

गवर्नर पर यह लोप हमला करते हैं और फिर यहाँ आ कर बिल्लाते हैं कांस्टो-ट्यूशन फेल हो गया। किजने फोन किया? या तो यह लड़ें नहीं और लड़ें हैं तो फिर बिल्लाते क्यों हैं? बिल्लायें नहीं, फिर बहादुर बनें, लेकिन यह बहादुर भी बनते हैं और बिल्लाते भी हैं। तो वहाँ कोई कांस्टोट्यूशन फेल नहीं हुआ है। जो कुछ हुआ है उस के लिए खुद वह जिम्मेदार हैं। और यह बार बार ऐडजर्नमेंट मोशन पेश करके हमारा ध्क्त जाया करते हैं।

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: We are not discussing it. Whether it has been a failure or not has to be decided.

14.57 hrs.

MOTION OF THANKS ON  
PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS—contd.

डा० गोविंद दास (जबलपुर) : उपाध्यक्ष जी, कल जो स्थगन प्रस्ताव उपस्थित हुआ था उस के तुरन्त बाद आप ने मुझे बुलाया था और मैंने केवल एक वाक्य कहा था कि राष्ट्रपति के भाषण के संबंध में जो धन्यवाद का प्रस्ताव आया है उस का समर्थन करने के लिए मैं खड़ा हुआ हूँ। यथार्थ में कोई भाषण वह नहीं था लेकिन मैं आज उस संबंध में भाषण कर सकूँगा इस के लिए उस का केवल आरम्भ किया गया था। राष्ट्रपति जी ने सब से अधिक ध्यान आकर्षित इस बात पर दिया है कि देश में जो हिंसात्मक कार्यवाहियाँ हो रही हैं वह किसी भी दृष्टि श्लाघनीय नहीं कही

जा सकती और उन का अंत होना चाहिए। मैं समझता हूँ कि इस देश में कोई भी ऐसा दल नहीं होगा जो यह चाहता होगा कि इस प्रकार की सिंहात्मक कार्यवाहियाँ हों। लेकिन उन्हें रोकने के लिए केवल ऊपरी स्तर पर विचार करने से हमारा काम चलने वाला नहीं है। हमें गहराई में जाना चाहिए और जब तक हम गहराई में नहीं जायेंगे तब तक इस रोग का इलाज नहीं कर सकेंगे। किसी भी रोग के इलाज के लिए पहले निदान आवश्यक होता है। और जब ठीक ढंग का निदान हो जाय तभी औषधोपचार हो सकता है।

यदि हम इन घटनाओं की गहराई में जायें तो सब से पहले हमें मद्रास की घटनाओं पर विचार करने की आवश्यकता है। मद्रास की घटनाएँ केवल भाषा के कारण हुईं इसे मैं स्वीकार करने के लिए तैयार नहीं हूँ। मद्रास में आज जिस दल का शासन है उस दल के इतिहास पर हमें थोड़ा सा विचार करना आवश्यक है। यह दल ऐसा दल है जिस ने कभी भारतीय एकता पर विश्वास नहीं किया, जो हमारे राष्ट्रीय ध्वज को जलाता रहा, जो हमारे संविधान को आम लगाता रहा और बार बार इस बात की धमकी देता रहा कि हम भारत से भ्रलग हो जाना चाहते हैं। उस समय भाषा का कोई प्रश्न नहीं था। आज भी इस दल ने हमारे संविधान को ताक पर रख दिया है। इस दल की सरकार ने भाषा के संबंध में जो निर्णय किया है, कि वह संविधान को ताक पर रखना है। संविधान में जब तक हिन्दी राजभाषा के पद पर आसीन है तब तक आप विधान सभा के द्वारा उस प्रकार का प्रस्ताव पास नहीं करा सकते जिस प्रकार का प्रस्ताव मद्रास की विधान सभा ने पास किया है।

SHRI S. K. SAMBANDHAM (Tirutanti): Sir, on a point of order. He

[Shri S. K. Sambandham]

has alleged that the Madras Government, that is the Government of Tamilnad had thrown out the Constitution and its provisions. What are those provisions which had been so thrown out? He must point them out. He is simply making allegations which he is unable to prove. He should understand what is what  
15 hrs.

**डा० गोविन्द दा. :** यह प्रश्न हमारे संविधान के सम्मान का प्रश्न है, भाषा का प्रश्न नहीं है। हिन्दी का तिरस्कार हो, हिन्दी को संविधान से निकाल दिया जाये, ये बातें मैं समझ सकता हूँ, लेकिन जब तक संविधान में हिन्दी राज-भाषा के पद पर आसीन है तब तक हिन्दी की अवहेलना करना संविधान के विरुद्ध जाता है। इस देश के किसी भी राज्य में संविधान की इस प्रकार अवहेलना नहीं की गई, जिस प्रकार से मद्रास की सरकार ने की है और इस लिये अन्नादुरई जी पर अत्यन्त श्रद्धा रखते हुए भी मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि इस अन्नादुरई की सरकार को भंग कर देना केन्द्र का कर्त्तव्य होना चाहिये।

इसके बाद हम असम की घटनाओं को लें। असम की घटनाओं के उपर कल स्थगन प्रस्ताव पेश हुआ था। असम की घटनाओं को केवल इस दृष्टि से देखना कि असम में बाहर से जो लोग आये हैं उन के कारण ये घटनायें हुई हैं यह बड़ी गलत बात होगी। असम में पाकिस्तान की जो दिलवस्पी हैं उस को हम लोग भलोभांति जानते हैं और पाकिस्तान और चीन का जो गठबन्धन हुआ है उस से भी हम लोग अपरिचित नहीं हैं। इस लिये अभी जो गोहाटी में घटनायें हुई हैं मेरा देश भर में घूमते रहने के कारण सभी से सम्बन्ध है असम से भी सम्बन्ध है, मैं कहना चाहता हूँ, कि कल भी इस बात पर संकेत किया गया था, लेकिन इस का कोई प्रमाण नहीं दिया गया, मैं इस सम्बन्ध में एक प्रमाण देना चाहता हूँ कि असम में एक

दुकान हिन्दू गैर-असमी की है और दूसरी दुकान मुस्लिम गैर-असमी की है तो हिन्दू की दुकान को जलाया गया, मुस्लिम की दुकान को नहीं जलाया गया। मैं दो बड़े-बड़े सिनेमा-घरों का दृष्टांत देता हूँ—एक सिनेमाघर का नाम था “मिषदूत” यह असम से बाहर के आये हुए हिन्दू का बनवाया हुआ था, उस सिनेमा को आग लगा दी गई। उसी के पड़ोस में एक दूसरा सिनेमा था, उस का नाम “विजली” सिनेमा था वह एक मुसलमान का था वह नहीं जलाया गया।

**श्री रणबीर सिंह (रोहतक) :** सेठ साहब हिन्दू मुसलमान का सवाल क्यों उठा रहे हैं।

**डा० गोविन्द दा. :** मैं हिन्दू मुसलमानों का प्रश्न नहीं उठा रहा हूँ, लेकिन मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि असम के कुछ मुसलमानों का पाकिस्तान से संबंध है। फिर असम में जो लोग पाकिस्तान से किसी भी प्रकार घुस आये हैं, चाहे वे कोई भी हों वे इस देश के दुश्मन हैं, और अब जो पाकिस्तान के लोग वहाँ पर आये हैं उन लोगों को जिनको आये हुए पांच वर्ष बीत गये हैं नागरिकता के अधिकार देने की बात चल पड़ी है। यह बड़ी भयानक बात होगी। कल गृह मंत्री जी ने कहा कि ऐसे लोग केवल कुछ थोड़े से होंगे। प्रश्न थोड़े या अधिक का नहीं है प्रश्न सिद्धांत का है। सिद्धान्त की दृष्टि से, अगर इन लोगों को नागरिकता के अधिकार दिये गये, तो यह जो घुसपैठ हुई है उस का समर्थन होगा। असम का प्रश्न हमारे देश का एक बड़ा गम्भीर प्रश्न है। जिस समय चीन का आक्रमण हुआ था मैं आपको याद दिलाना चाहता हूँ उस समय हमारे प्रधान मंत्री पं० जवाहर लालजी ने कहा था कि असम के सम्बन्ध में हम को बड़ी बुरी से बुरी बात के लिये तैयार रहना चाहिये। असम का प्रश्न केवल बाहर से आये हुए लोगों के सबब से है, यह बात छोड़ कर हमें इस दृष्टि से देखना चाहिये कि असम धीरे धीरे कई ब... के सब

समस्या न बन जाय उस दृष्टि से हमें इस प्रश्न के विषय पर विचार करना चाहिये ।

हमारे राष्ट्रपति जी ने भाषा के सम्बन्ध में कहा—“सरकार के लिये यह बड़े खेद का विषय है कि देश के कुछ भागों में भाषा के प्रश्न को लेकर प्रदर्शन हों और कानून भंग किये जायें । सरकार को भाषागत नीति का प्रमुख उद्देश्य यह है कि देश में एकता सुदृढ़ हो और लोगों में एकता बढ़े और इस के साथ ही समुदाय के तमाम वर्गों को आत्माभिव्यक्ति और सांस्कृतिक विकास के पूरे भ्रवसर दिए जायें । सरकार को पूरी आशा है कि भाषा के बारे में तमाम विवाद अब समाप्त कर दिये जायेंगे । हमारी भाषा नीति और कार्यक्रमों पर भ्रमल करने से जो व्यावहारिक समस्यायें उठ खड़ी हों उन पर समझ-बूझ और आपसी समझौते को भावना से विचार किये जायें ।” हमारे राष्ट्रपति जी कहते हैं कि तमाम विवादों को समाप्त किया जाये । अब तक जो विधेयक पास हुआ था उस की स्याही भी सूखने में नहीं आई है और चारों तरफ से सुनाई पड़ता है कि फिर से कुछ विचार किया जाने वाला है—ऐसी हालत में ये भाषा विवाद समाप्त कैसे होंगे ? . . .

श्री कंबरलाल मूल्त (दिल्ली सदर):  
सेठ जी, यह सब कांग्रेसी सरकारें करा रही हैं ।

डा० गोविन्द दास : मैंने उस समय कहा था, जिस समय वह विधेयक उपस्थित किया गया था कि आप एक-ऐसा विधेयक ला रहे हैं, जिस से किसी का सन्तोष नहीं होगा । इस विधेयक के लाने के पहले आपको एक गोल-मेज परिषद् बुलानी चाहिये थी, जिस आप सब दलों के लोगों को बुलाते, सब राज्यों के लोगों को बुलाते और बुलाकर कुछ निर्णय आप करते और फिर आप इस को यहां लाते । जिस समय विधेयक उपस्थित किया गया था, उस समय के मेरे भाषण को देखा जाय ।

मैंने यह बात कही थी कि इस विधेयक को उपस्थित करने से पहले सब दलों के विचार करने की आवश्यकता है, लेकिन वह नहीं किया गया, विधेयक पास किया गया और उस विधेयक से किसी का सन्तोष नहीं हुआ । हम भाषा के विषय को समाप्त करना चाहते हैं, यह बात ठीक है, लेकिन वह भाषा का विषय समाप्त कैसे हो, यह विचारणीय विषय है ।

एक बात और महत्व की है जो हमारे राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने भाषण में कही है—उन्होंने कहा है “परिवार नियोजन के अत्यन्त महत्वपूर्ण कार्यक्रम की चर्चा किये बिना वार्षिक सर्वेक्षण का काम परा नहीं होगा । इस वर्ष इस कार्यक्रम में जोरदार प्रगति हुई है । देहाती और शहरी आबादी में बहुत से नए वर्गों के लोगों ने इस कार्यक्रम को स्वीकार किया । अनुमान है कि 28.50 लाख से अधिक स्त्री और पुरुष विभिन्न परिवार नियोजन कार्यक्रमों के अन्तर्गत आते हैं । अब तक किसी एक वर्ष की जो संख्या रही है, उस से यह संख्या कहीं ज्यादा है । फिर भी, वार्षिक जन्म दर को एक हजार में लगभग 40 से 25 तक कम करने के लक्ष्य को प्राप्त करने के लिए, इन से भी ज्यादा और लगातार कोशिश करने की जरूरत पड़ेगी । इस बात को ध्यान में रखते हुए यह इरादा किया गया है कि अगले वर्ष 60 लाख अतिरिक्त स्त्री पुरुष को परिवार नियोजन के तरीकों और सेवाओं की परिधि ले आया जाए । अब बादी को नियंत्रित करने के कुछ अन्य उपायों पर भी सरकार विचार कर रही है ।” मैं आपसे कहना चाहता हूँ कि इस पर थोड़ा सा विचार करने की आवश्यकता है कि परिवार नियोजन किन वर्गों में हो रहा है ? मुझे भय है कि यदि परिवार नियोजन इसी ढंग से हुआ तो, शायद हम लोग तो उस समय कोई नहीं रहेंगे, लेकिन 100 या 50 वर्ष बाद इस देश की शक्ल बदल जायगी । इस देश में जो परिवार नियोजन कर रहे हैं उन का आज

[डॉ० गोविन्द दास]

बहुमत है, लेकिन मुमकिन है उस समय तक वे बहुमत से घट कर अल्पमत में ही हो जायेंगे और वह भारतीय संस्कृति की दृष्टि से, भारतीय इतिहास की दृष्टि से अत्यन्त भयंकर बात होगी ।

राष्ट्रपति जी ने कहा है कि इस सम्बन्ध में कुछ और पायों पर विचार किया जा रहा है । मैं इस के सम्बन्ध में दो उपाय आपको सुझाता हूँ एक तो यह कि जो विवाह की अवस्था है, शारदा कानून के बाद 18 वर्ष और 14 वर्ष है, लड़के की 18 और लड़की की 14, यह अवस्था 18 वर्ष से 21 वर्ष कर दी जाये और 14वर्ष से सोलह वर्ष कर दी जाये ।

दूसरी बात यह है कि हम को हिन्दू कोड के सदस्य किसी वर्ग के लिये कोई कोड नहीं बनाना है । हिन्दू लोग केवल एक शादी कर सकते हैं, बहुत अच्छी बात है, एक ही शादी होनी चाहिये, लेकिन दूसरे वर्गों में लोग चार-चार शादियां करने का अधिकार रखें, यह उचित नहीं है । हमें दूसरे वर्गों के लिये भी ऐसा कोड बनाना चाहिये जो मुसलमानों पर और सब वर्गों पर लागू हो । यह एक दूसरा सुझाव है जिस पर सरकार को विचार करना चाहिये । अगर सरकार परिवार नियोजन करना चाहती है तो विवाह की अवस्था बढ़ाने की बात और दूसरे इस तरह का कोड बनाये जो हिन्दू, मुसलमान, सब पर एक सा लागू हो, इस बात की आवश्यकता है ।

इस के बाद मैं एक बात और देखता हूँ कि हम लोग जितना विचार करते हैं सब भौतिक दृष्टि से करते हैं । इस देश का महत्व पराधीनता के समय भी इसलिए रहा है कि इस देश में एक बड़ा भारी अध्यात्मिक तत्व था । हम भौतिक विकास के कारण उस तत्व को विलकुल भूल गये हैं । हमारे ऋषि, मुनियों ने, हमारे तत्ववेत्ताओं ने,

हमारे दार्शनिकों ने हजारों वर्ष के पहलं कदा कि यह समस्त सृष्टि यथार्थ में एक ही तत्व है । हजारों वर्षों के बीत जाने के बाद आज के वैज्ञानिक भी इस तथ्य के प्रागे नहीं जा पाये हैं । इसलिए हमारे वेदान्त में सूत्र बन गये । "अहम् ब्रह्मास्मि" अर्थात् मैं ब्रह्म हूँ । "तत्त्वामसि" अर्थात् तुम भी वही हो - "सर्वं ख त्विदं ब्रह्म" अर्थात् सब कुछ है । " बसुधैव कुटुम्बकम् अर्थात् समस्त समस्त सृष्टि तुम्हारा कुटुम्ब है । सर्वभूताहिते रिता : अर्थात् सब के हित में रत रहना यह हमारा कर्तव्य है । भगवद्गीता में बहुत बड़ी बात कही गई है । उस की और भी मैं आप का ध्यान आकृष्ट करना चाहूंगा । एक और भगवान् कृष्ण अर्जुन को बार-बार कहते हैं तेरा धर्म युद्ध करना है लेकिन उस के साथ एक अद्भुत बात कहते हैं जो कम से कम मैं एक छोटा सा साहित्याकार हूँ और कोई साहित्य दर्शन के बिना चल नहीं सकता मैं ने कम से कम इस प्रकार का वाक्य किसी साहित्य में किसी दर्शन में नहीं पढ़ा कि एक तरफ भगवान् कर्तुं तू युद्ध कर दूसरी तरफ युद्ध करने के लिए कहते हुए भी कर्तुं कि अपने मन में किसी प्रकार का बैर भाव न रख । युद्ध हमेशा बैर भाव को मन में रख कर किया जाता है । एक और भगवान् कहते हैं तेरा धर्म युद्ध करना है दूसरी ओर कहते हैं "निर्वरः सर्वभूतेषु" हमारे कल्याण के लिए संसार के कल्याण के लिए जो आध्यात्म भारतवर्ष का मुख्य विषय रहा है जिसने कुछ ऐसे तत्व संसार के सामने रखे हैं जैसे मैं ने आप से कहा कि समस्त सृष्टि ही एक तत्व है जिसके प्रागे आज तक भी बड़े से बड़ा वैज्ञानिक नहीं जा सका है । उस अध्यात्म की भावनाओं का कुछ प्रचार होना चाहिए उस का प्रसार होना चाहिए । हमारी पंचवर्षीय योजनाओं में वष और कोई ध्यान नहीं दिया गया है । हमारे स्वर्गीय प्रधान मंत्री ने बाद में इस बात को महसूस किया था । बाद में वे कहने लगे मैं कि

किसी न किसी प्रकार के अध्यात्म की हम को आवश्यकता है। तब बहुत देर हो गई थी। यदि हम ने अपनी पंचवर्षीय योजनाओं में महात्मा गांधी के विचारों पर ध्यान रखते हुए अपने तत्ववेत्ताओं, अपने संतों, अपने भक्तों, अपने ऋषियों और महर्षियों के विचारों का ध्यान रक्खा होता और हम ने अपनी पंचवर्षीय योजनाओं में अध्यात्म को भी शामिल किया होता तो आज देश की मूरत बदल जाती।

मैंने अमरीका में जाकर देखा है कि वहां पर इतनी अधिक भौतिक उन्नति होने के बाद भी लोग तड़प रहे हैं, उन को शांति नहीं है इसीलिए मैंने वहां सुना कि जब स्वामी विवेकानन्द वहां गये तो कितना बड़ा उनका स्वागत हुआ मैंने सुना कि जब स्वामी रामतीर्थ वहां पर गये उन का बड़ा स्वागत हुआ। मैं उस समय नहीं था लेकिन मैंने अमरीका में उस समय का हाल सुना है। आज भी रामकृष्ण मिशन का अमरीका में बहुत बड़ा स्थान है। मेरे जबलपुर के ही एक महर्षि महेश योगी हैं, जबलपुर के हैं आप सब जानते होंगे। कई बार उन्होंने सारे संसार का चक्कर लगाया है। उन महेश योगी का इतना अनुसरण वहां पर हो रहा है कि वी.टि.ल. के सदृश सिनेमा के स्टार भी उन के साथ हो गये, उन के शिष्य हो गये। यह अध्यात्म के कारण है। पूर्ण शान्ति और विश्व का पूर्ण बंधुत्व बिना अध्यात्म के संभव नहीं है। भौतिक उन्नति के मैं खिलाफ नहीं हूँ, वह होनी चाहिए। हम को अधिक धन चाहिए, अधिक शक्ति चाहिए, और दूसरी ओर बीजों भी होनी चाहिए लेकिन यदि हम भौतिक चीजों में ही फंसे रहे और उस के आगे हमारी दृष्टि नहीं जाती है तो फिर हमारा कल्याण होने वाला नहीं है। भौतिक उन्नति के बाद भी हमारा कल्याण होने वाला नहीं है। अन्त में हमारे राष्ट्रपति जी ने कहा है; "सहस्रवर्षीय राष्ट्रीय सम्मेलनों को दलगत राजनीति से ऊपर रखा जाना चाहिए।

सरकार राष्ट्रीय हित और महत्व के प्रमुख मसलों पर सभी दलों के नेताओं के साथ बैठ कर विचार करने और उन की सलाह लेने के लिए तैयार रहेगी।"

मैं हमेशा इस बात को इस सदन में कहता रहा हूँ कि जहां तक राष्ट्रीय समस्याएं हैं, जहां तक निर्माण का प्रश्न है या इस प्रकार के दूसरे प्रश्न हैं, दलगत राजनीतिक से ऊपर उठ और हमें उन प्रश्नों की तरफ ध्यान देना है। इस में यदि दूसरों जो राजनीतिक दल हैं वे दोषी हैं तो हमारी सरकार भी दोषी है। इस बात से इंकार नहीं किया जा सकता कि सरकार ने भी इस बात का कोई प्रयत्न नहीं किया कि सब दलों को मिला कर राष्ट्रीय समस्याओं को और निर्माण के कार्यों को हल किया जाय। मैं कांग्रेसवादी हूँ। पिछले 47 वर्ष से मैं कांग्रेस में हूँ। आज तक मैं किसी दूसरे दल में नहीं गया। आज भी मैं कांग्रेस में हूँ और ईश्वर से प्रार्थना करता हूँ कि जो थोड़ा सा वक्त बचा है उस में मैं कांग्रेस में ही रहूँ। पर अगर कांग्रेस ने कहीं भूलें की है कांग्रेस संस्था ने भूल की है या कांग्रेस सरकार ने भूल की है तो मैंने उन्हें स्पष्ट शब्दों में कहा 5 बार मैंने कहा है और फिर कहना चाहता हूँ कि समस्त दलों को सहयोग में लेकर इस प्रकार काम करन अत्यन्त बलनीय बीज है।

जहां तक राष्ट्रीय समस्याओं के और निर्माण कार्यों का सम्बन्ध है इस सम्बन्ध में यदि दूसरे राजनीतिक दल दोषी हैं तो सरकार भी दोषी से मुक्त नहीं हो सकती। सरकार का भी उसमें दोष है। मेरा निवेदन है कि सारे विषय पर गम्भीरतापूर्वक विचार करने की आवश्यकता है और गम्भीरतापूर्वक यदि हम ने विचार किया तो तैसे दो और दो मिलाकर चार होते हैं दो और दो तीन या पांच नहीं हो उसी प्रकार इन समस्याओं को भी हम ठीक प्रकार से हल कर सकेंगे लेकिन उन के हल करने लिए उदारता की आवश्यकता

[डा० गोविन्द दास]

है। इस प्रकार की बातें नहीं होनी चाहिए जैसे मद्रास में या अन्य स्थानों में हो रही हैं। अगर इस प्रकार की कोई बातें हो तो आखिर कमजोरी से काम नहीं चलेगा गल्फि उस के लिए मजबूती से काम करना पड़ेगा। मजबूती से अगर काम किया गया तो यह बातें अगर आज नहीं तो कल और कल नहीं तो परसों हल होकर रहेगी। इन थोड़े से विचारों के साथ मैं जो धन्यवाद का प्रस्ताव रखना गया है उस का समर्थन करता हूँ।

SHRI GANESH GJOSH (Calcutta South): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, people all over the world have been thrilled by the tremendous and wonderful victories achieved by the Vietnamese people over the American aggressors. These victories have once again revealed the puppet nature of the South Vietnam's American stooge government. These victories have also shattered the myth once again, as was done in 1952, by the North Koreans, the myth of the invincibility of American arms. These victories have once again proved that man is superior to arms and that a people determined to be free can never be cowed down by any power on earth.

Surprisingly enough, there is no mention of such rejoicing in the speech of our President. There are only such stale repetitions as stoppage of bombing. Even the Prime Minister, during Question Hour yesterday, only said that our views are well known. She is not even prepared to condemn the United States for the barbarous bombings in defiance of world opinion. Yesterday when the Prime Minister was pointedly questioned as to whether it was not a fact that the United States Government violated the Geneva Agreement which provided for elections in 1956 which has been the

cause for this existing unfortunate situation in Vietnam, she simply said nonchallantly that the United States Government is not a party of the Geneva Agreement. So, it appears that the Geneva Agreement is not valid today because the all-powerful American dollar has not accepted it. This is the clearest indication of how the Government of India is mightily afraid of offending the Americans.

It is clear that the Americans could and must be thrown out of Vietnam. And whatever the Government of India might do or might not do, the brave Vietnamese will certainly throw the Americans out of their country. It is as sure as the sun rises in the east. But generations in future will say that when such mighty events were shaking the world there was a supine government in India which dare not condemn the Americans, that it did not even lift a little finger, did not even utter a word condemning the aggressors. The Government of India might have their own clandestine reasons to placate the American aggressors. But the heart of the Indian people is with the brave people of the Vietnam sharing with them mentally their sorrows and sufferings, rejoicing with their great victories. We send our respectful and heartfelt salutations to them and feel confident that the day is very near when the American aggressors will meet their grave as they did in Dien Bien Phu.

On the relations between the Centre and the States, this is what the Government of India says through the President:

"On their part, they reaffirm their desire to work in harmony with State Governments irrespective of party affiliations."

This reaffirmation sounds absolutely hollow in the light of their practice since the last General Elections. Their main idea has been how to topple the non-Congress Governments and to establish themselves in power

in those States. Beginning with Rajasthan, the machinery of the Central Government has been shamelessly utilised for this very purpose. The Report of the Governor of Haryana to the President, wherein he clearly stated that the Congress Party would not reconcile itself to the position of Opposition and was daily plotting to reduce the majority of the Government of the State is the biggest condemnation of the Congress Party. The Congress leaders have no scruples, moral, political, constitutional or any other. The Constitution is being interpreted to suit their needs in each State. Further, the statement of the Central Government, as has been made through the President, is all the more hypocritical in view of the recent declaration by the Congress leaders at Hyderabad that they will spare no energy, leave no stone unturned, to overthrow the non-Congress Governments in all the States.

15.23 hrs.

(SHRI C. K. BHATTACHARYYA in the Chair)

We know what has happened in West Bengal, as you yourself also know, that from the very day that a non-Congress, the United Front Government took office in West Bengal, the Central Government had a conspiracy with the Congress leaders and the Governor of West Bengal together with the vested interests to oust from power the United Front Government by all means, fair or foul, constitutional or unconstitutional.

MR. CHAIRMAN: This I do not know.

SHRI VASUDEVAN NAIR (Peer-made): You are in the Chair now. You have to know these things.

SHRI GANESH GHOSH: Certainly, not without the advice of the Centre, the Government met the district administrators and the top officials behind the back of the United Front Government at his residence

and gave them directions not to carry out the directions of the Ministry. This was immediately after the Government took office and when the Governor was asked as to why and how he could do it, he merely said that they were talking over a cup of tea. Yes, we know now that a storm was brewing over a cup of tea behind the back of the Ministry elected by the people of West Bengal. To the Congress leaders, nothing was too low to undertake if they could embarrass the United Front Government. In their mad bid to get into power again, they took to such a despicable act as to start communal riots. But due to the timely intervention of the United Front leaders, these heinous attempts misfired.

Then, the Central Government, by withholding the supply of rice, tried to starve the people of West Bengal in order to revolt against the United Front Government. But this too had little effect. The people went hungry, as you know yourself, but they supported the United Front Government which their own Government. Without feeling exasperated, the Central Government kicked their own Constitution by which they swear at every breath, violating all the democratic forms and procedures, directed the Governor of West Bengal to dismiss the United Front Government for not calling the Assembly earlier than the date fixed by the United Front Government itself. And what exactly happened then? Several hours before the U.F. Government was actually dismissed, the Governor met the Police Chiefs and the Chief and Home Secretaries of the State surreptitiously at his residence and ordered them to make immediately elaborate police arrangements and post armed police at every important street crossing of the City, so that any expression or protest by the people against the undemocratic and highhanded manner in which the United Front Government was dismissed, could be suppressed and met with brutality. The Army was also simultaneously alerted. I

[Shri Ganesh Ghosh]

would like to know either from you, as you also belong to that Party, or from the Prime Minister or the Home Minister . . . (Interruptions).

SHRI SHEO NARAIN (Basti): He should not attack the Chair like this . . . (Interruptions).

SHRI GANESH GHOSH: I want to know from the Prime Minister or from any of the Ministers under what section of the Constitution they defend the actions of the Governor, mis-called a Constitutional Governor in the Constitution.

The West Bengal Assembly was not allowed to meet and take a decision on such a grave issue as to whether the United Front Government had the support of the majority or not. The decision was taken here by the Central Ministers and the elected United Front Government was dismissed. And when after this grossly unconstitutional and undemocratic action of the Central Government the people began to express their protest peacefully on the streets, they were subjected to inhuman police repression. This fact was brought to the notice of the Prime Minister, but she not only refused to intervene and stop the continuing savage police repression, but she even had the effrontery to issue advice gratis galore in public that questions which should be discussed and decided in Assemblies should not be made matters of agitation outside or on the streets. Certainly it is a very good joke; you by-pass the Assembly, and when the people protest against this, you beat them up and ask them to go to the Assembly.

What happened in Bihar? In Bihar, one Mr. B. P. Mandal was purchased by the Congress leaders on the lure of office to secede from the non-Congress Government there. And on the advice of the Central Government, he was nominated by the Governor to the Legislative Council to head an alternative Congress-supported Government there! It has

been said that this was done strictly in accordance with the provisions of constitution. But Sir, what does the Constitution say about this? It says:

"The members to be nominated by the Governor (to the Legislative Council) shall consist of persons having special knowledge or practical experience in respect of such matters as the following, namely—

Literature, Science, Art, Co-operative Movement and Social Services."

Mr. Mandal was, for about a year, Member of this House. But during this long period, none could ever suspect that he was an expert or a connoisseur in any of the subjects noted in the Constitution. Yet, Mr. Mandal was nominated to the Council to open the backdoor for the entry of the Congress to power again . . . (Interruptions). Finding themselves forsaken by the people the Congress Party has now removed its ban on coalition—the Party that so long had boasted that it would never go into coalitions with other Parties. But they forgot that the Congress Party is itself a coalition of factions both in the States and at the Centre and not a party unified on the basis of some principles or some programme. What is happening is that when one faction desires to go in for coalition, another faction of the Congress looks up for a Congress coalition. This is what is happening in West Bengal. This is what is happening also in Bihar, and this is what will happen in all other States. In this game, for somehow or other coming to power, the Congress Government and the Congress Party are not only misusing the Constitution but also resorting to terrific violence on the people.

In West Bengal alone, during the last few weeks, they have put more than 35,000 persons in jail. They have inflicted serious bodily injuries on at least a thousand persons, maim-



ed several hundreds and killed more than 15 persons just to maintain one of the persons purchased in power against the will of practically the entire people of West Bengal. It is no use expressing pious wishes that the Centre-State relations must be good. What is happening in the country to-day is a direct expression of the contradiction between the reality of the Indian situation and the Indian Indian Constitution.

In 1935, as perhaps you may remember, when the British Government enacted the Government of India Act, 1935, which embodied the scheme of provincial autonomy and of the federation, the Congress Party and the entire national movement rejected that Act, and it was resented on the ground that the autonomy of the provinces was a fictitious one, the major resources and powers were concentrated at the Centre, the provinces were devoid of resources but were charged with the responsibility of maintaining law and order and the nation-building departments and that with their meagre resources, the provinces could not meet the demands of the people and further when the people went on a struggle, the provincial Governments were expected to suppress them in the name of maintaining law and order. And yet, when the Constituent Assembly dominated by these very same Congressmen framed the Constitution, they cleanly forgot what they had themselves stated against the 1935 Act, and in practice modelled a Constitution essentially on the basis of the 1935 Act. How can anyone expect smooth-sailing in such circumstances? Every power is concentrated in the Centre. The major financial resources are concentrated in the hands of the Centre. The power of giving a direction to the economy is also in the hands of the Centre. They did this because they thought that with such concentrated power in the hands of the Centre, they will be able to build up a capitalistic society in the country. They tried this for

the last twenty years; for resources, they resorted to policies which have led to the total impoverishment of the people.

The entire country is seething with discontent. Their policies have come to roost. Unemployment is on the increase. Prices are rising. There is extreme social instability. And when the people rise up in opposition to this intolerable condition, the States cannot do anything to ameliorate the condition of the people because they have neither the resources nor the power to give a different direction to the economic development, but they are expected to maintain law and order and suppress the people. But the people in the last general elections have voted non-Congress parties precisely to put an end to this intolerable state of affairs.

Therefore, the conflict between the Centre and the States is built in in the very existing Constitution itself. If the Central Government are serious in improving Centre-State relations, they must immediately think of a major amendment to the Constitution. State autonomy must be real. The States must have the real financial and economic resources as well as power over the administrative personnel.

This should mean that the subjects to be administered by the Centre should be reduced to the barest minimum such as defence, foreign affairs and communications. Only such a scheme of things would help to find a solution to the language problem also. The question of language at the Centre would be reduced to the small confines of the language of record and it would further help practically in implementing the democratic demand of the equality of all the national languages.

The Government of India unfortunately refused to heed our warning when the language Resolution was being discussed even to postpone the voting so that all the parties could put their heads together and come to a very good decision. What has been

[Shri Ganesh Ghosh].

the result? Widespread agitation even in States ruled by the Congress Party, such as Andhra Pradesh and Mysore. Even the President of the Congress, whom the Central Government members have elected, is not able to face the people in Mysore. Such is the bankruptcy of the Congress Party today.

Therefore, fissiparous and divisive tendencies are developing in the country. It is the Congress Party and the Central Government which are directly responsible for this. The unity of the country will have to be maintained, but not by the Congress Party and the Central Government. It will certainly be maintained by the democratic masses when they, despite the heavy repression, rise and defeat the policies of the Central Congress Government and remove them from power.

\*श्री कुशोक बाह्वा (लद्दाख) : सभापति महोदय, भारत के राष्ट्रपति महोदय के अभिभाषण पर जो धन्यवाद प्रस्ताव सदन के सम्मुख प्रस्तुत किया गया है मैं उसका समर्थन तथा अनुमोदन करते हुये अपने आप को बहुत भाग्यशाली समझता हूँ कि मुझे भी इस अवसर पर अपने विचार व्यक्त करने का अवसर प्राप्त हुआ है। परन्तु मुझे इस बात का अत्यन्त दुःख है कि कुछ सदस्यगण इस अभिभाषण के दौरान सदन से उठकर चले गये। यह अत्यन्त अशोभनीय घटना है।

भारत वर्ष शदियों की गुलामी के बाद सन् 1947 में आजाद हुआ है। भारत को स्वतंत्र हुये अब बीस वर्ष के करीब हो रहे हैं। इन बीस वर्षों में जितनी तरक्की भारत ने की है वह भारत के समझ भाई नाना प्रकार की कठिनाइयों को ध्यान में रखते हुए काफ़ी सन्तोषजनक है। भारतवर्ष को अंग्रेजों ने जिस हालत में छोड़ा तथा वे अपने पीछे भारत में जितनी समस्याओं

के बीज बो कर गये इन सब बातों को ध्यान में रख कर यदि हम भारत वर्ष में इन बीस वर्षों में हुई तरक्की को देखें तो यह स्पष्ट हो जाता है कि इन बीस वर्षों में जितनी तरक्की हम कर सकते थे उतनी हमने की है। परन्तु इन बीस वर्षों में भारत के सम्मुख बहुत सारी नई समस्यायें आईं जिनके लिये अंग्रेज लोग जिम्मेदार नहीं थे। उदाहरण के तौर पर जनसंख्या में वृद्धि की समस्या, भाषा की समस्या तथा सबसे बड़ी समस्या देश में सूखा पड़ने की, आदि। परन्तु हमें इस बात की खुशी है कि भारत सरकार इन समस्याओं के समाधान के लिये यथा सम्भव प्रयत्न कर रही है।

जहां तक विदेशनीति का सम्बन्ध है, भारत का विदेशों के साथ अच्छा सम्बन्ध रहा है। परन्तु चीन तथा पाकिस्तान भारत की शान्ति में सदा बाधाएँ उत्पन्न करते रहे हैं। जहां तक चीन के साथ भारत के सम्बन्धों का प्रश्न है वह तब तक हल नहीं हो सकता जब तक तिब्बत स्वतंत्र नहीं हो जाता। यह समस्या भारत की नीति में एक बहुत बड़ी गलती का परिणाम है। भारत ने तिब्बत की चीनियों के हाथ में सौंप कर एक बहुत बड़ी भूल की है तथा उस भूल की ही बहुत महंगी कीमत चुकानी पड़ी। 1962 में चीनी आक्रमण के फलस्वरूप हमारे लद्दाख के बहुत बड़े भू भाग पर चीनियों ने कब्जा कर लिया। नेफा की सीमा पर भी चीनियों ने भारत की सीमाओं में घुसकर बहुत बड़ा भूभाग भारत से छीन लिया है। ये सारी हरकतें चीनियों ने एक भाई के भेष में की। इधर से "हिन्दी चीनी भाई भाई" का नारा लगाते रहे तथा दूसरी तरफ से फौजों को इकट्ठा कर सीमा पर हमला बोल दिया।

यह सब भारत की एक बहुत बड़ी भूल का परिणाम है। परन्तु भारत अब दूसरी भूल करने की क्षमता नहीं रखता।

परन्तु मुझे इस बात की आशंका है कि भारत दूसरी भूल भी न कर बैठे, क्योंकि भारत ने अभी तक तिब्बत की स्वतंत्रता के बारे में बिल्कुल नहीं सोचा है और न ही इस प्रश्न को संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ में उठाने का प्रयास किया है। यह दुःखद और हृदय विदारक सूचना मिली है कि चीनी शासक इस समय भी अभागे तिब्बतियों को अपने प्राचीन धर्म से भ्रष्ट करने के लिये या तो उन्हें मौत के घाट उतार रहे हैं या उन्हें भिन्न प्रकार की याचनायें देकर पीड़ित करते हैं। हमारे प्राचीन और अमूल्य धर्म ग्रन्थों को जलाया जाता है और जगत प्रख्यात गुम्फों को गिराया जा रहा है, ताकि बौद्ध संस्कृति का इस संसार से निश्चय ही मिट जाये।

इन सब बातों का जिक्र अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय ज्यूरिस्ट कमीशन की रिपोर्ट में भी आया है। परन्तु मुझे इस बात का शोक है कि भारत सरकार ने इस अत्याचार के खिलाफ कोई निश्चित प्रयत्न नहीं किया। क्या भारत अपनी पहली गलती को भूल चुका है, जिसकी कीमत भारत को बहुत बड़ी राशि में चुकानी पड़ी। जब तक भारत तथा चीन की सीमा का सवाल है, तब तक चीन सदा भारत के लिये खतरा बना रहेगा। अतः इस खतरे को दूर करने के लिये तिब्बत की स्वतंत्रता आवश्यक है। जब भारत तथा चीन की सीमा के बीच तिब्बत जैसा एक मित्र राष्ट्र रहेगा, तो भारत पूरे चीन के साथ अपनी तरक्की करने में सम्यक रह सकेगा, अन्यथा चीनियों के आक्रमण के खतरे के कारण भारत को बहुत बड़ी रकम व्यर्थ खर्च करनी पड़ेगी, जिससे तरक्की के कामों में बहुत बड़ी बाधा पड़ेगी।

इसके अतिरिक्त यहां इस बात का जिक्र करना बहुत आवश्यक है कि जहां में भारत सरकार का इस कारण बड़ा कृतज्ञ है कि उन्होंने भारत में आये हुये तिब्बती शरणार्थियों को फिर से बसाने के लिये कोई कसर नहीं छोड़ रखी, वहां मुझे दुःख

है कि लद्दाख में आये हुये ऐसे शरणार्थियों की हालत बहुत सोचनीय है। वे अभी तक भी उस ऊंचाई पर तम्बूओं में अपने दुःखी जीवन के दिन बिताते हैं। उनके लिये न कोई मकान बनाने का प्रवन्ध हुआ, न उनके बच्चों की शिक्षा के लिये कोई नये स्कूल खोले गये और न उन्हें कोई माली सहायता दी गई, यद्यपि इस बारे में मेरी और से इस सभा में प्रश्न तो पूछे ही गये थे और मेने अपनी एक योजना भी सरकार के पास भेज दी थी, प्रश्नों का उत्तर तो जरा भर भी सन्तोषजनक नहीं था। शायद सदन को इस बात का भी ज्ञान हो कि 1962-63 में अकाल, भारी हिमपात के कारण इन अभागे शरणार्थियों के ढाई लाख माल मवेशी अकाल मृत्यु प्राप्त कर गये और उन के मालिक कौड़ी कौड़ी के मोहताज हो गये। परन्तु न ही प्रान्तीय और न ही भारत सरकार ने उनकी कोई भी सहायता की।

अंत में यह कारण बताते हुये अपना भाषण समाप्त करता हूं कि सरकार इन सब बातों को ध्यान में रखते हुये अपनी नीति में देश के कल्याण को सामन रख कर परिवर्तन करेगी।

MR. CHAIRMAN: I shall have to make a slight correction. The translation of the speech of Kuhak Bakula is in Hindi and not in English.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA (Alipore): It is probably a fortunate matter for the Government that the Address of the President on the 12th February came too soon to have to make a motion of the constitutional crisis which has come about in West Bengal so that they need not have to deal with this uncomfortable subject except for making this platitudinous appeal which had been referred to by earlier speakers about the Central Government's desire to work in harmony with State Governments irrespective of party affiliations and they have not had to express themselves concretely or specifically on the crisis which has overtaken them in Bengal.

[Shri Indrajit Gupta]

The essence of this deadlock does not consist only in the fact that the State legislature or the Assembly had been adjourned *sine die* nor that the Governor was not able to deliver his Address to the joint session of the two Houses and that the Address is not being taken as read: That is the ruling of the Speaker. The essence of the deadlock is the fact that the Ministry which is in power in West Bengal today is manifestly and demonstrably a ministry which has lost its majority and yet continues in power. Yesterday's happenings in the Assembly have made it quite clear and I shall quote from *Statesman* which is not a paper which supports the United Front:

"The effective membership of the Assembly, excluding the Speaker, is now 279 and the minimum number for a majority, therefore, is 140. To the 133 members belonging to the Treasury Benches who signed the register—

Yesterday—they were present—

"must be added one Congress and one PDF MLA who were absent because of illness."

That makes 135. This is the total, and they could not muster any more than 135 people, where 140 are required to have a bare majority.

AN HON. MEMBER: On the other side?

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: On the other side, there are the people who have decided they are quite adept at this because they are paying you back in your own coin—to resign from the Congress or defect from the Congress PDF coalition, who have decided to stay away; they were not present. They could not be mustered; none of them could be mustered by the Ministry. Therefore, the essence of the deadlock consists in this: that the legislature could not meet; it has

been adjourned *sine die*. The Governor could not deliver his address. The Ministry which remains in power has lost its majority in West Bengal.

I would also like to draw your attention to this fact: is it a normal circumstance that articles 19(1) (a) and (b) of the Constitution have been completely suppressed—entirely suppressed, I would say—since the day that this ministry has assumed office or has been put in office by the Governor? It is a very strange thing. There is no emergency. The emergency has been revoked. Article 19(2) of the Constitution talks about the imposition of certain reasonable restrictions on the fundamental rights. I would raise this question before the House: whether it can be interpreted within the ambit of article 19(2), that this P. C. Ghosh Ministry, since it was pitchforked into power by the ICS Governor on the 21st of November—up to this day that I am speaking here, 15th February, not for one single day, not for one single hour, not for one single minute, has been able to rule without imposing section 144 throughout the city of Calcutta and its suburbs. It means that the right to freedom of speech and expression and the right to assemble peaceably have been suppressed. This is how the Government is carrying on there. Therefore, we want to know what the Government of India proposes to do in this matter. All this argument which has been advocated in various quarters for taking recourse and action under article 356(1)(b) of the Constitution will leave the essence of the crisis untouched. You can do anything you like; you can suspend the Assembly; you can take steps in this hon. House to change the rules of procedure of that State Assembly; you can devise some method of removing that recalcitrant Speaker who refuses to be cowed down; but none of these measures will touch that illegal ministry, that minority ministry, which has remained in power there. I can assure

the Government and I can assure this House that so long as that ministry, that PDF-Congress coalition ministry which rules with the help of bullets and bayonets and section 144, which is illegal, which does not command the majority, which is a minority government, is kept forcibly on the gaddi in West Bengal, there will be no peace, and the people of my State will not tolerate it, no matter how much blood flows. Let it be made quite clear.

From November 21st, to this day, the people are struggling continuously. No amount of bullets, no amount of tear-gas, no amount of lathi charge which have become the daily occurrences in West Bengal could cow them down. In these last few days—10 to 12 days—already over 35,000 people have courted arrest. Mr. Nijalingappa, speaking in Hyderabad, in his presidential address at the Congress session, had the temerity to say that this call for civil disobedience given by the United Front is not for civil disobedience, but it is for an armed insurrection. (*Interruption*) I am quoting him; you can look it up. Not a single act of violence has taken place. Peacefully, this violation of law, civil disobedience or satyagraha—whatever you like to call it—is going on every day. 35,000 people have courted arrest: and nobody can say that the movement has not been peaceful. It is a silent, massive protest of the people of West Bengal; and if you compel them to resort to other means also, that might also take place despite our best intentions. This provocation, i.e. the presence of this illegal ministry, has to be removed. Therefore, I suggest to the Government not to yield to the temptation which they are increasingly and visibly displaying as their lust for power and not to take recourse to article 356B, because that will be interpreted only as yet another means of keeping this ministry in power by hook or crook, a minis-

try which the people of West Bengal are determined not to tolerate, does not matter what happens.

I would like to know what criteria and principles are the Governors being instructed to follow or they are following themselves. In the case of Haryana, where there was a ministry which could not be accused of having lost its majority, the Governor dismissed the ministry on the ground that he was subjectively satisfied that the behaviour of the legislators was improper and immoral. That was enough in that case to dismiss the ministry, though it still had a majority. In West Bengal, in November, the Governor was subjectively satisfied, even without any vote in the Assembly, that Mr. Ajoy Mukerjee's ministry had lost its majority and therefore he dismissed it. Today in West Bengal, that same Governor, without resorting to the Assembly, is insisting on keeping the Ghosh ministry in power, which has manifestly lost its majority. What standards are being applied, I want to know. This crisis is the doing of this Central Congress Government and these Governors, who are acting as their instruments.

In the meantime in between the two sessions of Parliament, the Bihar ministry has been toppled by what has now become a very respectable method. I do not know what is going to be done about it. Personally my party will welcome the introduction of legislation here laying down that any legislator who defects, irrespective of the party, should be made to resign his seat and face the electorate. But no such legislation is in the offing. In the meantime, it has become respectable. In Bihar, lakhs of rupees were spent—may be crores, I do not know—to bribe people and bring them over.

Somebody who cannot be described as a communist, not only that, but

[Shri Indrajit Gupta]

somebody who voted against the UF ministry in Bihar and helped to dislodge it, Mr. Binodhanand Jha, has made a public statement. He is a veteran Congressman and I hope they have not disowned him yet. After the dislodging of the ministry, on February 3rd, in Patna he made the following statement:

"Another rumour is...

AN HON. MEMBER: Only a rumour.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: But subsequently it has proved to be correct.

"Another rumour is that the defeated gentleman is coming to the Bihar Legislative Council by repetition of the process of nomination. There may not be any objection to seeking election, but coming through the backdoor and subsequent seizure of the reins of the Government would perhaps be a unique affair which would make the cup of our shame full.

Congressmen, Pandit Jha said, need not feel helpless and remain silent spectators of the massacre of constitutional principles. I implore the people of Bihar in general and Congressmen in particular to be watchful and alert and be prepared for all sacrifices for preserving the basis of independence for which the country struggled for about a century."

This is what happened in Bihar.

After the Hyderabad session of the Congress, all that fig-leaf of democracy has been cast aside. This gentleman, whom they have elected as the new Congress President and who continues to be the Chief Minister of his State—no harm in that, if they want it—made it clear at Hyderabad that all the earlier talk that had gone on after the elections, when it was not possible to say anything else, saying "We do no mind; we respect the

verdict of the electorate. Even if non-Congress ministries come, we will respect them. Both Congress and non-Congress ministries are equal in our eyes", etc., all that fig-leaf was thrown aside. For the first time perhaps in the history of the Indian National Congress, pre-independent and post-independent, this was the only session which could not find time to pass a single resolution either on the economic situation in the country or on the international situation. I do not think this is in keeping with their tradition. Because they were so engrossed with one subject, which is made clear by Shri Nijalingappa, that these non-Congress ministries must be driven out of office, they did not have time to discuss other things. That is what is stated by him in black and white. He has given a time limit to them that within one year they must complete this sacred and holy task.

16 hrs.

SHRI K. N. TIWARY (Bettiah): Sir, it is very uncharitable to say like that.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: I am not yielding, I may tell my hon. friend, Shri Tiwary. This democracy of the ballot box about which so much is talked about is only to be respected so long as and for so many years as it resulted in the Congress emerging victorious both at the Centre and in all the States. The moment the electorate start voting differently and something else start coming out of the ballot box that democracy is no longer to be tolerated. This is the meaning of Congress democracy of the ballot box. Therefore, you had no time to bother about that ten-point programme about which you made such a hulla-baloo for a few months here, the wonderful democracy ten-point programme of economic growth and development including nationalisation of banks, abolition of privy purses, this, that and all sorts of

things. You had no time to discuss that at Hyderabad. It would have been uncomfortable for the leadership too. Certain rank and file delegates of the Congress would have taken them to task about the implementation of that programme.

There was no time to discuss the international situation, either Vietnam or the West Asia crisis where the closure of the Suez Canal is hitting us directly and our trade and commerce, shipping and other things are suffering. The only thing was, how to drive out these satanic non-Congress governments. Therefore, all these things that are happening in Bengal today are nothing unexpected, not surprising. They follow logically from the line laid down by the chief of the Indian National Congress.

On this point, Sir, I do not wish to say anything more. The Speaker may a little later inform us about his decision—I hope he will—whether we are to be the beneficiaries of any statement by the Home Minister or whether the adjournment motion will be allowed or not. Certainly we wish to discuss this matter threadbare and censure the Central Government and the Governor of West Bengal for what he is doing.

As far as this Address is concerned which has been put into the mouth of the respected Rashtrapathi, what do we find in it? There is no mention here, though much has been mentioned recently in discussions in this House, about police action and police inaction in certain cases. I only want to make one thing clear that there is a visible pattern emerging as to those instances in which police can be accused of inaction, of standing by as silent spectators, and of those cases in which nobody can complain that the police has been inactive but has been very energetic. Mr. Nijalingappa would be the first man to shout to heavens about Naxalbari ghraos and all sorts of things, but in his own

capital city of Bangalore in Mysore State of which he is the Chief Minister, when for two whole days the police committed indescribable barbarities and brutalities against students, then we did not find any protest being made by anybody. Sir, you know what happened. You come from my State. You know what happened the other day in Piyare Mohan College in Uttarpara. You know how the police went into the precincts of that college and the way they carried out atrocities on students and teachers. People who have gone there weeks after the incidents could see for themselves blood marks still on the staircase, walls, desks, benches and tables. You have seen even this ironic thing in Durgapur recently when some disturbances took place, when the so-called Labour Minister of this illegal ministry of Dr. P. C. Ghosh went there the police carried out certain repressive measures against the workers. They were so zealous, so over-enthusiastic that two officers of the Durgapur steel plant sitting in their houses were beaten up mercilessly by the police. The police entered their houses, drove them out and beat them up. Later on they apologised when they found out the truth.

This is the kind of thing that is going on. Nobody can accuse the police of being inactive when it is a question of suppressing students or workers or other democratic demonstrations or manifestations. But where do we find the police inactive? It is when the Shiv Sena attacks the office of the Girni Kamgar Union in Bombay. All this time the Shiv Sena was talking of championing the cause of the Maharashtra people as against the non-Maharashtrians but when the attack was made it was not made against non-Maharashtrians. The real purpose of this fascist organisation is very clear. It is to destroy the organised trade union and working class movement. The attack was not made on non-Maharashtrians; it was made on the headquarters of the oldest and one of the most militant trade unions

[Shri Indrajit Gupta]

of this country of the Bombay textile workers. For 1½ hours these people who had come in trucks equipped with petrol and everything, burnt that building, destroyed the furniture, looted it, threw it out on the streets and the newspapers all said that the police was standing by and watching. In that case there was no police action.

SHRI S. R. DAMANI (Sholapur):  
 The hon. Member will also say...

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: I am not yielding to you..... (*Interruption*) In the Assam riots, you know, what happened? Enough has been said about this but, of course, no action is to be taken against Shri Chaliha because he is a Congress Chief Minister. We are not told anything about the police action just near Delhi in Meerut where communal orgies have taken place, where innocent Muslims have been killed, because certain demonstrations took place on the occasion of Sheikh Abdullah's visit... (*Interruption*). I know, I am provoking you deliberately; I want you to get up and shout. You shout more because it is hurting you. These innocent Muslims have been butchered in Meerut. Why is a decent burial being given to the whole incident? Beginning with that hated incident last time in Ranchi up to now, we have not discussed here threadbare as to what is the role of the police.

SHRI BAL RAJ MADHOK (South Delhi): You support a judicial inquiry.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: Yes; in Meerut have an inquiry and you will find out what the police was doing.

You know it as well as I do what recently had taken place in West Bengal, in Belgharia, the industrial suburb of Calcutta. A well known professional gangster—I need not mention his name—who was put in

jail during the United Front Ministry was released by the P. C. Ghosh Ministry. You know very well that in Belgharia, everybody was shocked to find how he came out of jail and launched an attack on the common, ordinary people of Belgharia with sten guns, bombs and everything, killing people, shopkeepers, bystanders and passers-by. Where was the police? But no mention has been made of all this. All the tears have been shed for Naxalbari, gherao and all that.

MR. CHAIRMAN: But the Chief Minister himself came out with a statement that he will put down Belgharia rowdiness by whatever measures possible.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: The statement was there, no doubt. What I was saying was that a very clear pattern is emerging quite visibly in this that organised gangster attacks are made either against trade unions or against ordinary law-abiding citizens or against minorities and there the police is inactive, but the police is very active when it is a question of suppressing democratic movements of students or workers. That is how, we have seen, law and order is maintained in the country. Naturally, there is no mention of these problems in the President's Address except putting the blame on the people for causing disorders.

As far as economic matters are concerned, it is not possible for me in this short time to go into details. But what is the picture that is painted here? It is that we have turned the corner; there is some sunshine story; the clouds are lifting up and that everything is going to be hunky-dory. But here are the hard facts. The 1968-69 wonderful annual plan, which is described now as a maintenance plan—the 1968-69 plan is a maintenance plan; that means, just to maintain us where we are, not to advance but to service, to provide spare parts and components to keep



going what we have got—even that maintenance plan at current prices has been reduced by a 10 per cent cut in outlay because there are no resources. This crisis in resources, which is facing the Government and the whole country as a matter of fact, is the basic question which is completely neglected here. That is why even members of the Congress had demanded that measures should be taken to nationalise banking and general insurance. It was for the sake of mobilising the resources to be used for plan development. They have given up the whole thing. Some social control or something is going to be introduced. I see a Banking Laws (Amendment) Bill which has been introduced. In that there is no question of breaking the sort of monopolistic grip on the banks of the big private bankers. All that is smuggled there through the backdoor is the new section 36A(d) by which you are trying to suppress the normal trade union activities and demonstrations by the banking companies' employees. The result is going to be another crisis. On the 28th February, against this vicious provision of the Bill, the entire banking employees all over the country are going on strike—all your banks will be closed. This is a kind of way you want to mobilise your resources.

There are some nice things said here about employment, new opportunities for increasing employment, and yet we have had the discussion, this morning, about the tragic plight of our engineers, and other technical personnel. We cannot provide them the jobs. In fact, they are being retrenched from the places where they are already there. New graduates and diploma-holders are wandering in the streets, courting arrests outside the Parliament House, to draw the attention of the Government to their horrible plight.

The pace of automation, the introduction of automation with electrical computer devices, in the last 10 weeks or so has been stepped up and intensified with the Government of

India leading it. Everywhere, in public sector and private sector enterprises, these electric machines and all types of calculating machines of a new type have been introduced carrying out automation of clerical jobs on a huge-scale which will lead to thousands of people, eventually, being unemployed. It is no use giving us an assurance that no existing employees will be retrenched. I have read quite a lot of literature from America and other countries of the West where they have introduced automation. Everyone of those authors, including the President of the I.B.M. Co whose machines you are taking, has said quite clearly: let us mince no matters about it; the object is to reduce labour and to see that the work of man is done by machines. It is quite clear. They have entered into a collaboration project with this American company at Bangalore, with B.E.L.L., to manufacture these machines which are man-eating machines. Then, they talk of increasing man-power opportunities. It is a contradiction in terms.

Finally, I would say that although the Proclamation of Emergency has been revoked, the gap which exists in their armoury, because of that, has already been filled up. The Preventive Detention Act is already there. Under that, even now, 8 M.L.As of the Bengal Assembly are in jail, held in detention without trial. Then, during the last session, the Unlawful Activities Bill was passed when there was a unanimous opposition from this side of the House because it gives them Draconian powers to suppress any organisation they have in view. There is another Bill, the Central Industrial Security Force Bill which is, at the moment, before the Joint Committee of both the Houses of Parliament. All these measures which were not considered necessary at the time when the Emergency was enforced from 1962 to 1967 are now brought before the country and the Parliament as being essential today for carrying on the Government. The whole essence of the matter is that

[Shri Indrajit Gupta]

this Government is now completely isolated, increasingly isolated, from the common people. They have become the handmaid of only big employers and big monopolists like Birla who, I am told, provided brand new Ambassador cars from the local workshop at Hyderabad for the Congress session which are now being returned to the show-rooms to be sold as brand new to the customers. All the Ambassador cars were put at the disposal of the Congress session. These are the gentlemen they are serving and, therefore, their interests are coming in conflict with the interests of the common people and the manifestation of that is bursting out in very unfortunate forms all over the country. This matter cannot be solved this way and it cannot be solved as it is being attempted to be done by inflicting on the long suffering people of Bengal a discredited, bankrupt and minority Ministry.

We totally, therefore, oppose the ideas and sentiments which are expressed in the President's Address and that is why, I say in conclusion, much against our wish and our inclination, we were forced to register our protest the other day by dissociating ourselves from that function which was addressed by the Rashtrapati.

**SHRI CHINTAMANI PANIGRAHI** (Bhubaneswar): It is a good thing that the President in his Address has directed our attention to the various crucial issues that confront the country today and he has raised these issues from Party level to national level.

By way of a critical self-analysis, may I be permitted to ask this question: are we not always sitting on the fence so far as all the burning issues, whether national or international, are concerned? Does it fit to our great anti-imperialist traditions and the great socialist traditions of Pandit Nehru and Shastri-ji? Can we not take any determined step in solv-

ing the problems that are raising their ugly heads today? Do we work as determined people to overcome all these national difficulties? If a small but brave and determined nation like Vietnam can bring the two mighty imperialist powers one after the other to knees within a decade and go on rebuilding the country, why can't we, a big nation with great traditions, turn the corner and march ahead; why can't we face the forces of reaction, both national and international, and the forces of feudalism which have raised their ugly heads in the country today after the Fourth General Elections? I feel that this rising monster of fascism, which is growing in the country, which is growing with the combined strength of the feudal forces of reaction, can be met unitedly. Therefore, I admire Shri Vajpayee's speech yesterday. He has brought some new light and he has said that planning should not be condemned as such. The implementation of planning may be wrong, may be defective, but during the last 20 years, the progress that we have made is because of the planned way of development; it was because of that that we have been able to march ahead. We may be belonging to different political persuasions, but we shall be doing injustice to ourselves if we do not admit that the post-election period has remained, to all purposes, a period of all-round negative approaches. Taking advantage of such a negative and uncertain atmosphere in the country, all kinds of divisive forces, forces of counter-revolution, agents of national and international forces of reaction, which were lying dormant all these years, have gained strength and have raised their ugly heads in such a big way. At every step, they are striking at the roots of national integrity, solidarity, sovereignty, socialist construction and planning, democracy, secularism and the policy of non-alignment, for the implementation of which we have pledged ourselves. We can grapple with this rising monster of reaction

and fascism only unitedly with all progressive forces combining to whichever party they may belong.

I was just listening to Mr. Ranga's eloquent reference to Vietnam. When I listened to his speech, I thought that he was more American in his approach than the Americans at home on this crucial question. I would like to draw his attention to some of the observations made by Mr. Arthur Schlesinger, the famous American writer, in his book "Vietnam and American Democracy";

"The war in Vietnam began as a struggle for the soul of Vietnam. Will it end as a struggle for the soul of America?"

"As for the Asian peoples, we are supposed to be saving, no independent Asian State—not Japan, India, Pakistan, Burma, Malaysia, Indonesia—is giving us even token support.

"How have we managed to imprison ourselves in this series of dilemmas? One reason is the illusion of American omnipotence and the illusion of American omniscience."

16.20 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair.]

"This is what the sensible people in America are thinking on this Viet Nam conflict. So, what do we find in Viet Nam? We find that a small but brave and determined people are fighting the mightiest power on earth, and they are fighting against aggression, and they are unconquerable and immortal. Viet Nam today is the symbol of resistance against wanton foreign aggression. So, what is wrong with the policy of the Government of India if they ask for an unconditional stoppage of bombing of North Viet Nam so that the forces which are grappling with each other in this deadly conflict in Viet Nam should turn from the battle field to the

conference table? I am sorry to find that once of my hon. friends on the Communist Benches was trying to criticise the Viet Nam policy of the Government. I cannot understand how he could come to this conclusion. It is most reassuring to find that the President has declared once again in unmistakable terms that: we shall continue to espouse the cause of independence and the liberation struggles of people who are still groaning under colonial suppression. This is the correct policy which we have followed for the last 20 years, in fact, I should say, for the last 80 years, and this was the policy which had inspired us to send Dr. Kotnis to China. This was the policy which had inspired us to send our men to fight the Fascist forces in Spain when the people there were engaged in the Spanish civil war. Therefore, the President has echoed the feelings of our countrymen, which they have cherished for so long under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, Nehru, Shastri and other great leaders of our country.

I would again refer to Shri Ranga's remarks about the retrenchment of teachers in Andhra Pradesh. Most humbly I may draw his attention to the fact that 18,000 school mothers' services have been terminated or are being terminated in Orissa. 20,000 families engaged in khadi spinning and weaving have been thrown out of employment because all the khadi centres have been closed. Overseers today are now on a hunger strike, and some of them will die in five or six days. Engineers and overseers are without any job because no development work is being undertaken.

Most unfortunately, in place of these khadi centres, what do we find? We find licensed wine shops in their place. About 300 have been opened in my State. It would have been better for the UNCTAD conference to shift to Bhubhaneshwar; here, wine is not available for them, but there they could swim and dive in wine because

[Shri Chintamanj Panigrahi]

300 licensed shops have been opened even in villages.

I may again refer to the question of planning. I am really sorry that some of our people are very much obsessed with the political struggle that is going on in different parts of the country, especially in Bengal, and, therefore, they manage to forget the most important economic issues which are before us to day.

For instance, India's external debt was Rs. 32 crores in 1951. Today, the outstanding external loan liabilities of the Government will come to about Rs. 5489 crores by 1968, excluding PL-480 assistance. PL-480 assistance which was Rs. 1564 crores in March, 1966 has increased far more in 1968, and PL-480 rupee deposits come to more than a third of India's money supply to the public, i.e., Rs. 4,530 crores. These are the most important and crucial economic issues now before us. Again, foreign industrial and commercial investments in India were only Rs. 439 crores in 1938-39, but today British capital investment alone exceeds Rs. 700 crores. It has been admitted even by the creditor countries that foreign aid to India has crippled the economic growth of this country. Now we are approaching them so that we will be relieved of the debt servicing payments so that at least we can save our economy.

What is this debt servicing payment? It is a staggering figure. We are going to pay Rs. 2285 crores by 1971-72 by way of external debt servicing charges. From 1966-67 to 1971-72, if we work out the figure, it comes to nearly Rs. 500 crores per year. Between 1961-62 and 1965-66, the external trade deficit came to Rs. 2253 crores. So this situation is really grave.

The question arises: how can we overcome this difficulty? May I say that under the pressure of all the forces against planning, the Government have been compelled to declare a plan holiday as a result of which

you find more and more retrenchment, more and more of unemployment, and the crisis will go on deepening, because we are trying to cure the disease by taking recourse to a different medicine? It requires bold determination to go ahead. Had Nehru been alive today, he would not have agreed to a plan holiday. He would have said: whatever the difficulties, we shall surmount them; we shall go ahead even with nothing; if capital is not available, we shall go ahead with human hands of the 50 crores of our people. Let us go ahead, dig the earth and turn the tables on our difficulties and succeed.

Is this confidence there in the country today? Is that confidence evident in any of the parties in the country? It is not.

Therefore, this is a national question. We must be prepared to tackle this problem in a non-partisan way. Let us take into consideration the entire problem in its real perspective. In this context, we cannot give up planning. As I have said before, it is very difficult for us to retrace our steps because we are committed to our people; we have promised to the people of India the minimum necessities: like housing, clothing, education, health, food and employment. These must be provided to the people of India within coming few years.

Therefore, when we demand the nationalisation of banks, when we insist on the implementation of the 10-point programme, what does it mean? It means that we want that India should go ahead in its path of planning so that in three, four or five years, whatever national resources are available at our command could be utilised in such a manner that we can forge ahead, so that the capitalist forces will not be able to scuttle whatever planning we undertake. Therefore, there is no way out. We shall have to go ahead.

In this connection, I merely want to draw attention to what the Prime Minister has said recently. In the last 15 years, we have achieved a lot. India has almost doubled her agricultural production. We have created 30 million jobs. We have put 45 million more children in schools. The base in heavy industry has been established. Our achievements are many and our failures are also equally large. In this context, this is what our Prime Minister has said:

"But we cannot even take time off to think of this as an achievement. We must go on with our work, for what is unfinished is so much larger than what is done".

Therefore, the unfinished revolution has to be finished. It cannot wait for any time because new forces are raising their heads in the international sphere and are moving. It is having its action and reaction in our country also. So it is time we took stock of our position, overcame our difficulties. We have to forge all the forces of socialism and progress into united action. We have to mobilise all those who believe in democratic socialism and progress. I hope with further unity we can go ahead and in this way solve some of the basic issues which are facing our country today.

May I mention again that Orissa is now facing acute drought and nine districts are facing famine conditions, and in the constituency to which I belong, in Dospalla, Gania, Nuagan, Mahipur, Khurda, Bolagarh, Begunia, Ranpur, Banpur, etc., there is acute scarcity of drinking water. Even wage-earners are starving, and there will be starvation deaths soon. Therefore, through you I call the attention of the Government, so that, in consultation with the Health Ministry, they might take up rural water supply schemes in these drought affected areas and execute minor irrigation schemes in hundreds, so that there can be a lasting solution to this drought problem in my State.

श्री एस० एम० जोशी (पूना) :  
उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैंने राष्ट्रपति के अभि-  
भाषण को जब पढ़ा तो मुझे बड़ी निराशा  
हुई। मैंने उस भाषण को इस आकांक्षा के  
साथ पढ़ा था कि अपने देश में जो वातावरण  
पैदा हो रहा है, जो दुर्घटनायें घट रही  
हैं उनके बारे में कुछ विवरण मिले और  
विवरण के बाद उससे निपटने का क्या रास्ता  
हो सकता है इसका दिग्दर्शन भी हो।  
लेकिन जब मैंने उस भाषण को पढ़ा तो  
मुझे यह दिखाई दिया कि यह भाषण सिर्फ  
सूखा, रूखा, रुचिहीन और फोका भी है।

ऐसा क्यों है ? एक वाक्य आखिर  
में जर आशा की किरण दिखाई देने वाला  
है। वह अंग्रेजी में यों है :

"Important national problems  
must be placed above party poli-  
tics. Government will be ready  
to sit with Leaders of all Parties  
and take counsel with them on  
major issues of interest and im-  
portance to the nation."

मैंने समझा कि हमारी कांग्रेस पार्टी को  
और सरकार को जरा कुछ सूझबूझ आ  
रही है और इन लोगों ने सोचना शुरू  
किया है। देश की हालत को सुधारने के  
लिए और खास तौर पर लोकतांत्रिक तरीकों  
से सुधारने के लिये सिर्फ कानून से और  
हथियार से काम नहीं चसूगा, ऐसा बे  
समझने लगे हैं। लोकतंत्र में लोगों का  
महत्व है और लोगों के जो प्रतिनिधि  
विरोध में बैठे हुए हैं उन लोगों के साथ सलाह  
मशविरा करना चाहिये और जो समस्यायें  
हमारे देश के सामने हैं उनका समाधान  
खोजा जाना चाहिये। लेकिन मुझे अफसोस  
के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि कल जब काम  
रोको प्रस्ताव पर चर्चा चल रही थी उस  
सकय हमारे गृह मंत्री श्री यशवन्तराव चव्हाण  
ने जिस लुच्छता के साथ कहा कि आप  
लोगों से सलाह मशविरा करने में कोई  
फायदा नहीं होता तभी उठ कर मैंने  
कहा कि आपको यह शोभा नहीं

[श्री एस० एम० जोशी]

देता है। चव्हाण साहब को मैं बहुत दिनों से जानता हूँ और मुझे उन से यह आशा न थी। लेकिन होम मिनिस्टर बनने के बाद उनके के दिमाग का एक नया पहलू मैं देख रहा हूँ। इस आखिरी फिकरे से जो कोई आशा की किरण बंधी थी वह लकीर भी हमारे होम मिनिस्टर साहब ने मिटा दी, उसको भी काट दिया। अभी जो बादल है उसमें रूपहली एक लकीर थी, वह भी चली गई। यह किसी पार्टी का सवाल नहीं है। हम लोग समझते हैं कि अपने देश में हमको लोकतांत्रिक तरीके से नई समाज-रचना करनी है। लेकिन मैं देख रहा हूँ और मुझे ऐसा लग रहा है कि लोकतंत्र के सही मानों के बारे में शायद हमारे राज्य करने वाले दल ने अभी कोई फसला नहीं किया है। मैं हैरान रह गया जब कल यह सब कुछ मैंने उन से सुना। मुझे काफी दुख यह सुन कर हुआ और गुस्सा भी आया। लेकिन गुस्से से काम नहीं चलता। मैं गुस्से को पी गया। आगे क्या होगा, उसकी तो मुझे अभी से चिन्ता है।

यह जो राष्ट्रपति जी का अभिभाषण है वह करीब करीब हमारे कांग्रेस दल की जो स्थिति है उसका जो मानस है, उसका प्रतीक है। यह प्रतीक ऐसा है जिसमें कोई आशा दिखाई नहीं देती है। ऐसा क्यों होता है?

कांग्रेस पार्टी आज इस तरह क्यों बर्ताव कर रही है, इसका कोई विवरण इस में होना चाहिये था। उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, आप तो मामले के अच्छे खासे जानकार हैं। आपको तो पता ही है कि जो शासन होता है, उसका स्वरूप क्या होता है? शासन कैसे बनता है? जब हम लोग आजादी की लड़ाई लड़ रहे थे तब हमारा संघर्ष विदेशी साम्राज्यवादियों से था। हर देश में और हर समाज में हर वक्त

जो वर्गीय आकांक्षायें होती हैं उनका टकराव रहता है और उन में संघर्ष होता है। उन दिनों में हमारे देश की जनता और साम्राज्यवादियों के वर्गीय स्वार्थ के बीच टकराव था। हम सब लोग उन दिनों कांग्रेस में थे और लोकतांत्रिक तरीके हम लोगों ने विदेशी साम्राज्यवादियों को यहाँ से हटाया। जब एक संघर्ष समाप्त होता है तब एक नये आधार पर शासन बनता है, राज्य बनता है। पुराना जो संतुलन है उसको तोड़ कर नई बुनियाद पर शासन बनता है। यही स्वरूप होता है शासन का। इसको लेकर हम लोगों ने अपना संविधान बनाया और अन्त में जाकर स्वर्गीय डा० बाबा साहब अम्बेदकर ने कांस्टिट्यूट असैम्बली में भाषण देते हुए चेतावनी दी थी कि यह तो हम लोगों ने राजनीतिक समानता आप लोगों को दी है लेकिन अगर आप आर्थिक और सामाजिक समानता को लोकतांत्रिक तरीकों से इस देश में ला नहीं सकेंगे तो यह संविधान टूट जाएगा। उन्होंने यह चेतावनी दे रखी थी। बार बार दे रखी थी। लेकिन बीस सालों में हम लोगों ने क्या किया? आज जो कांग्रेस की स्थिति है वह तो एक गतिरोध की स्थिति है। मैं कुछ बुरा भला कहना नहीं चाहता हूँ। लेकिन जैसे बहा जाता है यह शम्भू मेला है (इंड-थॉन्ग)। मेरे मित्र जो मुझ से पहले बोले हैं और जो आपके ही पार्टी के हैं उन तक ने आपका बताया है कि जो हमारी आर्थिक बुनियाद होनी चाहिये उसको हमने ठीक तरह से नहीं ढाला है। हम लोग उस वक्त आपके साथ थे जब आप जनता के हितों को लेकर विदेशी साम्राज्यवादियों के खिलाफ लड़ते थे लेकिन जब आप लोगों ने उस रास्ते को छोड़ दिया, क्रांति को अधूरा छोड़ दिया तब हम लोग बाहर आकर आगे। कांग्रेस उन दिनों सब से बड़ी संस्था थी।

इसलिए शासन उसी के हाथ में गया, शासन को बागडोर इस पार्टी के लोगों के हाथ में गई। इनसे हमें कोई शिकायत नहीं है। उनके हाथ में बागडोर जाने पर जो समाज का संगठन करना चाहिये आर्थिक व्यवस्था बनानी चाहिये, सामाजिक व्यवस्था बनानी चाहिए उसके लिए उन्होंने तो अपान उद्दिष्ट लोगों के सामने रखा। लेकिन उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, आप को याद होगा कि उन दिनों में कांग्रेस ने समाजवाद का विरोध किया। उन दिनों में कांग्रेस ने नैतृत्व का समावाद से विरोध था, इसी लिये तो हम लोगों को कांग्रेस के बाहर आना पड़ा। उन्होंने दिनों में कांग्रेसी नेताओं ने हमारी पहली पंच-वर्षीय योजना की बुनियाद डाली। मेरी समझ में नहीं आता कि जब उस नेतृत्व ने समाजवाद का विरोध करते हुए हमारी आर्थिक और सामाजिक व्यवस्था की नींव बुनियाद, डाली, तो क्या वह उस बुनियाद पर समाजवादी रचना कर सकता है? दो तीन सालों के बाद उसने यह एगान कर दिया कि हम समाजवादी रचना चाहते हैं लेकिन उसने जो बुनियादी डाली, क्या उस पर समाजवादी रचना हो सकती है?

आज हम लोग क्या देख रहे हैं। कहा जाता है कि राजनीतिक मामलों और भाषा आदि के सवालों को ज्यादा महत्व दिया जा रहा है लेकिन ये सवाल कैसे उठ खड़े होते हैं? मुझ से पहले बोलने वाले मित्र पहले अपने को मार्क्सवादी कहते थे। उनको मालूम होना चाहिए कि समाज की गति कैसे होती है। जब इस तरह से बुनियाद खोजनी रहती है तो इस तरह के "वाद" तो निकल ही आयेंगे।

राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण में यह कहा गया है कि लोकतांत्रिक संस्थाओं पर हमारा भविष्य निर्भर करता है। इसलिये लोकतांत्रिक संस्थाओं का अच्छी तरह से चलना

भी जरूरी है। मैं उनसे सहमत हूँ लेकिन क्या इस देश में लोकतांत्रिक संस्थाओं को ठीक तरह से चलाया जा रहा है? लोकतांत्रिक संस्थाओं की जो परम्पराएँ हैं क्या वे चल रही हैं?

आप जानते हैं कि पहले जब कांग्रेस की बहुत बड़ी ताकत थी, तब भी उसकी तरफ से हमेशा विरोधी दलों को ताड़ने का कांशिश होती रही। किस लिए? इस लिए कि उनका दिमाग पुराना रहा। हम लोग साम्राज्यवादियों के खिलाफ लड़े, मगर जब नई चीज बताई तो, नये समाज के लिए नहीं बनीं। कांग्रेस में आज सामन्तवादी विचारों के लोग भी बैठे हुए हैं। हमारे राष्ट्रपति जो को देखिये। एक वक्त महात्मा गांधी ने कहा था कि राष्ट्रपति भवन का एक अच्छा हास्पिटल बनाना चाहिए। सरकार ने उसमें हास्पिटल नहीं बनाया कोई परवाह नहीं। मगर पुराने साम्राज्यवादी लोगों की तरह उनका एक अलग झंडा है। जिसको हम आधुनिक विश्व कहते हैं उसमें मोटरें चलती हैं लेकिन हमारे राष्ट्रपति एक पुराना गाड़ी में आते हैं, जिसमें छः घोड़े लगते हैं। मुझे तो यह बात मालूम नहीं थी। मैंने कल आचार्य कृपालानी से पूछा कि क्या आप राष्ट्रपति का अभिभाषण सुनने के लिए नहीं गए। उन्होंने कहा कि जब तक वह छः घोड़ों की गाड़ी में आते हैं तब तक मैं नहीं जाऊंगा। वह अभी तक साम्राज्यवादियों की तरह छः घोड़ों की गाड़ी पर सवार हो कर आते हैं। आप देखिये कि इन लोगों का मानस कैसा है। अभी भी उसी तरह का मानस है। यह एक छोटी सी बात है मगर वह एक इन्डिकेशन है कि हमारा मानस कैसा है। इस लिए क्या होता है? कई कांग्रेसियों को लगता है कि हमको फौरन कुछ करना चाहिए। लेकिन वह कदम उठा नहीं सकते हैं क्योंकि पार्टी में अदरूनी हिट-विरोध होते हैं। जिसको हम स्टेलेमेट कहते हैं, वह हो जाता

[श्री एस० एम० जोशी]

है डेडलाक हो जाता है । आज कांग्रेस पार्टी में डेडलाक हो गया है । मैं लोकतंत्र के बारे में ज्यादा नहीं कहूंगा क्योंकि बहुत सारा चर्चा यहां पर चल रही है ।

श्री शिव नारायण : उत्तर प्रदेश की चर्चा कीजिए ।

श्री एस० एम० जोशी : अगर हमारे लोग कोई गलती करते हैं तो हम उन को भी कहेंगे कि वह गलत है ।

बंगाल बिहार और उत्तर प्रदेश में क्या हुआ ? दक्षिण के प्रदेशों में क्या हो रहा है ? आसाम में क्या हुआ ? वहां तो गैर-कांग्रेसियों का शासन नहीं था । ऐसा क्यों हो रहा है ? इसका कारण है कि हमारी हुकूमत, शासन, कांग्रेस पार्टी की कोई ठोस नीति एक दिशा में नहीं चलती है । एक गुट एक तरफ खींचता है और दूसरा दूसरी तरफ खींचता है । गुजराती में एक कहावत है : "बचमां ताणम ताण" । जब एक, एक तरफ खींचता है और दूसरा दूसरी तरफ खींचता है, तो जनता तो बीच में सताई जाती है ।

हम लोगों को लोकतंत्र की जो इज्जत करनी चाहिए, वह इज्जत इन लोगों के द्वारा नहीं होती है । जब इन लोगों ने हमारी पार्टियों को तोड़ने की कोशिश की, तो इन को लगता था कि नई पार्टियां कुछ नहीं हैं । उन का ही दल राष्ट्र हैं । वे आज भी कहते हैं कि कांग्रेस ही नेशन है, राष्ट्र है । अभी तक उन के दिमाग में यह बात नहीं जाती है कि कांग्रेस अब राष्ट्र नहीं रहा, कांग्रेस एक दल हो गया है । इस देश के ज्यादातर लोगों ने कांग्रेस के खिलाफ वोट दिये हैं । लेकिन अब भी वे समझते हैं कि जो कुछ हम करेंगे वही देश की राय है । अगर इस तरह से चलेगा तो लोकतंत्र कैसे जिन्दा रह सकता है ? आखिर लोकतंत्र का मतलब ही क्या है ?

आज कल कई नई डेफिनीशन और शब्द चल रहे हैं "प्रोप्रेस घु डिस्कशन" "पुर्टिंग एक्कास दि टेबल" "सिटींग राउंड दि टेबल" और "कानसेन्स" ये सब शब्द तो इन लोगों ने ले लिये हैं लेकिन ये उन के अनुसार कार्य नहीं करते हैं । इन की करमों और कयनी में बहुत फर्क है ।

हमारे मित्र श्री मधु लिमये ने कल कुछ कहा था तो उधर के लोग हंस रहे थे । मुझे बड़ा दुख हुआ । हम एक सवाल की चर्चा कर रहे थे जिस पर सब लोगों को चिन्ता होनी चाहिए । आखिर श्री मधु लिमये ने क्या कहा था ? उन्होंने सिर्फ इतना कहा कि सरकार के लोग पहले निर्णय करते हैं और उस के बाद हम को बुलाते हैं कि आओ चर्चा करें । सब कुछ गलत करने के बाद जब हम को बुलाया जायेगा तो हम सरकार को क्या मदद दे सकते हैं ? चव्हाण साहब नाराज हो गये । मैं चव्हाण साहब से पूछना चाहता हूँ कि श्री मधु लिमये ने क्या गलत कहा ।

मैसूर और महाराष्ट्र के बीच में जो झगड़ा है उस के लिए जो महाजन कमीशन नियुक्त किया गया है इस अभिमाषण में उस का भी जिज्ञ है । मैं चव्हाण साहब से पूछूंगा कि वह मुझे बतायें कि जब उन्होंने महाजन कमीशन की नियुक्ति की, तो क्या उन्होंने विरोधियों को पूछा था— कितने विरोधियों को उन्होंने पूछा था । मैं तो प्रधान मंत्री को भी इस से बरी नहीं करूंगा । जब वह पूना शहर गई, तो हम से मिली । मैंने दो आदमियों की तरफ इशारा कर के उन्हें कहा था कि ये दो आदमी वहां के लोगों का प्रतिनिधित्व करते हैं, इस लिये उन्हें उन के साथ बातचीत करनी चाहिए । मगर उन्होंने नहीं माना । कांग्रेस के लोगों ने कोई दूसरे दो आदमियों के बारे में कहा । प्रधान मंत्री ने एक बात कही, जिस पर मुझे गुस्सा आ गया । लेकिन हम गुस्सा कैसे कर सकते हैं ? उन्होंने कहा कि तुम्हीं



ऊधम मचा रहे हो, वहां के लोग तो राजी हैं । मैंने कहा कि ऐसी बात नहीं है मैं तो 1960 से वहां गया ही नहीं हूँ वहां के लोगों को जो चाहिए, उसकी कद्र करनी चाहिए, आप उन के साथ बातचीत कीजिए और उन को राजी करने की कोशिश कीजिए । लेकिन यह नहीं हुआ ।

बाद में क्या किया गया ? वहां के लोगों को बिना पूछे महाजन कमीशन को नियुक्त कर दिया गया । आज ये लोगों को, बुला कर कानसेक्स निकाल रहे हैं राज्य पुन-निर्माण के लिये क्या उमूल हों । सीमा निर्धारित करने के लिए क्या सिद्धान्त हों । मैं चव्हाण साहब से पूछना चाहता हूँ कि क्या वह दावे के साथ कह सकते हैं कि क्या उस वक्त उन्होंने उन लोगों को अपने विश्वास में लिया था । हम लोगों को नहीं बुलाया था । हमसे सलाह मशविरा नहीं किया था । मैं यह कहूंगा कि जहां तक सीमा विवाद की बात है कांग्रेस के पीछे वह लोग नहीं हैं । अगर आप लोकतांत्रिक तरीके से कोई हल निकालना चाहते हैं तो क्या इन लोगों से सलाह मशविरा नहीं करना चाहिए ? चव्हाण साहब ने कल हमारे लिए कहा कि हमें पूछने से कोई फायदा ही नहीं है । महाजन कमीशन की रपट आ गई । आखीरी वक्त तक मैं एक शब्द भी नहीं बोला गो कि हम लोगों ने कहा था कि इस तरह की कमीशन हम नहीं चाहते हैं । बहुत सारे कमीशन हो चुके हैं मगर जब तक आप उन को सिद्धान्त नहीं देंगे कमीशन भी क्या कर सकता है ? इसलिए हम लोगों ने उस का विरोध किया था । फिर भी उपाध्यक्ष जी, मैं आप को यह बताना चाहता हूँ कि यह रपट आने के बाद पेरों में आता है हम लोग वहां पढ़ते हैं, हम लोग मिलते हैं गृह मंत्री से, मुख्य मंत्री से । मगर हम को विश्वास में ले कर क्या आया है यह

नहीं बताया जाता है । हम लोग धर्मा पढ़ते हैं और उसके बाद यहां लोग कहते हैं कि हमें महाजन कमीशन मंजूर नहीं है तो उस में से रास्ता निकालने के लिए हमें बुला रहे हैं । अब मधू जी ने कहा, उस में गलत क्या कहा था ? मधू जी ने तो ठीक ही कहा था कि आप लोग हम से पूछते नहीं हैं । हम कौन हैं, कुछ समझते ही नहीं । हम को लोगों ने बोट दिए और उस के आघार पर हम यहां आकर बैठे हैं । लेकिन इस सीमा विवाद के मामले को लेकर मैं यह जरूर कहना चाहूंगा कि जो संपूर्ण महाराष्ट्र समिति है उसी के साथ लोग हैं । उन के साथ सलाह मशविरा करना चाहिए था पर वह नहीं किया और हम लोगों को बुला रहे हैं कि आओ और इस कठिनाई को दूर करो । यह कहां तक सही है ? फिर मधू जी ने जो कहा था उस में क्या गलत था ?

उपाध्यक्ष जी, मैं दूसरी बात भी बताता हूँ । भाषा का सवाल लीजिए । इस सवाल पर मेरे दल की नीति बिल्कुल साफ है । मैं मराठी बोलने वाला हूँ । लेकिन फिर भी हिन्दी का समर्थक हूँ । किस लिए ? इसलिए नहीं कि हिन्दी वालों ने हिन्दी को माना । बल्कि उसको मैंने एक ऐक्ट ऑफ फेथ नमस्ना है । एक धर्म-कर्तव्य में उसे समझता हूँ, हमारे देश में हिन्दी ही सम्पक भाषा होनी चाहिए । कई कारण हैं उसके । एक तो आजादी जो हमने पायी वह हिन्दी के जरिये पायी । देशी भाषा और हिन्दी भाषा के जरिये जनसाधारण को जागृत करके ज्यादातर हम लोगों ने आजादी पायी है । जब मैं संयुक्त महाराष्ट्र के लिए लड़ाई लड़ता हूँ भाषा के आघार पर तो क्या मेरा यह फर्ज नहीं हो जाता कि मेरे वहां के जो जन-साधारण हैं उन का संपक दूसरे इलाकों से कैसे रहे, इसको भी मैं देखूँ ? क्या वह अंग्रेजी से रह सकता है ? इस के लिए दूसरी भाषा कौन सी हो सकती है सिवाय हिन्दी के ? इस लि

[श्री ए० ए० जोशी]

हिन्दी वालों से तो मैं अक्सर कहता हूँ कि आप लोग भी अगर हिन्दी से हट गए, तब भी मैं नहीं हटूंगा। अगर आप हिन्दी नाम नहीं लेना चाहते तो दूसरा रख लीजिये लेकिन यह मैं जरूर कहूंगा कि इस देश में अगर लोकतंत्र चलना है तो इसकी एक भाषा होगी, हिन्दी नाम नहीं चाहते तो भारतीय कहिये। वरना लोकतंत्र ठीक तरह नहीं चलेगा। अंग्रेजी में कभी इस देश का लोकतंत्र नहीं चल सकता। जब भाषा का बिल यहां आने की बात थी तो बहुत सारे लोग उस के विरोध में थे। हमारे दक्षिण के कई मित्र हमारे पास आये और उन्होंने कहा कि क्या इस के ऊपर आप दस्तखत कर सकते हैं कि इस बिल को यहां इंद्रोइयूस किया जाय स्वर्गीय पंडित जवाहर लाल नेहरू ने ही तो वायदे किये थे उस को पूरा करने के लिए? राममूर्ति ने कहा कि यह तो इसके विरोध में है, यह दस्तखत नहीं करेंगे। नाथ पौ ने कहा कि यह जूरिडिकल माइंड के व्यक्ति हैं, इन से पूछो। मैं ने कहा कि बताओ क्या है? और मैं ने उस के ऊपर दस्तखत किया। इसलिए किया कि लोकतंत्र की इज्जत होनी चाहिए। लेकिन मैंने यह भी लिख दिया कि इंद्रोइयूस हो जाय मगर मेरा इस भाषा की समस्या पर जो मत है वह मैं उस समय कहूंगा। बिल इंद्रोइयूस हो जाना चाहिए। बहुत सारे हिन्दी भाषाभाषी लोग नाराज हो गए। मगर क्या हुआ बाद में? बिल आया। बिल आने के बाद प्रधान मंत्री ने मुझे भी बुलाया था कि क्या किया जाय? मैं ने कहा कि मुझे तो ऐसा लगता है कि जितने भी विरोधी दल के नेता लोग हैं उन्हें आप बुलाइए। उन के साथ हम बात-चीत करेंगे और कोई हल निकालेंगे। मगर उन्होंने उस चीज को नहीं माना। बाद में मुझे पता चला कि पहले ही श्रीमान् अन्नादुरै जी के साथ कोई चर्चा हुई थी और कुछ फैसले हुए थे। अरे, फैसला हुआ था उस के ऊपर क्यों नहीं डटे रहे? तो वह नहीं किया और यहां से उन्होंने वे सब प्रेशर आ गया तो

रेजोल्यूशन में कुछ तब्दीली मंजूर कर ली गई। मैं यह कहूंगा कि यह जो कुछ हुआ उस की जिम्मेदारी उन लोगों के ऊपर है। उनको पहले बात करनी चाहिये थी। अब बोलती हैं कि राउंड टेबल कॉफ्रेंस करेंगे। अरे, जब इतनी जानें गईं, हमारे देश की तस्वीर धुंधली हो गई, उस के बाद अब यह कर रहे हैं। क्या मैं गलत कह रहा हूँ? यह कोई गलत चीज नहीं है।

मेरी पार्टी की नीति साफ है इस बारे में। मैं कहता हूँ कि त्रिभाषा फार्मूला सूत्र का ढोंग न चलाइए। यह ढोंग है। हमारे मित्र वहां बैठे हुए हैं वैंकटसुब्बैया साहब, उन्होंने कहा कि उत्तर के लोगों ने त्रिभाषा सूत्र को नहीं माना तो दक्षिण के लोगों ने भी जब उसे मानने से इन्कार कर दिया तो यह क्यों चिल्लाते हैं? मैं समझता हूँ कि दो भाषाएं काफी हैं। एक राज्य की भाषा हो और दूसरी अपने लिए संपर्क की भाषा हो। जो यहां शिक्षा नीति के संबंध में सदन की एक समिति बैठी हुई थी, पालियामेंटी समिति उस में इस के ऊपर काफी चर्चा हुई है। हमारी यह राय है कि आज जो दक्षिण के लोगों की शिकायत है वह गलत नहीं है। जब हम गैर-हिन्दी लोग दो भाषाएं सीखते हैं तो क्या हिन्दी भाषा वाले लोग भी एक गैर-हिन्दी भाषा नहीं सीखेंगे? सीखनी चाहिये। वह भी सब बच्चों को सिखायें यह हमारी नीति नहीं है। कोई जरूरत नहीं है उसकी। अगर मेरा एक बेटा डाक्टर बनना चाहता है और एक फिटर बनना चाहता है तो डाक्टर बनने वाला बेटा चाहे अपनी भाषा अंग्रेजी ले या कोई भी ले लेकिन जो फिटर बनने वाला है वह काहे को अंग्रेजी ले? वह अगर हिन्दी ले तो उस के लिए फायदा है। इसलिए परिस्थिति के अनुसार दूसरी भाषा का विकल्प हर एक आदमी पर छोड़ देना चाहिए। मगर दो भाषाएं अनिवार्य होनी चाहिए। यह सिद्धांत हमारा है। और जो हिन्दी इलाके हैं उन को एक दूसरी भाषा देश की सीखनी ही पड़ेगी। इस प्रस्ताव

को जनसंघ के लोगों ने भी कालीकट के अपने अधिवेशन में पास किया है और मैं संयुक्त सांशलिस्ट पार्टी का चेयरमैन हूँ। चेयरमैन के नाते मैं आप लोगों का ता सकता हूँ कि गया के अधिवेशन में जहाँ उत्तर प्रदेश के और बिहार के ज्यादातर प्रतिनिधि इकट्ठा थे हम लोगों ने इस चीज को सर्व-सम्मति से स्वीकार किया है और कहा है कि यहाँ चोज चलेगी। दूसरी नहीं चल सकती है। तीसरी भाषा वैकल्पिक होगी।

मगर हम लोग लोकतंत्र की बात को तो करते हैं मगर उस पर चलते नहीं हैं। यहाँ पर मैंने देखा गत वर्ष पहले सत्र में हमारे मित्र श्री पटेल साहब प्रबन्ध में बोले और उसे लेकर आप लोगों ने तत्काल चलायी और कहा कि यहाँ देशी भाषाओं का तर्जुमा होगा। मगर एक साल हो गया। अभी तक उसका कोई प्रबन्ध नहीं हुआ और लोग ज : बोलते हैं तो आप विरोध करते हैं . . . . .

**श्री प्रेम चन्द बर्मा (हमीरपुर)**  
हिन्दी का भाषा तर्जुमा नहीं होता है।

**श्री एस० एम० जोशी :** तब तो मेरी सहायता करो इस माने में। मैं तो कहता हूँ कि एक साल हो गया। लेकिन अभी कोई प्रबन्ध नहीं हुआ। यह कहते हैं कि तुम्हारे आदमी तो अंग्रेजी में बोलते हैं अब क्या जरूरत है? मैं हिन्दी में बोलता हूँ। मुझे हिन्दी कुछ अच्छी नहीं आती है। उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, आप जानते हैं कि मैं मराठी में अच्छा भाषण कर सकता हूँ। मगर हिन्दी में क्यों बोलता हूँ ?

**एक अनिनोय रुबस्थ :** नहीं साह, आप द्रुत बड़िया हिन्दी बोलते हैं।

**श्री एस० एम० जोशी :** अरे, इससे भी अच्छा मराठी में बोलूंगा। अब मेरे साथ के दूसरे लोग हैं जिनको न हिन्दी आती है न अंग्रेजी

आती है और यह जनता के भज लेकर यहाँ बैठे हैं। क्या आप लोग यह कहेंगे कि वह यहाँ बोलें ही नहीं, चुप बैठें रहें? जो मेरे दोस्त हिन्दी या अंग्रेजी एक भी नहीं जानते वह कहते हैं कि आप तो हिन्दी में बोलते हैं पर मुझे हिन्दी नहीं आती और अंग्रेजी भी नहीं आती तो मैं अपने विचार कैसे बताऊँ? तब वह मुझे भी कहते हैं कि आप भी मराठी में क्यों नहीं बोलते हैं? तब इनके ऊपर दबाव आयेगा। मैं इस हाउस को नोटिस देना चाहता हूँ कि अगर इसका प्रबन्ध नहीं होगा तो आगे चलकर मुझे भी कुछ देर के लिये हिन्दी छोड़ कर मराठी में भाषण देने के लिए मजबूर होना पड़ेगा। आखिर आप लोकतंत्र ऐसे किस तरह चला सकते हैं? बहुत सारी बातें कही जाती हैं। हिन्दी भाषा समृद्ध नहीं है, यह नहीं है, वह नहीं है। मुझे कोई लड़की नहीं थी, मैं कोई लड़की गोद ले ली। अब वह शादी के लायक हो गयी तो क्या हम यह कहेंगे कि तुम्हारी नाक नकटी है या तुम समृद्ध नहीं हो? समृद्ध नहीं है तो समृद्ध बनाओ। महात्मा गांधी ने यह हिन्दी हम को दी है। यह हिन्दी भाषियों ने नहीं दी है। मैं सभी लोगों से कहना चाहता हूँ और खास कर के जो डी० एम० के० के दोस्त हैं उनसे कहना चाहता हूँ कि आज दुनिया में यह जाहिर है कि एस० एस० पी० एक तरफ है और डी० एम० के० दूसरी तरफ है, लेकिन ऐसा नहीं है। बुनियादी चीज वही है कि हम देशी भाषा चाहते हैं। मैं दूसरी पार्टियों को यह कहता हूँ कि आप जितने गैर-हिन्दी इलाके हैं, आपस में बैठ कर इस एग्सेसिव एटीचूड को क्यों नहीं लेते, जो भाषा हम चाहते हैं, उस को अपनी भाषा बनायेंगे। अगर हम ऐसा अनुभव करते हैं कि बनारस की भाषा समझ में नहीं आती है तो हम उसको गंगा में डाल देंगे, तब हमारी भारतीय भाषा बन जायेगी, लेकिन हम देशी भाषा चाहते हैं। हम हिन्दी वालों से क्यों डरते हैं, वे हपको खा नहीं जायेंगे, हम जो भाषा चाहते हैं, उस को चलायेंगे। हमारा यह भाषा की नीति बिल्कुल साफ़ है।

[श्री एस० एम० जोशी]

इस लिये मैं आपसे प्रार्थना करूंगा कि हमारा भाषा का समालोचन हो सकता है, यह काम हो सकता है। इसमें कोई ऐजी बात नहीं जो कि हमारे डी० एम० के० वाले इसको नहीं मानेंगे। हमने जब भाषावादी प्रान्तों को रचना की है तो क्या हमारी भाषा वहाँ नहीं चलेगी। मैं महाराष्ट्र असेम्बली में 10 साल रहा हूँ, वहाँ मैंने देखा कि लोग अक्सर अंग्रेजी में बोलते थे और बहुत सारे जो जनता के प्रतिनिधि आते थे, प्रेस वाले उनको नहीं सुनते थे। लेकिन जब हम लोगों ने मराठी में बोलना शुरू किया तो अब वहाँ कोई अंग्रेजी में नहीं बोलते। हम लोगों ने अंग्रेजी साम्राज्यवाद को हटाया है, लेकिन अंग्रेजियत अभी भी है, अंग्रेजी बोलना एक फ़ैशन हो गया है। हमने यह स्पष्ट कहा है कि जिनको ज़रूरत हो उनको दूसरी भाषा सीखनी चाहिये। जैसे जिन लोगों को सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट की नौकरी में घाना है, जिनको इधर से उधर और उधर से इधर आना है, उनको एक भाषा और हिन्दी इलाके की अवश्य सीखनी चाहिये। लेकिन जिनको ज़रूरत नहीं है, उन के ऊपर हम लादना नहीं चाहते, न हम हिन्दी लादना चाहते हैं और न अंग्रेजी लादना चाहते हैं।

इसलिये मैं आखिर में यह बताना चाहता हूँ कि लोकतन्त्र का जगतोका है, लोकतन्त्र के अन्तर्गत अगर इस देश में मौलिक परिवर्तन लाना चाहते हैं, तो जनता जो संगठित होती है, जो संघर्ष चलाती है, उससे हमें डरना नहीं चाहिये और अगर हम शान्तिपथ तरीकों से, जो जनता है, जो शोषित जनता है, उसको संगठित करके वह संघर्ष चलायेंगे तो जो हुूमत चलाने वाले लोग हैं, उनको भी समझ लेना चाहिये कि जनता का मानस क्या है, लेकिन

ये लोग समझते नहीं हैं। इसलिये मैं इस नतीजे पर आ गया हूँ कि यह जो कांग्रेस दल है, उनके लिये एक ही रास्ता है। कांग्रेस को विरसित कर देना चाहिये। उन दिनों में आपने नहीं माना, जब गाँधी जी ने कहा कि इस कांग्रेस को अब बरखास्त कर डालो। उस वक्त नहीं माना, परवाह नहीं की, देश की एकता रखने के लिए आपने वैसा किया, क्योंकि एकता बहुत प्रिय है। लेकिन इस देश में एकता को कायम रखने के लिये लोकतन्त्र भी उतना ही ज़रूरी है, बल्कि उससे भी ज्यादा ज़रूरी है। अपना देश किनता बड़ा है, भिन्न भिन्न भाषायें हैं और बहुत सारे उपासना करने वाले मजहब हैं, हमारे देश में जो विकास हुआ है, उन में समानता नहीं है, एक राज्य से दूसरे राज्य में कान-ब-वेश हुआ है। केरल के लोग आज बम्बई में क्यों आते हैं, इसलिये कि वहाँ उनके लिये प्रोब्लम का कोई साधन नहीं है, नौकरी के लिये चले आते हैं, जो डेवलपमेंट हो रहा है, वह अन-ईक्वल डेवलपमेंट हो रहा है, असम में यह झगड़ा क्यों हुआ? मैं आपसे पूछना चाहता हूँ कि ये जो ट्राइबल लोग हैं, शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट के लोग हैं, उनके बारे में हमने क्या किया? अभी तक चर्चा कर रहे हैं कि प्रोपोर्शन क्या है, कितना है? आज सुबह चर्चा चल रही थी—आपने क्या देखा? किसी की बेइज्जती हो गई, इसलिये लोग नाराज हो जाते हैं। लेकिन शर्म के साथ कहना पड़ता है जब बड़े भादमियों को कहा जाता है तो आप लोगों को गुस्सा आता है, लेकिन जब तीन बहनों को नंगा कर के उनका प्रासेशन महाराष्ट्र के विलेज में निकाला गया, उस वक्त न हम लोगों को शर्म आई और न गुस्सा आया। मैं नौजवानों को कहता हूँ कि तुम यहाँ गुस्सा क्यों नहीं करते हो, हम लोग जब नाकामयाब हो गये हैं, तो तुम टोली निकाल कर जाओ और पूछो कि किसने ऐसा काम किया है, उसको पीटो, तब मैं कहूँगा कि तुमने कुछ रेबोल्यूशनरी काम किया है।

हमारे राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने अभिभाषण में कहा है :—

“After many centuries the people of India are going through the process of dynamic change.”

मगर यह सरकार तो दकियानूसी है। उसमें कोई बदल नहीं होता। कोई डायनेमिक चेंज नहीं दिखाई देती। यह दकियानूसी द्रुकूमत डाइनेमिक चेंज कहाँ कर रही है, मझे तो कुछ दिखाई नहीं देता है।

श्री पोलू भोवी (गोधरा) : मिनिस्टर बदलने में आते हैं।

श्री एस० एम० जोशी : इसलिये मैं आपसे यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि अगर आप उस वक्त नहीं कर पायेंगे, तो अब इस स्टेलमेंट को खत्म कीजिये, अपने इस काँग्रेस दल को तोड़ दीजिये। जो समाजवाद चाहते हैं, वे सब एक हो जायें और समाजवाद के विरोध में जो हैं, वे अलग हो जायें, ऐसा करेंगे तो कोई रास्ता निकल सकता है। लेकिन ऐसा होता नहीं है।

हमारा देश इतना बड़ा है और हम लोग इतने छोटे हैं कि उन सबालों को हल नहीं कर सकते हैं, इसलिये बहुत जरूरी है कि हमारा विश्वास अगर किसी में होना चाहिये, तो हमारी जनता में होना चाहिये। हमको जनता को सिखाना होगा, उसको उभारना होगा, उनमें अगर विफलता की भावना है तो उसको खत्म करना होगा। मैं अपने दल की तरफ से कहता हूँ कि पूरे देश के पैमाने पर जनता को जागृत करके जब तक हम आन्दोलन नहीं करेंगे, तब तक यह काँग्रेस कोई तबदीली करने के लिये तैयार नहीं होगी। आप लोगों ने ही सिखाया है कि जो हल्ला-गुल्ला करेगा, उसको रसगुल्ला मिलेगा। और जो चुप बैठेगा उस के पल्ले भूखमरी पड़ेगी। यह चीज कैसे चल सकती है यह नहीं चलेगी, जनता का आन्दोलन होना चाहिये। अग्नेजी

में एक शब्द है—कन्फ्लिक्शन, एक तरफ जनता है और दूसरी तरफ शासक लोग हैं—इन का संघर्ष है, अगर शान्तिमय तरीकों से इन के दबाव से इन के अन्दर कुछ तबदीली आ गई तो मुझे खुशी होगी। मैं उन दिनों काँग्रेस में था, मोरारजी भाई के मत से मेरा बहुत फर्क है, विचारों में फर्क है, लेकिन वह जब कोई चीज बोलते हैं तो उसको पूरा भी करते हैं लेकिन बाकी लोग तो कभी हाँ और कभी ना बोलते हैं, इस तरह से नहीं चलेगा।

हमारे दल की नीति स्पष्ट है। चव्हाण साहब हम पर गुस्सा करते हैं। जब मैं यहाँ नहीं था तब हमारी पार्टी के बारे में चव्हाण साहब ने कहा था कि ये जो लेफ्ट कम्पनिस्ट हैं और जो एस० एम० पी० के लोग हैं, इनके ऊपर ज़रा निगरानी करनी चाहिये। हम लोग खतरनाक नजर आते हैं। लेकिन खतरनाक किसके लिये हैं, जो वेस्टेड इन्टरेस्ट हैं, उन के लिये खतरनाक रहेंगे और खतरनाक रहने में पुरुषार्थ समझते है।

इन शब्दों के जो आपने मुझे बोलने का मौका दिया उस के लिये आपको धन्यवाद देने हुए, अपना भाषण समाप्त करता हूँ।

SHRI CHENGALRAYA NAIDU (Chittoor): In supporting the Motion of Thanks for the President's Address, I would like to bring the following few facts before the House.

The President has not mentioned in his Address anything about rectifying the defects and disparities after the Language Bill has been passed. Especially, the students are feeling very much and they are disturbed. For 40 or 45 days, the colleges were closed in the South. In Andhra Pradesh, the Venkateswara University and the Andhra University were closed; high schools and colleges were closed; even elementary schools were closed in some places. Only from yesterday's paper I find

[Shri Chengalraya Naidu]

that they have called off the strike temporarily hoping that the Government would rectify the defects in the Language Bill. For the last 20 years, since the Constituent Assembly adopted Hindi as the official language, in the South in all the States Hindi was made compulsory and in every college and high school, children were taught Hindi.

There was no complaint then. But all of a sudden they wanted to discard English and do business only in Hindi; it was then that the trouble started. Pandit Nehru and Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri had given some assurances. When the people wanted the assurances to be implemented through an Act, a Bill was brought forward before us. The Bill in its original form was very good and there was no complaint and it sought only to implement the assurances of Pandit Nehru and Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri, but unfortunately due to some fanatics in our party or in other parties, some amendments were introduced and a resolution was also passed. Instead of an assurance being given to the non-Hindi-speaking people, the Hindi-speaking people were given an assurance that Hindi would be introduced as the official language vehemently. This created ill-feelings in the south.

So, after the passing of that Bill, there was a lot of trouble in the south. Demonstrations were there, and a lot of railway property was damaged. All these things happened because the people wanted to show their protest to the Central Government and they found this as the only way open to them, because they did not find any other way. Government could have made a statement thereafter that they would rectify the defects in the Language Bill. The Members of Parliament who were responsible for bringing to the notice of Government the defects in the Bill or the feelings of the people in the south failed to bring them to the notice of Government, and so the

people have reacted vehemently, and they have even damaged railway property. But I do not approve of their having behaved in this manner and damaged our national property. But that was the only way open to the people to demonstrate their feelings or to show their resentment to the Central Government.

For the last twenty years, English was there and Hindi was there and there was no trouble in the country. But now Government want to introduce Hindi only, and in the services, they want to give special concessions to the Hindi-speaking people in appointments. For recruitment to the Union services, the Hindi-speaking people have to answer only in Hindi papers for a total of 1450 marks. But the southerners have to answer in the regional language for 1000 marks and for 350 marks or so they have to answer either in English or in Hindi, both of which are foreign to them. They cannot answer in these languages as well as they could in their own mother-tongue and hence they are at a disadvantage. The trouble started when there was advantage for the Hindi-speaking people and there was at the same time disadvantage for the non-Hindi speaking people.

Even now, Government have not thought of rectifying the defects and removing them from the Act. I would appeal to Government to rectify at least now the defects in the Act and see that the southerners or the non-Hindi-speaking people are satisfied and they are not placed at a disadvantageous position as compared with the non-Hindi-speaking people.

**SHRI S. M. BANERJEE (Kanpur):**  
Why did he vote for it then?

**SHRI CHENGALRAYA NAIDU:**  
They had not taken vote on it; if they had taken votes, I would have definitely voted against the Bill; due to

the DMK's walk-out and their not having pressed it to a vote, this has happened.

In the south,, we have to learn three languages, English, Hindi and our regional language. In the north, the people will learn hereafter only one language. Till now they have been learning only Hindi and English, but hereafter they will learn only Hindi.

They say that they will also learn three languages. But what are those languages? Hindi, Hindi and Hindustani. If it is like that, how can the southerners cooperate with the others? All these 200 years, we were under British imperialism, on account of which we had to learn English. Now the Hindi people want to have their imperialism on us. The southerners are not happy over this prospect and are resorting to violence.

There is only one way to solve this problem. Nobody should impose any language on anybody. We are not to impose English on the Hindi-speaking people. Let them learn English if they want to go for appointments. In the south, let them learn the regional language and English. Those who want to go for service in northern India, for securing jobs in the Central services, let them take Hindi as an optional language. Even in the north, the Hindi people can have English as an optional language.

Why do you force people to learn Hindi? I do not want to force people to learn any language. If there are a thousand pupils in a college, all of them are not going to be clerks in the Central Government. Most of them go to college to acquire knowledge and take to business or any other profession. Only a few will seek appointment in the services. Why should all be forced to learn Hindi? Let the 10 per cent or so who want to go in for service in the Centre learn Hindi as an optional subject. This is

the only solution to the problem. Let the Hindi speaking people be given the option to learn only Hindi and have English as an optional subject. if they want to go for government service. In the south, let them learn the regional language, and if they want, let them learn English. Those who want to go in for central service can take Hindi as an optional subject. Nobody need force anybody to learn any particular language. In this country, everybody has the freedom to learn, freedom of expression and nobody can force anybody to learn Hindi. This is how I would request Government to solve this problem: make Hindi and English optional subjects in the south and north.

Coming to the other matters dealt with in the Address, the President has not mentioned about eradicating famine in the country. We are experiencing famine conditions in Bihar and Andhra. In Rayalaseema, the part of the country from where I come, only in one year out of five we have enough rains. Once in five years our tanks get filled. For the other four years, we have to suffer and in those years famine and drought stalk the land. Scarcity conditions prevail throughout and whichever Chief Minister is able to canvass with the Centre and is able to make a show of force could get some money. In Andhra, we are suffering for the last five years due to drought and scarcity conditions. Drinking water is supplied in lorries. There are no wells in many villages. Even in the face of such difficult conditions, the Central Government have not come to the aid of the State Government. The State Government was not able to start even relief works in the affected areas.

I would request the Government that at least now without showing any discrimination or disparity or favouritism, they should help the State. Where there are scarcity conditions prevailing, the Central Government should come to the rescue of

[Shri Chengalraya Naidu]

the State Government. The Central Government has to take permanent steps to eradicate famine. They will have only to extend the supply of electricity a little bit to the villages for agricultural purposes and improve minor irrigation, so that even when there is a little water, even when there is scarcity and drought conditions, we can pump out some water from the wells and grow some food. If electricity is extended to these scarcity areas, we can permanently eradicate famine at least to a small extent. I request the Government to take immediate steps to assist the State Governments to eradicate famine permanently.

SHRI AMIYANATH BOSE (Arambagh): Within the short time at my disposal, I propose, with your permission, to deal with two aspects of the President's Address. The first is the aspect of our foreign policy and the second is our defence policy.

Before I proceed further, I might say that the President's Address lays down a most unrealistic foreign policy. One is tempted to say that the Government has, in fact, no positive foreign policy. The words in the President's Address, "steadfast pursuit of peace, international understanding and co-operation", remind me of the speeches of Mr. Neville Chamberlain during the years before the last world war. We were students, our Prime Minister was a student with us in England in those days, she ought to remember those speeches of Mr. Neville Chamberlain, when he said, "I have brought peace for our generation." He waved a piece of paper and his umbrella when he returned from Brechtsgarden, and offered peace to the world.

SHRI J. B. KRIPALANI (Guna): She does not carry an umbrella.

SHRI AMIYANATH BOSE: She might.

SHRI MADHU LIMAYE (Monghyr): She carries a mink coat.

SHRI AMIYANATH BOSE: She is charming enough to carry a mink coat.

There was one man who warned England against the foreign policy of that country, and that one man was Mr. Winston Churchill. He warned England against the dangers of a world war. He warned England against the dangers of German militarism. He warned England to prepare for a situation in which England found herself within two years after that historic speech of Winston Churchill in Parliament.

17.24 hrs.

[SHRI C. K. BHATTACHARYA in the Chair]

I am a very small man, but I propose to utter a few words of warning to this august House.

The defence policy as explained in the Address is also, in my submission, not adequate to ensure the defence of India. Firstly, we must assume an un-compromising stand regarding Pakistan and China; and we must work for the re-conquest of national territories lost to the invaders. It must be made clear, clear beyond any reasonable doubt, that the accession of Kashmir is absolute and final, and I want to underline the word absolute. I have seen some resolutions of certain parties urging that special status should be given to Kashmir or that greater autonomy should be given to Kashmir. These ideas must be brought to an end now. We must not enter into any discussion on Kashmir with any country. I have thought over this matter deeply. We must once and for all deinternationalise the Kashmir issue and think and act about it only in terms of our national interests. They are in the



first place of military and strategic nature. Anyone who knows history knows that India cannot be defended from foreign aggression unless she controls the high hills of Kashmir. For more than century, the British in India based their military strategy for the defence of India on the area which had come to be known as the North-West Frontier Province and they militarised that area against tremendous public opinion and people's struggle in which our esteemed friend Acharya Kripalani took his part. But they did it because the British knew that India's protection against invasion lay in a strong military barrier in the North-West. Look at the geography of our country. Because of India's partition, India's North-West Frontier has shifted to Kashmir. Lose Kashmir and you lose India. Therefore, it is time that we de-internationalise the issue of Kashmir and think and talk about it only in terms of our national interests. Let me remind you of the statement of Stalin when Soviet Union attacked Finland. Stalin was asked by American journalists: why have you gone to war with Finland? Stalin's answer was clear: in the interest of the security of Leningrad. Why is it that we do not say that the problem of Kashmir is primarily a military and strategic problem and the security of Kashmir is the security of India? Why do we make pious speeches only to fool the public. The people are not taken in by that.

It is also very unfortunate that so much fuss was made about Sheikh Abdullah. It is unfortunate that important leaders of public opinion and even the All India Radio I am sorry to say this and I had told our Information Minister about it—made a fuss about Sheikh Abdullah which they should never have done. So has done a very important section of the Indian Press. They have done a national disservice by playing up Sheikh Abdullah whose loyalty to India is not beyond doubt.

We must extend our support and sympathy to Pakhtoonistan and the brave warrior of Indian freedom Badshah Khan; we must extend our support and sympathy to the people of East Bengal who are today groaning under oppression and injustice.

Our policy of non-alignment has become out of date. By the narrowing of the gap between the two super powers, America and the Soviet Union, India's national interests are no longer served by this policy; rather this policy has isolated us from our potential friends and made us the subject of easy target of our enemies. In view of the multipolarization of power structure in the world, owing to the existence of five nuclear powers instead of two, it is urgently necessary that India should adopt the policy of pacts and alliances in order to defend her national interests. And for this reason I call upon the Government to adopt a purposive diplomacy in foreign policy.

AN HON. MEMBER: Pacts with whom?

SHRI AMIYANATH BOSE: With whoever is necessary, in the interest of our country. There is no guiding principle in foreign policy except national interest of a country.

I say that for the effective conduct of a realistic and firm foreign policy, India's military strength must be increased by developing nuclear weapons and by developing the delivery system for nuclear bombs. Peace can not be maintained in this world by making pious speeches. Peace in the modern world can only be maintained by the enforcement of mutual terror. I repeat: peace in the modern world can only be maintained by the enforcement of mutual terror. The only way you can maintain peace of the world and peace of India is to be strong enough to maintain it. And the only strength that the modern world understands is the strength of the nuclear bomb.

[Shri Amiyanath Bose]

But, for the achievement of these two objectives, we require total mobilisation of our national resources, and this is the greatest failure of this Address. The total mobilisation of the resources of the Indian people can be assured only if the Government is determined to make a rapid advance towards a socialist society. It is not possible to expect that people will give you man-power, resources, wealth, unless you can impose on the people an egalitarian society. It is only socialism that can increase the national resources of our country.

SHRI AMRIT NAHATA (Barmer): National socialism.

SHRI AMIYANATH BOSE: Those words, my hon. friend should know, have a distinct connotation in political terminology. We do not want national socialism of Nazi Germany, because Nazi Germany did not develop socialism. We want certainly a society, national in form and socialist in character. But it will not be the national socialism of Nazi Germany.

SHRI J. B. KRIPALANI Congress socialism.

SHRI AMIYANATH BOSE: Congress and socialism, Acharya Kripalani should know, are contradiction in terms. Therefore, I say that the President's Address does not inspire confidence of the people that the Government is determined to go on towards a socialist society. The Banking Bill is nothing but a fraud on the demand for nationalisation: social control of banks will mean nothing but throwing dust in the people's eyes. Instead of nationalising the banks, instead of nationalising the other credit institutions like the insurance companies thereby mobilising the credit resources of the country to develop a plan based on socialism and develop the military strength of the country, the Congress, under the leadership of the Prime Minister and the Deputy Prime Minister, has taken halting steps towards

a capitalist society. Therefore, let the Congress give up the talk of socialism and have the courage to say, "we stand for a capitalist society." That will be honest and will be accepted by the people. Let the Congress not talk in terms of socialism and act in a capitalist manner.

With these words, I oppose this motion of thanks and say that the President's Address does not inspire the confidence of the people, does not lay down a positive foreign policy, does not give any assurance about strengthening of national defence and certainly does not assure peace and security in this world.

SHRI BAKAR ALI MIRZA (Secunderabad): Sir, I rise to support the motion of thanks to the President. I am sorry Mr. Ranga is not here, because I want to meet some of the arguments he advanced yesterday. He complained that the Congress has done nothing towards economic progress. He talked about unemployment of teachers and so on. He made a big list. I agree with him; in fact I go further and say that in the last 20 years, the Congress has not been able to provide even clean drinking water to the 500 million people of this country, let alone self-sufficiency in food, economic and industrial progress, etc. I say that with a full sense of responsibility, because time and again charges are thrown at us that there has been no progress. The problem is so immense . . .

श्री श्रीकार लाल बेरवा (कोटा) :  
 सभापति महोदय कोरम नहीं है ।

MR. CHAIRMAN: The bell is being rung.

Now, there is quorum. He may continue.

SHRI BAKAR ALI MIRZA: I was saying that the problem in this country is so immense that if we can even produce a dent in that problem, that

itself is a great success. Prof. Ranga said that the Congress is interested in toppling down non-Congress Government. He said: "The Congress has not the stamina to stay in the opposition." When a man is in the opposition, he is put there, it is for him to stay there and to endure. Surely Congress is not interested in staying in the opposition. I wish long life to Professor Ranga and I wish that he develops greater stamina to stay longer in the opposition.

Charges were made that we are tempting people away from one party to topple the government. If Ranga whistles and Mary goes to him I ask him whose guilt is greater, whistling Ranga's or yielding Marys. You say that the Congress is tempting them. Why are they yielding to the temptation. Therefore, this charge that is being made and this talk about defection and all that leads us nowhere, for it is the purpose of the Opposition to bring down the government. That is what they are doing every day. If defection is becoming rather crude, then that is a moral question which applies to all the parties and it has to be solved on the national plane. But to bring down a government is the duty of the Opposition. That is what they are trying every day in every democratic country. I cannot, therefore, agree with what Professor Ranga says.

What surprised me most is his reference on the question of Vietnam. He said that there are two parties, North Vietnam and South Vietnam, and he compared them with Hindustan and Pakistan. India and Pakistan are two sovereign countries which have come to an agreement which they uphold, which they desire to uphold and will continue to uphold. North Vietnam and South Vietnam form parts of one country which was temporarily divided by a temporary line with an assurance that in two years time elections will be held to unite the country. Shri Ranga has entirely forgotten the Geneva agreement. Today American forces are there, one

American soldier to every two families in Vietnam. They are spending 40 billion dollars a year. If that amount is invested in the Bank of England today at the present rate of interest it can serve to pay in perpetuity the entire aid of United States to the entire world and besides that it will also solve the balance of payment problem of United Kingdom.

They are fighting with great determination and great courage. Charges were made by some others that Soviet Union and China are supplying arms. I ask them, is there any country in the world, besides the socialist countries, to which America is not sprinkling arms like prolific seeds of war? Name one country where American arms are not given either on payment or without payment, gratis or compulsorily. What are they to fight with? They are fighting for the country. Can you imagine that any set of people can fight just by sending arms to them for twenty long years and that too with a country which is the most powerful country in the world, which is destroying their crops, bombing here and bombing there with a fleet in the ocean around it? Can you say that that set of people are just mercenaries who are fighting because China wants them to fight or the Soviet Union wants them to fight? I want to say to this House that Vietnam is important to us because the success in Vietnam would mean regeneration of the whole inter-Asian field just as the Russi-Japanese war entirely changed the face of Asia. If Vietnam goes down, I want to inform my hon. friend Shri Pilloo Mody, there will be disintegration of India and partition of China and India both. And Asia will have no place in the map of the world. Therefore we should welcome any attempt that the Government of India is making. It might not sound big, but they are consistent and they are trying; in spite of the fact that America feels unhappy or angry, still we are pursuing it. That should be appreciated.

[Shri Bakar Ali Mirza]

The President has mentioned agriculture in his Address. I am very glad and I must congratulate Shri Jagjivan Ram that he has changed the food situation in the country and we are more hopeful of getting more food all round. There have been new seeds, new devices, new mechanical arrangements and all that; but, at the same time, I must say that there is hardly any mention of land reforms. Shri Jagjivan Ram once in a way did talk of land reforms in one of his speeches and I congratulate him. Our Congress President, Shri Nijlingappa, also referred to land reforms in his presidential address. But these are sounds of distant drums. No effective measures have been taken. Not even the record of rights has been completed in many of the States all over India. Nor is there a talk of agricultural income tax.

We talk of socialism but we do not take the necessary steps to realise that goal. Today we are in such a condition that America, a capitalist country, has introduced land reforms in Japan and Taiwan which are far ahead of what is happening in India and the World Bank and the American capitalists ask us to introduce land reforms. Is this our socialism? Should not we search our hearts and see where we are going and what goals we have in view?

Then, there is the question of buffer stock. This talk of a buffer stock has been going on for the last ten years, since the great Shri Patil's days and no stock has been created; no stocks are likely to be created unless you give up once for all this dependence on foreign food supply. Once you decide—and today we can take that decision because our production is of that character—that there will be no food import from abroad, either from the United States or from Australia or from Canada, you will be forced to build up your stocks so that you must be prepared for a rainy day. Therefore the first condition is that you

must stop this and instead of wasting our foreign exchange, give more aid to agriculturists. In Andhra Pradesh, for pesticide they were giving 100 per cent but now they have reduced it to 50 per cent. Similarly for wells, tubewells and all that they have cut down the loans that they were offering to the States. Give them these instead of getting food from the United States.

Then, you must remember that there is a talk of big business interfering in politics. There is also another element of big landlords who are interfering in our politics. Therefore if you want to remove big business, at the same time remove the big landlords from our midst.

Coming to the question of the Planning Commission, we have got a new picture. New blood has come in the Planning Commission. Similarly, new blue blood has come in the Cabinet. There is a change. There has been some idle period for which the Planning Commission did not work. They say that it was because of the drought. If drought is the reason, that is the reason why the Planning Commission should have been very active. You do not require a planning commission in an affluent society like America. Where there is misery, where there is want, where there is problem, it is there that the planning commission is required. I do not know whether this long holiday was sick leave, french leave or Italian leave or whether they were in the state of transcendental meditation which is becoming popular nowadays. I do not know what to say.

For the expansion of public sector, people think that if you have more public sector projects, then we are more socialist. It is not that. They have to take into account in what way those public sector projects are managed, what is the output and how it is utilised, whether it reduces the disparity in wealth or creates an ega-

litarian society or not. These are all the considerations that have to be kept in mind.

Lastly, I would like the Planning Commission, specially, to consider this problem of automation. Shri Indrajit Gupta was very eloquent about saying that they are man-eating machines. They are man-eating machines. But if you want to export, you cannot export by just asking and begging others, as is being done these days, to buy this item or that item. On that basis, you cannot develop exports. You must produce so that you can compete. Today, in this modern world, you can compete only if you accept automation and computers. Look at your textile mills. Just because they did not modernise the machinery, they are not able to compete and develop exports. I would request the Planning Commission to think of this matter. There was a time when the socialists were against the mills. They were throwing stones and breaking the mills when the Industrial Revolution started. But now they realise that the mills and the factories are their best friend. We are going through an atomic age. The impact of an atomic age on us is not yet quite clear. You will find that if you accept competition and automation, in the long run, you will be the gainer, not the loser.

There has been a talk of divisive forces and yesterday we had a special discussion about the conditions in Assam. I want to say a few words about that and I crave your indulgence—because I consider this very important. The country was divided and we accepted Partition. But we accepted Partition with a mental reservation. Whether it is in India or in Pakistan, we still believe or at least we act in a way that makes us believe that the dominion of India extends to all the Hindus of Pakistan and the dominion of Pakistan extends to all the Muslims of India. That is the greatest mistake. These two countries are divided and they should act and

function as two different countries. Whatever the composition within the country, that is an internal matter.

Shri Bal Raj Madhok said that for Assam you must have a belt of 5 or 10 miles so that there is no infiltration. I go still further. I say, you close all the frontiers of India to both Pakistani Muslims and Pakistani Hindus and, similarly, you close all the frontiers for Indian Hindus and Indian Muslims to go to Pakistan. If somebody is ill-treated, why should he take refuge only in Pakistan or India. If you are ill-treated, you will fight and suffer if sufferings is your lot. If you want to run away, there is the whole world open to you, not only India or Pakistan. Tibetans have taken refuge in India and Jews have gone to all over Europe. Why don't you treat the problem as such. This is very important. Unless you create a national mind which will not differentiate between Hindu and Muslim, Caste Hindus and the untouchables and all that, unless you get rid of this feeling and make every Indian conscious that he is an Indian, we cannot progress.

MR. CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member may try to conclude.

SHRI BAKAR ALI MIRZA: Please allow me a few more minutes, Sir. This is a very important subject.

There is not only the communal question, there is also the question of linguism and provincialism which are more dangerous than communalism because communalism is an all India issue and you have to solve it on an all India basis whereas regionalism has definite frontiers. This is a definite danger which the foreign countries can take advantage of. If in some part of India troubles are created, don't you think that the foreign countries can take advantage of the division in the country? We will then come to the same fate which we had some time back. Therefore, my

[Shri Bakar Ali Mirza]

urgent plea with the Government is this. Today communalism and linguism are not the outbursts of passion by a crowd of people; behind these, there are reorganisations working and this is the danger. You should control those organisations. I have asked the Home Minister several times to ban Jamait Islami and R.S.S. The extreme sections should be banned. If that had been done, there would not have been these incidents in Ranchi or Srinagar or Meerut. Today, Shri Govind Das referred to the shops of only Hindus being looted and those of Muslims having been left untouched. I would like to tell him that, in Meerut, all the people who were murdered were Muslims. So, if you keep on counting like this or if you bring a petty mind to such a serious problem, then we cannot solve this problem. Similarly, if the Home Minister had taken action, against Shiv Sena in Bombay, there would have been no Lachit Sena in Assam. Here, when I raised the question, the Home Minister said that it was being sent to the Emotional Integration Council. This is just like the cancer patient being sent to the Christian scientist for cure. Therefore, unless these things are handled properly, there will be no safety in this country.

Finally, I would like to say this. The only asset that India and China have today, which no European or

Western country has, is population. These are our biggest asset, our biggest armour our biggest weapon and if you allow, as was done by the British to separate Burma, Pakistan and so on, any further participation of India or China, it will be not only disadvantageous to us but also disadvantageous to the whole Asian world, and I know that there are foreign powers who are interested in disintegrating these two countries.

There was a reference to the use of CIA funds for Shiv Sena and others and it was said that a certain inquiry should be conducted into the charges levelled by Mr. Umanath. Instead of doing that, we come with privilege motion. It is still not too late.

I thank you, Sir, for the time that you gave me.

श्री अक्षय सिंह (आगरा) : सभापति महोदय, राष्ट्रपति जी ने जो अभिभाषण दिया है उस का मैं समर्थन करता हूँ ।

MR. CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member may continue his speech tomorrow. The House stands adjourned till 11 A.M. tomorrow.

18 hrs.

(The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Friday, February 16, 1968/Magha 27, 1889 (Saka).