

the Railways continues, and it is hoped that by the increasing number of coaches that will be pressed into use and by increasing the number of railway trains we will be able to carry out the targets which are set out in the Third Plan. As to whether that is likely to relieve congestion on all sections, it is too difficult for me to say. Situated as we are, with our resources limited, I think that travel in the country is not likely to be very luxurious, and we will have to put up with certain inconvenience for some time more.

Shri Nath Pai: In the concluding part of your speech you said something about the performance, and obviously one gets an impression that the Railway Board and the Ministry are very satisfied with their performance. What we have in mind is whether in any given field the Railway Administration has reached the targets that have been set up during the two Five Year Plan periods. Here is a target, one I will mention. You had promised the country, and the House also, that you will carry 170 million freight tonnes by the end of 1960-61 and you could not fulfil it even during the Third Plan, the actual performance being 156 million tonnes of freight, I am taking the statistics from the books published by the Government of India. You say that the performance has been very commendable. Has it been, if we take into consideration the targets?

Shri C. K. Bhattacharya: I suggest that Shri Nath Pai should address the Chair and not the hon. Minister.

Shri Nath Pai: Sir, I submit very willingly to this very kind observation!

Shri Swaran Singh: That can perhaps start the debate again. The hon. Member's objection is not on what I said, but on something else. What I said was that there is a graph there in which percentages of the additions of locomotives, the track capacity and the like are indicated; and the actual

performance, in terms of additional goods carried and additional passengers carried, is far in excess of the percentage increase in the assets. That is what I was trying to say. And that is a good yard-stick as to whether Railways performance is good, regard being had to the assets that are put in. As to whether the overall targets have been achieved or not, that is an important matter, I do not under-rate the importance of that; but the interjection did not have relevance to what I stated here. On the actual performance I would request the hon. Member to have a second look at the very detailed statement that was made about the performance, at the end of the First Five Year Plan and the Second Five Year Plan periods, as contained in the last speech made by my esteemed colleague Shri Jagjivan Ram. And if there is any point which requires further elucidation, we can sort that out at the time when the Demands come up for discussion.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The general discussion of the Railway Budget is over and we will now proceed to the next item of business.

15-07 hrs.

MOTION ON ADDRESS BY THE
 PRESIDENT

Shri Harish Chandra Mathur (Jalore): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I rise in my seat to move this motion of thanks on the President's Address, standing in my name.

I beg to move:

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

"That the Members of Lok Sabha assembled in this session are deeply grateful to the President for the Address which he has been pleased to deliver to both the Houses of Parliament assembled together on the 18th April, 1962."

The hon. President, while making this Address, had naturally referred to

[Shri Harish Chandra Mathur]

what he had stated only a month and a half earlier to the Second Lok Sabha in its "lame-duck" session, and therefore he has not repeated all what he had stated in his Address. But in this particular Address before us the hon. President has very clearly stated the Government's basic policy. He has also given expression to Government's resolve to carry forward that policy, endorsed by the nation, to fruition and he has alerted and appealed to the hon. Members of this House about the great task of nation-building and strengthening the democratic institutions.

As one reads this brief Address one finds that from page to page he has referred to the various developmental activities which we have taken afresh and which will have a great impact on our national life and on our developmental activities. And even if we look at the list of the legislations which are likely to come before this House it will indicate that at the present moment we are most concerned with only the developmental activities to carry forward the nation. What we are going to legislate upon relates to Atomic Energy, Electricity Supply, Patents, Tariff, Industries Development and Regulation, Port Trusts, Oil and Natural Gas Commission, Minimum Wages, Factories, Payment of Wages, Workmen's Compensation, Industrial Disputes, Working Journalists, etc. This is all indicative, Mr. Deputy-Speaker, of our national life and the attention which at the present moment is riveted only in raising the standard and in raising the entire nation and going forward with our developmental activities.

This Address, at this present juncture. I believe, is memorable in more than one way. This is, of course, the last Address by our First great President. Dr. Rajendra Prasad is held in high esteem and affection by one and all irrespective of party affiliations. He is almost an embodiment of our ancient values and culture, an embodiment of

humility, with which he combines the Gandhian outlook and the most modern outlook. Our thanks naturally go to him, at the present moment. In spite of the fact that we held him in such high respect and esteem, I very much value his decision that a person, howsoever popular he may be, should not stay in his office for more than two terms which he has already served.

Shri Nath Pai (Rajapur): It is a good example to others.

Shri Harish Chandra Mathur: It is certainly an example to others in identical circumstances.

Shri Nath Pai: In high offices.

Shri Daji (Indore): Not to Members of Parliament.

Shri Harish Chandra Mathur: I submit that this Address is also memorable because of another reason. This is an Address to the Third Lok Sabha. This is the first Address to the newly elected House, and the next five years are going to be very crucial in our nation's history. I believe we are fully aware of the fact that it is during these next five years, a very crucial period, that we will make or mar our history. This is the time when national cohesion and national unity have to be forged to the full. This is the time when we have to take our developmental activities to a stage where we can consider them to have reached the take-off stage. This is the most crucial period. I will not flaunt before this House at the present moment, in dealing with the President's Address, facts and figures regarding our agricultural output, our achievements, our industrial output. I think we better deal with the most basic problems which concern the nation's life as a whole. There are very important and vital problems over which all of us can put our thoughts together and carry the nation forward.

The President, in the Address, in the opening remarks, has charged the

Members of Parliament with the great responsibility of nation-building. When we think of nation-building, our first thoughts naturally go to the national unity of this country. A nation's unity is more important than anything else. It is only out of unity of all parts of the country, out of better understanding and better harmony and the energies released out of it that the nation derives fervour and a sense of patriotism. That is much more important. That is the first responsibility with which Parliament stands charged. He says:

"The task of nation-building for which Parliament has both the continuing and ultimate responsibility, calls for the full exercise of your capacities of deliberation . . ."

Some of us have felt a bit disturbed and concerned at certain tendencies which have exhibited themselves during the general elections, certain unfortunate things which have raised their ugly heads, feelings of regionalism, communalism and casteism. We have got to face some of our weaknesses in the face. But, at the same time, I am quite clear in my mind that there is no cause for great alarm or for getting disturbed about anything. Of course, these are our weaknesses. I will deal with this entire question. But, I wish that we examine this question in the correct perspective and do not unnecessarily get alarmed and disturbed about that.

It will be considered on all hands that the process of national integration is a very delicate and difficult affair. Let us take a country like the United Kingdom, a much smaller country. Still, we have got there the feeling of the English, the Welsh, the Scot, let me not mention Irish. What has happened? If you take into consideration what had happened when the United States had emerged out independent, and when they formed themselves into a Federation the difficulties at that time were far more serious than we can even imagine. At this

time, the speech which was made by the First President of the United States, so much admired and adored, George Washington, may better be recalled. It was after serving two terms of office as President, in exactly identical circumstances that, he had delivered the speech. I think I will do well to quote from that speech, a few words. What he said was:

"It is of infinite moment that you should properly estimate the immense value of your national union to your collective and individual happiness; that you should cherish a cordial, habitual and immovable attachment to it, accustoming yourself to think and speak of it as of the palladium of your political safety and prosperity; watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety; discountenancing whatever may suggest even a suspicion that it can in any event be abandoned, and indignantly frowning upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts."

I think the hon. Prime Minister also almost spoke with the same feelings. All sections of the House, every Member of this House will, I hope, join with me in this feeling about the unity of our country and carry forward this programme. It is not a party programme. It is a national concern and I hope every one will share that feeling and every one will make his own humble attempt to forge the unity of this great country.

I read only this day, in one of the dailies, certain unfortunate feelings voiced by certain authorities in Pakistan. Our great friends in Pakistan are hoping for a disintegration of this country. They are waiting for it. They consider that this is for the benefit of Pakistan. We have no such feelings for Pakistan. I think their feelings and their expression from

[Shri Harish Chandra Mathur]

those authorities are only just an indication of a certain diseased thinking. We cannot share such a thinking.

Shri Daji: Their own experience, perhaps.

Shri Harish Chandra Mathur: We wish them well. We wish them better health. At the moment, they have better health. At the moment, they have lesser trouble in the country. I think they will be more sane and I think they will be able to think in proper terms and proper perspective. I think the most fitting answer which could be given by us to this threat by Pakistan or the evil designs of Pakistan is that they will have to wait till Doomsday if they think that there will be disintegration of this country. I hope every Member of this hon. House who rises to speak on the President's Address will give that challenge to Pakistan and will tell them that they will have to wait till Doomsday. This country is not going to disintegrate. This country is going from strength to strength. During the next five years, all the Members of this House, charged as we feel with the great responsibility of nation-building will carry this country forward and we will carry this country from unity to unity and from strength to strength.

I feel that we are in a far happier position in our country. Let us look at what has happened. Anybody who had gone and visited a place like Hardwar during the *Kumbhmela* would have found that people had collected there from all the nooks and corners of this country, forgetting their superficial differences and distinctions, and feeling that they were all belonging to one country and drinking the milk of humanity from the breast of the same mother.

In the hoary past, we had that great man Sankarcharya, who established four *dhams* encircling the entire country. We have in the extreme north of the Himalayas, a Namboodripad

from Kerala who is the great high-priest of the Badrinath temple.

Shri Nath Pai: Let my hon. friend clarify that position. Otherwise, it may lead to a misconception. Which Namboodripad does my hon. friend refer to?

Shri U. M. Trivedi (Mandsaur): He means a Namboodri Brahmin.

Shri Harish Chandra Mathur: I think my hon. friend should understand it in some greater heights than this.

And there is also one from Kashi in the south. So, this basic unity of the country has been there all along, and it is now for us, the Members of Parliament, to carry it forward.

I can quite understand certain tendencies that are there in the country. Let us understand what they represent. I would not blame any particular political party. But let us see what is represented by the DMK, what is represented by the Muslim League, what is represented by the Hindu Mahasabha, and what is represented by the Akali Dal. These are aberrations of the worst type in the body-politic. These parties alone are not to blame, but all of us in this country are responsible; everyone of us is responsible for the good health of the body-politic. We have got to take into consideration what the ailment is. This is due possibly to three things. The first is lack of enlightenment. The political parties are not going out in the country with proper ideologies and propagating them in the country. So far as this question of enlightenment is concerned, there is a great responsibility which attaches to all the political parties, and all the political parties must come together in this respect. On this particular issue, I have given notice of a no-day-yet-named motion, and I wish that this Parliament should discuss it in full and go into all the various aspects of it. Then, we have the National Integration Conference and their Council. They should go out with a

massive programme throughout the country and see that at least during the next five years, we do something about this.

The first thing that we must see is that the political parties which are propagating their ideologies should take those things above caste and community. It is true that the political parties also are accentuating those differences today. But what I would suggest is that instead of the Prime Minister undertaking a hectic tour only at the time of the elections, if he goes round the country today, he will be much better understood outside the context of the general elections, and he can carry on a great propaganda for the national integration of this country, and he will have to be supported in this by all the leaders of all the political parties.

Dr. M. S. Aney (Nagpur): If he travels round the country during the whole year, who will be doing the work here?

Shri Harish Chandra Mathur: What he wanted to do in one month could much better have been spread out over five years, and I am sure that in that case, he would have been able to do five times what he did in one year. Then, I have also got to appeal to the great gentlemen, to my great friends, and great Members of Parliament like Dr. M. S. Aney and others, to take a great part in this matter. It is not that the Prime Minister alone has got to go single-handed in this matter.

The second reason for these aberrations is that there might be certain natural and legitimate grievances in certain parts. We should not just scoff at them, saying 'Here is the DMK. What is this?' and so on. Let us see what the DMK is, and what has given birth to the DMK. Next to lack of political ideologies and the lack of enlightenment, the existence of certain legitimate grievances might be another reason for these aberrations. I would submit that the

legitimate grievances of all the parties must be removed. We must be fair and just to them. We must give them a sympathetic understanding, and we must make them feel the glow of being the citizens of a great and free country; and we must make them feel that they are the owners of this vast land rather than of a small tract here and there. We must make them feel that we are all one, and we must try to understand their difficulties and try to eliminate those difficulties.

The third reason for these aberrations is something like what I would call political snobbery. This political snobbery must be put down with a heavy hand. There is the least doubt that there can be no tolerance for it. Having given the enlightenment, and having listened to the grievances, we must see that all the political parties in this country—it is not the job of Government only, but all the political parties also should join the Government in this regard—give no quarter for any such political snobbery. Of course, there is some responsibility on the part of Government they should come down with a heavy hand on it.

Shri U. M. Trivedi: No responsibility.

Shri Harish Chandra Mathur: Two Ministries in particular, namely the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, and the Ministry of Education will have to be geared also to this task. With their help we could certainly have galvanised our young men with a certain patriotic fervour and national unity. But we have not been able to do it so far. I think that these two Ministries will have to play a much greater role in this regard.

I shall now pass on to my next point. While talking about the elections, some resentment has also been expressed against the princes and the *jagirdars* coming into politics. I am not able to share that view. As

[Shri Harish Chandra Mathur]

a matter of fact, I very much welcome the princes and the *jagirdars* coming out of their forts and palaces and entering the main current of life. I have every reason to believe that in due course, and sooner rather than later, they will find their own level. All the halo and the glamour which is there about them is going to disappear very shortly, and that will disappear much quicker if they enter into politics, and they get into the main current of life. There is the least doubt about it. It is from that particular viewpoint that I welcome this. I do not see any reason why we should want that this particular class should live as an anachronism in the country. I do not see why they should live as relics of certain past history. They are as good and free citizens of this country as any other. We have done an extraordinarily good job in the abolition of the Indian States, and in the abolition of the *jagirdari* system, and the further process of integrating all these friends into the main current of life is a thing to be welcomed rather than resented.

Certain people feel that they come with a particular advantage, because they are getting their privy purses. Rightly or wrongly we have conceded that to them in our agreement, and we must honour that. But why do we forget that there are many others in the country who are far richer than the *jagirdars* and the princes? Are we by any means going to exclude them from politics? Are we going to put a ban on these people? So, let us not look at this question from this angle.

As a matter of fact, it is simply because of our own inherent weaknesses that we scoff at this idea, and we are just wanting them to keep out of the field, for our own sake. Why should we do so? If we had some merit in us, if we had some strength in us, if we had some power of appeal in us, there is the least

doubt that we shall be able to convince the people of the services rendered by us, and we shall find our own place in the society; therefore, we should not be afraid of anybody entering the field.

I shall now pass on to make a brief reference to the Administration, because there has been a lot of talk about the Administration also while discussing the general elections. When we talk of the Administration, we must take into consideration that firstly, the Administration has worked under a great strain, and secondly, that the Administration is not used, and it has not yet been able to adjust itself, to the new trends and to the new demands of the situation.

Shri Nath Pai: Even 15 years after independence.

Shri Harish Chandra Mathur: Even 15 years after independence. It is a life habit. Even the small habit of your smoking does not go so easily; and those friends who have been in it for a long time . . .

Shri Nath Pai: Mr. Deputy-Speaker, he says 'your smoking'. I have never smoked.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath (Hoshangabad): Nor have you, Sir.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: It is a general remark, not made about any particular individual.

Shri U. M. Trivedi: He is addressing the Chair. So he should not say like that.

Shri Harish Chandra Mathur: I am not defending it. As a matter of fact, I have been myself a very strong and severe critic on the floor of this House of it and I have not a word to retract from what I have said all the time. There have been difficulties. We must remove them. I do not share

the view which was voiced from the Treasury Benches that all the corruption is at the lower rung. If there is corruption at the lower rung, it also has another thing flowing from it.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy (Kendrapara): It is nationalised.

Shri Harish Chandra Mathur: If there is corruption at the lower level, what are the senior people doing about it? Even if they are not corrupt, they are incompetent. We will have to accept that, because they cannot exercise a check over the subordinate services.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: Decontrolled—corruption has been decontrolled.

Shri Harish Chandra Mathur: I am coming to decontrol. That is exactly the next point I am going to deal with.

There is the least doubt in my mind, and I repeat it, that the hon. Home Minister must take full note of the situation. The administration must give full satisfaction to the people. He must come out with a strong hand to deal with this matter. One thing which has been thought about as a solution to this is, as my hon. friend on the other side remarked, decontrol. That is exactly panchayati raj.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: I said corruption has been decontrolled.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: **Shri Harish Chandra Mathur** will please address the Chair, not **Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath**.

Shri Harish Chandra Mathur: My hon. friend opposite just made a mention of it.

The question was whether we could gear up our administrative machinery to cope with such a massive programme of development in which

we are now engaged right from the village, taluka and the district levels. Therefore, panchayati raj and the community development came in. But I have a very serious difficulty about panchayati raj, because I find that there is no coherent thinking on the subject. The Ministry of Community Development tells us something very different; the Planning Commission tells us something very different, and the various States have a very different motion of what panchayati raj is. I do not blame anybody for it, because it is a new conception before us.

The Ministry of Community Development thinks that we are going to establish various governments with, of course, limited powers, at different levels. Another view is that it is only a projection of the States' authority to execute certain programmes and plans of the State Governments. There is a third view held by a fairly strong section of the population, people like **Shri Jaya Prakash Narain**—it is very significant to note all this because we must have a clear idea about it—who think that panchayati raj is not at all consistent with parliamentary democracy. They feel that panchayati raj is only an alternative to parliamentary democracy. They hold the view that it has to come up from down below and it has got to replace parliamentary democracy as it stands today, and it has got to be a partyless government. We must consider whether we are accepting that concept or not, because it is only on that basis that we have been asking political parties to keep out of panchayati raj institutions.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: They are very much in them.

Shri Harish Chandra Mathur: If panchayati raj has got to be fitted in with parliamentary democracy as it operates in Parliament and State legislatures, I do not see how we can keep politics out of panchayati raj institutions. It is a self-deception and

[Shri Harish Chandra Mathur]

I think the earlier we got out of it, the better for us.

Shri U. M. Trivedi: Yes, we must do away with it.

Shri Harish Chandra Mathur: If we have panchayati raj at the lower levels and parliamentary democracy at the central and State levels, we must accept the fact that the members of the panchayati raj institutions are going to use a lot of influence and are going to affect the elections to State legislatures and Parliament. Policies is bound to come there.

There is another very simple thing. I do not know what is meant by 'politics'. But I think politics can never be kept away from power. Power and politics go together. If there is power at the village level and at the district level in these panchayati raj institutions, politics will definitely come into the picture. Let us be honest and confess it. If politics gets into these institutions, let us also understand and visualise the situation. Are we prepared to have all these different governments at different levels dominated by different political parties? This is bound to happen. Some of these panchayat samities and some zila parishads would be dominated by the Communist Party, some would be dominated by the PSP and some may be dominated by the Swatantra Party.

Shri Harish Vishnu Kamath: What is wrong?

Shri Harish Chandra Mathur: There is nothing wrong. Let us understand it and say whether we are prepared for it or not. My hon. friend will enjoy it and understand it much better when I say what is going to be the vertical relationship between these panchayat institutions, from the panchayat samiti to the zila parishad and from the zila parishad to the State Government. Then the question is whether a State Government which belongs to a different political colour

will not interfere and try to smash the panchayati raj institutions.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: They are doing it.

Shri Harish Chandra Mathur: What is the safeguard against it? Do you think that the Chief Minister of a particular State who is deeply interested in the election of an MLA or MP will be able to keep his hands off these institutions? So it is a very important thing which we have got to consider as to what would be the relationship with the administrative machinery, what is the guarantee that the administrative machinery will not be used or abused, for party purposes.

Shri Nath Pai: It will be used; we have seen it.

Shri Harish Chandra Mathur: Are we going to create tensions between one panchayat institution and another panchayat institution?

Shri Sham Lal Saraf (Jammu and Kashmir): Shri Harish Chandra Mathur is not making us any the wiser. Is he advocating panchayati raj or is he against it? Let him say exactly what he stands for.

Shri Harish Chandra Mathur: If he listens and permits me to come to my conclusion, he will know.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: He is thinking aloud.

Shri Harish Chandra Mathur: We have got to take note of the possibility of tensions between one panchayati raj institution and another, between one panchayati raj institution and the State Government. At the State level, there may be tension between the State's administrative machinery and a panchayati raj institution.

Another thing which we have got to take into consideration is: what is

going to be our concept of the institution of the Collector and the District Magistrate? What is going to be his relationship with these institutions? Are we going to do away with the institution of the District Magistrate and the Collector? What is going to be the relationship with the departmental heads? We have got to give thorough consideration to this matter; the relationship between the panchayat institution at one level and the administrative machinery. We will not permit the administrative machinery to be destroyed without knowing what we are going to put in its place. The question is whether we are prepared for it or not. What is going to happen to the institution of the Collector? What will happen to the District Magistrate? Will he disappear? What happens also to the departmental heads? What are we going to do at the Secretariat or State level? All this has got to be borne in mind. Therefore, I try to understand this problem by a discussion at the central level.

This is the problem which poses itself before the country. Here is an administrative structure which we have got before us for centuries going. Here is something which we are renovating. These panchayats, I submit, are entirely different from the old panchayats which were absolutely isolated institutions, which were built upon traditions which had an entirely different aspect and an entirely different purpose to fulfil. If we are building up a complete hierarchy, we have to take note of its relationship with the administrative machinery, the future type of the administrative structure, because until and unless we take note of it, there is likely to be chaos. If I were to go into this subject at length, I have got certain suggestions to give, and it will take me at least an hour and a half to elaborate on this subject. It is therefore I have asked for a special discussion on this subject, and we will discuss it, but I do wish Government gives proper thought and consideration to

this matter, because, as I started by saying, we want to have national unity, a feeling of harmony. Whether we have taken good care of it, whether this is not going to disturb national harmony and whether we are not going to weaken our administrative machinery at the present juncture which is a very crucial period—all these matters have got to be very carefully and thoughtfully gone into.

Shri U. M. Trivedi: Panchayati raj should be scrapped.

Shri Harish Chandra Mathur: My hon. friend asked me what I thought about it. I had been in Mussoorie from the 9th to 13th of this very month, and we discussed this subject for full five days, because, I was interested in it, because I have a view which is entirely different from the view held by Shri Jaya Prakash Narain and we thrashed it out there. But I will not be able to give a full picture of the entire matter in the course of my speech on the President's Address, but it is a very big problem.

Shri K. R. Gupta (Alwar): Are you against panchayati raj or in favour of it?

Shri Nath Pai: Why not give us your definite conclusions?

Shri Harish Chandra Mathur: It is a big problem which will have to be discussed, and I wish to know whether Government have gone into this aspect or not.

I would next go to our economic policy and economic structure. I feel that it will have to be agreed that in the matter of our economic policy also, our policy is unexceptionable. There is no alternative to it. It is only a practical thing that we are doing, and the President in the last paragraph of his Address has stated:

"As I said in my last address it is the objective and purpose of my Government to follow steadfastly firm policies and to imple-

[Shri Harish Chandra Mathur]

ment effective measures to establish in our land a democratic and socialist society."

A socialist society in a mixed economy—there is nothing more complex, there is nothing more difficult and nothing more delicate than the advance of socialism in the midst of a mixed economy where we are wanting to encourage the private entrepreneur to go ahead fully with his programmes. It is a very difficult thing. We have in this House sometimes tried to equate our socialism with certain public sector enterprises. I do not think a few public sector enterprises can lead us to socialism. Public sector enterprises are very important, they are important because we then smash at the accumulation of economic power in certain hands. They are important because they augment the national wealth and because the benefit is much more widespread, but that alone would not take us to socialism in this country.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: It is a way of life.

Shri Harish Chandra Mathur: Way of life is all right, but you have to take economic steps. What is there to be done? Therefore, I feel it is most important that until and unless there is a big lift given to 80 per cent. of our population which lives in the rural areas, even at the cost of important big projects, until and unless you do something to lift the general population in the rural areas, I do not think we will be taking even the first important step towards socialism. That is the most important thing to my mind. I would rather urge that if necessary Rs. 500 to Rs. 1,000 crores may be diverted to the rural areas to raise the standard of the rural people, because what is happening at present...

Dr. M. S. Aney: Urbanise rural areas, that is what you want.

Shri Harish Chandra Mathur: When I say divert Rs. 500 to Rs. 1000 crores

to the rural areas, I wish agriculture, animal husbandry and rural industry to get the benefit out of this money which I am suggesting. What happens is that in spite of the frantic and best efforts which we are putting in, the position has not changed much. I do not agree with the story that the rich are getting richer and the poor are getting poorer. The rich have become richer, there is the least doubt about it, but the poor have not become poorer. They have gone rich, but their step is too slow. I agree that the disparity and the gap between the two is widening....

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: That is the socialistic pattern of society.

Shri Harish Chandra Mathur: ... because, in spite of the small man making progress, getting richer, his improvement is too small, while the richer man who has got all the wherewithals with him, which is inherent in a mixed economy, goes much faster.

Shri Nath Pai: And we call it socialism.

Shri Harish Chandra Mathur: He moves 50 steps, but we are trying to help the small man. Let us not see only the bad side of it.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: This is the great achievement of a socialist Government.

Shri Harish Chandra Mathur: It will be the correct thing to see that the poor man, who could not have advanced at all, has been helped. He did not have the financial position..

Shri Priya Gupta (Katihar): The financial position is he is starving.

Shri Harish Chandra Mathur: ... to get this community development, panchayati raj, all these agricultural projects, rural industry and everything. The poor man has been helped, there is the least doubt about it, but it is inherent in a mixed economy and you could not have done anything better.

I think we are too near the events and we feel that pinch of every day life there. We do not see as a matter of fact, and I am definite we do not appreciate it, but I have not the least doubt that the future historian will record in letters of gold what India has done during these ten years. It is not what A, B or C but what this country as a whole, India, has done during these ten years. It is without a parallel in world's history. This will have to be conceded.

We have abolished the ruling order so smoothly, in such a dignified manner. We have abolished jagirdari without a drop of blood being spilt, and even a Government which is committed to socialism has given to the jagirdars a compensation of Rs. 650 crores—I do not grudge that—because we want them to be treated as free citizens and as our equal brethren, so that they may be absorbed in the current of the economy of this country. We have done all this. When I say that the future historian will record it in letters of gold, it is not only about our domestic affairs but also our external affairs. Our policy of positive neutralism, the policy of non-alignment, is now being accepted all over the world. Those who were scoffing at it, even the United States of America, find that this is a sound policy. The President of the U.S.A. had to give a big change to his own policy. All other countries are appreciating it. And let us not forget that all the new countries of Africa which have emerged have just toed the line, followed this policy, gone on the dotted line of the foreign policy of this country. Let us also appreciate that it is directly the result of the foreign policy of this Government that you have got today a Secretary-General of the United Nations from a non-committed nation. The non-committed nations are wanted now everywhere, and they are definitely playing a great role. I think there should be better appreciation.

These are the larger issues. I think we are deflected by certain pinches

which we feel every day, but we look at the broader aspect, the most important and vital matters, we will have to concede that this is a remarkable achievement. I move.

श्री भगवत झा आजाद (भागलपुर) :

उपाध्यक्ष जी, यह हमारा सौभाग्य है कि राष्ट्रपति महोदय ने विगत १६ अप्रैल को हम संसद् सदस्यों के सम्मुख अपना अभिभाषण दिया। हम इसलिये उन के बहुत शुकृत हैं। इस कृतज्ञता ज्ञापन के लिये भानर्नाय मित्र श्री हरिश्चन्द्र माथुर ने इस सदन सम्मुख जो प्रस्ताव रखा है, मैं उस का समर्थन करता हूँ।

हर वर्ष सत्र के आरम्भ में राष्ट्रपति जी संसद् सदस्यों का ध्यान जनता, सरकार और संसद् के द्वारा किये हुए कार्यों का और आकृष्ट करते हैं और हमें हर वर्ष वह प्रोत्साहित करते हैं कि हम अपने देश के नव निर्माण के पथ पर तेजी से आगे बढ़ें।

राष्ट्रपति जी ने हमारे देश का १२ वर्ष में अधिक के समय तक नेतृत्व किया और अपने पिछले अभिभाषण में उन्होंने ने कहा :

“गणराज्य के राष्ट्रपति के रूप में आप के सम्मुख अभिभाषण देने का मेरे लिये यह अन्तिम अवसर है। बारह वर्षों से अधिक समय तक लोगों द्वारा निर्वाचित अध्यक्ष के रूप में देश की सेवा करने का सुयोग मुझे मिला, यह मेरे लिये बड़ी खुशी और सौभाग्य की बात है।”

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, ऐंसे राष्ट्रपति जिन्होंने ने कि १२ वर्षों तक इस देश का नेतृत्व किया आज उन से अलग होते हुए और बिछड़ते हुए हम सभी संसद् सदस्यों को दुःख होता है। मैं इस सदन के द्वारा उन से यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि यह राष्ट्रपति जी को जो धन्यवाद देने का प्रस्ताव रक्खा गया है यह सिर्फ इसी कारण नहीं है कि ऐसा हुमा करता है बल्कि हम सब

[श्री भगवत झा आजाद]

महसूस करते हैं कि इन १२ वर्षों में उन्होंने ने जो हमारे देश का नेतृत्व किया वह सबमुक्त में हमारे लिये सौभाग्य की बात है। हमारे प्रधान मंत्री महोदय ने पिछली बार मार्च में राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण पर हुई बहस के वक्त बोलते हुए यह कहा था :—

“As time goes on, the old Captains, and Generals pass away, and naturally, all of us feel this gap.”

“The fact that thus, far, many of those who have guided the destinies of India were associated with the struggle for freedom gave them a peculiar competence to deal with them—competence in the sense that they bridged the gap between the pre-Independence period and the period after Independence.”

“No one else could have bridged that gap more than our President.”

मैं भी इस सद्भावना के साथ अपनी बात मिलाता हूँ। यह हमारे देश का सौभाग्य रहा कि उस का नेतृत्व हमें मित्रा—एक ऐसे व्यक्ति का नेतृत्व मिला जिन को आजादी के पूर्व और बाद का अनुभव प्राप्त था। राष्ट्रपति के रूप में १२ वर्षों तक उन्होंने ने इस देश का नेतृत्व किया। राष्ट्रपति की कर्तव्य की भावना उन की कर्तव्यपरायणता, उन की दक्षता, विनम्रता और सबों के प्रति समान प्रेम की भावना ने उन को इस देश के हर एक नागरिक के लिये प्यारा बना दिया था। इसलिये जब वह आज जा रहे हैं तो प्रधान मंत्री जी के शब्दों में मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि यद्यपि वह हमारे देश के भाग्यनिर्णायक के रूप में नहीं रहेंगे, फिर भी उन की सलाह-मशविरे को जब भी हमें और देश को आवश्यकता महसूस होगी वह हमें उन से मिलती रहेगी।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने अभिभाषण में जो सब से मूल्यवान

संदेश हमें दिया है वह है “इस देश में संसदीय पद्धति के प्रति लोगों की आस्था और विश्वास।” उन्होंने ने अपने अभिभाषण में कहा है :—

संसदीय जीवन और कर्तव्यों का मुझे कुछ अनुभव रहा है। उस के लिए मेरे मन में अधिक से अधिक आदर है और संसदीय प्रणाली तथा उसकी संस्थाओं में मेरा आशापूर्ण विश्वास और गहरी आस्था है। हमारी संसद् के प्रति लोगों की आदर भावना है और हमारी राजनैतिक भावनाओं में इस की जड़ें गहरी जम गयी हैं।

इस की सफलता के कारण आज हम देख रहे हैं कि हमारा नवजात गणतंत्र इतने कम वर्षों में लोगों के मन में समा गया है और हमारा देश प्रथम जवुनाव, द्वितीय चुनाव सफलतापूर्वक सम्पन्न करके आगे और अधिक आगे बढ़ता जा रहा है। तृतीय आम चुनाव अभी भी सफलता-पूर्वक सम्पन्न कर चुके हैं जिसमें देश की कोटि-कोटि जनता ने उत्साह, लगन और कर्तव्य-परायणता की भावना में अनुप्राणित होकर चुनाव में अपने अधिकार का प्रयोग किया और वोट दिया। वह केवल इस बात का ही प्रदर्शन नहीं है कि उनको संसदीय प्रणाली में विश्वास है, बल्कि वह इस बात का भी समर्थन है कि कांग्रेस सरकार ने देश के लिए जिस आर्थिक व्यवस्था को अपनाया है, जो योजनायें बनायी हैं प्रथम, द्वितीय और तृतीय—वे सभी जनता को मान्य हैं। तृतीय चुनाव ने इस बात का स्पष्ट प्रदर्शन हमारे सामने कर दिया है कि कांग्रेस सरकार ने जो आर्थिक व्यवस्था अपनाई है वह व्यवस्था हमारे हित में बहुत ही उपयुक्त है। अगर हम इस आर्थिक व्यवस्था और गणतंत्र के विकास को एशिया की पृष्ठभूमि में देखें तो पता चलेगा कि क्या बात है। हमारे देश ने १२ वर्षों में जो प्रगति की है अगर उसको हम एशिया के अलग अलग देशों की पृष्ठभूमि में देखें तो पता लगेगा कि हमारी प्रगति आशापूर्ण है। एशिया के पड़ोसी

मुल्कों को देखिये तो आप पायेंगे कि पैदाइशी राज-महाराजे, फोज की तात के बल पर बने सम्राट और शहशाह, प्रोलेटारियट की डिक्टरेशिप और जनता के नाम पर तानाशाही और बेसिक डेमाक्रेसी की खड़ी की गयी खोखली शासन-व्यवस्था उन देशों के सामाजिक, आर्थिक और राज-नीतिक व्यवस्था को कहां ले जा रही हैं ? इसके विरुद्ध हमारा गणतंत्र है जोकि प्रति-वर्ष अपनी आर्थिक व्यवस्था को सुदृढ़तर बनाता चला जा रहा है। पूर्व और पश्चिम के देशों की तुलना में हमारा नवजात गणतंत्र अपनी आर्थिक व्यवस्था में एक के बाद एक कड़ी जोड़ता जा रहा है।

मैं अपने उन माननीय सदस्यों के जिन्होंने कि राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण सम्बन्धी धन्यवाद के प्रस्ताव के ऊपर संशोधन दिये हैं उन से मैं पूछना चाहता हू कि क्या यह झूठ है कि भारत गणतंत्र ने इन पिछले १२ वर्षों में इस देश की आर्थिक व्यवस्था को सुदृढ़ किया है ? क्या यह झूठ है कि हमने चाहे वह कपड़े की बात की बात हो, चाहे वह गल्ले की बात हो चाहे वह कोई भी फोल्ड की बात हो, हमने तरक्की की है ? अगर मेरे वह माननीय सदस्य इन सारी बातों को झूठ समझते हैं और वह प्रधान मंत्री महोदय की बात से सहमत नहीं हैं तो वह उस मित्र की नाई हैं जिसने कहा कि "मित्र में घोड़े की आवाज तो पहचानता हूँ लेकिन तुम्हारी आवाज नहीं पहचानता हूँ। यह माननीय सदस्य उस मित्र की तरह हैं।

हमारे गणतंत्र ने जो उन्नति की है उस को मैं राष्ट्रपति महोदय के शब्दों में रखना चाहूंगा। राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने अभिभाषण में कहा है :—

मेरी सरकार का उद्देश्य और लक्ष्य अपनी नीतियों पर दृढ़तापूर्वक चलना और देश में लोकतंत्रात्मक तथा समाजवादी

समाज की स्थापना के लिए प्रभावशाली कार्यवाही करना है :

इसका उपाय क्या है ? उन्होंने बतलाया है कि इसका उपाय हमारा भौतिक विकास, वेगवान सामाजिक और आर्थिक व्यवस्था है जिसका कि तृतीय चरण हमारी तृतीय योजना है। हमें अपनी योजनाबद्ध अर्थ व्यवस्था करनी है। तृतीय पंचवर्षीय योजना के सम्बन्ध में राष्ट्रपति जी ने कहा है :—

"तीसरी चतुर्वर्षीय योजना अपने दूसरे साल में है और इसका प्रारम्भ अच्छा हुआ है।"

अब मैं सदन का ध्यान राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण में उस मुख्य बात की ओर ले जाता हूँ जिसका कि सम्बन्ध तेल उद्योग से है। राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने अभिभाषण में तेल उद्योग के सम्बन्ध में काफी महत्व दिया है और काफी जोर दिया है। उन्होंने बतलाया कि हमें इसमें आशातीत सफलता मिली है। हमारे इस नवजात तेल उद्योग ने जो सफलता प्राप्त की है वह सचमुच हमारे लिए एक गौरव की बात है। इस देश ने तेल उद्योग के सम्बन्ध में इतने थोड़े दिनों में जो उन्नति की है और तेल उद्योग के इतिहास में हमारे देश को जो सफलता मिली है वह हमारे लिए सचमुच गौरव की बात है। चाहे वह भविष्यकार का प्रश्न हो यानी ऐक्सप्लोरेशन का, चाहे रिफायनिंग का यानी सफाई करने का, चाहे उसके मार्केटिंग का यानी विक्रय का प्रश्न हो, इन तीनों चीजों को हमारी सरकार ने सार्वजनिक खण्ड में रख कर एक महत्वपूर्ण कार्य किया है।

गुजरात में जो तेल मिल रहा है उसके फलस्वरूप हमारे देश में २० लाख टन की क्षमता वाली रिफायनरी बनायी जायेगी।

[श्री भागवत झा आजाद]

५ वर्षों में हमारे देश में तीन तेलशोधक कारखाने बन जायेंगे क्या यह हमारे लिए गर्व करने की बात नहीं है और क्या यह हमारी इम क्षेत्र में सफलता का द्योतक नहीं है ? क्या यह सफलता का द्योतक नहीं है कि सरकार ने केवल ५ वर्षों में यह फैला किया है कि अपने देश में तीन तेल शोधक कारखाने बनाये जायें ? अगर यह तमाम बातें हमारी भवति के नमूने हैं मैं ऐसा समझने वाले मित्रों पर रहम ही कर सकता हूँ । क्या विश्व में इतने कम वर्षों में किसी देश ने इस क्षेत्र में इतनी उन्नति की है ? सिर्फ यही नहीं आज हम बाहर में कितने डेफिमिट प्रॉडक्ट्स मंगते हैं । किरोमिन आयल, एच० एम० डी० और फरनेस आयल आदि हम बाहर में मंगते हैं । इस तेल शोधक कारखानों में उत्पादन प्रारम्भ होने के साथ साथ ही हमारे देश में यह तमाम चीजे बननी प्रारम्भ हो जायेंगी । हमारा अपना अनुमान है कि तृतीय पंचवर्षीय योजना के अंदर ही हम १२० करोड़ की विदेवशी मुद्रा की बचत सिर्फ यह डेफिमिट प्रॉडक्ट्स का उत्पादन करके कर सकेंगे । अब क्या यह हमारी उन्नति की निशानी नहीं है ?

राष्ट्रपति जी ने बिन्कल ठीक ही कहा कि हमारे देश में पिछले वर्ष में और पिछले कुछ दिनों में काफी तरक्की की है । उन्होंने यह भी बताया कि वरौनी के तेलशोधक कारखाने की प्रथम यूनिट में १९६३ के प्रारम्भ में उत्पादन शुरू हो जायगा । जब यूनिट काम करना शुरू कर देगी तो हमारे यहां तेल की काफी सुविधा हो जायगी । उन्होंने इस बात का भी संकेत किया है कि इन तीन तेलशोधक कारखानों से देश के विभिन्न भागों से तेल के आवागमन के लिए पाइप लाइन बिछायी जायेंगी । इसलिए माननीय सदस्य जोकि कहते हैं कि रेलवेज अपने यातायात के भार को नहीं ढो सकेगी बतलाना चाहेंगा कि रेलवेज का भार काफी कम हो जायगा : कलकत्ते से दिल्ली तक

पाइप लाइन बिछाने के लिए भूमि का अर्जन हो रहा है मेरा विश्वास है कि यह तेल का आवागमन रेल के कार्य को आसान कर देगा मैं समझता हूँ कि माननीय सदस्य जोकि हमारी दायी ओर बैठे हैं इससे सहमत होंगे कि यह एक बहुत बड़ी सफलता है । इस देश की योजना की बहुत बड़ी सफलता है और सरकार की बहुत बड़ी सफलता है ।

राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने अभिभाषण में हमारा ध्यान सिर्फ तेल उद्योग की तरफ ही आकर्षित किया ही सो बात नहीं है । हम जीवन के किसी भी पहलू को लें, किसी भी चरण को लें, हमें स्पष्ट मालूम पड़ेगा कि हमारी तरक्की हुई है ।

जैसा कि आपने प्रश्न उठाया और कहा कि हमारे वित्त मंत्री ने जो बजट इम सदन के सामने रक्खा उस पर यह बहुत ही हल्ला हुआ कि इसमें कपड़े का मूल्य बढ़जायगा तो मैं बतलाना चाहता हूँ कि वित्त मंत्री जी ने कहा है कि आज सिर्फ उन कपड़ों पर जोकि सुपरफाइन हैं दाम बढ़ाये गये हैं और जिनको कि हमारे कुछ धनिक मित्र पहनते हैं लेकिन इस देश की गरीब जनता जो कपड़ा पहनती है उस पर कीमत बढ़ने का प्रश्न नहीं है ।

16 hrs.

जहां तक कपड़ों का सम्बन्ध है, पिछले बारह सालों में हम ने इतनी तरक्की की है कि जहां पहले हमारे यहां प्रति-व्यक्ति ८ गज कपड़ा तैयार होता था, आज प्रति-व्यक्ति १५-१६ गज कपड़ा तैयार हो रहा है । क्या यह बात झूठ है ? क्या यह बात भी झूठ है कि जहां १९५० में इस देश की मिलों में ३७२ करोड़ गज कपड़ा बनाता था, वहां आज ५७० करोड़ गज कपड़ों का उत्पादन होता है ?

कुछ माननीय सदस्यों ने इस आशय के संशोधन पेश किये हैं कि राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण में इस बात का उल्लेख नहीं है

कि देश में गरीबी बढ़ रही है और यह कि देश में प्राइमिज बढ़ रही है। सम्भव है कि पहले की तुलना में वे बढ़ी हों, लेकिन साथ ही साथ यह भी सत्य है कि इस देश में अन्न, कपास, कपड़े और तेल आदि सब वस्तुओं के उत्पादन में वृद्धि हुई है। माननीय सदस्य किसी भी चीज का नाम बतायें, जिस में हमारे देश ने पिछले बारह साल में तरक्की नहीं की है। हाँ, वह बात ठीक है कि हमारे सामने और भी अग्रिम प्रश्न हैं, जिन का समाधान हम खोज रहे हैं और जिन की प्रोर राट्टरति जी ने अपने अभिभाषण में हमारा ध्यान आकर्षित किया है।

राट्टरति जी ने अपने अभिभाषण में कहा है कि कृषि-उत्पादन काफी तेजी से बढ़ रहा है और कृषि की स्थिति संतोषजनक है। यह बात ठीक है। माननीय सदस्य भी मानेंगे कि १९५९-६० की तुलना में हमारे देश में कृषि में ८.१ प्रतिशत वृद्धि हुई है वह यह भी मानेंगे कि १९५५-५६ की तुलना में, जो कि हमारा बेस योरर है, हमारे देश ने १९६०-६१ में १९.१ प्रतिशत अधिक अन्न उरजाया है। अगर ये नमाम बातें ठीक हैं, तो इस में कोई मन्देह नहीं है कि कृषि के क्षेत्र में हमारे देश ने काफी प्रगति की है।

स्टील और बड़ी बड़ी मशीनें बनाने का प्रश्न भी बहुत महत्वपूर्ण है। हमारे यहां १९५० की तुलना में ड्राई गुना अधिक स्टील बन रहा है। जिस समय हमारे देश के तानां इस्पात-कारखाने पूरा उत्पादन करने लगेगे—बांकारों का कारखाना अभी पूरा नहीं हुआ है—तो हमारे देश में ५९ लाख टन स्टील की पैदाइस होगी। क्या यह बात झूठ है कि दस बरस पहले की तुलना में हमारे देश में आज ११ गुना कीमत की मशीनें तैयार हो रही हैं ?

अगर ये बातें ठीक हैं तो फिर माननीय सदस्यों को मानना होगा—जैसा कि राट्टरति जी ने अपने अभिभाषण में कहा है—कि

पिछले बारह बरसों में इस देश ने कृषि, उद्योग, शिक्षा आदि सब क्षेत्रों में काफी तरक्की की है और इसी के फलस्वरूप हमारे देश के हर एक आदमी की व्यक्तिगत आय २६२.२ रूपयें से बढ़कर ३३० हो गई है। क्या यह बात भी झूठ है ?

जहां तक हमारे देश की राष्ट्रीय आय का सम्बन्ध है वह १९५० में ९,५३० करोड़ थी, जब कि आज वह १४,६०० करोड़ हो गई है। इस प्रकार व्यक्तिगत आय और राष्ट्रीय आय में वृद्धि और जीवन की अनेक सुविधाओं की उपलब्धि में उन्नति के कारण हर हिन्दुस्तानी की औसत आय ४२ बषे हो गई है, जबकि पहले गुलाम हिन्दुस्तान में वह जीवन के कुल ३२ बसन ही देख पाता था।

अगर यह ठीक है कि इस देश में व्यक्तिगत और राष्ट्रीय आय पहले से काफी बढ़ी है और मनुष्य की औसत आय में भी वृद्धि हुई है, तो यह स्पष्ट है कि पिछले चौदह सालों में हमने आशातीत तरक्की की है। मैं यह भी निवेदन करूंगा कि उन्नति और प्रगति के इस चित्र का एशिया की पृष्ठभूमि में देखना चाहिए। आप जरा अरब के मुल्कों, बर्मा और पाकिस्तान आदि देशों से अपने देश की तुलना कीजिए। कुछ माननीय सदस्य कहेंगे कि हम रूस और अमरीका को देखें। हम उन को भी देखते हैं, लेकिन साथ ही साथ हम अपनी कमियों के प्रति भी आभाषधान नहीं हैं। हम सिर्फ यह नहीं कहते कि हम ने तरक्की ही की है, बल्कि राट्टरति जी ने कहा है कि इन तरक्की के बावजूद बेरोजगारी एक बहुत अग्रिम प्रश्न बन कर हमारे सामने खड़ी है। उन्होंने केवल तरक्की का ही उल्लेख नहीं किया, बल्कि उन्होंने संसद् के सदस्यों को इस गम्भीर समस्या के प्रति होशियार रहने के लिये भी सावधान किया है इस प्रकार देश के सर्वांगीण विकास को जो रूप राट्टरति जी ने हमारे सामने रखा है, उस के लिए हम कृतज्ञ हैं।

[श्री भागवत झा आजाद]

देश की उन्नति के साथ साथ राष्ट्रपति जी ने हमारा ध्यान विदेशनीति की ओर भी आकृष्ट किया है। उन्होंने यह आशा व्यक्त की है कि जेनेवा में होने वाला निर-शस्त्रीकरण सम्मेलन सफल होगा। हमें दुःख है कि प्रधान मंत्री जी की अपील और और संसद् के कुछ सदस्यों के थो कौनेडी को अपने टैस्ट न करने का अनुरोध करने के बावजूद वह टैस्ट हुआ है। लेकिन यह एक तथ्य है कि हमारे पंचशोल की आवाज संसार के हर एक कोने में गूज रही है। हमारे प्रति-निधि ने राष्ट्र संघ में शान्ति की स्थापना को बल दिया है और उन तमाम देशों का समर्थन किया है, जो साम साम्राज्यवाद और उप-निवेशवाद के खिलाफ लड़ रहे हैं। राष्ट्रपति जी ने कहा है कि हम आशा करते हैं कि हमारा प्रतिनिधि मंडल राष्ट्र संघ में इन बातों पर बल देगा। मैं समझता हूँ कि इस प्रकार राष्ट्रपति जी ने हमारे देश की घरेलू और वैदेशिक नीतियों पर पूरा प्रकाश डाला है।

राष्ट्रपति जी के आभिभाषण के अन्तिम शब्द ये हैं:—

“आप सब और हमारी लोकतन्त्रात्मक संस्थाएँ स्थायी और शक्तिशाली बने लोगों को जनतन्त्रात्मक प्रयत्नों के लिए अधिकधिक प्रेरित करें और शान्ति तथा अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय सहयोग को उन्नत करने में सहायक हों— यह मेरी कामना है।”

मैं समझता हूँ कि राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपनी विदाई के अवसर पर जो आभिभाषण संसद् को दिया, जो संदेश हमको दिया कि संसत्सदस्य इस देश की जनता को आगे बढ़ाएँ और उसकी अर्थ-व्यवस्था को मजूर करें, ताकि हम सब का सपना पूरा हो, उस के लिए हम गनके कृतज्ञ हैं।]

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Motion moved:

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

“That the Members of Lok Sabha assembled in this session are deeply grateful to the President for the Address which he has been pleased to deliver to both the Houses of Parliament assembled together on the 18th April, 1962.”

There are some amendments.

Shri N. S. Nair (Quilon): Sir, I beg to move:—

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

“but regret that in the Address there is no mention of any scheme to bring at par industrially backward States like Kerala, with the industrially advanced States.” (1).

Shri Ram Sewak Yadav (Bara Banki): Sir, I beg to move:—

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

“but regret that in the Address neither any anxiety has been expressed regarding the ever increasing prices of essential commodities nor any steps have been suggested to check them”. (5).

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

“but regret that in the Address neither any anxiety has been expressed regarding the increasing economic disparity nor any directions have been issued to fix the minimum and the maximum incomes”. (6).

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

“but regret that in the Address no mention has been made of in-

creasing lawlessness, corruption and favouritism in the country". (7).

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

"but regret that in the Address no mention has been made of the irregularities, malpractices resorted to and of huge expenditure incurred during the last general elections by the capitalists, feudal elements, Zamindars, ex-rulers and the party in power". (8).

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

"but regret that in the Address no mention has been made of the deterioration in the condition of Harijans, Scheduled Castes, Backward Classes, women and Backward Minorities". (9).

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention of the failure of Plans nor any suggestion has been made to make basic changes therein". (10).

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention of any steps for recovering areas of Kashmir occupied by Pakistan, the Indian territory grabbed by China and the failure of the foreign policy of Government". (11).

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention of the policy of Government in regard to the removal of statues of foreign rulers in the country". (12).

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention of the failure

of Government to adopt Hindi as Official Language". (13).

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

"but regret that in the Address no mention has been made regarding the total failure of the Government to adopt a definite education policy and to impart primary education to citizens". (14).

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

"but regret that in the Address no mention has been made of the failure of the Government to set up a responsible Government in Manipur, Tripura and Goa, Daman and Diu". (15).

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

"but regret that in the Address no mention has been made of the failure of the Government to give rights of legislation, control on officers and equal share in revenues to Gram Panchayats and Zila Parishads by decentralisation of power". (16).

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

"but regret the failure to give to Gram Panchayats and local bodies the right to vote in the election of the President". (17).

Dr. Ranen Sen (Calcutta East): I beg to move:

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention of the malpractices resorted to by certain parties during the Third General Election". (18).

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention the pitiable

[Dr. Ranen Sen.]

condition of East Bengal refugees now in West Bengal". (19).

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention the rise in prices of commodities required by ordinary people while actual earnings of people have not risen". (25).

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention the growing unemployment and failure of the Government to check it". (26).

Shri H. P. Chatterjee (Nabadwip): I beg to move:

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention of any ways and means to safeguard the interests of linguistic minorities in States". (27).

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention of the sufferings of displaced persons whom the Government has failed to rehabilitate". (28).

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention of the sufferings of the people living in the border areas adjoining Pakistan especially East Pakistan, whose life and property today is totally insecure". (29).

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention of any steps to reduce the growing expenses on top-heavy administration and to

check nepotism and corruption". (30).

Shri A. K. Gopalan (Kasergod): I beg to move:

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention that the result of ten years of planned economic development has been to increase the already existing wide disparities in income and living standards of different classes of people". (31).

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention that the political and economic policies of the Government have led to the enormous strengthening of the big business and monopoly capital while the working people have been subjected to high prices, lower wages and a general lowering of the levels of living". (32).

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention that the so-called planned economic development has led to the widening of the gulf between comparatively more developed and undeveloped States and regions and to increasing frustration and apathy among the people of the less developed States and regions". (33).

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention that despite planned economic development, the real wages of factory labour in recent years have gone down due to the continuous rise in prices while the profits of the owners have gone on continuously rising". (34).

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

"but regret that the Address fails to take note that even after fourteen years of independence, the universally condemned practice of untouchability is being practised in one form or other and that the implementation of the Untouchability (Offences) Act, 1956 has not been effective enough to wipe out this practice". (35).

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

"but regret that the Address does not contain any reference to the rising prices of the daily necessities of the common people and the necessity of formulating and effectively implementing a comprehensive price policy". (36).

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

"but regret that the Address fails to mention that the unemployment has gone on increasing and has assumed alarming proportions while the Government's programmes and policies are quite inadequate to meet the situation". (37).

Shri Swell (Assam—Autonomous Districts): I beg to move:

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention of the popular demand of the people of the autonomous districts of Assam for the creation of an Eastern Frontier State comprising the present hill districts of Assam and such adjacent areas predominantly inhabited by tribal people who may wish to join such a State". (38).

Shri B. N. Mandal (Saharsa): I beg to move:

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention of any steps to liberate the Indian territory under the possession of neighbouring countries". (50).

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention of any steps to check the activities of anti-social elements". (51).

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention of any steps to improve the Government machinery for the benefit of the common man". (52).

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention of the failure of the Five Year Plans in removing social or regional inequalities". (53).

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention of the replacement of the public control by Government control in educational institutions". (54).

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention of the malpractices resorted to during the General Election". (55).

Shri S. Swamy (Koppal): I beg to move:

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention of the deficit budget and further indirect taxation and controlling the higher prices of essential goods." (56).

Shri Rishang Keishing (Outer Manipur): I beg to move:

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

"but regret that the Address fails to take note of the persistent demand of the millions of people in the Union Territories of Manipur, Tripura, Himachal Pradesh and Delhi for establishment of a full-fledged responsible form

[Shri Rishang Keishing]

of Government in lieu of the existing Territorial Councils". (70).

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the prevalence of abnormal law and order situation almost in the entire strategic regions of Manipur, Nagaland and North East Frontier Tracts on account of the continued presence of the anti-national and the foreign elements resulting in complete insecurity of the loyal citizens of the areas". (71).

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

"but regret that the Address does not indicate anything to effect a radical change in the administrative set-up of the North East Frontier Tracts". (72).

Shri Munzai (Lohardaga): I beg to move:

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

"but regret that the Address has failed to assure the citizens the complete enjoyment of the fundamental freedom and natural justice". (73).

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

"but regret that the Address has failed to indicate effective steps to rehabilitate the displaced persons". (74).

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention about the lack of sound policy for the rehabilitation of the tribals". (75).

Shri Rajaram (Krishnagiri): I beg to move:

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention about the need to rename Madras State as Tamilnad following that change at the State level". (76).

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention about holding the price line of food stuffs and essential commodities". (77).

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention of the lack of heavy industries in the South and has not formulated any scheme for the removal of regional disparities". (78).

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention about the malpractices adopted during the general elections". (79).

Shri Manoharan (Madras South): I beg to move:

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention about the sad plight of the Indian nationals in Ceylon, more particularly the Tamils". (80).

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention about anything to allay the apprehension about the imposition of Hindi in the South". (81).

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention of the repeated request of the people of Madras

to upgrade Madras as 'A' Class City". (82).

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention about the need to rename Madras State as Tamilnad following the change at the State level". (83).

Shri Daji: I beg to move:

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

"but regret that the Address fails to take note of the rise of reactionary forces in the country, who are seriously endangering the growth of democracy and the building of socialism in the country". (84).

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

"but regret that the Address indicates no programme for meeting the growing unemployment and for providing relief to the unemployed". (85).

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

"but regret that the Address does not indicate any steps to arrest the rise in prices and for controlling profits". (86).

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

"but regret that the Address fails to appreciate the dangerous growth of monopoly trend in the country". (87).

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

"but regret that in the Address does not guarantee a fair price to the agriculturists". (88).

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

235(A) LSD—7.

"but regret that the Address does not contain any programme to correct regional imbalances in development work and the failure to rapidly develop backward areas of the country". (89).

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

"but regret that the Address fails to mention the steps necessary to settle the border dispute between Mysore and Maharashtra and to transfer the border areas to Maharashtra State keeping in view the verdict of the elections". (90).

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention of the necessity to include the Sindhi language in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution". (91).

Shri U. M. Trivedi: I beg to move:

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

"but regret that the Address does not take notice of the encroachment on Indian territory by Pakistan and China". (97).

Dr. L. M. Singhvi (Jodhpur): I beg to move:

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention of the widespread corruption at different levels and the need for determined efforts to check the same". (102).

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention of the failure of publicity abroad particularly in explaining India's stand vis-a-vis Goa". (103).

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

[Dr. L. M. Singhvi]

"but regret that in the Address no satisfactory assurance has been given to undertake adequate efforts for the solution of the problem of unemployment". (104).

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention of any steps to improve and ameliorate the economic condition of the middle classes". (105).

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention of the mal-practices resorted to during the general elections". (106).

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

"but regret that the Address fails to take note of the need to enthuse the masses and associate the people for the cause of national economic growth". (107).

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention of administrative delays resulting from bureaucratic methods in the administration of the country". (108).

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention of any steps to fulfil the assurance given earlier by the Government to suitably amend Article 226 of the Constitution of India". (109).

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention of the influence of party and group politics in Panchayats and other units of local self-Government". (110).

In amendment No. 111, the wording should be "to less articulate and more backward States".

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: It cannot be changed now.

Dr. L. M. Singhvi: I beg to move:

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention of any steps to ensure a fair and balanced allocation of development resources to articulate and more backward States". (111).

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention of the urgent need for national effort to secure emotional unity and cultural solidarity". (112).

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention of the need for greater effort to secure for Hindi its rightful place in the life of the Republic". (113).

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: I beg to move:

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention of the steps Government propose to take to check the rise in prices". (115).

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention of bad planning with regard to transport, power and coal resulting in sizeable installed capacity remaining unused". (116).

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention of the growing hardships to which citizens of Indian origin are subject to in South Africa". (117).

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention of the failures of the Government in providing adequate machinery for ventilating the grievances of the Government employees and resolving disputes". (118).

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention of any measures to be taken by Government to protect the real wages of the workers both in public and private sector". (119).

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention of the failures of the Second Five Year Plan and fails to suggest the detailed causes that led to those failures". (120).

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention of the Government's failure to regain Indian territories forcibly occupied by China". (121).

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention of Government's failure to solve the Inter-State border issues". (122).

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

"but regret that the Address takes no cognizance of the increase in provocative actions by Pakistan on Indian territory". (123).

Shri Lahri Singh (Rohtak): I beg to move:

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

"but regret that the Address omits to refer to the fresh incursions made on Indian territory by China and of the course of action that the Government propose to adopt in respect of China's continued occupation of Indian territory". (124).

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention of the serious inflationary trend in the country's economy, spiralling prices and the resultant distress caused to the common man." (125).

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

"but regret that the Address omits to mention the recent strains that have set in Indo-Nepalese relations and to elucidate the steps to normalise the relations". (126).

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

"but regret that the Address does not reflect a realisation that the nature of our present Planning is leading to growing unemployment nor does it suggest measures to relieve the situation". (127).

Shri A. K. Gopalan: I beg to move:

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention of the need for rapid industrialisation of backward areas like Kerala and Assam." (128).

Shri H. N. Mukerjee (Calcutta Central): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, we are discussing in the House the last Address of the President who is relinquishing his exalted office. As far as

[Shri H. N. Mukerjee]

we are concerned, in point of ideology, we are very far removed from the President, but for him, personally, we have real respect. Nearly all his life has been devoted to the national movement for freedom—a life of service and sacrifice in that cause. And the characteristic of the President has been that he carries with him almost automatically the simple dignity of our great people and a humility which overcomes even the gaudy trappings of Rashtrapati Bhavan. In spite of our differences, therefore, our sincere good wishes follow him in his retirement.

Only this morning, by a coincidence which appeared to many of us rather dismal, we got the shocking news regarding the explosion by the United States authorities of that dreaded bomb over the Pacific about which only the other day the Prime Minister here made a statement. Christmas Island has been the venue of a performance, unchristian and inhuman. I say this because the United States Government in this particular case has flown in the face of world opinion, has flouted the resolution of the United Nations General Assembly, and has refused to consider in spite of its promise the proposal which was made by India and eight other non-aligned countries asking the United States to postpone this particular performance. We remember in this House so vividly how the Prime Minister said the other day that he stood not to blame but to beg of the nuclear powers that this kind of thing should not be done. And yet, this calamity has taken place.

I wish to emphasise that in regard to issues relating to world peace we have noticed a real community of interests between the non-aligned countries like ours and the socialist countries of the world. I wish to emphasise that because it is from this aspect of foreign policy that we can deduce other lessons also and in regard to our internal reconstruction policies we can pursue the co-operative processes in

the real, full sense of the term which exists between our country and the socialist countries of the world. The hope expressed in the President's Address that the dreaded bomb would not be released over the atmosphere of our world has been dashed for the moment, but we never say die, and new initiatives have to be taken by our country in particular, and we have to work out ways and means in alliance with countries which are really, and truly concerned about world peace to prevent the consequences which might follow the performance which has been perpetrated by the United States.

Turning to the President's Address. I have a grouse and that grouse is against the advisers of the President who have put words into his mouth. Here we are in the first session of a new Parliament, a Parliament whose job is to operate the third Plan, and we get an Address from the President which is scanty as far as policy indications are concerned, which catalogues a number of legislative measures which my hon. friend Shri Harish Chandra Mathur read to pad up his eloquence. Then it makes complacent, unsatisfactory and, if I may say so with respect, inaccurate generalisations about the food situation being quite satisfactory, the agricultural production steadily moving up and the third Plan having made a good start.

My grouse against the Address is that it fails to place before the country the perspective of today; it makes no effort to enthuse our people for the tasks that are needed. Even the endless eloquence of my hon. friend Shri Harish Chandra Mathur or the enthusiasm of my hon. friend Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad cannot compensate for this lacuna in the President's Address. I do not expect the President's Address to contain everything in earth, but I do expect that before the first meeting of the new Parliament some effort should be made by the Government to get the President to say some-

thing which really portrays the condition of things in our country and abroad and the perspective which is going to regulate our conduct in the future.

I have this grouse but it is no surprise to me. I have been in this House long enough to know the mind of the Government at least to a limited extent,—and it is no surprise to me that it is a rather colourless Address—because we have just emerged from the general elections which have shown up the glaring weaknesses in the ruling party. I do not refer to the factionalism which is found everywhere in the Congress organisation. It is their business to look after it. But I refer to their failure to prevent the rise of communal and rightist reaction on account of their own internal defects and that is a matter to which I do wish to make a very serious reference.

The Prime Minister, in his public speeches, makes trades against former princes and other feudal elements but his party has run a large number of such people as its nominees in the general elections, and the purpose precisely was to utilise their feudal influence wherever the masses are backward. The Prime Minister has made repeated references in so many public pronouncements to the elongated Hindi belt which is weighed down by the hang-over of zamindari, talukdari and jagirdari systems—so on and so forth. He has talked about them. He said that these things accounted for the reactionary results which have emerged during the elections in these particular areas.

My question is only this: is it only the detached sociological analysis, the idiosyncratic expression of opinion by the Prime Minister—an opinion which the Government ignores though the head of the Government makes it,—or, is it to be the indicator of action to follow and follow at once, action truly to put an end to zamindari, talukdari and jagirdari and all their consequences? I say this in all seriousness

because the encouragement, the connivance which is given by the powers that be to the reactionary forces in our country have brought about economic regression and also social backwardness. It has vital social and political repercussions which are seen all over the country through eastern Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, and right up to Rajasthan—the whole belt which is an enormous area,—where reactionary things come to the forefront and the Congress is reaping the fruits of its own labour—the lack of interest in the real condition of the people and the efforts to ameliorate the condition of the people in the way in which it has to be done.

The former vested interests have had to face from Government only a very partial, half-hearted and ineffective attack. Whatever land reforms have been sought to be attempted to have been completed inadequate, completely half-hearted and completely futile. The masses are still under the economic and political control of the former vested interests. It is exactly because the Congress's land reform programmes have gone very much less than half way in hitting the vested interests that mass discontent can be whipped up against the Congress by reactionary groups and parties. That is why we find how even against such a thing as the Nagpur Resolution of the AICC on co-operative farming, a crusade was conducted by many of the reactionary elements which we find so very much in the picture in our country today. This is a matter to which Congress must give its real attention.

Drastic steps must be adopted to curb the economic power of these vested interests in the countryside. They must be rigorously dislodged from the commanding heights of the rural economy. Land reforms, truly speaking, have got to be pursued. Otherwise, you cannot fight successfully against their growing political influence. The mere incantation of *panchayati raj*—this mantram which is supposed to dispel all our troubles—is not going to lead us any-

[Shri H. N. Mukerjee]

where, because you have not got a really well thought-out policy in regard to the implementation of land reforms, a policy which will bring real relief to the condition of our suffering people.

Because of this allergy towards the condition of the people, we find that Government has not hesitated, the ruling party in particular at election time have not hesitated to take recourse to methods which ought to have been the monopoly of extreme rightist elements in our country. In their propaganda, many Congress leaders and even official Congress publications made open appeals in the name of religion. The pastoral letter of the Kerala bishops calling upon the Catholics to vote for the Congress was disapproved by the Prime Minister but it is known that papers reported how Congress leaders were behind the publication of that pastoral letter. *(Interruption).*

The principal election pamphlet of the West Bengal Provincial Congress Committee contained a whole number of appeals in the name of religion. Here is a document in Bengali produced by the West Bengal Provincial Congress Committee, with an introduction by Shri Atulya Ghosh, which makes appeals in the name of religion, so that people do not vote for the communists. Here is a document where you will find lurid references to what is happening in socialist countries, friendly countries like the Soviet Union and other socialist countries of Europe. Most sanguinary pictures are given and the material inside purports to say that in these socialist countries, the communists behave like cannibals. That is the kind of thing which they say and the President of the Congress Committee writes an introduction to this sort of thing.

The Soviet Government comes to our assistance over Goa when in the UN and elsewhere our friends of the free world were trying to give us a

kick on our pants in as hard a manner as possible. Now, in spite of the services rendered by a friendly country, we talk about a friendly country at election time through the mouth of the official body of the Congress Committee in a manner which is really shameful. But that is done, because this is after all election time and anything perhaps is justified. But surely means have to be chosen with more care. My friend, Shri Lal Bahadur, is here. You have to adopt means which are not absolutely indefensible as we find here.

I also find here another document published by the West Bengal Provincial Congress Committee where there are articles written in a rabidly communal Muslim paper of Calcutta called *Paigham*, which can hardly be read it is so fantastically crude where all kinds of religious frenzies are sought to be roused in order that the communists do not get votes. That is something which is taking place under the auspices of the Congress. I could go on for a long time detailing such instances, but I need not do so. I could, if necessary, furnish my friend, the Home Minister, with much more material relevant to this particular point. I know during election time, things have been done only because you wanted to corner the communist party and beat them, particularly in those areas where the communists, as servants of the people, have got the confidence of the people. I come from an area where 30 per cent of the Lok Sabha votes have gone to communist candidates and that is why in this particular area we find the Congress Committee behaving in this particular manner.

This is not the right way to set about building up a kind of country where all combine, as my friend Shri Mathur, suggests, in order to achieve national integration, national achievement and national fulfilment. This is not the way in which you have to proceed. This is not the way in which the country has to be

given a lead. That is why we hear of ugly things happening in Jammu and Kashmir at election time. We find that to the vocabulary of the Punjab language a new word is added: "Kairon Shahi". We hear about that. This is only because of the complete indifference of the Congress to the real problem facing the country.

Shri Iqbal Singh (Ferozepur): You joined with the Akalis, which is also a communal organ in Punjab.

Shri D. C. Sharma (Gurdaspur): You do not know the meaning of the word "Kairon Shahi".

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: I refuse to yield and to be diverted from an exposition of points which I do feel that the Government should take serious note of.

After the elections, what takes place? The Prime Minister forms a new Government. The only thing to note about the new Government is much of a muchness; there is no new look about it. There is the old crowd, a few of them promoted, hungry sheep in the flock of the Prime Minister looking up and being fed. That is about all. If the country languishes, who cares? We had a general election. In certain areas of the country where reaction made it a point to combine together to defeat the radical aspects of the policy of the Government, they lost. They lost only because in those particular areas, there was a real combination of effort on the part of progressive forces. That is the most essential aspect of this election, which has taken place. After the election you form a Government, but this great change, this capacity of our people to give a proper answer to the machinations of reaction is not reflected in the composition of the Government, and in the fiscal policies of Government which were announced only the other day by my friend, the Finance Minister. I am very fond of him,

because I understand where I stand in regard to him. It is very clear. But the fiscal policies of Government show that anti-socialist trends are appearing again in all their viciousness.

It is a process which is beginning. The symptoms are dangerous. I do not say you have forsown everything. I know the Finance Minister will be able to find some sophisticated justification for the kind of thing which he is trying to do, even from the point of view of socialism. But I suspect that dangerous symptoms are emerging.

The Minister of Finance (Shri Morarji Desai): The boot is on the other leg.

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: I turn to the question of the condition of the people. As soon as our Parliament met, we heard reports from a Union Territory, which is almost without any communication with the mainland—the Andamans. We heard how the CPWD workers claimed pay commission benefits and struck work. There was firing and six were killed and fifty injured. We are getting letters which suggest that in Andamans something like a reign of terror continues. I do not want to go into this matter, because my friend, the Home Minister, has promised certain results, as far as the Andamans are concerned, results to be achieved by administrative processes.

16.29 hrs.

[MR. SPEAKER in the Chair]

If the Andamans are far away, UP is quite near. In Allahabad ghastly events took place. An undertrial prisoner was beaten to death; there were some demonstrations and some people were fired upon by the police. Sometime back in Kanpur, nineteen people were killed by the police on account of very similar in-

[Shri H. N. Mukerjee]

cidents, and a Judge of UP, Justice A. N. Mullah, made certain remarks about the police force, which I do not say should be accepted by everybody just like that, but that is a very severe indictment of the conduct of the police in our country. That shows which way the wind is blowing. After the elections, this kind of thing takes place, which is extremely dangerous. But what can we do about it? That is the way in which the Government is constituted.

This indifference to people's sufferings goes on and that is why there is dismay in West Bengal, for instance, over the Government's decision to wind up the Rehabilitation Ministry. I know we have been told that something still remains to be done in West Bengal and it will be done. But I fear that Government is not giving sufficient attention to this question of the refugees from East Pakistan. I hope, Sir, I do not have to hear in this House, in this Parliament, the very cheap gibe that East Pakistan refugees are an indolent lot, they do not look after themselves, they have not got the guts to find jobs for themselves, they won't go to Dandakaranya or any other place where the Government wants to send them and so on and so forth. I think if you go into details—I have not got the time for that and this is not the occasion either to go into details over it—you will find out how as far as the refugees from East Pakistan are concerned very little really has been done, how over a million of them, and most of them on their own initiative, have settled down outside the borders of West Bengal State and how, compared to a place like Delhi, for instance, where you have spent a good deal of money upon the refugees, and very rightly too, in a place like Calcutta, which has had the influx of refugees implinging upon it, life even more dreadfully than has been the case in Delhi, the amount of money spent has been very much less than in the case of the re-

fugees from West Pakistan. The problem of rehabilitation of refugees from East Pakistan remains even now such a very serious matter that I do ask the Government not to take any hasty decision which will, even remotely, affect prejudicially the interests of the refugees from East Pakistan. You go to Calcutta. Even now you will see people in the Sealdah Station area. I have been told over and over again by Government spokesmen that they are perverse persons who would not move out of the place. But I cannot believe that any of our countrymen are so perverse as to prefer living on the streets, I cannot believe that people of East Pakistan who live in a riverine country, who would bathe in a river or a pond or a tank ten times a day if they wish to do so, who want to have bath as often as possible, would prefer to live on the streets of Calcutta where the hydrants are dry. It is not that they prefer to live near Sealdah Station in the squalidest imaginable condition; it is only because they have been driven, by what they consider to be their fate, to that kind of living that they are pursuing the kind of life that they are doing now, and we have to draw your attention to that.

It is from this aspect, again, I find there is, on the part of the Government, indifference to tasks of national integration about which my hon. friend Shri Mathur, rightly, was so much interested. I notice in Government something like blindness, sheer blindness, to the requirements of our people in different areas of our land. There is complete indifference, for instance, to the demand of the people in the south on the plea that some people in the south are asking for secession from the country. I do not know how far they are really serious about it. I cannot conceive of any party in its senses asking for secession from the country. But on the plea that some

people are asking for secession from the country, this Government is ignoring the legitimate demands of the people of the south. Even such a thing as the renaming of Madras State as Tamilnad on which, I believe my hon. friend the Minister of Heavy Industries and Steel would support me, the legislative assembly of Tamilnad, the Government of Tamilnad has in fact already accepted a decision to call Madras the State of Tamilnad, you do not do. You can easily do it. A very slight change in the Constitution would bring it about, which would satisfy the aspirations of the southern people. And, in a way, by a mere gesture, by merely making an emotional advance, by merely holding out your hand of friendship, by only telling them that you shall examine their difficulties and economic problems more sympathetically than before, you can win their hearts. But you do not do so, because sitting in those upholstered chairs of authority you have become bureaucratic in your ways of thoughts, your thoughts are administrative, your thoughts are not political, you forget that till only 15 years ago....

Mr. Speaker: It would all be an imputation against me.

Shri Nambiar (Tiruchirapalli): No, Sir; through you to them.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: That is the proper channel.

Mr. Speaker: On the record, it would look as if the Speaker was of that type.

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: Sir, I was saying that there is indifference to people in the backward regions, to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, and as far as political opponents are concerned, quite apart from the elections, I notice instances of what I can only call pettifoggery, bureaucratic small-mindedness, in regard to such people as myself, communists, and there have happened

some recent instances which are rather egregious. In Kerala, for instance, a statement has been published by Shri E. M. S. Namboodiripad who is the leader of the Opposition there, that under the instructions and with the knowledge of the Union Government before people are appointed to Government posts there is a police verification of character, and if you are a Communist or a Socialist or an undesirable person of some sort, undesirable according to the contemporary definition of Government, you are pushed out. This is terrible. I say this is terrible because in West Bengal there happened an instance of a man who was chosen by the Public Service Commission but who was not appointed in the Metric Weights and Measures Department. He was not appointed. The matter was brought up in the Assembly and the Chief Minister of West Bengal, surely with the knowledge and consent of the Union Government, said: "If Communists come to power you can push out every non-Communist person from the administration". His actual words were:

"When the Communist Party forms an alternative government they can drive out every Congressman from the administration if they want to. That makes no difference, but so long as this does not happen, you have got to accept the position of the law as we understand it."

This is what Dr. B. C. Roy said in the West Bengal Legislative Assembly on the 27th March, 1962. Nobody makes such a fantastic formulation that if the Congress Government comes to power all non-Congress personnel in the administration should be kicked out, and if a Communist Government comes to power the Communists would have the right to kick out all non-Communists. This kind of thing is said in the confidence that as long as Dr. B. C. Roy wishes to foresee there would be a Congress Government and therefore every-

[Shri H. N. Mukerjee]

thing would be well in the garden. But this kind of vindictiveness, this kind of indifference to the real rights of the people and the interests of the people is something which you have got to take note of and correct the behaviour that you are pursuing.

Mr. Speaker: I had intended by my interruption just to imply that the hon. Member should address the Chair and set an example for others who have come recently. I would request him again to address the Chair.

Shri Morarji Desai: His difficulty is his old habit.

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: I am sorry. I do usually make a practice of addressing you, and I shall certainly conform to that practice more carefully. But, may be, in order to get the ear of the Home Minister, in particular, I have been directing my verbal shafts more at him than at you.

Sir, I will wind up soon because I do not think I should take more time than is my quota; but I wish to emphasise that the problems of the people are not being taken note of carefully by Government and the President's Address shows a blissful indifference to the problems of the people. I said earlier that it says that every thing is more or less all right, the Third Plan has made a good start, food production is growing and other problems are being solved. I am quoting, Sir, from the Third Plan Report, and at page 454 of the Third Plan Report there is the statement that in the industrial sphere "the shortfalls have occurred in some of those very industries which are of crucial importance and have deprived the economy of the benefits reckoned on for the start of the Third Plan". This is a matter which you cannot obliterate, just trying to forget it in Parliament because you have a majority. The target for steel when the Third Plan started—we have made

some progress since—was 4.3 million tons. But the target was reached only to the extent of 2.2 million tons. In regard to food production, the Third Plan Report at page 123 says:

"The relative stability of the foodgrain prices laterly has been due largely to PL 480 imports."

That stability has been disturbed. Papers all over show how the price is rising, and it is the most dangerous phenomenon that the stability of foodgrain prices has to be buttressed by imports from United States on certain conditions which in certain respects are very dubious, and that is what the Third Plan report says. The Third Plan Report again says on page 224:

"The impact of tenancy legislation on the welfare of the tenants has been less than was hoped for. One of the principal reasons for this is that in a number of States ejections of tenants have taken place on a considerable scale under the pleas of voluntary surrender."

Again the Third Plan Report says on page 229:

"On the whole, it would be correct to say that in recent years transfers of land have tended to defeat the aims of legislation for ceilings and to reduce its impact on rural economy."

Let all these things be noted by this House. The Prime Minister said sometime ago—he said it in August 1960:—

"We have to avoid and prevent too much accumulation of wealth. If, after all this additional income, only five per cent or ten per cent of the population have benefited by it and ninety per cent have not, that is not a good result."

He said it. The new evaluation has not been reported to Parliament as to which part of the increase in our national income has gone to the working people, common people, and which part has gone to the people at the top of the social ladder.

During the elections, almost on the eve of the elections, the Prime Minister made the statement that Indian big money interests have made more profits in the last twelve years than in the century which preceded it. I do not want to go into the details—we shall have many more opportunities during this session to go into the details—but my point is that the picture of the country today has got to be faced—it is there, whether you like it or not—and we are not doing it. You may say “we cannot do much about it”, and that is what I sometimes feel when my friend, the Finance Minister, wishes to say “we cannot do more about it, what can we do, you are too impatient, we have to go slow, we have to pursue a gradualist policy and so on”, I can understand it, but you do not say that. But you say, on the contrary.....Sir, through you I am addressing the Government benches.

Mr. Speaker: I require his co-operation so that we might enforce that rule because that would be a very wholesome rule.

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: Sir, you being the symbol of Parliament and, therefore, the repository, as far as the dignity part of it is concerned, of the will of the people, have sometimes to be credited with this when you will be called upon to do certain things and to get that thing done.

Mr. Speaker: Certainly I can get it done. But my only request is co-operation of the Members so that we will have it within a few days.

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: I shall wind up. I shall only say that the condition of the people is something to which the Government has not . . .

Shri Morarji Desai: May I put one question to the hon. Member? Before he expects you to get things done by the Government should he not accept or do what you have asked him to do?

Shri P. abhat Kar (Hooghly) Have you any sense of humour?

Shri Morarji Desai: You have no sense of humour.

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: I am only trying . . .

Mr. Speaker: He has assured me that he would do it.

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: In Parliament we have all kinds of people operating. They may not have all the meticulous perfection of manner which some of our leaders happen to have achieved. But, then, it is only fair that they concede certain things to people like myself who may not be used to the kind of atmosphere in which . . .

Mr. Speaker: We are only helping each other in achieving that.

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: I shall wind up. I feel that it is very important that the attention of Government is drawn to the real interests of the people, to the problems, to the conditions, of the people, and those things are not noted seriously, and that is the argument, that is the conclusion which I derive from the President's address, and that being my grouse, I can only register my dissatisfaction with the contents of the Address though, as I said in the beginning, as far as the President is concerned, in spite of great differences in ideology, we have a lot of respect for him and all our good wishes follow him in his retirement from his exalted office.

Mr. Speaker: Dr. L. M. Singhai has written to me to say that he is the spokesman for the Independent Group and that he has to leave the

[Mr. Speaker]

station today. If it is so, I will allow him to speak just now.

Dr. L. M. Singhvi: Mr. Speaker, I rise to associate myself with the farewell and felicitations to the President of the Republic, whose record of service is a shining and inspiring example for our country. While doing so, I hate to add that the address of the President is singularly scanty, as my hon. friend, Professor Mukerjee pointed out. We would look in vain for a comprehensive blueprint of the programmes and policies of the Government in this address, in the opening address to the third Parliament. We would look in vain for an assurance to redeem the pledges that were given by the Congress party on the eve of the elections. We would also look in vain for a detailed formulation of the problems which beset the country. Therefore, in the first instance, I would like to submit that the chief weakness of the address is not in what it contains but in what it does not contain, for the omissions are many and serious.

It is indeed gratifying that our country has been able to maintain a democratic pattern of life. It is indeed gratifying that we had the distinction to have held the largest and most mammoth elections in the world. Our Election Commission and the administration truly merit serious approbation for the wonderful way in which they have functioned, and yet I would add that there are many disturbing features about the elections themselves, about the manner in which the propaganda has been conducted, about the play of power, governmental power for that, by Congress candidates, about the play of money in the elections and about the caste and communal considerations which predominated the election scene.

The Congress leaders have, often in a very self-righteous vein, condemn-

ed the evils of casteism and communalism. But I should like to point out that the Congress party has been very much to blame for basing its electoral calculations on communal assumptions, for choosing its candidates on that very basis which is condemned by it in season and out of season. Therefore, I would say that hypocrisy is the tribute which vice pays to virtue in as much as the very Congress party which has chosen to condemn communalism, casteism and the rise of reactionary forces has resorted to these very tactics, to these very means which it has sought to condemn in others.

I would like, in this context, to point out that it is a gratifying thing that we entered the period of the third elections and we have emerged from our electoral contests unruffled by the pettiness and trivialities which necessarily accompany the elections. As a matter of fact it would be only right for the Members of Parliament and for the leading parties in the country to ponder over our various shortcomings in the conduct of the elections and in carrying the country forward in a democratic way of life.

The various victories of the Congress Party do not, in my submission, warrant any intoxicated exhilaration. That they have won, should, on the other hand, sober them and caution them for the future. I am sure that the Congress party and other parties will, now that the storm is over, rise to the occasion and ponder over the matter seriously and sincerely.

Shri Harish Chandra Mathur: Will my hon. friend explain whether this wisdom has dawned on him only after he had sought the election ticket from the Congress and when it was refused?

An Hon. Member: It was a patent fact.

Dr. L. M. Singhvi: The wisdom had dawned on me before but I have opportunity now to express my opinion. I do not think it would be proper for me to reply and ask him the same question as to what happened during the First Elections when he happened to be an Independent and later on joined the Congress Party

Shri D. C. Sharma: I hope you will follow his example.

Shri Harish Chandra Mathur: I wish my hon. friend knew a little better.

Mr. Speaker: I hope we would not allow the level of the debate to go lower.

An Hon. Member: He was provoked.

Dr. L. M. Singhvi: I submit that in a parliamentary democracy and for the preservation of representative institutions an opposition or what is called the concept of an alternative government is an essential and fundamental prerequisite. Unfortunately in our country such an opposition has failed to emerge and therefore we must ponder whether our country could carry along the accepted parliamentary democratic lines in the absence of a strong and effective opposition. My own view is that in a parliamentary democracy opposition should not be total nor should it be nominal or perfunctory because a nominal or perfunctory opposition would not be able to fulfil its role and a total opposition would be inconsistent with the very premise of parliamentary democracy.

In this respect I would like to quote from a distinguished author and statesman who writes:

"If the opposition of the opposition in a democratic system is total, it represents in fact a permanent state of instruction against the existing government. If that is to say, the leaders and

the supporters of the opposition party have nothing, neither objectives, methods, loyalties nor faith, in common with the government party, they are bound sooner or later to destroy that government and party on which it is based or to be destroyed by them. They cannot possibly be expected to alternate with them in power. Thus it is of the essence of representative institutions that the opposition of the opposition should not be total and that the government of the day shall not, for its party; do anything irrevocable to injure its opponents."

Parliamentary democracy is in very real terms our fortress of freedom. It is a stabilising and shock-absorbing mechanism in our country. All the rumpus of electoral controversies, all the persuasive and devastating perorations, all the cut motions and amendments which we move here and all the agitated interpellations serve a very indispensable purpose in our life and that indispensable purpose is to absorb the shocks and to carry the country forward with the consent of the people. Even those self-conscious speeches made in the afternoon when, happily enough, there is a convention that the House is not counted, even they have a role in this scheme of parliamentary democracy inasmuch as it relieves us of our pent up feelings. It expresses the feelings of the people at large and in this respect parliamentary democracy is fulfilling a great and a historic role in our country.

In spite of the many banalities and absurdities of democratic political life which are often derided by commentators it is meet for us to consider that the alternative to this is a yawning abyss of totalitarianism. It is therefore, only proper for us to consecrate ourselves to the task of understanding the parliamentary institutions and to the task of making

[Dr. L. M. Singhvi]

them effective by investing them with democratic content.

The party system, it is true, is considered and regarded as a prop of the democratic parliamentary system but the parties have their set lines of thinking and the whips who carry the banners of discipline have a peremptory regime. I would submit that this tends to eliminate the individual and to mechanise the process of parliamentary life. I would hope that in this Third Lok Sabha the whips would be inclined to use their authority, their party line and their party whips a little more sparingly to give a little more scope to the individual hon. Members of the House to express themselves particularly in the context of our situation where we find that the Congress has a preponderant majority in the Parliament.

I deeply regret that there is no reference in the Address to the curse of corruption which stalks the land today; nor indeed is there any expression of assurance to root out this evil of corruption. I rather suspect that having failed to eradicate this evil, the Government has come to reconcile itself to its continuing existence. I submit in all humility that such an attitude could prove disastrous.

I would say that the crying need of the hour in our country is to secure a clean, honest and efficient government and to this end the Government should dedicate itself afresh by setting up vigilance committees in the various States and by tightening of procedures for prevention and detection of corruption. It has been admitted in the past by the hon. Prime Minister and the hon. Home Minister that there does exist corruption at the lower levels of administration. But I respectfully submit that that is a travesty of truth for it is indeed in the higher political echelons which is the breeding ground for corruption in this country and it is this disease of corruption in the political echelons of the country

which requires to be remedied and remedied promptly, for in the absence of a proper approach to the problem of corruption among the politicians in the country there has developed and grown a very deep sense of cynicism all along the line and in the minds of everyone.

I would submit that not only should vigilance committees be constituted but there should also be an investigation into the assets of certain politicians in the country and in particular I would suggest two States to be sampled out for the purpose, these States being Rajasthan—my own State—and the State of Punjab.

Mr. Speaker: That is mine.

Dr. L. M. Singhvi: That is what we unfortunately have in common.

Mr. Speaker: I thought he would say 'fortunately'.

Dr. L. M. Singhvi: Red-tape is another great national problem to which the Address chooses to make no reference. The length of administrative and clerical red-tape in this country is greater in my humble submission than the length of all the highways and all the alleys and streets in the world put together. And yet our Government does not care to recognise the gravity of the problem and the magnitude of the situation by coming to grips with it! I submit that as long as red-tape continues in its present proportions our Plan and our future progress will for ever be bedevilled by it. There is a definition of red-tape which describes it as—

“delay, buck-passing, pigeon-holing, indecision and other phenomena which contribute to and end in inaction.”

I feel that the greatest obstacle to our progress is this red-tape and I

would request the Government through you, Sir, to take up the matter in a realistic and in a dedicated spirit. It must be the primary concern of the Government to simplify procedures and to provide for an intelligent, reasonable and expeditious disposal of matters. I am aware that the services have sustained this country in the days of crises, and it is not in a spirit to condemn them that I say this but to pint but a failing which has been observed everywhere in the world.

17 hrs.

Sir, an improvement in the performance of our clerical staff is even a greater need of the day. It is described by a commentator as largely "mass paper fodder to whom both initiative and reason are forbidden". The another goes on to say:

"This fact is at the root of much of the apparent ignorance, almost brutality of the service, in its handling of the vast multitude of minor and personal problems and tragedies . . . Modern tactics depend on the intelligent co-operation of an army of reasoning individuals. An army which depends on the manipulation of unthinking, unresponsive and unenthusiastic masses is bound to fall'.

I quote this not as a prophet of pessimism but with a view to voice a warning which must be heeded, and heeded promptly.

The Address fails to notice the lack of dynamism and a creeping dogmatism and fossilisation in our economic approach. Socialism has begun to cover all our sins and the Government has often found it a convenient device, a convenient shibboleth under which they could hide all their shortcomings. In my opinion, socialism does not mean, or is not

synonymous with, State capitalism. Where a public undertaking fails to run on the basic principles of economics and when the Government begins to ignore the fundamental laws of economics, I think the country which is wedded to such socialism is likely to suffer in the path of its economic progress.

A study of the public undertakings in this country would reveal that they have been far less economic than even the usually condemned private firms. Their wage structure is nothing compared with the private firms. Their prices and cost of production are very much higher, and the yield on the investment has also nothing to commend itself.

These are matters which have to be looked at not from the dogmatic socialistic angle but from the point of view of good and sound economics. And, therefore, I would make a plea to the Government not to be wedded to a dogmatic outlook on socialism but to have a realistic and practical approach, an approach which is justified by our whole philosophy, an approach which should be to consider each and every industry on its merits and not to seek to acquire or embark upon new economic enterprises in the name of socialism even if they are not economic. I think we will not tolerate inefficiency in the name of socialism, we will not tolerate corruption in the name of socialism, we will not tolerate waste in the name of socialism. But unfortunately, as I see it in many walks of our economic life, we find that these are precisely the phenomena which are evidenced.

I would also like to mention that while the Government had promised to amend article 226 of the Constitution of India in the last Lok Sabha, there is no mention of their inclination to do so in the present session. This is a matter which, as the last Lok Sabha came to realise, is one of urgency and of great concern. Article

[Dr. L. M. Singhvi]

226 as it at present stands interpreted by the Supreme Court, does not give jurisdiction to the various High Courts in which the cause of action may have arisen, and therefore it causes great hardships to litigants far and wide. Government had given an assurance that they would very soon bring forward a suitable Constitutional amendment to remedy the situation. They have failed to do so. I would therefore draw their attention to this omission on their part.

I would also like to point out a very important and a very glaring problem in the country, namely the problem of unemployment which, on their own admission, the Government have failed to solve. I would like to point out what the Summary of the Third Five Year Plan itself says:

"Existing data on employment are inadequate. However, with the limited information that is available, it is reckoned that the backlog of unemployment at the end of the Second Plan is about 9 million. This increase in backlog as compared to 5.3 million suggested in the Second Plan means that while the absolute impact of the Plan on employment was significant, it was not sufficient to absorb the increasing numbers of new entrants to labour force. Apart from this absolute unemployment, the magnitude of under-employment in the sense of those who have some work but are willing to take up additional

work is believed to be of the order of 15 to 18 million approximately. It is estimated that increase in labour force in the Third IPlan—in the light of data available in 1961 Census—will be roughly about 12 million, one third of the increase being in urban areas. As against this, it is estimated that the Third Plan may provide additional employment of the order of 14 million—10.5 million outside agriculture and 3.5 million in agriculture."

I wish to point out that the problem of unemployment is also one with which the Government has become reconciled, and the Government seems to be of the view that the problem cannot be solved and that we have to learn to live with it. There is an additional problem connected with it, namely that of educated unemployment. Sir, the social consequences of unemployment are so great and dire that if Government fails to take account of it and fails to grapple with it satisfactorily, it may become a revolution in this country.

I hope the Government will earnestly ponder over the various omissions which we find in the Address and seek to make amends by concrete action in the coming years to solve the problems which confront us in the country.

17-07 hrs.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Friday, April 27, 1962|Vaisakha 7, 1984 (Saka).