.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: They have been mentioned.

Shri Naushir Bharucha: I beg to move:

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

"but regret that the Address tends to create a dangerous sense of self-complacency in matter of—

- (a) the food situation;
- (b) total inadequacy of the internal resources for the Second Five Year Plan;
- (c) inadequacy of foreign aid, and the critical position of foreign exchange; and
- (d) price levels, particularly of necessaries of life." (1)

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

"but regret that while broadly the enunciation of foreign policy is satisfactory, there is no concrete measure indicated in the Address for easing world tension, or an adequate appreciation of the Kashmir situation." (2)

Shri Tangamani (Madurai): I beg to move:

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

"but regret that the State of Madras is not named as the State of Tamilnad." (3)

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

"but regret that the rebate on handloom cloth has been reduced and the cut has not yet been restored." (4)

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy (Kendrapara): I beg to move:

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

“but regret that the Address fails to assure the people about measures to solve the growing unemployment problem.” (11)

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: I beg move:

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

“but regret the failure of the Government to take adequate measures to tackle the acute scarcity conditions prevailing in U.P., Bihar and Orissa.” (12)

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

“but regret that the address has made no mention as to how far measures taken by Government have contributed towards the development of a socialist pattern of society.” (13)

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

“but regret the failure of the Government to take measures to improve the working of the Community Project Administration.” (14).

Shri Ignace Beck (Lohardaga-Reserved-Sch. Tribes): I beg to move:

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

“but regret that no mention has been made about the implementation of the special provisions of the Constitution in regard to the backward communities and classes m particular of the Scheduled Tribes.” (15)

Shri Nanshir Bharucha: I beg to move:

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

“but regret that adequate

attention has not been paid to the attempt of Pakistan to consolidate aggression by proceeding apace with the construction of the Mangala Dam in occupied Kashmir nor means have been suggested for defeating Pakistan's such designs.” (17)

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

“but regret that the Address ignores the deep sense of frustration experienced by the people of Mahagujrat and Maharashtra at the persistence of the Government in continuing with a bilingual State of Bombay, instead of creating two unilingual States of Mahagujrat and Samyukta Maharashtra with Bombay as its Capital.” (18)

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

“but regret that the Address does not disclose any concern of the Government for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, much less for those who have been driven to embrace Buddhism, nor recommends any concrete measures for their welfare nor a desire to give to the new Buddhists the same privileges and amenities they enjoyed as members of the Scheduled Castes.” (20)

Shri Sarju Pandey (Rasra): I beg to move:

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

“but regret that the rebate on hand-loom cloth has been reduced and the cut has not yet been restored.” (25)

Shri Sarju Pandey: I beg to move.

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

“but regret that in the Address there is no mention of following things and the steps being taken in

[Shri Sarju Pandey]

regard thereto—

(a) starvation and the famine conditions prevailing in Eastern Districts of Uttar Pradesh; and

(b) the growing corruption and inefficiency in the work being done by National Extension Services Block and Irrigation." (26)

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

"but regret that the Address does not indicate how the Government propose to meet the serious and growing un-employment in the country nor does it lay down the lines on which the Government propose to improve the economic condition of the Eastern Districts of U.P." (27)

Shri Panigrahi (Puri): I beg to move

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address about the deep discontent prevailing in Orissa by all sections of people over the arbitrary decision of the Government of India with regard to the Oriya speaking States of Sareikella and Kharsuan, which have been kept under Bihar administration" (28)

Shri Panigrahi: I beg to move:

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

"but regret that the Address does not contain any reference to the various difficulties that the different linguistic groups are undergoing i.e., the Oriya-speaking people in the district of Singhbhum and specially in Sareikella and Kharsuan are undergoing as they are being denied opportunities of getting education

through their mother tongue." (29)

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention of the steps being taken to render adequate assistance to the people of drought affected areas in the State of Orissa resulting in deaths by starvation and mass exodus of people from villages to industrial centres in search of employment." (30)

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention of the measures sought to be adopted for speedy and proper rehabilitation of refugees from East Pakistan which remains a major national problem till to-day." (31)

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

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

"but regret that the Address does not take realistic view of the deteriorating food situation in the country and the failure of the Government to correct the imbalance in the economy due to rising food prices and prevailing semi-famine conditions in various parts of the country particularly in Orissa" (32)

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 does not take notice of the growing disparity among various regions of the Union in regard to development under the Second Five Year Plan period." (33)

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

"but regret that the Address does not indicate to put an end to the indiscriminate resort to deficit financing which has corroded the basis of the internal economy." (34)

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the integration of outlying Oriya tracts particularly Seraikella and Kharswan of Bihar in Orissa." (35)

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

"but regret that while the foreign policy on the whole is satisfactory, no specific measures are indicated in the Address regarding easing the world tension and solving the Kashmir problem once for all." (36)

Shri Panigrahi: I beg to move:

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

"but regret that the Address does not make any reference to the inhuman repression carried out by the French Government for suppressing the strength of freedom of the Algerian people." (37)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the recent moves by certain big powers for establishing military bases with atomic weapons in many countries of Asia." (38)

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

"but regret that the Address has made no reference to the acute food situation created in the drought affected areas of Orissa as a result of lack of proper assessment of loss due to drought

by the Sivraman Investigation Team appointed by the Planning Commission." (39)

Shri V. P. Nayar: I beg to move:

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

"but regret the complacent attitude shown towards the serious food problem facing the country today." (41)

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

"but regret the failure to accede to the democratic demand for formation of States of Samyukta Maharashtra and Mahagujarat." (42)

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

"but regret the failure of the Government in not strictly conforming to the decisions of the XV Indian Labour Conference." (43)

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

"but regret inadequate measures for housing Refugees and for creating avocations for them." (44)

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

"but regret that the Fair Price Shops are being closed in spite of the assurances given." (45)

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

"but regret the continuance of restrictions on the export of vegetable oils, oil seeds and oil cakes." (46)

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

"but regret the inadequate measures taken to conserve Foreign exchange." (47).

[Shri V P Nayar]

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

“but regret the delay in providing adequate Rural Banking facilities” (48)

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

“but regret that proper steps have not been taken for checking inflation” (49)

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

“but regret that steps have not been taken so far to put a limit on the profits” (50)

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

“but regret that there is no mention of the Nationalisation of Banks in the near future” (51)

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

“but regret that certain States like Kerala have not been given the required aid in foodgrains commensurate with the minimum requirements of the people” (52)

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

“but regret that adequate steps have not been taken to eradicate corruption, favouritism and nepotism in the administration” (53)

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

“but regret that the core of the Plan has not been officially defined yet” (54)

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

“but regret that locational distribution of new industrial units has not been adopted” (55)

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

“but regret that Provident Fund contribution has not been raised in the statutory enforced industries” (56)

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

“but regret the inefficiency in the Employees' State Insurance Scheme administration and failure to enforce decisions of the Corporation” (57)

Shri E C Majhi (Mayurbhanj—Reserved—Sch Tribes) I beg to move.

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

“but regret that no clearcut policy has been made mention of in respect of the socio-economic development of the Adivasis” (60)

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

“but regret that no mention has been made about the extension of reservations of seats in the legislatures and of other privileges to the Adivasis and the Harijans” (61)

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

“but regret that no definite reference has been made in respect of the multi-purpose community projects of the Scheduled Areas in the country” (62)

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

“but regret that no mention has been made in respect of the administration of the Scheduled Areas in the country.” (63)

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

“but regret that no special privileges have been allowed for the socio-economic development of the Adivasis.” (64)

Shri Braj Raj Singh (Ferozabad): I beg to move:—

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

“but regret that the Address does not suggest the formation of the Samyukta Maharashtra and Maha Gujrat.” (73)

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

“but regret that the Address does not suggest any bold steps to be taken by the Government of India to keep peace in the world.” (74)

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

“but regret that the Address does not contain any mention that India will quit the British Commonwealth of Nations.” (75)

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

“but regret that the Address does not make any mention about the corruption and wastage in planning work.” (76)

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

“but regret that the Address does not mention that to solve the food problem and to encourage the cultivators, rent on uneconomic holdings shall be withdrawn and in general agricultural rent shall be substituted by agricultural income tax.” (77)

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

“but regret that the Address does not give any indication that

the Government will take firm steps to solve the alarming food problem by forming a land army of 10 million people for reclaiming waste lands.” (78)

Shri Jagdish Awasthi (Bilhour): I beg to move:

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

“but regret that in the Address no policy for solving the Goa and Kashmir issues has been stated. Nor is there a motion of the problems of colonialism particularly in Algeria, Cyprus and Kenya etc.” (79)

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

“but regret that in the Address there is no mention of the several railway accidents that occurred in 1957-58. Nor is there a mention of measures being adopted to prevent a recurrence of these accidents” (80)

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

“but regret that in the Address there is no mention of the steps to remove illiteracy from the country.” (81)

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

“but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the resolution regarding formation of a Food Army of a million volunteers to solve the food problem.” (82)

Shri H. C. Sharma (Jaipur): I beg to move:

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

“but regret that in the Address there is no mention of India's quitting the Commonwealth.” (83)

[Shri H. C. Sharma]

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

“but regret that measures to eliminate unemployment in the country have not been enumerated in the Address.” (84)

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

“but regret that no measures have been suggested in the Address to check the corruption rampant in Government departments and development works and to prevent waste of public money.” (85)

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

“but regret that the Address does not enumerate the steps to give effect to provisions of Article 45 of the Constitution within the stipulated period” (86)

Shri Braj Raj Singh: I beg to move:

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

“but regret that the Address has failed to point out the basic defects of the second Five Year Plan.” (88)

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

“but regret that the Address does not make any mention about the alarming situation created due to landlord-tenant relations in Delhi and the acute shortage of residential accommodation in the capital and consequent hunger-strike unto death by the President of the Delhi Pradesh Kirayedar Federation.” (89)

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

“but regret that no mention has been made about the fulfilment of directive principles of State policy with regard to edu-

cation under Article 45 of the Constitution and failure of the Government to impart compulsory primary education to every child.” (90)

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

“but regret that the Address does not make any mention of the alarming situation caused in the country due to serious unemployment problem and does not suggest ways and means to solve the problems of unemployment.” (91)

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

“but regret that the Address does not make any mention about Kashmir and Goa and solution of these thorny problems.” (92)

Shri Subiman Ghose: I beg to move:

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

“but regret that the Address contains no reference to the rehabilitation of refugees.” (93)

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

“but regret that the Address contains no reference to our relations with Pakistan particularly with regard to the matter of (a) refugees, and (b) Kashmir.” (94)

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

“but regret that the Address does not give any indication as to how our country is to attain socialism.” (95)

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

“but regret that the Address does not take into account the economic conditions prevailing at the time when the First Five Year

Plan began and the economic conditions now prevailing." (86)

Shri B. Das Gupta (Purulia): 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 about any effective ways and means for the moral regeneration of the nation." (110)

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address about adoption of any adequate measure to prevent the idea of disintegration which is gaining ground in some parts of India." (111)

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

"but regret that no indication has been made in the Address about the failure to build up a real democratic set-up in India on Canadian basis." (112)

Shri B. K. Gaikwad: 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 about the harassment of the Budhists in India who have been converted from the Scheduled Castes in villages." (113)

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

"but regret that no mention has been made about the rehabilitation of the Scheduled Caste people in Ram Nadpuram District, Madras State." (114)

Shri Tangaman: I beg to move:

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

"but regret that the Address makes no proposal to change the policy which has affected cottage match industry in Madras State and helped only in profiting foreign owned match companies." (115)

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention the failure of the Government to provide adequate supply of rice to Madras State." (116)

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address about extension of facilities to Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Backward Classes and liberal scholarship for post-matric students." (117)

Shri B. K. Gaikwad: I beg to move:

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention of recruitment of suitable candidates from amongst the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes candidates for the posts reserved in Grade I, Grade II Gazetted, Grade II Non-gazetted and Grade III services." (120)

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention of ways and means of improving economic condition of the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Buddhists who are considered as other Backward classes." (121)

Shri Vajpayee: Sir, I move—

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

“but regret that the Address manifests no awareness of the serious threat to India's peace and security held out by Pakistan and contains no reference to the ever-increasing border incidents or to Pakistan's designs in regard to Hindu minorities in East Bengal.” (124)

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

“but regret that the observations made in the Address in regard to our foreign policy have omitted altogether to clarify what the Government propose to do in regard to the Goan tangle, or the question of Pakistan occupied territory of Kashmir or the problem of Indian nationals in Burma, Ceylon and South Africa.” (125)

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

“but regret that no adequate measures have been outlined in the Address to meet the food situation in drought affected areas of U.P., Madhya Pradesh, Bihar Orissa and other States” (126)

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

“but regret that the Address makes no mention about the formation of separate States of Maharashtra (with Bombay) and Gujrat.” (127)

Shri Naldurgker (Osmanabad): I beg to move:

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

“That this House fully satisfied that the President's Address comprises a true concise review of the international situation with reference to India's friendly relations and also her abhorance towards

production of nuclear weapons, and it also contains the true picture of all domestic issues with reference to foreign exchange and inculcates enthusiasm among the public to holdly face the difficulties and implement the Second Year Plan.” (132)

Shri Balasabeh Patil (Miraj): I beg to move:

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

“but regret that the Address does not mention concrete proposals for formation of separate State of Samyukta Maharashtra with Bombay as capital in near future.” (133)

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

“but regret that the Address fails to mention the effective and immediate industrialization of the Marathi speaking areas.” (135)

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

“but regret that the Address fails to mention the creation of Wage Boards in respect of agricultural labourers and of giving benefit to them of all the schemes formulated for the industrial workers”. (137)

Shri Dharmalingam: I beg to move:

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

“but regret that the Address makes no mention of any proposal to rename the State of Madras as Tamizh Nadu.” (144)

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

“but regret that the Address makes no mention of the steps proposed to be taken by the Government to protect the rights of the South Indian settlers of

Indian origin in Ceylon and Burma." (145)

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

"but regret that the Address makes no mention of the reason for not treating the needs of the rice eating population at par with the wheat eating population, while importing foodgrains from abroad." (146)

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

"but regret that in the Address no mention has been made of the existing power scarcity in the Southern States." (147)

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention of the urgent need and desirability of establishing nuclear power projects in the South." (148)

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention of the regional disparities in allocation of funds in the Second Five Year Plan and particularly to the Southern States which are adversely affected in this context." (149)

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

"but regret that the Address makes no mention of the steps proposed to be taken to industrialise the South at par with the fast industrialisation of the North." (150)

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

"but regret that the Address makes no mention of the steps taken to restore the cut on the rebate on Handloom cloth made amidst protests." (151)

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

"but regret that in the Address no mention is made of the steps taken to continue the English language as the official language of the Indian Union for ever." (152)

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

"but regret that the Address makes no mention of the feelings of the agitating millions of the non-Hindi speaking areas against the impending danger of Hindi imperialism." (153)

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

"but regret that the Address makes no mention of the legitimate and democratic demand of the people of Maharashtra and Gujerat for the creation of Samyukta Maharashtra State with Bombay as its capital and Mahagujerat State." (154)

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

"but regret that the Address makes no mention of the steps proposed to be taken to ensure that the Scheduled Castes who have embraced Buddhism continue the enjoying of the privileges and amenities enjoyed by them before the conversion." (155)

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

"but regret that the Address makes no mention of the closing of Fair Price shops especially when the food situation in the country is becoming worse" (156)

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

"but regret that the Address makes no mention of the measures to improve and expand Rural Banking facilities." (157)

[Shri Dharmalingam]

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

“but regret that the Address makes no mention of the effective steps taken to check and eradicate corruption and wastage in constructions of Projects and Government buildings.” (158)

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: I beg to move

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

“but regret that the Address makes no mention of a uniform land policy, delay in implementing land reforms and hesitation to fix an appropriate price policy which have a depressing effect on the agriculturists” (159)

Shri P. G. Deb (Angul) I beg to move

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

“but regret that the Address makes no mention of the situation of educated unemployment in the country” (162)

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

“but regret that the Address does not take any notice of the sad state of affairs that exists regarding foreign pockets in this Republic” (163)

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

“but regret that the Address does not disclose the failure of the Government to introduce free and compulsory education for all children upto the age of fourteen years as laid down in the Constitution” (164)

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

“but regret that the Address fails to mention to acute rice

scarcity condition in the country or easing the situation by further import of rice for the affected areas” (165).

Shri B. C. Mullik (Kendrapara-Reserved-Sch. Castes): I beg to move:

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

“but regret that the Address makes no mention of the steps taken to implement the recommendations of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in his two Reports, 1955 and 1956-57.” (166).

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

“but regret that the Address makes no mention of the steps proposed to eradicate the practice of untouchability in the country” (167)

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

“but regret that the Address has not indicated the manner in which the Government wishes to solve the question of boundary disputes as they exist between Bihar and Orissa” (168)

Shri B. C. Kamble (Kopergaon) I beg to move

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

“but regret that the Address fails to make a mention of the problem of Buddhist minority converted from the former Scheduled Castes” (175)

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

“but regret that the Address fails to mention the problem of minorities and the indifferent treatment meted out to them” (176)

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

“but regret that the Address fails to make any mention about the Backward Classes Commissioner’s Report and its implementation as enjoined by the Constitution of India.” (177).

Shri L. Achaw Singh (Inner Manipur): I beg to move:

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

“but regret that the Address does not mention any steps taken by the Government to classify the Chakpas and Nepalis of Manipur as members of Scheduled Tribes or Backward Classes for the purposes of their social and economic uplift.” (178)

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

“but regret that the Address does not mention the failure of the Government to offer any concrete schemes for the solution of the tribal problems in States and Centrally administered areas in the North East Frontier of India.” (179)

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

“but regret that the Address has not mentioned any measures for the nationalisation of foreign concerns in the spheres of plantation, oil and other minerals in Assam.” (180)

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

“but regret that the Address does not mention the failure of the Government to ensure a fair and economic price of rice to the agriculturists in Manipur.” (181)

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

“but regret that the Address does not mention the inadequate steps taken to stop smuggling of rice from Manipur.” (182)

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

“but regret that the Address does not mention the inability of the Government to check corruption among public servants in the territory of Manipur.” (183)

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

“but regret that the Address does not mention the failure of the Government to provide adequate facilities of public transport in the territory of Manipur.” (184)

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

“but regret that the Address does not mention the failure of the Government to transfer the allotted subjects to the Territorial Council in Manipur in accordance with the provisions of the Territorial Councils Act, 1956.” (185)

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

“but regret that the Address does not mention the delay in the land settlement and survey operations in Manipur and consequent increase in land disputes.” (186)

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

“but regret that the Address does not mention the appointment of inefficient and raw staff to the higher cadres of administration in Manipur and failure to implement the schemes of development programme.” (187)

Shrimati Renu Chakravarty
(Basirhat): I beg to move:

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

"but regret that the Address under-estimates the implications and depth of the food crisis and fails to indicate the important measures and policies to be undertaken immediately by Government to increase agricultural production with special reference to—

- (a) granting timely and increased agricultural credit to peasants on the basis of their productivity and not on the basis of land proprietorship;
- (b) granting increased financial and technical help to carry out large scale minor irrigation and drainage works; and
- (c) increasing green manures, fertiliser distribution and good seeds." (190)

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention anything about the widespread distress and starvation prevailing over large areas in the country struck by drought and a bad harvest or the steps to be taken by Government in regard thereto." (191)

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

"but regret the complacency in the Address regarding the price trends especially the rising price of rice, medicines, books, paper and educational materials and the rising stock of cloth." (192)

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

"but regret that the Address gives no indication as to the

price control mechanism to be followed by Government especially to build up food stocks, ensure a fair price to the cultivator and control and squeeze out the hoarder and black-marketeer." (193)

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

"but regret that the Address fails to point out any methods and policy to check the erosion of the industrial policy resolution of 1956 whereby the private sector is getting hold of aluminium and fertiliser factories and other basic industrial projects originally intended for the public sector, and also getting a bulk of the foreign loans and capital goods besides the utilisation of all the foreign exchange quota allotted to it for the entire period of the Plan within the first year thereby jeopardising the entire fabric of the Plan." (194)

Shri Jagdish Awasthi: I beg to move:

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

"but regret that in the Address no declaration has been made regarding immediate replacement of English by Hindi to solve the question of official language." (199)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of any date by which English would be forthwith replaced by Hindi." (200)

Shri Braj Raj Singh: I beg to move:

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

"but regret that no definite policy has been enunciated with regard to the development and

growth of regional languages and official language as declared under the Constitution." (201)

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

"but regret that no definite dateline has been fixed for the adoption of Hindi as the official language of the Union Government." (202)

Shrimati Renu Chakravartty: I beg to move:

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

"but regret that while the broad lines of foreign policy are satisfactory, the Address fails to take note of the tensions prevailing in Asia and Africa on account of the situation in Algeria, Syria and the Middle East as also in Kashmir and West Irian which point to the urgent need to the summoning of a second Bandung Conference." (205)

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: All these amendments are before the House.

श्री जि० मन्मथ (खगरिया) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, राष्ट्रपति जी ने जो अभिभाषण किया है, उसके लिए मैं उनके प्रति आभार प्रकट करता हूँ और जो धन्यवाद का प्रस्ताव यहाँ पर उपस्थित किया गया है, उसका मैं समर्थन करता हूँ ।

राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने अभिभाषण में नदी घाटी योजनाओं में जो प्रगति हो रही है, उसको सन्तोषजनक बताया है । मैं इस बात को मानता हूँ कि जो प्रगति हो रही है वह संतोषजनक है । लेकिन मैं एक ऐसे इलाके से आता हूँ जो कि उत्तर बिहार में पड़ता है और जहाँ पर कि कोसी नदी जो कि प्रखर धारा वाली नदी है, बहती है । उत्तर

बिहार खास तौर पर कोसी नदी की बाढ़ में तबाह व बरबाद हो जाता है । सरकार ने जो उपाय उसको बांधने के लिये किये हैं वे सराहनीय हैं । लेकिन अभी तक जो प्रगति हुई है और हो रही है वह बहुत धीमी है । उसको नियंत्रण में लाने के लिए कई फेजिस हैं जैसे कि एम्बैकमेंट्स, बैरेज और कौनाल्स । एम्बैकमेंट्स का काम प्रयोगात्मक रूप से हुआ और यह काम श्रम के द्वारा शुरू हुआ । वहाँ की जनता ने काम किया । वह नदी जो तबाही और बरबादी लाती है, निश्चित रूपेण बहुत भयंकर होती है और उसको नियंत्रण में लाने का जो काम अब तक किया गया है वह सराहनीय है । बाढ़ के बाद जो परिस्थिति उत्पन्न हो जाती है उसको भुक्तभोगी ही अच्छी तरह से जान सकते हैं । इसकी वजह से मलेरिया, फिनेरिया, कालाज्वर, डाइसेंट्री आदि बीमारियाँ फैल जाती हैं और साथ ही साथ उनकी फसलें बह जाती हैं । उत्तर बिहार की जमीन बहुत सुन्दर है । वहाँ की जमीन की उर्वरा शक्ति इतनी अच्छी है कि यदि कोसी नदी पर काबू पा लिया जाये तो उत्तर बिहार समस्त बिहार को खाना खिला सकता है । यह तभी हो सकता है जब कि नदियों को बांध करके और उनके पानी को सिंचाई के काम में लाने की व्यवस्था हो जाये । कोसी नदी के पूर्वी तथा पश्चिमी बांधों को बनाने के लिए हम लोगों ने जो श्रमदान किया है उसकी मिसाल हिन्दुस्तान भर में नहीं मिलती ।

अब सुनने में आया है कि बांध बन जाने के बाद वहाँ जो बैरेज बनने वाला है उस काम में ढिलाई बरती जा रही है । पता नहीं यह ढिलाई क्यों बरती जा रही है ? हो सकता है कि यह विदेशी मुद्रा की कठिनाई के कारण हो या धन के अभाव के कारण । लेकिन इसका चाहे जो भी कारण हो, अगर अम्ब बैरेज के काम को जल्दी से पूरा नहीं करते हैं तो मैं समझता हूँ कि कोसी पर बांध बांधना भी बेकार सिद्ध होगा । यह

[श्री जि० बंडल]

कोसी नदी सैकड़ों साल से बहती आई है। जहां पर कोसी नदी का पानी नहीं जाता है वहां की जमीन ऊसर हो गई है और जहां पर जाता है वहां दहलान हो गई है। एक फी एरिया है और दूसरा बेट एरिया है। जो बेट एरिया है वहां की जमीन बेकार है। यह सही है कि बांध बाधने से बे इलाके जिनमें कि बाढ़ आती थी, उनका बचाव होता है लेकिन वे इलाके जिनको कि फी एरिया कहते हैं वहां की जमीन ऊसर हो गई है। वहां पर कुछ भी पैदा नहीं होता है। इस तरह की जो जमीन है वह ३०-४० लाख एकड़ के करीब है। अगर बैरेज का काम नहीं होता तो बांध जो बनाया गया है वह भी बहुत लाभदायक सिद्ध नहीं हो सकता। आपने शायद १३ करोड़ रुपया बैरेज के लिए और १३ करोड़ रुपया नहरों की खर्चा के लिए रखा है। बांध बाधने का जो काम वहां तीन साल में हो रहा है वह भी अभी पूरा नहीं हुआ है। अगर आप बैरेज बना देंगे तो इसका फायदा ऐसे इलाको में होगा जहां पर बहुत बढ़िया ऊख, जूट, धान इत्यादि उत्पन्न हो सकता है। इसलिये मैं अनुरोध करूंगा कि सरकार इस ओर ध्यान देकर इस इलाके को उन्नति की राह पर डाल दे और योजना की प्रगति में सहायक हो। भारी खेद का विषय है कि इस समय जो प्रगति हो रही है, वह बहुत धीमी है।

सामाजिक सुधारों का राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने अभिभाषण में जिक्र किया है। काफी सामाजिक सुधार हुए हैं और काफी उन्नति भी हुई है। लेकिन देश में आज भी बहुत सारे पिछड़े हुए लोग हैं। हरिजनों, आदिवासियों तथा 'ग्रंदर बैंकवर्ड क्लासिस' की भलाई के लिए जो कार्य सरकार कर रही है वे भी सराहनीय हैं अवश्य लेकिन समाज तब तक बढ़िया नहीं हो सकता जब तक कि समाज का एक एक आदमी उन्नति के शिक्षण पर न पहुंच जाए। जब तक शरीर का

प्रत्येक अंग तनदुस्त न हो तब तक शरीर तनदुस्त नहीं कहा जा सकता। आज देश में ऐसे लोग अधिक हैं जो पिछड़े हुए हैं। हरिजनों और आदिवासियों का उत्थान जिस तेजी के साथ होना चाहिये, उस तेजी के साथ नहीं हो रहा है। शिक्षा की मद में मुझे जहां तक मालूम है कुछ छात्रवृत्तियां 'ग्रंदर बैंकवर्ड क्लासिस' को भी दी जा रही हैं। लेकिन वे छात्रवृत्तियां बहुत कम हैं। १९५६-५७ के वित्तीय वर्ष के लिए शायद दो करोड़ रुपया इसके लिए रखा गया था और इसमें से सवा करोड़ रुपया हरिजनों और आदिवासियों पर खर्च किया गया जब कि केवल ७५ लाख रुपये 'ग्रंदर बैंकवर्ड क्लासिस' की मद में खर्च किये गये जो कि बहुत कम है। मुझे यहां तक सुनने में आया है कि 'ग्रंदर बैंकवर्ड क्लासिस' के मेधावी विद्यार्थियों को भी रुपये की कमी के कारण स्ट्राइक नहीं दिया जा सका। मैं उस कमेटी का सदस्य नहीं हूँ लेकिन मेरी जानकारी है कि शायद ऐसे विद्यार्थियों को ही स्ट्राइक घाट किया गया जिन्होंने कि ६८ ८ और ६९ प्रतिशत अंक पाये। उनमें नीचे अंक पाने वालों को वजीफा नहीं दिया गया यद्यपि वे बहुत ज्यादा निर्धन थे। धन की कमी के कारण उनको नहीं मिल सका। मुझे यह बात न्यायसगत नहीं मानूम पड़ती और मैं इसके विशेषतया तीर से सरकार से अनुरोध करूंगा कि इस मद में पर्याप्त पैसा दिया जाये।

श्री राष्ट्रपति ने भारतीय संविधान की ३४० धारा के अन्तर्गत 'शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट एंड शेड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स' की हालत की जांच करने के लिए जो कमीशन कायम किया था, उस कमीशन की रिपोर्ट में जो सिफारिशों की गई हैं उन सब सिफारिशों को मंजूर किया जाये और कार्य में लाया जाये। मैं समझता हूँ कि अगर शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट कमिश्नर की रिपोर्ट में जो सिफारिशों की गई हैं उनको लागू

किया जाता है तो आज देश में जो निर्बल वर्ग है, जो पिछड़े हुए लोग हैं, उनकी स्थिति कहीं अधिक सुधर गई होती। उनकी हालत सुधरने से हमारा देश और राष्ट्र कितना प्रगति कर गया होता। इसके लिए मैं प्रधान मंत्री महोदय से विशेष रूप से अनुरोध करूंगा कि वे इस ओर ध्यान दें और बैकवर्ड क्लासेज कमिशन की सिफारिशों को पूरी पूरी तौर पर लागू करें।

अत्यन्त खेद का विषय है कि भारतवर्ष एक कृषिप्रधान देश होने हुए भी अन्न मकट में पीड़ित है। खास कर हमारा राज्य बिहार कभी बाढ़ से ता कभी सूखे का प्रकाश में तबाह और बर्बाद होता रहता है और इसलिये वह अभावग्रस्त क्षेत्र कहलाता है। उत्तरी बिहार में अनाज अधिक होता है और दक्षिणी बिहार में खनिज पदार्थ अधिक। लेकिन आज हम देखने क्या है कि उत्तरी बिहार धान का भंडार कहलाते हुए भी अनाज की कमी से ग्रस्त है और उसका कारण भूख-मरी है और वह एक अभावग्रस्त क्षेत्र ही गया है। वहां के लोगों को पेट भर खान को भी अनाज नहीं मिलता है। जिस माधन के जरिये खेती का उत्पादन बढ़ सकता है और जमीन को उपजाऊ बनाया जा सकता है, उस माधन की वहां पर कमी है। अच्छी फसल पैदा करने के लिए सिंचाई की पर्याप्त व्यवस्था होना आवश्यक है ताकि खेतों की उर्वरा शक्ति (फर्टिलिटी) बढ़ सके लेकिन आज उत्तरी बिहार में किसी तरह की सिंचाई का प्रबन्ध नहीं है। अलवत्ता वहां पर कुछ ट्यूबवेल अवश्य गाड़े गये हैं लेकिन वे भी कुछ खास कारगर सिद्ध नहीं हुए। सिंचाई का उन्नत प्रबन्ध होना आवश्यक है। उत्तरी बिहार में सयोग से प्रकृति ने काफी पानी भी दिया है और नदिया भी वहां पर काफी रूप से विद्यमान हैं। और खास कर जिस निर्वाचन क्षेत्र से मैं आता हूँ—खगरिया, बिहार

के मुंगेर जिले में—वहां पर उत्तर बिहार की सभी नदियों का बहाव है। कोसी, गडक और गंगा सभी नदिया वहां बहती हैं। जिस तरह में कोसी नदी को नियंत्रण में लाया जा रहा है उसी प्रकार गडक को भी नियंत्रण में लाना चाहिये। यदि कोसी के उम पानी को इकट्ठा करके सिंचाई की व्यवस्था की जाये तो मैं समझता हूँ कि उससे उत्तरी बिहार के मुंगेर पूर्णिया, बहरमा दरभंगा और मजफ्फरपुर इन सभी जिलों में अनाज का उत्पादन इतना अधिक बढ़ जायेगा कि हम दक्षिणी बिहार को भी मजे में खिला सकेंगे। मैं मानता हूँ कि सरकार का ध्यान इस ओर है लेकिन जो कार्य अमली रूप में होना चाहिये और शीघ्रता से होना चाहिये वह नहीं हो रहा है। इसलिये मैं, उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, आपसे द्वारा अपनी सरकार का ध्यान इस समस्या की ओर दिखाना चाहता हूँ कि वह शीघ्र से शीघ्र इसमें बिना काफी रकम देकर इसकी व्यवस्था कराये।

कोसी का जल नवशा बना हुआ है उसका जो मौजूदा प्लान है उसका देखने में आपको मालूम होगा कि उस प्लान के अन्तर्गत २० लाख एकड़ जमीन को वहां पर बैराज बना कर सिंचाई करने की व्यवस्था है। मैं समझता हूँ कि ऐसी कोई ३५ लाख एकड़ जमीन रही होगी जिसको कि कोसी नदी आज से २५, ५० और १०० वर्ष पहले छोड़ चुकी है और आज वह मरभूमि बनी हुई है। उस तमाम जमीन का यदि सिंचाई क्षेत्र ('इरिगटेड एरिया') के अन्तर्गत लाया जाये तो मजे से काम चल सकता है।

अभी हाल में यह चीज मालूम हुई कि जो हाई पावर कमेटी थी उसमें 'गवर्नमेंट्स ओपीनियन' से इस चीज को ले कर मतभेद पैदा हो गया है कि कोसी पर बैराज बनाया जा सकता है या नहीं। कुछ इंजीनियरों ने यह मत प्रकट किया है कि यह बैराज बनाया जा सकता है तो कुछ ने कहा कि नहीं बनाया

[श्री जि० मडल]

जा सकता है। हमारे जैसे लेमन की समझ में तो यह चॉल नहीं आती कि बहा पर बैराज क्यों नहीं बन सकता। क्योंकि अगर ऐसा होना तो प्लानिंग कमिशन उसके बनाने के लिए मजूरी ही क्यों देता। जाच करने के बाद ही इस नतीजे पर पहुँचा गया था कि यह बैराज बन सकता है और सिर्फ एक एक्सपर्ट प्रोपीनियन के नाम पर हम लोगों के जीवन के साथ बिगड़ा करना ठीक नहीं है। इसके बन जाने में ६० लाख एकर जमीन की सिवार्ड की व्यवस्था हा जायेगी और गडन प्रोजेक्ट को साथ ले कर समूचे उत्तरी विहार के लोगों का अनाज बिना कर दक्षिणी बिहार के लोगों का भी अनाज बिना सकेगे और इनना हो नहीं में ना समझना ह कि हमारे पास इनना अधिक अनाज बच रहेगा कि हम उनका देश के अन्य जरूरत वाले भागा का भी भेज सकेगे।

हम लोगों का इलाका यातायात (कम्युनिकेशन) के सम्बन्ध में बहुत पिछड़ा हुआ है। आपका सुन कर आश्चर्य होगा कि इस इलाक में ५० ५० मील तक कोई रेलगाडी की व्यवस्था नहीं है और कोई पक्की सड़क नहीं है जिसे पर कि मोटर या बस चल सकें। इसके लिए मेरा सुझाव है कि एक नई रेलवे लाइन एन० ई० आर० में बिहारगंज में कापरिया तक बाया वेलदीर बाजार बना दी जाये। उसी जगह से हमारे लेबर मिनिसट्री के पार्लियामेन्ट्री सेनेटरी श्री ललित नारायण जी भी आते हैं उनकी और मेरी कास्टीटुगमी उसी जगह पडती है। यह नई रेलवे लाइन अगर बना दी जाए और यह बीच में जा निक टूटा हुआ है उसको जोड़ दिया जाये तो आवागमन की एक बहुत बड़ी समस्या हल हो जायेगी।

एन० ई० आर० में मानसी से सुपौल सेक्शन के बीच में धमाराघाट रेलवे स्टेशन के पास रेलवे लाइन सन् १९३० से टूटी

हुई है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि वहा पर एक पुल बना दिया जाये जिससे कि स्थायी आवागमन की समुचित व्यवस्था हो जाये।

श्री जगदीश जबरनो 'उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, तीन दिन पूर्व राष्ट्रपति महोदय ने हम लोगों के समक्ष जो भाषण दिया उसको मैंने सुना और पढा। उसमें उन्होंने बराबर भारत सरकार की प्रशंसा की है और कहा है कि हमारी सरकार ने बहुत सी बातों में सफलता प्राप्त की है, कुछ बातों में वह अग्रिणी रही है, पर मैं समझना हूँ कि जिस प्रकार का चित्र राष्ट्रपति महोदय ने खींचा है वह अग्रूरा चित्र है।

जहा एक ओर यह कहा जाता है कि देश का निर्माण हो रहा है, हम तरक्की करने जा रहे है, वहा दूसरी ओर कुछ बातें ऐसी होती जा रही है जिनको सारे देश की जनता जानती है और मैं कहना चाहूंगा कि उन विषयों की ओर राष्ट्रपति महोदय ने जरा सकेन तक नहीं किया है। उनका भाषण एक अग्रूरा भाषण है। वह देश का आधा चित्र खींचने हैं। कुछ विषय ऐसे हैं जिनकी ओर राष्ट्रपति महोदय ने ध्यान नहीं दिया है। मैं उन विषयों को सदन के सम्मुख रखना चाहता हूँ ताकि माननीय सदस्य अनुभव करे कि यह बात सही है अथवा गलत है कि जहा एक ओर देश में निर्माण हुआ है वहा उसके साथ ही साथ देश के अन्दर गरीबी, भूखमरी, रिश्वत खोरी, भ्रष्टाचार, पुलिस के जुल्म, लाठी, गोली, अपराधों की सख्या का बढ़ना, बेजा टैक्स, पक्षपात, अफसरी और मंत्रियों की तादाद, बेतन भत्ता, सार्वजनिक सम्पत्ति का दुुरुपयोग, जाति विरादरी, सत्याग्रह, हडताले, भूख हडताले, प्रदर्शन, होटलों की सख्या जिनमें आपका अधोक होटल और जनपथ होटल भी शामिल हैं, इन चीजों की तादाद बहुत बढ़ी है।

गत वर्ष जब मैंने राष्ट्रपति महोदय के भाषण पर विचार करते हुए यह कहा था कि मैं एक अध्यापक हूँ और एक अध्यापक होने के नाते जो कुछ मैंने देखा और सुना है उसके आधार पर मैं उस भाषण को भी १०० में से २० नम्बर देता हूँ तो कुछ माननीय सदस्यों ने कहा था कि मैं बहुत सख्त परीक्षक हूँ। लेकिन आज मैं एक उदार परीक्षक के रूप में भारत सरकार को नम्बर दूंगा। इन दस वर्षों में मैंने जो विषय गिनाये हैं उनमें भारत सरकार ने बहुत तरक्की की है। इन की तादाद बहुत बड़ी हुई है और आज मैं बड़े उदार हृदय से एक परीक्षक के रूप में भारत सरकार को सी म ७५ नम्बर देता हूँ। यह डिस्टिक्शन मार्क है। इनमें प्रकट होगा कि सरकार ने इन विषयों में बहुत तरक्की की है।

उपस्थित महोदय अगर यही उग रहा तो एक दफा आप सी म सौ नम्बर भी दे सकेंगे।

श्री जगदीश शर्मा अभी चार वर्ष बाकी हैं। सचमुच इन बातों में बहुत तरक्की हुई है। मैं माननीय सदस्यों से इस सदन में निवेदन करूंगा कि जिस शासन के अन्तर्गत इन चीजों में तरक्की हुई हो क्या आप उस शासन को कल्याणकारी राज्य या समाजवादी नमूने की सरकार कह सकते हैं? मैं समझता हूँ कि यदि देश में सचमुच समाजवादी नमूने की या कल्याणकारी सरकार होती जो कि गांधी जी के आदर्शों के अनुसार होती तो ये चीजें नहीं बढ़ सकती थीं। जो चीजें हमने ब्रिटिश हुकूमत में नहीं देखीं वे हमको आज देखने की मिल रही हैं। कितना विचित्र यह राज्य है। एक ओर निर्माण और तरक्की होती जा रही है, दूसरी ओर खुले आम वे चीजें बढ़नी जा रही हैं। इनको माननीय सदस्यगण धनुरा करके कि यह देश का निर्माण किस प्रकार का हो रहा है।

दूसरी बात जो राष्ट्रपति महोदय के भाषण में मुझे दुःखदायी प्रतीत हुई वह वह

कि उन्होंने अपने भाषण में देश के अन्दर जो रेल दुर्घटनायें हुई हैं उनका जिक्र नहीं किया। आज रेलवे स्टेशनों पर कितना नुकसान हो रहा है और कितने लोग रेल दुर्घटनाओं में हताहत हो रहे हैं। राष्ट्रपति का कर्तव्य था कि जो लोग इस तरह हताहत हुए हैं और जो सरकार की लापरवाही से सदा के लिये ससार से विदा हो गये हैं उनके लिये दो शब्द कहते। लेकिन मैंने भाषण में यह चीज कही नहीं देखी। जब रेलवे मंत्रालय पर बोलने का समय आवेगा उस समय अगर मुझे समय मिला तो मैं इस विषय पर कुछ कहूंगा। लेकिन यह बहुत गम्भीर विषय है जिसकी ओर मैं ध्यान आकर्षित करना चाहता हूँ। यह बात भ्रवश्य भाषण में आनी चाहिये थी। आज रेलवे दुर्घटनायें इतनी बढ़ती जा रही हैं। कुछ दुर्घटनायें प्रकाश में आती हैं। कुछ दुर्घटनायें ड्राइवर आदि की समझदारी में बच जाती हैं। मैं निवेदन करूंगा कि पहली जनवरी को मोरी रेलवे दुर्घटना हुई। और पहली फरवरी को कानपुर में गंगा के पुल पर रेलवे लाइन ११ इंच नीचे चली गयी। लेकिन ड्राइवर ने सवधानी से गाड़ी रोक दी और दुर्घटना होते होते बच गयी। अगर ड्राइवर ने बुद्धिमत्ता से काम न लिया होता तो सचमुच यह देश की एक बहुत बड़ी दुर्घटना होती। इस प्रकार की जो बहुत सी रेलवे दुर्घटनायें हो रही हैं उनका राष्ट्रपति महोदय ने अपने भाषण में कही भी जिक्र नहीं किया।

राष्ट्रपति महोदय ने अपने भाषण में राजभाषा आयोग की रिपोर्ट के सम्बन्ध में कहा है कि हम सदस्यों की राय से कर भाषा सम्बन्धी कोई नीति घोषित करेंगे। मैं समझता हूँ कि भाषा का प्रश्न इतना जटिल नहीं था जितना कि उसको बना दिया गया है। इस जटिलता को साने में जहाँ उन लोगों का हाथ है जो सरकार में नहीं हैं वहाँ इसमें भारत सरकार की भी बड़ी जिम्मेदारी है। मुझे

[श्री जगदीश प्रवन्धी]

बहु दिन याद आता है जब मैं छोटा था और जब देश परतत्र था। उस वक्त महात्मा गांधी हिन्दी के सम्बन्ध में चर्चा करते थे और उनकी कृपा के फलस्वरूप और उनके प्रयास के फलस्वरूप अहिन्दी प्रान्तों में हिन्दी की सहाये खोली गयी और वहाँ हिन्दी का प्रचार किया गया। उस समय हम अंग्रेजों के गुलाम थे और अंग्रेजों ने बलात् हमारी स्टेट लैंग्वेज अंग्रेजी घोषित कर रखी थी। तब हम अंग्रेजी से दूर थे, और हिन्दी के नजदीक थे। लेकिन आज जब हमारी अपनी सरकार है, अपना शासन है, हम हिन्दी में दूर होते चले जा रहे हैं। एक वक्त था जब देश में हिन्दी के सम्बन्ध में एक मत था। जब देश आजाद हुआ उस समय हिन्दी का कोई विरोध नहीं था। उसी समय हिन्दी के सम्बन्ध में घोषणा हो जानी चाहिये थी। लेकिन उस समय सरकार चुप हो गयी। अब जो यह विलम्ब हो रहा है इसमें भाषा सम्बन्धी समस्याएँ बढ़ती जा रही हैं। मैं अदब के साथ सदन के सदस्यों के सम्मुख यह निवेदन करना चाहूँगा कि कितनी विचित्र स्थिति है कि आज हमको अंग्रेजी भाषा का मोह पैदा हो रहा है। आज हिन्दी देश की मुख्य भाषा है इसमें कोई दो मत नहीं हो सकते। यह सब से अधिक बोली जाने वाली भाषा है। आज इसका विराध बढ़ता जा रहा है। कुछ ऐसी बातें हैं जो हैं जिसन मान्य होता है कि हिन्दी का विराध प्रादेशिक भाषाओं से है। लेकिन ऐसा नहीं है। सब पूछा जाये तो बात यह है कि अंग्रेजी भाषा के स्थान पर हिन्दी को लागू करने का मवाल है। प्रान्तों में काम प्रादेशिक भाषाओं में हो किन्तु केन्द्र में तो हिन्दी भाषा होनी चाहिये। लेकिन कुछ हिन्दी भाषा भाषियों को और कुछ जो अहिन्दी भाषा भाषी लोग हैं उनको यह गलत-फहमी हो रही है कि हिन्दी वाले जबरदस्ती हिन्दी राजभाषा बनाना चाहते हैं। लेकिन इसमें कोई जबरदस्ती का प्रश्न नहीं है। यह तो केवल आपस में समझने का प्रश्न है।

जहाँ तक नीकरियों का सम्बन्ध है मैं कहना चाहूँगा कि दस वर्षों के लिये केन्द्र में अहिन्दी भाषा भाषियों के लिये नीकरिया रिजर्व कर दी जाये और जो भी और प्रान्तीय नीकरिया हैं उन पर तो प्रान्त वाले काम करेंगे ही। लेकिन शर्त यह है कि दस वर्षों तक कोई हिन्दी भाषा भाषी केन्द्र की नीकरी स्वीकार नहीं करेगा। यह बात हम आप से उदारतापूर्वक कहते हैं, लेकिन केन्द्र के जो बड़े बड़े अधिकारीगण हैं, उनको चाहिये कि यहाँ के काम-काज में हिन्दी का प्रयोग होना चाहिये, चाहे वह टूटी-फूटी हिन्दी ही क्यों न हो, चाहे वह कौमी ही हिन्दी हो। यह कितनी लज्जा की बात है कि हम एक आजाद देश में एक विदेशी भाषा में काम करते हैं। किसी भी स्वतंत्र मुल्क में ऐसा नहीं होता है। अपवादस्वरूप हिन्दुस्तान ही एक ऐसा देश है, जहाँ आजाद होने के बाद भी अंग्रेजी भाषा को प्रथम मिल रहा है। मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि इस विषय में राष्ट्रपति महोदय ने हमारे सामने कोई निश्चित नीति व तिथि नहीं रखी है और न ही किसी कार्यक्रम का सकेत दिया है। भारत सरकार जिस टालू नीति पर अब तक चलता रही है, उसी का उन्होंने पृष्ठपापण कर दिया है।

इस देश में भारत सरकार बराबर इस बात का नारा लगा रही है कि हमें दश में समाजवादी समाज नहीं, मोगलिस्टिक पैटर्न आफ मोनायटी—जिस का हिन्दी में रूपान्तर समाजवादी नमूने का समाज है—स्थापित करना चाहते हैं, अर्थात् हम मोना नहीं सोने का पानी चाहते हैं। खैर, जो भी नीति आप की हो, समाजवादी ढांचे का समाज हम कायम करना चाहते हैं। लेकिन मैं अदब में कहना चाहूँगा कि दुनिया में कोई भी “वाद” — कोई भी दर्शन कितना ही अच्छा क्यों न हो, लेकिन जब तक उसको प्रमल में नहीं लाया जाता है, उसको कार्य-रूप में परिणत नहीं किया जाता है और उस

का ठीक ठीक स्थापना नहीं होता है, तब तक जनता उस "बाद" का उस रूप में दर्शन नहीं करती है और इस तरह का कोई भी "बाद" दुनिया में सफल नहीं हो सकता है। जहाँ तक समाजवाद का प्रश्न है, इस सदन के किसी भी माननीय सदस्य को इस पर मतभेद नहीं होगा कि इस देश में समाजवाद होना चाहिये। भारत सरकार ने भी उस को अपना उद्देश्य और अपनी नीति घोषित कर दिया है। लेकिन सब से बड़ा मवाल यह है कि भारत सरकार का जो समाजवाद आज पक्षी के रूप में आसमान में उड़ रहा है, उस को इस भूमि पर, पृथ्वी पर लाने के लिये उसने क्या कार्य किये हैं, जिससे कहा जा सके कि देश में मर्यादावादी व्यवस्था कायम हो गयी है। या होने वाला है। अगर आपका देश में सच्चा समाजवाद लाना है, तो फिर आप को समाजवादी दर्शन को कार्य रूप में परिष्कार करना होगा, उस को बाधना पड़ेगा। उस की हद मुकर्रर करनी पड़ेगी। केवल वाग्दा में आज तक कोई "बाद" दुनिया में स्थापित नहीं हुआ है। अगर इस देश में समाजवाद स्थापित करना है, तो उस के लिये एक निश्चित कार्यक्रम बनाना होगा और उस पर कार्य करना होगा। धन और धरती का बंटवारा करना पड़ेगा और उस को इस कार्यक्रम में रखना होगा। लेकिन अगर आप पिछले दस वर्षों का इतिहास देखें, तो आप को मालूम होगा कि न तो भारत सरकार ने और न राज्य सरकारों ने समाजवाद को अमल में लाने के लिये आज तक कोई ठोस कार्यक्रम बनाया है। मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि अगर समाजवाद लाना है, तो फिर धन और धरती का बंटवारा कीजिये। जब तक यह नहीं होगा, समाजवाद नहीं आ सकता है। आज क्या दशा है? एक ओर तो करोड़ों लोग हैं, जिन के पास इतना धन इकट्ठा हुआ है मानो कैलाश पर्वत बना हुआ है। दूसरी ओर दुखी, गरीब, अकिञ्चन लोग हैं—पाताल बना हुआ है। अगर आप सचमुच कैलाश और पाताल

को एक करना चाहते हैं, तो उस का मार्ग यह नहीं है कि पाताल में पड़े हुए जो लोग हैं, छोटे छोटे कर्मचारी, निम्न और मध्यम वर्ग के लोग, कुछ उन का वेतन बढ़ा दिया जाये। उसमें पाताल के लोग ऊपर नहीं उठेंगे। जब तक कैलाश के लोग—बड़े बड़े लोग—कानून के जगिये नीचे नहीं लाये जाते हैं, तब तक इस देश में आप समाजवाद का कोई भी कार्यक्रम और ममानता का कोई भी मिशन लागू नहीं कर सकेंगे।

आज एक तरफ कहा जाता है कि हमारे पास धन की कमी है और पंच-वर्षीय योजना के लिये हमारे पास पर्याप्त रीसोर्सिज नहीं हैं और दूसरी तरफ हम करोड़ों रुपये हम ऐसे ऐसे लोगों को दे रहे हैं शाही भेंट के रूप में, जिन के पास करोड़ों की सम्पत्ति है—मैंने गन वर्ष भी यह कहा था और आज फिर कहना चाहता हूँ क्या उस धन के देने को आप बन्द नहीं कर सकते हैं। इस के विरगीत जा सचमुच देश के अन्नदाता, करदाता, मतदाता हैं—निम्न लोग, कृषक वर्ग, उन की अस्थिर अत्यन्त गिरी हुई है। उन की तरफ आप ध्यान नहीं देने हैं। आज भारतवर्ष के कृषक की स्थिति यह है कि उस के पैर में पहिन्नन को जूता नहीं है, जेब में दो पैसे नहीं हैं, शरीर को ढकने के लिये कपड़े नहीं हैं, मस्तिष्क में शिक्षा नहीं है, उसके खाने-पीने और बाल-बच्चों की शिक्षा का कोई प्रबन्ध नहीं है, उस को आज दूध नहीं मिलता है। यह भारतीय कृषक की अवस्था है। दूसरी तरफ रात-दिन टैक्सों का भार उस पर पड़ता जा रहा है—केन्द्र और राज्यों के टैक्स, प्रत्यक्ष कर और अप्रत्यक्ष कर, अगर हम विश्लेषण करें, तो मालूम होगा कि उन सब का भार उस पर पड़ता जा रहा है। इस ओर कोई ध्यान नहीं दिया जा रहा है और कृषक बन्धुओं के—ग्राम समाज के—उत्थान के लिये कोई ठोस कार्यक्रम नहीं बनाया गया है। हमारी पंच-वर्षीय योजना को बनाने वाले जितने आयोग के लोग हैं, उन का ध्यान तो बड़े बड़े शहरों की तरफ केन्द्रित रहता है।

[श्री जयदीन अजस्वी]

विस्त्री में बैठ कर योजना आयोग के लोग गाँवों की समस्याओं का हल ढूँढते हैं। राष्ट्रपति ने कहा है कि हम विकेंद्रीकरण करेंगे, लेकिन मैं समझता हूँ कि इस में बहुत समय लगेगा। जब तक योजना का विकेंद्रीकरण नहीं होता है, तब तक उस में सफलता नहीं मिल सकती है।

अब मैं इस सरकार की वैदेशिक नीति के सम्बन्ध में कुछ कहना चाहूँगा। आज इस बात का बराबर उंदोरा पीटा जाता है कि हमारे देश की वैदेशिक नीति बहुत सफल हुई है। राष्ट्रपति महोदय ने भी कहा है कि हमारे यहां विदेशी लोग—विदेशों के प्रधान मंत्री इत्यादि—आते हैं, उन देशों के साथ हमारे मैत्रीपूर्ण सम्बन्ध हैं। मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि विदेशों के कुछ बड़े बड़े अधिकारीगण आ जायें, उन का सम्मान हो, धन्यवाद हो और हमारे प्रधान मंत्री विदेशों में जायें, तो उन का सम्मान हो जाये, उन से हमारे मैत्री-सम्बन्ध हो जायें, इससे भारत की समस्या हल नहीं होगी। मैं भारत सरकार से पूछना चाहता हूँ कि उस ने काश्मीर की समस्या, गोघा के प्रश्न, दक्षिणी अफ्रीका और सीलोन में भारतीयों के प्रश्न का क्या हल निकाला है? अगर केवल सम्मान के आदान-प्रदान से समस्यायें हल हो जाती हैं, तो फिर ये समस्यायें आज तक हल क्यों नहीं हुई हैं? इन का न हल होना ही भारत सरकार की वैदेशिक नीति की असफलता का द्योतक है। हमारी वैदेशिक नीति एक नकारात्मक दृष्टिकोण पर आधारित है, उस का कोई बज्रूद नहीं है, उस का कोई असर नहीं है।

आखिर मैं मैं इतना ही निवेदन करूँगा कि अब भी समय है। जो गलतियाँ हुई हैं, उन पर सोच-विचार किया जाये, उन से शिक्षा ग्रहण की जाये। कौन नहीं जानता कि आज तसार 70 गुटों में बंटा हुआ है—

एक तरफ अमरीका का गुट है और दूसरी तरफ रूस का गुट है। आज दोनों गुट शान्ति की बात करती हैं, लेकिन उन के दिलों में कभी शान्ति नहीं है। उन की अजान पर शान्ति की इच्छा है, मगर हाथ में हथियार हैं। संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ में भी दो शक्तिशाली गुट बने हुए हैं, आखिर कौन सी ताकत है—कौन सी बात है, जो कि काश्मीर के प्रश्न को हल नहीं होने दे रही है। सब जानते हैं कि हमारा पक्ष सही है, लेकिन दस वर्ष के बाद भी उस प्रश्न का कोई हल नहीं हुआ है। जब कि संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ गुटबन्दी का भलाडा बना आ है, क्या आप उम्मीद करते हैं कि काश्मीर समस्या पर हम को न्याय मिलेगा और हमारे पक्ष का समर्थन किया जायेगा? आज समय आ गया है कि हम ईमानदारी के साथ काश्मीर प्रश्न पर विचार करें और उस को संयुक्त-राष्ट्र संघ से हटा लें। इस के साथ ही यह भी आवश्यक है कि संसार में एक तीसरी शक्ति का निर्माण किया जाये।

अन्त में मैं यह उम्मीद करता हूँ कि मैंने जो कुछ संशोधन रखे हैं, उन पर यह सदन विचार करेगा और जो धन्यवाद का प्रस्ताव किया जा रहा है, उन को उस में सम्मिलित किया जायेगा।

Shri Ansar Harvani (Fatehpur): I join my friends on this side of the House in expressing our gratitude to the President for his Address. In his Address, he has not only enunciated the great policies that our country has been following for the prosperity of this country and the peace of the world, but he has also enumerated

the great achievements that our country has made during the last one year.

Before, I proceed any further, I would like to point out that I wished that a reference had been in that Address to our countrymen on that side of the cease-fire line in Kashmir, and also to the Indian-born people in South Africa. It is a matter of shame for all of us that during the last ten years, our countrymen on that side of the cease-fire line are the victims of the butchery of the foreign power. It is a matter of shame and regret for all of us that our Indian-born people in South Africa are not being treated as human beings. Let us declare here and now that we shall not rest unless every man and woman on that side of the cease-fire line of Kashmir is liberated. Let us declare here and how that we shall not rest unless every man and woman in South Africa is accorded the same treatment which is being given to our friends in that sister country of the Commonwealth.

Mention has been made about our achievements on other fronts. There is no doubt that half the country has been covered by Community Blocks, National Extension Blocks etc. There is no doubt that they have given some schools. There is no doubt that they have given us some panchayat *ghars*. There is no doubt that they have given us some seed stores, and in some cases, some roads also.

Much has been said about the psychological change that has been effected by these blocks. I had the opportunity of visiting some of the blocks in my own State, in my own constituency. I must say from my personal knowledge that the money which has been spent on those blocks would have given much better results if a better organisation had been provided there. Most of the money goes down the drain, because the controlling power over these blocks and development organisations has been given to people who have been trained in the traditions of the collectorate and magistracy. To expect at this late hour of the day that men having

experience of 20 years in magistracy and collectorate, who have been sitting in their courts trying only criminal cases or going to the villages just to collect rents from the peasants, can overnight become missionaries for rural uplift and rural reform is to expect the impossible.

Therefore, I will make a suggestion to the Government. They had appointed a Committee headed by Shri B. G. Mehta. That Committee has come out with its valuable report and valuable suggestions, and at no further time, most of the suggestions contained in that report would be implemented and people's co-operation sought and a land army raised. All the people should be asked to take control of those blocks and those planning organisations should be taken away from the control of people who can deal with things only in a bureaucratic way.

The President has referred to the visit of our Prime Minister to certain foreign countries. He has also made reference to the visits of foreign dignitaries to our country. There is no doubt about it that from the days of Ashoka, the stature of India has never been greater than it is today. We are grateful to our Prime Minister for that. Our President deserves all congratulations on his having such a great Prime Minister.

At the same time, I would say that while foreign dignitaries have been coming here, while we have been giving receptions to the British Prime Minister, while good words are being said about us by the people of the United States of America, some of the countries who express their friendship and goodwill towards us do not implement that goodwill when resolutions in the Security Council about Kashmir are discussed. I therefore, hope and trust that India which stands for peace between the two warring blocs, India which has been leading a crusade against cold war, will get better treatment at the hands of the United States of America and United Kingdom as

[Shri Ansar Harvani]

far as the question of Kashmir is concerned and as far as our disputes with Pakistan are concerned

I do not want to take much more time because most of the points have been covered by Members who have already spoken. I only wanted to say something about some of our State undertakings. There is no doubt about it that it was a revolutionary step that the Government of India took when they decided that life insurance and certain other industries should be nationalised and state-owned. At the same time, I would point out that in the same way as the Community Development work cannot be carried on by people who have been trained in the bureaucratic tradition these corporations will go down if their control is continued in the hands of the people who lack that patriotism which the common people have who have only the traditions of the collectorate and magistracy.

With these words I once again thank the President for his Address.

Acharya Kripalani (Sitamarhi) Sir, it is gratifying to find that more and more space is accorded in the President's Address to home rather than to foreign affairs. As the Second Five Year Plan from its very inception encountered difficulties, it is but natural that the President should seek to reassure the country that the difficulties are being satisfactorily resolved. The Plan was drawn up at the time of the last elections and it was heralded by great fanfare—physical planning, perspective planning, flexible planning. But all that we see in practice appears to be planning from hand to mouth without any system.

The President reminds us of what he had told us last May when some people, on account of various difficulties, suggested that the time for the fulfilment of the targets kept by the Planning Commission might be

extended. The President had then said—and he has repeated it now—

"My Government are fully aware of the problem and of the effort required. They are equally concerned that our temporary difficulties should not lead us in the direction of retarding progress and development, but the difficulties should be overcome, where necessary, by reconsideration and revision of methods and by planned mobilisation of resources and not by either the abandonment or slowing down of the progress towards our objectives."

Immediately after this Address of May last the Finance Minister told us that certain projects in the Plan would have to be dropped. Then there was a talk about the 'core' of the Plan and afterwards about the 'hard core' of the Plan. Later on in his Address, the President also talked of the core of the Plan which has got to be saved. If only the core of the Plan is to be fulfilled then evidently there would be an extension of the time for the fulfilment of what is the non-core of the Plan and of the Plan as a whole. This is what actually had been suggested by discerning people when they said that the time for the fulfilment of the Plan, as it stood, must be extended. The Government say the same thing, but perhaps bothered by their own prestige, they keep on repeating that there would be 'no retarding of the progress of development and the difficulties would be overcome by reconsideration and revision of methods and mobilisation of resources' Tweedledum-Tweedledee.

I am reminded of a little poem that I read when I was in school, about a little girl who was asked 'How many sisters and brothers may you be?' She replied, 'Seven in all'. 'Where are they, I pray, you tell, little maid'. 'Two of us at Conway dwell and two are gone to sea and two in the church yard lie'. 'If two lie in the church yard and they are dead, how are you

seven? She said: 'Their graves are green. They may be seen'. The projects that are dead are ever greens in the blue-prints of the Planning Commission.

Sir, we are almost in the middle of the Plan and yet the question of what constitutes the core of the Plan remains undecided. We do not know, for instance, what would be the phasing of the Plan. We do not know what would be the adjustment of the Plan between the different sectors of our economy, namely, agriculture and industry. In industry, we do not know what would be the adjustment between consumer goods and capital goods. I do hope that these matters will speedily be clarified and this time at least priority of expenditure and import of goods will be clearly defined.

Sir, on a former occasion, when I was speaking on the Plan, I had said that the Plan was mechanically drawn without priorities being settled and without proper appreciation of the tasks before us and the difficulties that confront us. I would only mention one of the difficulties which is today universally accepted, namely, that of foreign exchange. There had been a miscalculation from the beginning about the availability of foreign exchange. How did this difficulty get accentuated? It was accentuated on account of four causes. Firstly, because there was wrong calculation on the part of the Planning Commission of the cost of foreign imports that would be required for the Plan. Secondly, because the private sector was allowed magnanimously to import goods on an unprecedented scale; thirdly, because of increase in military expenditure, necessitating further imports; and, fourthly, because of excessive imports of consumer goods and also not very urgently required producer goods.

Much of this could have been avoided if a phased budget of our imports had been worked out either by the

Planning Commission or by the Cabinet itself. As this was not done, it should have been the concern of the Planning Commission to see that these disturbing factors, most of them avoidable, were brought to the notice of the Government and checked as soon as they made their appearance. But this could have been possible only if there was an exchange of information and there was co-operation and co-ordination between the different departments of the Government. This want of co-ordination and co-operation has been vividly brought out in the evidence tendered before the L.I.C. Enquiry Commission.

I have not yet seen the report; but, I am only talking about the evidence as it was given in Bombay. The information available to the Commerce and Industry Ministry either was not available or was not taken note of by the Finance Ministry, even though the same distinguished person was successively in charge of the Commerce and Industry portfolio and of the Finance portfolio. Further, the information that the Government banks had with them, it would appear, was neither available nor was taken advantage of by either the Finance Ministry or the L.I.C. authorities. To make confusion worse confounded, the information which the Prime Minister had and the warning based upon it conveyed to the Finance Ministry, evidently, had no effect whatsoever on that Ministry. It is, therefore, no wonder, Sir, that sometimes in desperation the Prime Minister should denounce the ways of the Government over which he himself presides. But, then, if he fails to bring about the necessary co-ordination and co-operation and, further, if his publicly administered rebukes have no effect upon the administration, who is there to bring about the necessary reform? Who is to bring about, not the theoretical unity of the Cabinet of which we hear so much now-a-days, but the practical unity of the Cabinet? Evidently, this House cannot perform for the Prime Minister this function, this delicate function. It is not designed for the purpose. All that it can

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do is sometimes to carry out post-mortem; this too with very great difficulty.

The L.I.C. Enquiry is the first public probe into the many scandals involving the taxpayers' money. These scandals have often been ventilated in Parliament, not only by Opposition Members but Members belonging to the Government party. But no public enquiry has ever been ordered. Rather, Members who have persisted in talking of these scandals have been rebuked by higher authorities and told that the only scandal that the Government of India know of is the talk of scandal inside and outside the Parliament.

Sir, the President has stressed the need for increased production. But the L.I.C. Enquiry has clearly shown the inefficient, nonetheless arrogant, way in which the public sector of our economy is working. It is not thus that production can be increased and the country's economy be put on a sound basis. The L.I.C. Enquiry has brought to light how the so-called autonomous Corporations in the public sector are functioning. There are over 35 Corporations and companies in the public sector. What is their position and how will they be run? Who will run them? The L.I.C. Enquiry has spot-lighted these questions. Unless the position is satisfactorily clarified, the public sector, I am afraid, will collapse under its own weight, without any effort on the part of the capitalists.

As soon as we achieved independence, we said that not only will there be a Public Service cadre for the administration but also an Economic cadre. Has such a cadre been created as yet? All our commercial, industrial and financial concerns are being run by members of the old administrative services, who have no knowledge either of commerce or of industry or of banking. As a matter of fact, it is hard for them to do their day to day job in an ever expanding administration.

Let us now see how the private sector works. I have already stated that there have been large scale imports in the sector. It would be interesting to know to what extent they have been fully utilised in order to increase production. They have not been utilised. What is the reason? This will require a probe into the methods used by the private sector of the industry. The L.I.C. enquiry has only slightly exposed the working of the private sector of our economy. Shri Mundhra's case is a vivid reminder of how the existing order functions. Vast sums of money can be made and control acquired over industrial concerns merely through speculation and manipulation of the market without doing a single stroke of constructive or productive work. In fact, it would seem that the entire society is held to ransom by speculators. But it must not be supposed that Shri Mundhra is the only culprit in this respect. He only—he declared it in the public—was doing in the industrial field things in a big way, as our Prime Minister does in the political field. These are his words. They are not my invention. Most of the big business houses have become bigger and continue to become bigger and bigger still. They dominate the whole economic scene of the country. If there were to be an honest probe into the expansion of these big houses in the past few years, it would then be known what methods are used in acquiring sizable little empires in the industry.

I met recently an Indian industrialist. He turned to me and said: 'Kripalani, do you recognise me?' I said: 'How can I not recognise a member of your tribe? You do a little good thing and columns after columns are written in the Press about your doings'. He turned on me and retorted: 'We cannot do these things without the help of politicians'. I am afraid I had no reply to give to that. There was this plea advanced before the A.I.C.C. enquiry. (Interruptions)

An Hon. Member: L.I.C. enquiry.

Acharya Kripalani: Having been for a dozen years the General Secretary of that distinguished organisation it is very natural for me to make this slip.

Shri Naushir Bharucha: A.I.C.C. enquiry might come.

Acharya Kripalani: That might be very interesting indeed. Further, the plea advanced before the L.I.C. enquiry for the purchase of the Mundhra shares makes it clear that the present Government must often come to the relief of speculators even of questionable quality. I am afraid this is not the way to establish a socialist pattern of society. I would go further and say that this is not even honest Government administration. If the Government is serious about the economic advance of the country, it must keep a vigilant eye upon speculators and upon the share market.

Shri Naushir Bharucha: Who will pay political contributions?

Acharya Kripalani: I am glad the President has said:

"One wholesome result"—mark the word 'wholesome'—"of the severe restriction in imports necessitated by the paucity of foreign exchange is greater employment of domestic resources and skills and their development. Progress in this direction, which it is the aim of my Government to encourage and promote,....."

(It is brought about because of restriction in foreign imports. He says)

".....encourage and promote, both in regard to Governmental requirements and industry generally, is essential, if productivity and the growth of our economy are not to be retarded. The success of these developments, although brought about by necessity, would have the effect of making our industry less dependent on outside sources."

One would have thought that 'the encouragement and promotion of domestic resources and skills and their development' is the primary duty of any national Government. It should not be necessary that this duty should be brought to our notice and performed because of the paucity of foreign exchange.

I have often said in this House that we did the greatest harm to the nation when, after Independence, we abandoned the *dharma* of *Swadeshi* which we had preached for more than 50 years and which was one of the planks of our fight against foreign domination. It was a mistake to import foreign goods of all sorts and varieties which could have been easily made here or which our people could have done without, to their advantage and to the advantage of the country. As soon as Independence was achieved, the flood gates of foreign goods were thrown wide open. What we should have done as our primary duty as a nation and as a Government, we have been constrained to do by force of adverse circumstances. If it is so, it is no reform. I am afraid that when circumstances change and we have greater amount of foreign exchange, we would again abandon our *dharma* of *swadeshi*. This is how we pay our homage to our great leader.

The President has talked reassuringly—nay, even in an optimistic tone—about the economic situation in the country. He has rightly thanked the countries that have recently rendered us financial and other aid. But foreign financial aid merely postpones the evil day and deferred payments for goods received are in the long run dearer than immediate payments. Internal sources have definitely been dwindling. Inflation is increasing. Taxation has been mounting. There is all round depression in the country. To make matters worse, unemployment figures have been mounting, in spite of increased production which the President mentioned in his speech. Unemployment is the greatest evil from which a man or a family can suffer. It upsets people's

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plan of life. Apart from its physical effects, it has psychologically depressing effects. It leads to perpetual anxiety and fear. The Government seems to offer no remedy to this growing unemployment whether in the field or the factory or among the educated.

The President has talked about increasing technical education and technical personnel. But I have often heard that many technicians are going without jobs and many are in foreign lands and are unwilling to come here because they find that those who have come here go without jobs.

Our food position is as bad as ever. If the prices are not increasing it is because they have increased to their limits. The Government measures have not touched the fringe of the problem. The aid given and the works provided are inadequate and it is difficult for the poor to get grain at controlled rates from the cheap grain shops. Somehow a good deal of it finds its way in the black market. There is no efficient or honest working of the system and honest supervision. In the eastern districts of UP which I have recently visited the situation has not only not improved but seems to be deteriorating. There must be some way found to secure the co-operation of the people and to see that the generous intentions of the Central Government and the help it renders to the States are fairly carried out in the States.

Recently, I read in the papers that a woman died in eastern UP because she had been eating pounded mango stones. The Minister in charge of Food, I suppose, has never gone to a village in east UP, he very complacently said that the death was not due to starvation but because the pounded stones of the mango were eaten. If he had ever lived outside a city he would have known that this is customary, whenever crops fail, whenever there is food shortage and whenever there are famine conditions,

the poor people in the eastern U.P. and in Bihar live on the grounded stones of mangoes, which have absolutely no food value, but somehow fill the stomachs of the people. If these are not starvation deaths, I do not know what can be starvation deaths. Sir, the help that is rendered to the people can be more effective if the people themselves are associated in the work of distribution and if constructive workers are associated with it.

In these difficult times, it is no pleasure for me to criticise the Government and its measures. But the complacency that prevails in responsible quarters imposes upon every public man a duty to speak out what the people feel. Sometimes it is good for the cobbler not only to say that he has made a good shoe but listen to the wearer, when the latter complains about where the shoe pinches. It will do a good deal of good to the Government if it performs its duty and listens to what the popular voice says and what the popular feeling is.

Shri Oza (Zalawad) Mr Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I must confess at the outset that all the vehemence that the previous speaker brought in his speech does not halt me from expressing my sense of gratitude to the President for his Address. As my friend Swami Ramananda Tirtha pointed out, it shows a cautious tone of optimism. It is asking the nation not to despair; but, at the same time I do not agree with some of the speakers who said that there is a tone of complacency in the Address. If we read certain lines, we will at once realise that on the contrary the President has pointed out to the nation the task that is lying before it.

Acharya Kripalani said that the Government is rather complacent about vital problems which face the nation. I humbly differ from him. On the contrary, the President has said in his Address that we shall have to mobilise all our resources and he has further said

Acharya Kripalani: I can give the hon. Member a copy of my speech. He is misquoting me.

Shri Oza: The President has said:

"The measures my Government have taken in this regard have yielded results and in recent months, I am happy to say, there has been some improvement."

He has not said that we have turned the corner. He admitted that we have been facing difficulties, but, at the same time, there is no reason to despair, he says. He has said that the measures have "yielded results and in recent months, I am happy to say, there has been some improvement".

Referring to the food situation, the President has said:

"All possible efforts are being made to increase food production at a higher rate than hitherto. It is essential that self-sufficiency in food should be attained."

Where is the tone of complacency? On the contrary, he has said that we have to exert ourselves further to ensure that there is enough food all round.

It has been argued that there is stark poverty in this country, that there is unemployment. Nobody questions that. It is true that because of the legacy of the past governments we are poor and economically backward compared to the more fortunate countries in this world. But what should be done in order to eradicate poverty? I think the second Five Year Plan is the corner-stone in the edifice of prosperity that we are to build in this country. The second Five Year Plan has correctly put all emphasis on the establishment of heavy industries. I am of opinion that unless we industrialise our country as rapidly as we can, we cannot hope to eradicate poverty from this country quickly. Therefore, I am very happy to know that the core of the Plan, which according to me is the setting up of heavy industries, is not going to be

disturbed. If we compare the figures of this country with those of other more fortunate countries, we will find where we are. Some of the standards of measuring the prosperity are per capita power production and per capita production of steel. If you compare our figures with those in countries like the U.S.A., we find that our country is very poor.

The per capita production of energy in U.S.A. is 73 times higher than ours. At the same time, the per capita production of steel in U.S.A. is 122 times higher than ours. These are the standards by which the prosperity of a country is measured. In the same way, there are other standards also. For example, what is the percentage of the working population which is employed in agriculture and what is the percentage which is employed in secondary sectors, such as industries and communications, and what is the percentage of the working population which is employed in the tertiary sector, that is, social services? If we compare our figures with those of other countries, we find that in India nearly 70 per cent of the population has to rely on agriculture for its maintenance, as compared with 23 per cent. in U.S.A., 25 per cent. in France, 48 per cent in Japan and 7 per cent. in U.K. So, unless we shift our population from agriculture to industry, we cannot hope to build up prosperity in this country.

In order to industrialise our country, we must have a modicum of heavy industries established in this country. I am very happy to note that the progress made in the direction of heavy industries is quite satisfactory. In para. 13 of his Address, the President has said: "In the field of heavy industries much progress has been made in the public sector." So, one is happy to know that sufficient or good progress is being made in the field of heavy industries in our country.

Then the previous speaker, after referring to the L.I.C., stated that the

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public sector is not properly functioning. I disagree with him entirely. If we look at our Sindri Fertilizer Factory, Chittaranjan Locomotive Works or the Hindustan Machine Tools Factory, we find that most of their targets have been over-fulfilled. We have been producing much more than what we had expected. Something wrong here and there might have happened in the public sector. But one swallow does not make a summer. If we judge such things by one incident, we will lose our confidence on ourselves. The previous speaker was saying that the public sector has failed and people are losing confidence in that.

Shri Nath Pai: He did not say all that. He only stated that the defects should be removed.

Shri Oza: The public sector is working more efficiently. We have exceeded our targets in so many factories. That shows that we are running the public sector efficiently. Even in the case of the LIC—of course, I have not read the report—if the Press reports are correct the Chairman has observed that there are no *mala fides*. So, where is the necessity for raising a suspicion in the country? We are not going to serve the public cause by unnecessarily shrouding the issues and creating suspicion.

An Hon. Member: Necessary suspicion

Shri Oza: Let us look at the issue in its correct perspective. Why should we rake up the whole thing? We referred the matter for an enquiry and we are prepared to face whatever the findings may be. We are not going to shirk the findings; not at all. But we should not unnecessarily enlarge the issue in order to shake the confidence of the people. That is what I was going to submit.

The President has also referred to our agricultural production. It is a

very happy thing to note that after the Balwantrao Mehta Committee report greater emphasis will be put in the community development schemes on the agricultural aspect and not on other aspects, as was being done before. Our economy is essentially agricultural and, therefore, we should devote all our attention to see that it properly fulfils its targets and the production goes up.

For this we should supply credit to the agriculturists in time and in sufficient amounts. It has been observed in several places that the agriculturists do not get credit in the quantity required, and that too speedily. If we pay proper attention to this aspect, I think we will be able to step up production. The Rural Credit Survey throws a lot of light on this issue, and let us hope that the Government will further concentrate their attention on this aspect.

I would even go further and suggest that we may drop the programme of building one dam here or there. It does not matter, if that money is diverted to give credit to agriculturists in time. That way we will get better results than by building up a dam at a huge cost.

The President has also referred to industrial labour. It is true that some social schemes like Employees' State Insurance, Employees' Provident Fund have been extended, and many employees are taking advantage of them. Still, much more remains to be done. Before we ask the industrial employees to step up production, we should improve their working conditions. The working conditions of the employees, particularly in the private sector, are not at all hygienic. Workers have to work in a very bad atmosphere which is uncongenial to their health. That does not lead to higher production. We should improve the working conditions in the factories.

Even now we find that some employers are not very keen about what

treatment the workers are getting within the factories. After all, the man behind the machine is not a tool. He is a living human being, a free citizen of this country. Therefore, due regard should be given to his comforts and conveniences. Then only can you expect him to give his best for increased production.

Then, Government should put targets for every factory. Whatever further production is made in that factory, that should be shared between the employers and employees. If we hold out such a promise to the workers, I am sure, the production in this sector will increase. A mere request to the workers to increase production will not have any effect. Unless the labourers feel that they will have a share in the increased profits, there will be no inducement for them to stop up production. If the employers and the Government just put their heads together and evolve a scheme, there will surely be better production in the factories.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Some hon. Members send in their names and then don't remain in their seats. When the Chair wants to call them, they are not found in their seats. They want to get time whenever they feel it convenient for them. So, I have been finding some difficulty in locating members. For instance, I have the names of Shri Brij Narayan Brijesh, Shri A. S Saigal, Shri Vajpayee and Shri Raghunath Singh. All these members are absent. I don't find any of them here.

Shri D. A. Katti (Chikodi): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I was very much unnappy to note that the President's Address did not approach the problem of the Scheduled Castes and the Buddhists in this country, though the problem of these people is a very big problem. At least it is as much important as the problems that have been referred to in the address by the President. For centuries together the Scheduled Caste people in this country have been ignored. Not only have

they been ignored, but they are being given most inhuman treatment. Today it is an urgent duty to kill the monster of untouchability. But no drastic remedies are adopted today. Whatever the Government is doing is not having any effect. Rather the approach of the Government is defective. It is a wrong approach. It is a problem of millions of men, women and children, who have been denied even the ordinary human rights, for which there is no parallel in this world. Today, though the observance of untouchability is made an offence, still it is very rigorously observed. I do not think there is any example of punishment having been given for this crime.

In America, to emancipate some lakhs of Negro slaves, a great civil war was fought and thousands of people died there. But, in our country, to emancipate crores of people, 6 crores of people, whose slavery has reduced them to mere balls of flesh and blood, no war has been fought. Not even a single man died while championing the cause of these people. Now it is fully realised that untouchability is a great threat to the prestige of this country. It is a stain on humanity. In spite of that, no sincere honest efforts are being made in this country to kill this monster.

The untouchables, the Scheduled Castes themselves, scientifically and deeply thinking over the problem, have devised a way out. They have come to the conclusion that besides progress in every other respect, conversion to Buddhism is the only way to emancipate themselves. Accordingly, the Scheduled Caste people embraced Buddhism under the leadership of Babasaheb Dr. Ambedkar. The number of Buddhist converts is about 1,50,00,000. I have no doubt in my mind that this conversion to Buddhism will have far-reaching effects upon the mental, moral and social growth of these people.

But, besides this, they require the facilities that they enjoyed as Scheduled Castes under the Constitution of

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India. This conversion has given rise to some other problems. Our Government, by issuing a notification has withdrawn all the facilities that they were enjoying as Scheduled Castes except the education facilities and the facilities relating to economic development and upliftment. There too, they are regarded as other backward classes. The facilities that are given to the Scheduled Castes are more than the facilities that are given to the other backward classes.

Secondly, because of this conversion the Scheduled Caste Buddhist converts are subjected to harassment. Atrocities are being committed every day, especially in the Bombay State and in Marathwada. Many reports we have received. Complaints were made. The State Government was informed. Even then nothing has been done. Every day they are being terrorised, intimidated. In every day life they are rendered helpless. I am rather surprised to see all these things. In this country, people love the Buddha and Buddhism. Whenever we Indians go out, we take pleasure and pride in telling that we belong to the land of the Buddha. Our Prime Minister, while speaking here, said that it is the Lord Buddha's way which will save the world from destruction. It is Buddha's way. Buddha's teaching is victory for all and defeat for none.

Our foreign policy is based on Panchsheel. 'Satyameva Jayate' is our guiding star. On your head, we have got 'Dharma Chakra Pravartanaya'. I believe it relates to Asoka's Dharma Chakra. In our National Flag, Asoka Chakra has got a very proud place. We are doing all these things. We are very enthusiastically celebrating Buddha Jayanti. But, why this torture goes on on these converts to Buddhism, I do not understand. I think it is a farce, a political stunt that we are doing all these things. We are told that we are converting to Buddhism because of some political motive. Some political motive is attributed. It is not conceivable how conversion to

Buddhism can be made use of for political purposes.

We believe that the caste system is the curse to this country. Because of this caste system, we have been divided into watertight compartments. The great energy of this country has been paralysed on account of this caste system. Marx somewhere said, I remember, that a country which is divided into castes is a predestined prey of foreign conquest. That has exactly come true in this country. Nowadays, our Prime Minister very severely condemns this caste system. I have heard many people condemning the caste system. They say, do not observe the caste system. But, by merely condemning the caste system, caste system cannot be eradicated. The whole structure of the society is based on the caste system. All our activities, our whole thinking is governed by this caste system. We can find caste system everywhere, in every germ of the blood. By merely condemning the caste system, it cannot be eradicated. For that, something else must be done. All those who want to condemn the caste system, want to retain the structure of the society as it is. They do not want to disturb the structure. They ask, they advise the people not to observe the caste system. How can it be possible? It is just like asking a man to marry and again telling him to be a bachelor. That is not at all possible. For that, something has to be done.

We thought over this problem. We believe that the caste system, the whole structure of it, has a religious sanction. It has a religious foundation. Unless this foundation is removed, unless the religious sanction is withdrawn, the caste system can never be eradicated. It will continue to exist and will again cause enslavement to this country. How to remove this foundation and how to withdraw this religious sanction? For that, there is only one solution. The problem is how to eradicate this caste system. Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar has

given that solution. Nobody has given. They simply condemn.

An Hon. Member: It has been given.

Shri D. A. Katti: All right. If there is any solution, let them tell us. We are prepared to accept provided we consider it to be right and just. This is our solution to remove that religious sanction. That foundation must be removed. That can be done only by change of religion. We changed the religion in order to be emancipated once for all from this wretched slavery. This is an honest attempt. We do not wish untouchability to exist in this country. We wish the caste system should not exist in this country.

But, some people say, very responsible people I have heard saying, that the Buddhist converts will have some attraction for other foreign countries, Buddhist countries, and they may prove to be disloyal to this country. I do not understand why we should have any attraction for other Buddhist countries. Some days back, when the Prime Minister of Ceylon was here, he said, we are greatly indebted to India because we received Buddhism from India. They have got an attraction for India. We are not required to be attracted by any foreign countries. How can we be disloyal to this country? We are born in this country. Our forefathers were born in this country. We belong to this country. We can never be disloyal to this country. On the contrary, the history of India will show that many Hindus were disloyal. History can show that. The untouchables have all the while been very honest, very loyal. Therefore, this is not a very desirable criticism. If at all, this movement of ours is to be criticised, there must be some sense, some reason. When we approached the Prime Minister and the

Home Minister and requested to continue the facilities that have been now withdrawn from these Scheduled Caste people who are now Buddhist converts, the Prime Minister said: "You cease to be Scheduled Caste now, and there is only provision for Scheduled Castes in the Constitution, and the Constitution cannot be amended for this purpose." The Constitution is meant for the people. People are not meant for the Constitution. During the last seven years I believe about seven times the Constitution has been amended, and again this year also there will be some amendment of the Constitution. It is a question of life and death of crores of people, and for this purpose you are not going to amend this Constitution. If required, you must amend the Constitution.

Now, the Government of India has allowed those concessions regarding educational facilities, and the facilities regarding economic uplift, to the Buddhists. We are not pressing for the political reservations. The only question remaining now is about the reservation in the services. If that can be amicably settled, the Buddhist converts will be greatly obliged. As a matter of fact, they must be encouraged because they are out to destroy this communalism and casteism.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Is the hon. Member likely to finish within the next two or three minutes?

Shri D. A. Katti: I will continue tomorrow.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: All right. He may continue tomorrow.

17.02 hrs.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Friday, the 14th February, 1956.