

- (3) Further consideration and passing of the Agricultural Re-finance Corporation Bill, 1962.
- (4) Consideration and passing of the Central Sales Tax (Amendment) Bill, 1963.
- (5) Consideration of a motion for reference of the Government of Union Territories Bill, 1963, to a Joint Committee.
- (6) General Discussion on the Railway Budget for 1963-64.

I may also inform the House that the General Budget for 1963-64 will be presented at 5 p.m. on Thursday, February 28, 1963. The House will transact normal business upto 4 p.m. on that date and will adjourn to re-assemble again at 5 p.m.

Shri Ranga (Chittoor): May I draw your attention once again to the need for the Estimates Committee to study the Supplementary Demands which have been placed before us now, and also those that were passed so far as the Defence Ministry is concerned. More than Rs. 100 crores would come to be sanctioned for them. The House would not be in a position to study these things properly for lack of explanations. Would you kindly be good enough to direct the Estimates Committee to study these things as soon as possible.

Mr. Speaker: Not in this manner that I should straightaway give a direction. I will look into this if it is possible.

12.10 hrs.

MOTION ON ADDRESS BY THE PRESIDENT—Contd.

Mr. Speaker: The House will now take up further consideration of the following motion moved by Shri R. S. Pandey and seconded by Dr. K. L.

Rao on the 20th February, 1963, namely:—

“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 Houses of Parliament assembled together on the 18th February, 1963.”

Also further consideration of amendments moved on the 20th February.

Shri Hem Barua (Gauhati): Sir, the Presidential Address is an inspiring document in the sense that it gives a clarion call to the nation to awake, arise and not to stop till the goal is reached. What the nation needs today is mental and physical alertness and a will and urge to defend freedom against Chinese aggression. It is not enough to say that China cannot be trusted. Nor is it enough to say that China is historically notorious for double talking. Everything depends upon our capacity to modulate our attitudes and stimulate the sinews of our economy to meet the Chinese challenge. Our destiny depends on that. We must not allow the sands of time to slip from under our feet for time is neither neutral nor non aligned. It aligns itself powerfully with those who have the capacity to ride the tides of events with courage, determination and fortitude.

I do not want to refer to our past mistakes nor do I want to refer to the era of complacency and negligence. These are the words used by Dr. Radhakrishnan in a different context. But the fact remains that never was India humiliated as she has been humiliated today before the eyes of the world. To deny this naked fact would be self delusion. Even Sir

Winston Churchill, speaking of the initial British reverses during the last world war described them as a matter of "grief and defeat."

Our acceptance of the Colombo proposals was a mistake and as time passes the mistake becomes more clear and transparent in perspective. Not to speak of compromising our position with respect to 11,500 square miles of Indian territory in Ladakh, we have dragged the country once again to the position of humiliation a country whose prestige has been mortally wounded already. By the way, is the Aksai Chin area, or for the matter of that, the Aksai Chin Road negotiable? We are defeated in battle. Defeat in battle is not dishonourable. But what is dishonourable is the acceptance of defeat as such.

I will say that our acceptance of the Colombo proposals betrays a psychology, a psychology of defeat and a psychology of loss of nerves. These two words 'positive response' from China stimulated us so much that we were once again transported into an atmosphere of unreality. I say this because I feel it very acutely. It was very fondly wished that if China refused to accept the Colombo proposals, China might be isolated from world opinion. What do we see before our eyes? Where is the evidence of China being isolated from world opinion? Are we to forget that out of the six nations that assembled in Colombo, the sympathies of four nations deliberately lay on the side of China? Should we forget that the United Arab Republic whose sympathies lay with us because we are a victim of aggression, was virtually isolated at Colombo? Even after China has spurned the Colombo proposals has not Prince Shihanouk whose country was a party to Colombo proposals said in Peking that his country will always be with China? What do we find about Offori Atta, Minister of Justice for Ghana? His country was a party to the Colombo proposals. But he has himself watered down the Colombo proposals by saying on the 23rd January in Hongkong that "China and

India need not agree to all the Colombo proposals before going to the Conference table to settle their border dispute." Then, there is a friendship delegation from Ghana to China. They discussed our dispute with China threadbare. After that they made a statement that Ghana offer her full support to China in the event of a struggle of the Chinese Government and the Chinese people to defend her sovereignty and territorial integrity. This means that if there is a conflict over China's illegal occupation of territory in Ladakh and in NEFA, these countries who were the parties to the Colombo proposals would be on the side of China and not with us. I feel our Prime Minister is a lonely man in the world stage and we are a lonely nation. (*Interruption*).

What about the Moshi Conference? Were we not isolated in the Moshi Conference, in which the leader of the Indian delegation was so much overpowered with emotion that he shook hands with the wrong delegation? What did our delegation achieve there? In the Moshi Conference the Afro-Asian nations stood solidly with China and India was isolated. If our Indian delegation at the Moshi Conference achieved anything, it achieved only one thing and that is by way of walking out and walking in like a circus horse. Excuse me for saying so, but I have to say that. Our acceptance of the Colombo proposals has provided China with ready material for propaganda against us, and it has happened; what is the propaganda?

China is carrying on a vitriolic campaign of lies and calumny against us in our neighbouring countries, particularly Nepal and Pakistan. If you turn over the pages of *Peking People's Daily* you would see that China is accusing India of putting deliberately obstacles to direct talks. This is what the paper says. There are two reasons on account of which China is spurning these Colombo proposals according to them. One is, the Colombo proposals, according to them,

[Shri Hem Barua]

contain ambiguities and inconsistencies. If you read *Peaking People's Daily* of 28th January last, you will find these accusations. China has not clarified what these inconsistencies and ambiguities are, but, at the same time, the allegations are there. The second cause is this, and this is on the authority of Dr. Tulsi Giri, the Nepalese Foreign Minister, who, after he met the Chinese leaders, said that China's agreeing to the Colombo proposals or the agreeing to the Colombo proposals in their entirety by China would mean China's agreeing to arbitration by a third party. China considers these Colombo powers as a third party, in the dispute between India and China. China knows that her prestige is high in the world. Since the close of the Korean war, China's prestige is in all-time high; that is what China says.

During the issue over Matsu and Quemoy in 1958, all offers of mediation were spurned by China including the offers of mediation made by our Prime Minister, Shri Nehru. This is China's attitude. As against this, in the context of the Chinese rejection of these proposals, why should we pin our faith to illusory things? Should I remind the House that it was the Chairman of the Chinese Council of Ministers who said sometime back something that is full of dangerous possibilities. He said: "we have attacked India once; if she does not learn a lesson, we will attack her again and again and again." It is three times "again."

The sequence of these words found an eloquent expression in one of the speeches of our Prime Minister in New Delhi when he said that China may attack us again and again and again. In the context of this arrogant attitude of China, should we go on pinning our faith to the Colombo proposals? We must be in a position to say today, in the context of the rejection of the Colombo proposals by China, that these proposals are dead for us and they stand lapsed for us.

They are dead as "a patient etherised on the table," to use T. S. Eliot's words.

We have consented or rather we have allowed the frontier to be frozen with our consent. There are two cease-fire lines today. One is unilaterally imposed by China and another is imposed by the Colombo powers. Is there any instance in recent history of a cease-fire line once established being violated or altered? Could we upset the cease-fire line in Kashmir, in Vietnam, in Korea or in Palestine? By our acceptance of the Colombo proposals, we have made a *de facto* cease-fire line into a *de jure* cease-fire line. This is *de facto* appeasement.

China has growed against us. Gandhiji has taught us that a growl has to be met with a counter-growl. Have we done it? What about NEFA? China has ordered us not to send our troops to NEFA and we have meekly submitted to those orders. The Chinese armed occupation in NEFA extended as far as Bomdi La, Mechuko and Walong. But NEFA is 31,348 square miles in area. What about the rest of NEFA which did not come under Chinese occupation? Why is it that we cannot send our troops to those areas? True it is that we have extended our civil administration to NEFA with the consent of the Chinese. But is it not a fact that we are exposing our civil administrators to Chinese mercy? Is it not a fact that we are exposing our people there to the Chinese mercy? If at any time China wants to stage a come-back to NEFA, what is there to prevent their coming into NEFA? Where are our arms and ammunitions? Where are our troops to fight them back?

It is a fact that China has withdrawn her armed forces from NEFA. But at the same time, it is also a fact that in the process of withdrawal, China has left behind them hundreds of guerillas, spies and saboteurs in civilian clothing. One fine morning,

if these people stage subversive activities or a rebellion against the administration there, who can stop them? Are we not leaving our civil administrators to the mercy of the subversive forces in NEFA and to the mercy of the Chinese? Have we not left our own people in NEFA, who are under the shadow of Chinese aggression to the mercy of the Chinese?

Our freedom is in jeopardy today. It is the weak-kneed, vacillating, fumbling and faltering policy of the Government that has landed us in this sordid state of affairs. I find an unwarranted emphasis put on the so-called rift between China and Soviet Russia. Putting so much dependence on the so-called rift between China and Soviet Russia shows only a monstrous perversity of the mind. Before the actual Chinese aggression took place, we fondly hoped that some powers like Soviet Russia might descend from the skies like an angel and prevent the Chinese from attacking us. But that fond hope has been belied by subsequent events. I can assure you that this dependence on the so-called Sino-Soviet rift will also be falsified by future events. We must know that if there is any rift between China and Soviet Russia, it is not because of us. It is not because of the fact that Soviet Russia does not approve of the Chinese aggression on our territory. It is often stated that Russia did not jump into the fray on the side of China when China attacked us. Russia did not jump into the fray on the side of China only because of the fact that Soviet Russia knew that China was alone capable of seeing the game through.

What is the Chinese propaganda today? Since 21st November China has keyed her propaganda to a new tune. There is a systematic attack against India. Why is it that the bourgeois clique in India is betraying the Indian people to western imperialists by accepting western arms,

they have been asking. Some of our people also have said this. This subtle propaganda of the Chinese calculated to destroy our will of resistance is somehow or other catching on among some sections of our people.

Shri Dange made a speech in Bombay and he gave a subtle expression to it. Hailing the supply of four MIG-21 he said that the supply of MIG by Soviet Russia was a triumph of Soviet friendship for India. He said: "while the western aid is with strings, Soviet aid is without strings". Where are the strings? I do not see them. They must be invisible strings transparent only to the eagle eyes of Shri Dange. I know our Prime Minister is capable enough to unleash the strings if there are any strings attached to them.

I am happy that our President has paid his gratitude to all the friendly countries for their timely arms aid. I can tell you, Sir, that but for this timely aid given to our country when the Chinese aggression was on our territory, by now—why now, by the 30th of November—the oil rich State of Assam would have been converted into a People's Republic of Assam bound in eternal friendship with the People's Republic of China. It would have happened like that. Therefore, I say we are very grateful to them and I am very thankful to the President for expressing his gratitude like that.

Now, there is the question of air umbrella. The Prime Minister has made a statement. We are happy that this arrangement has come in. Mr. Kennedy in a Press Conference, the news of which has come this morning at 10.00 to Delhi....

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

Shri Hem Barua: All right Sir, I will not read that. Sir, I had so many things to say.

Mr. Speaker: I know. I am afraid of his resourcefulness.

Shri Tyagi (Dehra Dun): We are interested in knowing what Mr. Kennedy said.

Shri Hem Barua: Mr. Kennedy in a Press Conference said:

"...I think severely—balance of power in the world would be very adversely affected if India should lose its freedom. So we will be responsive to India, when we have a clearer idea of what the challenge is and what their desires are and what our capabilities are. But we do not have that now and we would not have it until the Joint Mission comes back."

This is what he said.

About this air umbrella, the question is, should we not accept arms and ammunitions from our friendly countries and defend our freedom? Has not Soviet Russia herself supplied arms and ammunitions to China? Has not Soviet Russia supplied China with IL-28, MIG-17, MIG-19, MIG-21 and ground to air missiles? Some of these MIG fleets are poised in Tibet ready to hurl bombs against Delhi and other Indian cities when the time comes. Therefore, it is meaningless, it is useless to make this sort of statements.

Now there are problems about air bases. The air bases will have to come in the case of an emergency. You cannot avoid them. The western fleet cannot be expected to be stationed at Bangkok and save us or protect us and our cities from Chinese air attacks when they come.

They will have to be stationed there conjointly with our air forces. There is no doubt about it. Whatever that might be, we have to build up our strength. But what is our defence position today? Our defence position is very poor, I would say. Now

Pakistan is militarily on a par with India today, and China is much stronger. So, don't we have to build up our defences and strengthen the sinews of our economy in a hectic way to cope with this odd situation? Here I do not wish to refer to the article written by General Thimmayya, who gives the proportion because if I recall that, it would be amazing and nerve shattering.

An Hon. Member: That is meant for you.

Shri Hem Barua: For all of us. It is never shattering and amazing. When partition took place, the proportion between India and Pakistan was 3 : 2, ours 3 and theirs 2. Now if you take the whole and comprehensive picture of Pakistan defence potentialities, the position is the reverse; it is 5 : 4, 5 theirs and 4 ours. If the present atmosphere of insanity is to continue in Pakistan, we have to build up our military strength and position to a point so that it may be capable of meeting the combined challenge of both Pakistan and China against India. What is happening in this country today? There is complacency everywhere, complacency from the Central Secretariat down to Connaught Place. We say there is tremendous response coming from the people, there is tremendous unity among the people, but I would say we want unity of action, not unity of inaction.

Our Plan is faltering, our industry is in doldrums, our agriculture has failed to keep pace with the Plan target, there is power crisis, there is transport bottleneck and the administration is as inert as before. This is the position, this is a gloomy picture, but this is a correct picture. As was revealed in last October, the rise in national income up to 31st March 1962 was much lower than the meagre rise that was estimated by the Reserve Bank of India, and 3.4 per cent was all that was estimated by the Reserve Bank.

Mr. Speaker: The hon. Member should now conclude.

Shri Hem Barua: We should do better than that. There is a rise of 2.7 per cent in population and this rise is neutralising this meagre increase in national income.

I would say one more thing before I conclude. There should be economy in the administration, and that economy should start with the budget of salaries and allowances of Ministers. Our last Comptroller and Auditor-General computed and estimated that a Minister costs Rs. 6,500 per month, much more than what a British Councillor used to cost us during the British regime. It is also a fact that during the period 1958—61 carpet worth Rs. 2 lakhs had to be purchased in order to furnish the rooms of a particular Minister. The hon. Minister, Shri Khanna, has already disclosed that the water and electricity bills of Ministers reach the mark of four digits. This is the way in which money is being spent or wasted. I would say that there should be reduction in the number of Ministers everywhere. Why should UP have a battalion of 45 Ministers? Why should Bengal have a battalion of 36 Ministers? In Bengal there is one Minister for every seven legislators. I think the subject of the Ministry with the longest nomenclature called Community Development, Co-operation and Panchayati Raj can be entrusted to the States. Why should we have a Ministry like that? The record of this Ministry is a record of failures. It has failed in Panchayati Raj.

Mr. Speaker: He will get an opportunity to refer to this next time. Now he should conclude.

Shri Hem Barua: I would suggest that this Ministry can be rolled up like a sheet of paper.

Shrimati Yashoda Reddy (Kurnool): Mr. Speaker, I thank you very much for having given me this opportunity to express my thanks and gratitude to

our esteemed President. Speaking immediately after Shri Hem Barua, who has spoken more with emotion than with reason, I hope I would be able to impress the House with a little bit of propriety and judgment.

So much has been said about our foreign affairs and our trouble with China. I do not want to spend much time on that but I would like to say one or two words about our trouble with China. As has been correctly stated, the border trouble of ours has not been an unmixed curse. It has totally wiped out the differences between the two concepts of the people and politics. Today India is marching with one ideal of a united nation. It stands for one cause, the cause of universal justice, one ideal, the ideal of democracy, one leader, the leadership of Shri Jawaharlal Nehru.

The cease-fire has, no doubt, brought in some confusion and some emotional relaxation. That was one of the aims of the Chinese. But I do not agree with hon. Members of the Opposition that the Government is absolutely complacent and is not taking view of the emergency in its correct perspective. I, however, do agree with them that the spirit of emergency is not as much as it should be. But I will not agree with the statement that we are absolutely complacent.

I would like to say one thing about this matter. As far as our defences are concerned, once we have been caught napping and I would appeal to the Government to see that we are not caught napping again. I will agree with all my hon. friends, both on this side and mostly on the side of the Opposition, when they say that we should accept help from wherever it comes, whether it is from this side or that side. But let us not say that only one side of the world gives it with strings and the other side does so without strings.

I do not like to agree with Shri Hem Barua when he says that we are all

[Shrimati Yashoda Reddy]

alone in the world today. Certainly, sometimes when people are in the right, they may be all alone. But we need not depend on the public support of other people. Our inherent confidence and faith in our policies is far more important than publicity and propaganda. That confidence we have. If today we have nobody on our side, tomorrow we will have everybody on our side. But certainly I do not agree with him when he says that it is a monstrous perversity of mind to believe everybody. I humbly submit that it is a monstrous perversity of mind to have suspicions about yourself, your neighbours, your leaders and your friends everywhere. You should have faith somewhere. Without faith one cannot exist. Sometimes, may be good faith lets you down. But to have that perversity of mind is not the correct way to deal with people.

About Kashmir I did not want to say anything but I would like to say one thing. Everybody in the country today wants to have a sort of a solution about Kashmir, but there is a feeling in the country that the time now is not appropriate. Either we ought to have done this much earlier or we ought to have done it after the emergency. Somehow there is a feeling that Pakistan is having a sort of political blackmail and is pressing us to a sort. . . .

The Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Steel and Heavy Industries (Shri P. C. Sethi): Kashmir or Pakistan?

Shrimati Yashoda Reddy: I am sorry, Pakistan; thank you for the correction.

Somehow there is a feeling that Pakistan is doing a sort of political blackmail at the time of stress. Sometimes people have a feeling that the Western countries are connecting military aid with the solution of the Kashmir issue. But I am happy to

see what Professor Galbraith has said. He said—and I quote:—

“The delay in decision on the long-term military aid needs was sought to be used as a lever to put pressure on India to reach settlement with Pakistan. This is not correct. We are not interested in settlement and this is not the way we do our business. We will consider it an impediment of sovereign authority to India to offer any advice.”

I am very grateful what Professor Galbraith has said that. I am sure, we are not going to be dictated by others. We have got our own individual way of thinking. I have absolute confidence in our leaders. They will not let us down.

I do not agree with my hon. friends of the Swatantra Party who at one moment have gone on to say that they have absolute confidence in our Panditji and give him all support and at another moment have said that this is an emergency and though they have given their support he should be ready to get out as he has lost the faith of the people. This way of blowing hot and cold is not sound. You should have a sort of balanced judgment. If you have trust in a person for one thing, surely, that person is not going to let you down. That is all I want to say about this.

I am very glad that the President has stressed in paragraphs 18 and 4 of his Address the need for elimination of waste and under-utilisation and for giving basic facilities to our people. I would like to stress one or two of these things. In an under-developed country like India which is called upon to mobilise promptly all the real resources in the country the first economic sin that we can commit is to neglect to employ the existing capital resources to the fullest capacity. We should make the maximum use of all available resources and materials,

industrial capacity, manpower, transport, irrigation and land, whatever there is. We should completely utilise them and never leave anything under-utilised. I am glad to say that there has been a necessary shift in the official policy which would now support only such projects as will produce the largest possible resources within the least or minimum time. But there has been sad experience and I would like to say one or two things.

Recently in the study about the installed capacity of our industries which the Central Statistical Organisation undertook it is said that out of the selected 215 industries only 110 have utilised the capacity even upto 100 per cent. More than 33 industries—I am glad the Minister is here—have utilised capacity between 65 and 75 per cent. Nearly one-fifth of our industrial capacity has remained idle entailing a loss of nearly Rs. 500 crores a year for India. This is a sad experience.

During the first decade of our planning, we have spent nearly Rs. 730 crores on irrigation. At the end of the Second plan, it has been estimated that nearly 20 percent of the irrigation potential has not been used.

There is another thing which I would like to stress. The other day, the hon. Minister was replying about the turn-round of railway wagons. I would only quote Mr. D. P. Driver, the President of the Coal Association of India. He has said that the delays in the turn round of wagons is so much that it makes a person ashamed and makes him think twice. In every 24 hours, the railway wagons are on run only 200 minutes; 5½ hours they take in un-loading, 5½ hours in loading and only 3½ hours for actual running. For 10 hours, they are kept in one marshalling yard or another. The Minister may say, no. These are facts and figures that I have got from papers. I would request the Minister to go into these things.

So much has been said about corruption. Corruption does not neces-

sarily mean only taking money. Even under-utilisation and waste is a sort of corruption. If it is a question of money, I entirely agree with some of my friends, why should we politicians feel shy in having an enquiry. We are the biggest and the strongest party in India and we have the unique privilege of having led the country for over 15 years. We should lead the way. If we are not corrupt, we have nothing to fear. If we are corrupt, we have every right to be questioned. Why deny this? If anybody asks that politicians have to be checked, certainly, I say we should take the leading part. If there is any politician on our side, whether in the Ministry or a small man, we have to face it. We have no fear. If we are afraid of an enquiry committee, we have something to fear. Let us face it and get rid of it by an enquiry. Justice should not only be done, but also should seem to be done.

One other most important thing I want to say about the Universities. It has been correctly stated by one of our professors in Madras: that beyond the dusty haze of giant steel factories, the huge dams and the large workshops and eclipsing the success of the policy of neutrality and non-alignment, there hovers the menace of youth and student population in India. Today, the Government has got to think of the Universities and the life of the students. After all, they are the future citizens of India. In the 34 or 35 Universities, we are having nearly 900,000 students. Take the teacher student proportion. In most of the schools, it is sometimes 1:70. In some faculties like History, Law and Commerce, it goes up to 1:500. Can a teacher manage 500 students? Is this the way we are going to give training to our students? There is absolutely no individual attention. In most of the institutions, there is no provision for their physical outlet. They do not spend money for physical recreation. What do they do? We see students going for cheap books, for the films, teddy boyish rowdyism.

[Shrimati Yashoda Reddy]

That is so because there are very few books in the libraries and so many chasing them. What about the teachers? They are, I think, in the worst position compared with everybody: most demoralised, most apathetic, most sorry figure to see; people who command no respect, who have very little dignity left with them. Not only this. I do not say it is only their fault. Even the politicians have sometimes to be blamed. Blunders of the public, perverseness of the authorities, caste and communal rivalries and superimposition of party policies have also affected University life. I do want to say that the Government is responsible. When political parties utilise the students, whether it is on our side or on the other side, they must take very strong action. They should not only curb the people in the opposition. If any group mis-uses the student population, we should take action. I say this because of our experience in Lucknow and the Banaras Hindu Universities. Gone are the days when a Vice-Chancellor of the calibre of the President of India—he was the Vice-Chancellor of the Banaras Hindu University—stood up to Sir Maurice Hallet the then Governor of U.P. and kept the police out of the campus. But, today, Vice-Chancellors ask the help of the police to control the students. It is just like a mother asking the next door neighbour to control the child. To whom does the blame apply? Is the mother to blame or the child? Is it the Vice-Chancellors or the students, I ask. This is what we find.

The President has told us about longevity of life. I would like to say one thing. What is the Health department doing with all its propaganda? Fourteen thousand deaths of small pox: is it not a shame? Forty five thousand cases of small pox? May be the public are also at fault. I do not say only the Government is at fault. Small pox—a small thing—in the year 1963 we are not able to control. It does not seem good.

My hon. friend Dr. K. L. Rao said about population. What about control of population? One of our delegates at the U.N. said, India is heading towards 625 million population figure by the end of the century. This should be a warning to our planners and to those who are responsible for family planning schemes. All that I say is this. We are spending some money. Whatever policy we are following, we do not take it right down to the lower levels. This is the only thing that I want to say.

Lastly, I would like to say this. Our Government today is not a law and order state. Today, economic expansion and social welfare are now the watchwords in the place of the old law and order. Today, achievement is worth more than equity, risk taking more than slow inquiry, half right answer today more than complete answer next year. Delays and dilemmas of bureaucracy are not new only to this country. Every country which has undergone these changes has had them. We should not be ashamed of it. It was said of Britain once that it had a very slow office, an enormously expensive office and also a very inefficient office. I do not say it applies to all of us. We have to be careful about our shortcomings. Why I say this is because sometimes the Ministers' intentions can be entirely negated by all the sub-departments and those of each of the sub-departments by those below. The widest symptom of the malaise today is the failure—not complete—to some extent the failure of our vital public services to keep pace with the demands generated by India's great thirst for growth. It is not a question of the public or the private sector. I do say, more and more we have to go in for the public sector because that is the only safeguard to control the private sector. But, as somebody pointed out, delay in steel plants, delay in coal production or power production, railway bottle-necks—these all reflect sometimes that the Government has

been taken by surprise. Also sometimes it makes us feel that there are certain failures in the Planning Commission itself. Why I say this is because there are no agencies specially empowered to follow the decisions down through the lazy lower echelons of the administration. In the Army, we have got "Q. Plans". Even in the Planning Commission, we should have some such thing. We should have a tough Cabinet Sub-committee demanding a regular account of work in progress, not simply in terms of money spent, but of physical targets actually achieved, giving no quarter until every backlog is made up. Only then, we will have some satisfaction.

Let me in conclusion say this. I do not say this with either shame or with a feeling that my Government has failed. I say my Government, in internal policy, in economic policies, in Defence, in foreign policies, has succeeded and succeeded better than we expected. But, all these things, I want to place before the House, are costs of success, not costs of failures. Those who profess to see only the failures miss the unmistakable improvement and the points of growth in this country. Of course, the pace is slow. But, the people of India are so backward that even to stay where they are, they have to run and to get ahead, they have to sprint.

I convey my thanks and I thank you for giving me this opportunity to speak.

श्री सरजू पाण्डेय (रसड़ा) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं सर्व प्रथम तो आपको धन्यवाद देना चाहता हूँ कि आपने मुझे राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण पर हो रही बहस में बोलने का मौका दिया है ।

इस में कोई शक नहीं है, जैसा कि राष्ट्रपति जी ने कहा है कि हमारा मुल्क काफ़ी कठिन समय से गुज़र रहा है । ऐसे अवसर पर हम सभी लोगों को चाहे वे किसी भी दल के क्यों न हों, किसी भी विचारधारा को मानने वाले क्यों न हों, लाज़िमी तौर पर दो चीज़ों पर गौर करना चाहिये । जैसा कि राष्ट्रपति जी ने कहा है कि हमारे देश में सब से बड़ा संकट चीन के हमले से पैदा हुआ है, इसलिये किस तरह से चीनी हमलावरों को मुल्क के बाहर निकाला जाए और दूसरा सब से अहम मसला यह है कि हमारे देश में किस तरह से आर्थिक प्रगति हो ।

जो विचार इस सदन में व्यक्त किये गये हैं उनको हम गौर से देखें तो हम को दो तीन बात देखने को मिलेगी । कुछ लोग इस सदन में इस बात के लिये जोर लगाते हैं कि हम अपनी उन तमाम मान्यताओं को जिन्हें हम ने पिछले १५ वर्षों में प्राप्त किया है छोड़ दें । मिसाल के लिए हमारे देश ने मुख्य रूप से चार पांच मान्यताएँ तै की हैं जैसे (१) शांति, (२) प्रजातंत्र, (३) योजना और (४) तटस्थता लेकिन आज हम देखते हैं कि कुछ लोगों को चीनी हमलावरों को देश से निकालने से पहले यह चिन्ता है कि हमारी बुनियादी नीतियों बदल जाएं । इसलिए वह ज्यादा परेशान नज़र आते हैं और जब भी उनको मौका मिलता है वे वही विचार इस सदन में व्यक्त करते हैं ।

शांति हम इसलिये नहीं चाहते कि हम किसी से कमजोर हैं बल्कि हम शांति को इस लिये चाहते हैं कि हम तीसरे युद्ध को निमंत्रण नहीं देना चाहते । इसका मतलब यह नहीं है कि हम किसी से कमजोर हैं । इसका मतलब यह भी नहीं है कि अगर हमारे ऊपर हमला

[श्री सरजू पाण्डेय]

होगा तो भी हम देश में श्मशान की शांति बनाए रखेंगे । लेकिन जैसा कि श्री खुश्चैव ने बर्लिन कानफरेंस में कहा था, हम धरती पर स्वर्ग बनाना चाहते हैं, स्वर्ग नहीं जाना चाहते । मगर हम देखते हैं कि आज भी कुछ लोग युद्ध की बात करते हैं । हम भी ऐसी शांति के पक्षपाती नहीं हैं कि अपनी इज्जत देकर किसी भी कीमत पर शांति चाहें । मगर यह जो आज हर ईमानदार और समझदार आदमी सोचता है कि आज युद्ध का क्या अर्थ है । आज युद्ध का अर्थ है मानवता का पूरा विनाश । इस लिए हमारे देश ने भी शांति को अपना पसन्द किया है ।

दूसरी तरफ ये लोग बताते हैं कि चीन को मुल्क से निकालने का रास्ता क्या है । इनकी नजर में केवल एक रास्ता है । इनका कहना है जब तक हिन्दुस्तान के कम्युनिस्टों को फांसी नहीं दे दी जाती तब तक चीन देश की जमीन से नहीं जा सकता । खास तौर से जनसंघ के भाई और स्वतंत्र पार्टी के लोग ऐसा कहते हैं कि जिनका देश में कोई इतिहास नहीं रहा, जिन्होंने कभी आजादी की लड़ाई में हिस्सा नहीं लिया जिनका देश में कोई भी अस्तित्व आज नहीं है । ये लोग ही आज इस बात की सब से ज्यादा मांग करते हैं कि हिन्दुस्तान के कम्युनिस्टों को समाप्त कर दिया जाए तो चीन चला जाएगा ।

एक माननीय सदस्य : क्या राजगोपालाचारी का भी कोई देश में स्थान नहीं है ।

श्री सरजू पाण्डेय : दूसरी तरफ ये लोग गांव गांव में जाकर अपने भाषणों में सभाओं में लोगों से कहते हैं कि सरकार ने शांति शांति कह के देश को मुर्दा बना दिया है । सब से ज्यादा ये लोग गालियां बकते हैं । जब कभी हम पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू का नाम लेते हैं तो इन लोगों को चिन्ता होती है कि कम्युनिस्ट क्यों पंडित जी का नाम ले रहे हैं । प्रजा शोसलिस्ट पार्टी के माननीय नेता श्री

अशोक मेहता ने अपने एक भाषण में कहा था कि हम जवाहरलाल नेहरू के मानस पुत्र हैं और यह चीज अखबारों में भी छपी थी लेकिन अगर हम ने पंडित जी का नाम ले लिया तो हमारे प्रजा शोसलिस्ट भाइयों को तकलीफ होती है । दूसरे भाइयों को भी तकलीफ होती है लेकिन शोसलिस्ट पार्टी के लोगों को सब से ज्यादा तकलीफ होती है ।

दूसरे ये लोग यह कहते हैं कि योजना का क्या त्याग करो, योजना नहीं चल सकती, इन के भाषण होते हैं सभाओं में कि सरकार मुल्क को बचा नहीं सकती इसलिए कि डिफेंस का कोई रास्ता नहीं है । इन के डिफेंस के कारखानों में श्रंगारदान बनते हैं । रोजाना इन के इस प्रकार के स्टेटमेंट अखबारों में छमते हैं । इन लोगों की तरफ से कहा गया है कि तीस हजार कम्बल जो कि फौजियों को दिए गए उन में से १८ हजार फटे हुए थे । ये बातें अखबारों में निकलती हैं । मैं कहता हूँ कि कहा गया है है आपका डिफेंस आफ इंडिया ऐक्ट जो इन के खिलाफ काम में नहीं लाया जाता । आचार्य कृपालानी ने लखनऊ में हजारों लोगों की सभा में कहा है कि सरकार को जो सोना दोगे या पैसा दोगे वह पानी में जाएगा । उन्होंने कहा कि जब तक नेतृत्व को नहीं बदला जाता तब तक मुल्क को नहीं बचाया जा सकता । तो इन लोगों को इतनी चीनी हमलावरों को देश से निकलने की चिन्ता नहीं है जितनी चिन्ता इनको देश से प्रजातांत्रिक शासन को बदल कर उसके स्थान पर फौजी शासन लाने की है । ये लोग कहते हैं कि लोक तंत्र क्या है, यह इस मुल्क में नहीं चल सकता यहां तो किसी मजबूत मिलिटरी अग्रेसर की जरूरत है जो कि मुल्क को चलाए है । ये लोग इस प्रकार की बातों का प्रचार जनता में करते हैं ।

मैं समझता हूँ कि हमें आज चीन से लड़ना है तो इसके लिये यह जरूरी है कि जिन चीजों को हमने पिछले १५ वर्षों में प्राप्त किया

है उनको कायम रखें और ढाँचें और साथ ही साथ दुनियां को यह बताएं कि हम गलत रास्ते पर नहीं हैं।

अभी हेम बरूआ साहब ने कहा कि रूस और चीन का कोई झगड़ा नहीं है। बहस इस बात की नहीं है कि रूस और चीन का झगड़ा है या नहीं। वही इस बात की है कि हमारे मुल्क को बचाने के लिए जो भी हमको सहायता देना चाहे हम उसका स्वागत करें या नहीं। क्या यह कह कर कि चीन और रूस का झगड़ा नहीं है इसलिये हम रूस से सहायता न लें। अगर दुनिया के कुछ साम्यवादी देश या पूंजीवादी देश हमारी मदद के लिए आते हैं तो हमको उनकी मदद का स्वागत करना चाहिए था। उनको इस बात से डर है कि हम रूस का नाम क्यों लेते हैं। हम तो समझते हैं कि होशियारी इसी में है कि इस समय जो भी मुल्क हमको सहायता देना चाहता है उसकी सहायता लेकर हम मुल्क को बचाएं।

दूसरी बात में यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि जब हम यह कहते हैं कि हम अपने प्रधान मंत्री की की नीतियों का समर्थन करते हैं तो इसका यह मतलब नहीं है कि हम किसी व्यक्ति की जाती नीति का समर्थन करते हैं। उसका अर्थ यह है कि देश के बहुमत ने जो नीति निर्धारित की है हम उसका समर्थन करते हैं और हम समझते हैं कि मुल्क को बचाने का यही सही रास्ता है।

दो तीन बातें और मैं कहना चाहता हूँ। इमरजेंसी की बात की जाती है। और बहुत से लोगों का मत यह है कि इस सम्बन्ध में सबसे पहला काम यह है कि कम्युनिस्टों को जेल में डाल दो। मैं कहता हूँ कि कोई भी आदमी जो कि देश की सुरक्षा को बाधा पहुंचाता हो उसको तो लाजिमी तौर पर जेल में ही डाला जाना चाहिये। उसको इस बात का अधिकार नहीं होना चाहिये कि वह बाहर

रहे और कोई गलत कार्य करे। लेकिन मुख्य रूप से किसी एक दल को ही निशाना बना लेना उचित नहीं है। मैं आपको बताऊँ कि इमरजेंसी के नाम पर क्या होता है। इसका कितना दुरुपयोग हो रहा है। मैं आपको एक मिसाल देता हूँ। मेरे यहां एक लोहार था जो कि लोहे का छोट्टा-मोटा काम करता है। उससे कहा गया कि तुम चन्दे में २५ रुपये दो उसने कहा कि मैं नहीं दे सकता तो उसको पकड़ कर जेल में बन्द कर दिया गया और १५ दिन तक जेल में रखा गया। मैंने अधिकारियों से पूछा कि इसका क्या कारण है। तो उन्होंने कहा कि हमको नहीं मालूम म कहता हूँ कि इमरजेंसी का इस प्रकार का इस्तेमाल करना गलत है और सरकार को इसको रोकना चाहिये। और देखना चाहिए। बजाय इसके कि चीन से लड़ा जाए किसी एक दल को निशाना नहीं बना लेना चाहिए। इस संबंध में मुझे एक देहाती कहावत याद आती है :

लाली को पावें न टिमली ब कोटें ।
चीन से लड़ने के स्थान पर हमें मारने का इरादा करते हैं। मैं कहता हूँ कि इस तरह का इमरजेंसी पावर्न का इस्तेमाल न किया जाना चाहिये।

बहुत से लोग कहते हैं कि कम्युनिस्ट बड़े गद्दार ह, इनको निकाल बाहर करना चाहिए। मैं कहता हूँ कि गद्दारों की लिस्ट कम्युनिस्टों में ही नहीं है। मुल्क में सब जगह गद्दार बैठे हैं। ये लोग कांग्रेस में भी हैं और प्राजा शोसलिस्ट लोगों में भी हैं। इस लिए तो हर आदमी को जाती तौर पर देखा जाना चाहिये। आपको ऐसे बहुत से लोग मिलेंगे जिन्होंने अंग्रेजों का साथ दमन में दिया, जिन्होंने देश भक्तों पर गोलियां चलायीं। ऐसे न जाने कितने राजा और जमींदार जिन्होंने कांग्रेस जनों पर गोलियां चलायीं वे आज तो कांग्रेस बैच पर बैठे हैं। क्या वे गद्दार नहीं हैं। क्या उनका इतिहास किसी से छुपा है। लेकिन बात यह है कि अगर वह कांग्रेस में हो गए तो गद्दार नहीं हैं, जनसंघ में चले

[श्री सरजू पाण्डेय]

गए तो गदार नहीं है। स्वतंत्र पार्टी में चले गये तो पूरे महादेव ही बन जाते हैं। इस लिए मेरा निवेदन है कि इमरजेंसी पावर्स के इस्तेमाल की ओर सरकार को लाजिमी तौर पर देखना चाहिए।

दूसरी बात मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि मुल्क को बिड़ला और टाटा नहीं बचा सकते जिनके पास पूंजी है और शक्ति है। जब भी मुल्क पर मुसीबतें आयी हैं, आजादी की लड़ाई लड़नी पड़ी है तो इस काम के लिये कभी राजे, नबाब और बड़े बड़े पूंजीपति सामने नहीं आये हैं। इस काम के लिये तो गांवों के छोटे-छोटे आदमी, वालंटियर के रूप में सामने आए हैं। इन लोगों ने कांग्रेस के आन्दोलन में भाग लिया है। मैं आप के सामने खड़ा हूँ। मैंने सन् १९४२ के आन्दोलन में भाग लिया था। मैं एक बहुत छोटा आदमी हूँ। जिन गरीब लोगों ने जब भी मुल्क पर मौका आया उसकी लड़ाई में हिस्सा लिया आज वही गरीब लोग सब से ज्यादा परेशान हैं और तबाह हैं। अगर अपने देश को बचाना है और इसकी आजादी को बरकरार रखना है तो हमें अपनी ताकत बढ़ानी होगी, अपने बाजुओं में ताकत पैदा करनी होगी। अपनी बाजुओं में जोर न हो और हम दूसरों के भरोसे रहना चाहें तो इस तरह से कोई भी मुल्क अपनी आजादी, इज्जत और वक्कार कायम नहीं रख सकता है। आज यहां जो बात सुनने में आती है कि आक्रमण होने पर अपनी आजादी की रक्षा के लिए अमरीकन फीजें बुला लें या फलां जगह से जहाज ले लें तो इस तरह से यह कभी सम्भव नहीं होगा कि हम अपनी आजादी को बचा सकें। जिस देश में अपनी ताकत न हो जो मुल्क अपने से नहीं उठ सकता लाजिमी तौर पर दूसरों की ताकत के भरोसे रहता है वह अपनी रक्षा करने में असमर्थ नहीं होता है और वह अपना आजादी गंवा बैठता है। इसलिये अगर आप चाहते हैं कि मुल्क की सुरक्षा

हो, तो हमलावरों को मुल्क से बाहर निकाला जाय तो लाजिमी तौर पर इस देश के ७५ फी सदी बसने वाले लोगों को इसकी चिन्ता करना पड़ेगी और उस के लिए अपने को कमर कस कर तैयार करना पड़ेगा।

13 hrs.

मैं अभी पिछले दिनों पंजाब गया था। मुझे यह देख कर बड़ा दुःख हुआ कि वहां गरीब कुली, मजदूर और रिक्शे वाले यह नहीं जानते कि आजादी का क्या मतलब होता है। वह नहीं समझते कि हमारे मुल्क में कौन सी आफत आई है। अगर वे आज भी उसी गरीब और बेकसी की जिदगी बसर कर रहे हैं जैसे कि आजादी से पहले करते थे। इसलिए अगर आप चाहते हैं कि उस गरीब जनता के दिल में आजादी से प्यार और मुहब्बत पैदा हो और उस के लिये मर मिटने का जोश उन में पैदा हो तो फिर आपको उन लोगों को पस्ती की हालत में से निकालना होगा। समाज के उस दबे हुए हिस्से को ऊपर उठाना होगा। उस दुखी और प्रताड़ित जनता को आपको राहत पहुंचानी होगी। इस इमरजेंसी की आड़ लेकर आप कांग्रेस को शक्तिशाली न बनाये और उसकी मੈम्बरशिप न बढ़ायें वल्कि जरूरत इस बात की है कि आप देश को सही मायने में आक्रमण का सामना करने के लिए तैयार करें। आज मुझे दुख के साथ कहना पड़ रहा है कि इस इमरजेंसी के वधाने मिल मालिक मजदूरों पर और जमींदार और पूंजीपति लोग गांव में गरीब जनता हरिजनों पर जुल्म ढा रहे हैं। जेल में बंद करने के लिए शहादत और दूसरी कार्यवाहियों की भी जरूरत नहीं है, खाली कलक्टर के पास लिख कर भेज दिया कि यह कम्युनिस्ट है और यह वार एफैंट में गड़बड़ी पैदा कर रहा है, लोगों को डिफेंस फंड में चन्दा न देने के लिये भड़का रहा है, बस तने से ही उन बेचरों को गिरफ्तार कर के जेल में भेज दिया जाता है। ऐसा करने से देश की एकता नहीं बढ़ेगी और न ही

गरीब जनता में देश के लिए मरमिटने का उत्साह जागेगा । ।

मैं पूर्वी उत्तर प्रदेश से आता हूँ और मुझे अच्छी तरह मालूम है कि वहाँ के गरीब निवासियों को कैसी खराब हालत है और वह कैसी पस्ती का जीवन व्यतीत कर रहे हैं। लेकिन ससे मेरा यह मुराद नहीं है कि कांग्रेस राज्य में कुछ हुआ ही नहीं। मैं यह नहीं कहता कि यहाँ सब कुछ खराब हो रहा है। लेकिन यह मैं जरूर कहूँगा कि अभी भी बहुत कुछ करने की बाकी है। गरीबों का शोषण अभी तक चल रहा है और अगर आप वाकई देश को मजबूत करना चाहते हैं और देश की बाहरी आक्रमण से रक्षा करना ही चाहते हैं तो आपको इन ७५ फी सदी लोगों को ऊपर उठाना होगा और उनकी हालत को बेहतर बनाना होगा। मौका पड़ने पर ये ही लोग आप के काम आने वाले हैं और आजादी की लड़ाई में अपनी जानों की कुर्बानी देने वाले हैं। जहाँ आदमी शोर मचा रहा है, जहाँ आदमी के रहने के वास्ते मकान न हो, और सड़क पर गाँसोता हो, उसे भूखे और गंदे आदमियों से यह उम्मीद रखना कि वह तलवार उठा कर देश को आजादी के खातिर लड़ेगा, बेकार है और वह लड़ नहीं सकेगा। हमारे यहाँ कहा भी गया है :—

“बिभुक्षतम किम न करीति पापम्”
इसलिए पहला काम हमारा यह होना चाहिये कि जो दरिद्र और भूखा हो उसको सुखी बनायें ।

सरकार 170 सोने के ऊपर नियंत्रण सम्बन्धी आदेश को लेकर कुछ लोगों 170 बड़ा शोर मचाया जा रहा है कि लोगों से सरकार सोना ले रही है। लेकिन हम तो कहते हैं कि सब ले लीजिये। जिस के पास भी सोना हो वह देश की रक्षा के काम बाहर आना ही चाहिए। कुछ लोगों 170 का धर्म का नाम लेकर सरकार के इस सोना नियंत्रण कानून के

2726 (A) LSD-4

विरुद्ध चार किया जाता है और श्री राज-गोपालाचारी ने तो फरमाया कि यह तो बिलकुल हमारे धर्म को लूटा जा रहा है और ऐसा कर के तो स्त्रियों का मुहाग ही लूटा जा रहा है . . .

श्री यशपाल सिंह (कैराना) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, जो साहब यहाँ सदन में डिफेंड करने के मौजूद नहीं क्या उनको सतरह सेनाम लेकर कहा जा सकता है ?

श्री सरजू पाण्डेय : यहाँ डांगे कहां मौजूद हैं ?

अध्यक्ष महोदय : अगर्चे उन्होंने पार्टी के लीडर का नाम लिया है, उनका पार्टी के प्रोग्राम से मतलब है।

श्री सरजू पाण्डेय : मैं यह अर्ज कर रहा था कि इस देश के गरीब लोगों के पास सोना नहीं है। बेचारे कहां सोना पहनते हैं ? यह जरूर है कि सरकार के स सोना नियन्त्रण कानून के फलस्वरूप जो सुनार बेकार हुए हैं उनको काम दिया जाय। लेकिन मेरा कहना है कि यह स्वतंत्र पार्टी और प्रजासमाजवादी लोग इसके विरुद्ध जो शोर मचा रहे हैं सरकार उन के उस बहकावे में कर्दापि न आये। यह लोग मांग करते हैं कि मिनिस्टरो की तादाद घटाई जाय लेकिन यही लोग इस बात की मांग नहीं करते हैं कि राजाओं की प्रीवी पर्सनल अन्त कर ली जायें। करोड़ों पये जिन पूजी-पातयों और राजे महाराजाओं की जेबों में जाते हैं उनसे यह सोना और सोना लेना नहीं चाहत है। मिनिस्टरो की तादाद घटाने की यह मांग करत हैं लेकिन मैं कहता हूँ कि उनकी तादाद घटाने के बजाय उनकी फैंसिलटीज़ में कमी कीजिये, उन के ऊपर रुपया कम खर्च कीजिये। मिनिस्टरो की तादाद घटा कर एक सुपर मिनिस्टर बना दिया जाय मैं इसके पक्ष में नहीं हूँ। लोकतांत्रिक प्रणाली के बजाय प्लटन का राज्य बन जाय क्या यह देश के हित में होगा ? हमारे स्वतंत्र पार्टी और उनके

[श्री सरजू पाण्डेय]

अन्य साथी इसके लिए नहीं कहते कि सरकार मुनाफाखोरी के मुनाफे ले ले, राजाओं की प्रिवी पर्सज जन्त कर ले और तमाम सोने का स्टाक अपने कब्जे में ले ले ।

सोने का जहां तक सम्बन्ध है मेरा निवेदन है कि सोना नियन्त्रण कानून एक मजाक सा है । आप ने तमाम गहनों को बाहर छोड़ दिया है । गहनों पर कोई प्रतिबंध नहीं है, चाहे आप जितने भी ले ले । इसके रहते मेरा कहना है कि आप सोना निकालेंगे कैसे ? अपील करने के अलावा आप के पास दूसरी बात नहीं है । आप उस के लिए ऐसे लोगों से अपील करते हैं जो देश के करोड़ों गरीब किसान, मजदूरों की कमाई पर रात दिन डाका डालते हैं । जिन के पास पैसा है भला वह आपकी अपील सुनेंगे ? करोड़ों रुपया नकदी और सोने के रूप में वह अपने घरों में दबाये हुए हैं । अगर सही मायनों में मुल्क को डिफेज करना चाहते हैं तो आपको चाहिए कि जो सोना उनके घरों में दबा पड़ा है उसको बाहर निकालिये और सोने के गहनों पर प्रतिबंध लगाइये । ज़रूरत से ज्यादा सोने के गहने किसी को अपने पास रखने की इजाजत नहीं होनी चाहिए ।

जहां तक इस मुल्क की गरीबी की बात है मैं समझता हूँ कि इन बारे में दो राय नहीं हो सकती कि अभी भी देश में गरीबी और भूखमरी मौजूद है । देश में अष्टाचार भी पनप रहा है और इसमें भी कोई दो राय नहीं है और कांग्रेसी भाई भी इस बात को तसलूम करते हैं कि देश में अष्टाचार मौजूद है ।

जहां तक योजना का सम्बन्ध है मेरी पार्टी ने योजना का पूर्ण रूप से समर्थन किया है और हम उसको सफल होते देखना चाहते हैं । लेकिन इतना जरूर मैं कहूंगा कि योजना के नाम पर जो भारी फिजूलखर्ची हो रही है उसे अख्तियार रोकना चाहिये । राष्ट्र के धन का इस तरह से अपव्यय नितान्त अनुचित है ।

योजना के मामले में किस तरह से पैसा बर्बाद किया जाता है इसकी मैं एक मिसाल देना चाहता हूँ । जब उत्तर प्रदेश में श्री सम्पूर्णानन्द चीफ मिनिस्टर थे तो उन्होंने कहा कि इस प्रदेश के बुड्डों को पढ़ाना चाहिए । अब बुड्डों को पढ़ाया कैसे जाये ? इसके लिए श्री सम्पूर्णानन्द के निजी सलाहकारों ने, जिनकी कि कोई कमी नहीं, उन्होंने चीफ मिनिस्टर को यह सलाह दी कि बुड्डे तब पढ़ेंगे जब गांवों में ढोल और झाल लेकर गीत गाये जायेंगे । इसके लिए ८ लाख रुपये के झाल और ढोल खरीदे गये ताकि गांवों में बांट दिये जाय । उनको यह मशविरा दिया गया था कि जब गांव में ढोल और झाल लेकर गीत गाये जायेंगे और बुड्डे आयेंगे तो गाने के साथ धीरे धीरे उनको पढ़ायेंगे भी । आप ताज्जुब करेंगे कि ८ लाख रुपये के ढोल और झाल खरीदे गये । ४ लाख के झाल ढोल स्टेशन पर ही रह गये और ४ लाख के गांवों में बांट दिये गये । लेकिन एक भी बुड्डा पढ़ने के लिए नहीं आया । अब यह क्या योजना है ? उस के बाद यह योजना वापिस ले ली गई । मेरा कहना है कि इस तरह की स्क्रीमें चलाना और उनमें राष्ट्र का पैसा लगाना अनुचित है और यह योजना का दुस्प्रयोग है । गांवों में रोशनी का इंतजाम करने की बात की जाती है । उस के वास्ते करोड़ों रुपये की लालटेन खरीदी जाती हैं । इस का अगर तमाशा देखना हो तो हमारे उत्तर प्रदेश की योजना का तमाशा देखें । गांवों में रोशनी के लिए लालटेन खरीद ली गई । थोड़े दिन ही बाद लालटेन तो टूट गई, खाली दांस खड़े रह गये । इस तरह से लाखों, करोड़ों रुपया इस योजना के नाम पर बेकार खर्च हो रहा है ।

स्वतंत्र पार्टी के भाई कहते हैं कि योजनाओं को बिल्कुल समाप्त कर दो । मैं समझता हूँ कि यह रास्ता तमाशाही फन रास्ता है, यह रास्ता देश के हित और तरक्की का नहीं है

और हमको इस बारे में सावधान रहना चाहिए। लेकिन उसके साथ ही मैं यह भी मानता हूँ कि यह रोशनी और पढ़ाने के नाम पर जो धन का अपव्यय होता है वह बंद होना चाहिए।

सहकारी समितियों के बारे में राष्ट्रपति ने अपने अभिभाषण में कहा है कि वे बहुत प्रगति कर रही हैं और कामयाबी के साथ चल रही हैं। मैं खुद उन का मेम्बर भी हूँ और एक, दो सहकारी समितियों का मैं डाइरेक्टर भी हूँ। दरअसल यह कोऑपरेटिव सोसाइटीज बिलकुल एक मायाजाल है और बुरीबाँों को इन से कुछ नहीं मिलता है। सहकारी समिति में एक घर के नौ, नौ आदमी उसके मेम्बर बने होते हैं। फरजी सोसाइटीयाँ बनी हुई हैं। गरीबाँों को उससे नहीं मिलता है

एक माननीय सदस्य : ऐसी कोऑपरेटिव सोसाइटीज के आप डाइरेक्टर हैं।

श्री सरजू पाण्डेय : मैं फरजी सोसाइटीज का डाइरेक्टर नहीं हूँ वह तो मौका फरजी सोसाइटी का मेम्बर बनने का आप लोगों को ही मिलता है। हमें उसका मौका नहीं मिलता है। फरजी सहकारी समितियाँ बनी हुई हैं इस चीज को अकेले में आप भी स्वीकार कीजियेगा भले ही सदन में न करे। इसलिए मेरा निवेदन है कि इस सहकारिता आन्दोलन को और कोऑपरेटिव सोसाइटीज के काम को एक सही लाइंस पर आगेनाइज करके चलाइये। उनकी वर्किंग में कानूनी परिवर्तन करिये ताकि वहाँ ठीक से काम हो और उनका उद्देश्य सफल हो। अगर सही लाइंस पर उनको चलाया जाय तो देश का काफी लाभ हो सकता है। मुल्क का इस तरह से आज जो काफी पैसा अपव्यय हो रहा है उसे बचाया जाय।

13.7 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

बस, एक दो, बातें कह कर मैं खत्म करूँगा। मैं समझता हूँ कि आज जैसी स्थिति हमारे देश के सामने है उसमें यह बहुत जरूरी

है कि जनता का सहयोग लिया जाये। अब पार्टीज चाहे वह कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी हो, स्वतंत्र पार्टी हो, जनसंघ हो सब का सहयोग देश को मजबूत करने के लिए लिया जाये। कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी वालों को आज किसी के कहने भर से कि वे वार एफर्ट में बाधा पहुंचा रहे हैं, पकड़ कर जेल में बंद किया जा रहा है। इसके लिए उनके पास कोई सबूत नहीं है। मेरा कहना यह है कि इस इमरजेंसी की आड़ लेकर कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी के आदमियों को बिना बात गिरफ्तार करना कदापि उचित नहीं है। किसान सभाएं और ट्रेड यूनियन जो कि कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी के संगठन हैं, उन्होंने देश की सुरक्षा में सब से ज्यादा पैसा दिया है। इसके बरखिलाफ़ धनी मानी लोग और जो कि सब से ज्यादा देशभक्त आज बने फिरते हैं, इन्होंने कभी एक पैसा भी नहीं दिया है। इस बात को सब मानते हैं। इसमें भी कोई शक नहीं है कि जब तक हिन्दुस्तान की धरती पर एक भी आदमी जिंदा है तब तक किसी भी बाहरी मुल्क का इस देश पर कब्जा नहीं हो सकता। देशभक्ति का किसी ने ठेका नहीं ले रखा है। इसलिए हम किसी पर यह चार्ज नहीं लगाना चाहते कि अमुक अमुक गद्दार की लिस्ट अगर बनाई जाने लगेगी तो यहां देशभक्त तो कोई है ही नहीं। कम्युनिस्ट गद्दार, जनसंघी गद्दार, स्वतंत्र पार्टी वाले गद्दार और कांग्रेसी गद्दार इसलिए इस तरह की बातें नहीं करनी चाहिए। आज जरूरत इस बात की है कि जो बुनियादी पालिसी हमने निर्धारित की है और जो हमला उनके ऊपर हो रहा है, उसके प्रति सावधान रहें और उसको हम नाकाम कर दें। आज मुल्क को जहाँ बाहर से खतरा है वहाँ देश के भीतर से भी खतरा पैदा हो रहा है। मुल्क में कुछ ऐसे तत्व मौजूद हैं जो कि देश में पूँजीवाद का प्रथय चाहते हैं और उसका एकाधिकार इस देश में स्थापित करना और भिन्न देशों की बात करते हैं, ऐसे लोगों से हमें सावधान रहने की जरूरत है। इसके साथ ही हमें चीनी हमलावरों को आगे बढ़ने से रोकना है और उनको वापस भेजना है लेकिन आज

[श्री सरजू पाण्डेय]

की परिस्थिति में जब कि कोलम्बो प्रस्ताव सामने हैं, तटस्थ ऐशियाई राष्ट्रों को अपने साथ लेकर चीन से अगर आवश्यक हो तो बातचीत करके इस झगड़े का शांतिपूर्ण लेकिन सम्मानजनक हल निकालने का प्रयत्न करें। लेकिन शांतिमय उपायों के लिए जो मैं कह रहा हूँ उसका अर्थ यह नहीं है कि हम उनके आक्रमण को मान लें और चुपचाप बैठ जायें। लेकिन यह भी कोई बुद्धिमानी नहीं होगी कि बेकार में जलते भाड़ में अपना सिर झोंक दिया जाय। जोश के साथ होश ज़रूरी है। जोश और होश अगर साथ साथ नहीं चलेगा तो हमको नुकसान हो जाने का डर है और हमको परेशानियाँ उठानी पड़ सकती हैं। इसलिए मुझे यही निवेदन करना है कि जो बुनियादी सिद्धान्त हमने अपने लिए रखे हैं उन पर हमें अटल रहना है और देश के ऐसे तत्वों से सावधान रहना है जो कि इन बुनियादी नीतियों पर हमला करने का प्रयत्न कर रहे हैं। सरकार को उन इलाकों की तरफ़ ख़ास तौर से ध्यान देना चाहिए, जो कि पिछड़े हुए हैं, जहाँ दरिद्रता है। उन तत्वों और उन इलाकों को ख़ास तौर से उठाने की ज़रूरत है, जो कि हमेशा से अंग्रेज़ी साम्राज्यशाही से लड़ते आए हैं और आज भी लड़ रहे हैं। हमारे यहाँ गाज़ीपुर ज़िले में खाली एक गांव से २५० आदमी पल्टन में गए हैं। अगर सरकार उन को मुखी नहीं बना सकती है, अगर वह उन के आंमू नहीं पोंछ सकती है, अगर वह उन को कुछ राहत नहीं पहुंचा सकती है, तो सिर्फ़ बातों से मुल्क के लिए दर्द और प्रेम पैदा करना बहुत मुश्किल है। जो लोग आज दुखी, परेशान और गरीब हैं, उन के जीवन-स्तर को ऊंचा उठाने की आवश्यकता है। ये जो थोड़े से धोती-पगड़ी वाले हैं, सरकार को उन की चिन्ता नहीं करनी चाहिए। वे पार्लियामेंट में चाहे कितनी ही बातें करें लेकिन मुल्क में उन की कोई आवाज़ नहीं है, मुल्क में उन के पीछे कोई नहीं है। देश में जो प्रजातांत्रिक शक्तियाँ हैं, उन को आगे बढ़ाने की ज़रूरत है।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं अपना भाषण समाप्त करता हूँ।

Shri K. C. Pant (Naini Tal): I join wholeheartedly in the Motion of Thanks on the President's gracious Address moved so ably by my hon. friend Shri Pandey.

We live in a rapidly shrinking world, in which science and technology have made human knowledge and human welfare indivisible. To function purposefully in such a world, it is necessary to have the strength of character to retain one's individuality along with flexibility of mind to adjust oneself to the logic of change. We are fortunate in having a President whose mind has achieved a balanced synthesis of these qualities, who has not only drunk deep at the wellsprings of Indian thought and culture, but who has a feel for the changing currents of the times.

In his Address, the President has mentioned various important world events which took place in the last year. In particular, he referred to the slight improvement in the international situation following the avoidance of a nightmarish head-on clash between the nuclear giants over little Cuba. The events in Cuba have made history in many ways, above all because they mark the end of the era of militant communism in the USSR.

Another pointer in the same direction is the non-conformist behaviour of France. Gen. De Gaulle could hardly be talking aloud of building up Europe into a third force unprotected by US military power, if he were not firmly convinced of Russia's belief in peaceful co-existence.

This, then, is the position in the West, and people there, perhaps for the first time since the end of the last

war, are once again daring to think of the future with some confidence. All the more is the pity that we in Asia cannot partake of the relief created in the West by the relaxation in cold war tensions. Militant communism has found a new home in China. An expansionist China with its armed hordes has become the greatest threat to world peace. To Asia today China is what Nazi Germany was to Europe before the last war. Communist China resembles Nazi Germany not only in its military adventurism, but in its attitude of racial superiority, rooted in a fanatic faith in the ultimate triumph of the chosen race. China not only maintains the largest army in Asia, perhaps in the whole wide world, but it makes no secret of its fundamental belief in the pernicious doctrine of the inevitability of war.

The latest example of China's reliance on military power for the furtherance of its political aims is furnished by its attack on India. Strictly in the military sense, perhaps the attack succeeded even beyond China's expectations, but it is a moot point if, everything considered, China gained more by the attack than it lost. One precious asset that it has lost for ever is the trust and faith of a peaceful and friendly neighbour. That is no small loss. What has it gained in return? Maybe, China expected to cow down India by a show of force, but the Indian people, far from being cowed down, reacted with courage, vigour and anger. Perhaps China hoped to drive a wedge between India and Russia. In this, too, it has failed miserably. In fact, the only objective it may have achieved in some measure is to frighten the smaller countries of Asia.

This brings me to the non-aligned Afro-Asian conference at Moshi. At Moshi were assembled delegations from countries all over Asia and Africa. What do these countries have in common? As a group, the Afro-Asian countries have neither military nor economic power. If they have,

nevertheless, been able to function effectively on the world stage, it is because they have generally judged issues dispassionately and on merits. They have stood four square against imperialism and colonialism, and in the event of aggression, as in the Suez, they have condemned the aggressor and given their moral support to the victim. That has been their main strength.

It is all the more unfortunate, therefore, that all these standards were scuttled at Moshi. What we saw instead was a bare-faced attempt to whitewash Chinese aggression and Chinese imperialism in the name of Afro-Asian solidarity. There is no knowing how much damage this conference would have done to the Afro-Asian cause if it had been official instead of being unofficial. As it is it has left a bitter taste and much food for thought.

China's attack on India has thrown up certain problems of fundamental importance not only to India, but to all non-aligned nations. How, for instance, is a non-aligned country to salvage its policy of non-alignment in the face of aggression by a country aligned to one of the Power blocs? This is the problem before India today. Obviously, we have no quarrel with the Soviet Union, and no desire to alienate her unnecessarily. Equally obviously, we do have a quarrel with China, and cannot remain non-aligned towards it. So, while we are definitely not in favour of a universal polarisation between communist and non-communist countries, I think it has now become our natural interest to bring some kind of polarisation against China. We cannot remain indifferent to a hostile China's manouvres to extend its area of influence in Asia and Africa. But if we are to counter these manouvres, we must first be able to convince the smaller countries of Asia of our military strength *vis-a-vis* China. To this end we must accept military aid from all quarters.

[Shri K. C. Pant]

However, the very acceptance of this military aid poses another problem of fundamental importance. While accepting that a developing non-aligned country cannot but take all military assistance it can get in the face of a threat to its freedom and independence, we must not be unmindful of another aspect of the matter. Take the case of India. It is just 15 years since India became independent after centuries of foreign rule during which its moral fibre was considerably weakened. It took the Father of the Nation years and years of patient efforts to restore a feeling of self-confidence and self-reliance to the Indian people. Much of that work would be undone, I think, if the people were now to feel that India cannot survive unless its defence is under written by foreign powers. So, while we must take military aid from friendly countries—no country in the world can claim self-sufficiency in the matter of defence—we must be prepared to make the major effort ourselves.

I wish to refer briefly to the Indo-Pak talks on Kashmir. Let us hope that no stone will be left unturned to work out a mutually acceptable solution at these talks. Should these talks break down and China attack us thereafter, our dependence on foreign military aid would be even more than it is today. Should we, on the other hand, arrive at some kind of an understanding with Pakistan, that dependence would be materially reduced. However, the success of these talks does not depend on the good will of India alone. Pakistan too must realise that India cannot accept any solution which runs counter to its basic secular principles. Perhaps these talks would have a greater chance of success if one or two other important items of dispute between the two countries were included in the agenda along with Kashmir. It may then be possible to make up for the lack of flexibility in negotiating over Kashmir by greater flexibility in regard to the other matters.

One word about the Colombo proposals. Even though we were the aggrieved party and we were in no need of establishing our *bona fides* in keeping with our desire for a peaceful settlement and out of respect for the sponsors of the proposals, we stretched ourselves to accept these proposals in toto. Now it is for China to make the next move. The Prime Minister has made this position amply clear and a heavy responsibility now rests on those in charge of our foreign publicity to see that Chinese propaganda is not allowed to confuse the obvious.

In the end I would like to say something about the border districts of U.P. which I visited recently and in which this House may be interested. At present practically the entire needs of the military forces there is met by transporting supplies over long distances from the plains down below. This not only imposes a heavy strain on the extended supply lines, even things like hay are carried up in train loads or truck loads—but it limits the number of troops which can be deployed in the forward areas. I would, therefore, strongly urge on the Defence, Community Development and Agricultural Ministries, the State Government and others concerned to make concerted efforts to develop local resources sufficiently to be able to meet the needs of the Army at least in regard to such items as vegetables, fruits, eggs, fodder, etc.

I am sorry to say that the speed of construction of even strategic roads has been less than satisfactory. I saw one strategic road which was made jeepable in 1957 and motorable in 1958 still not complete, after five years, because two bridges on it have not been built. This kind of delay is hardly indicative of any sense of urgency or emergency. I talked to the local PWD people there. They gave me the reason as lack of materials, and sometimes, can also. I do not dispute that. But the point really is that in this

emergency at least, roads which are labelled as strategic must be constructed within the scheduled period, even if it means diversion of men and material from other roads having a lower priority.

I wish to place on record my appreciation of the good work that I saw being done by the Posts and Telegraphs Department in extending telephone lines to the front areas.

The House would be glad to know that wherever I went, I found the morale not of the people and our troops to be high. Our soldiers are a fine lot. I talked to many of them. Some of the veterans told me that during the Second war the Indian soldier did not consider the Chinese soldier good enough to fight alongside him shoulder to shoulder. That is the kind of spirit I encountered and I returned convinced that so long as this kind of spirit remains in our troops and in our people, no one can cheat us of ultimate victory.

Shrimati Lakshmikanthamma (Khammam): Mr. Deputy Speaker, I surprise the Motion of Thanks moved by Shri R. S. Pandey. In a message, the Mother of Aurobindo Ashram says that this is the time for gathering energies and not for wasting them away in useless and meaningless words. It is surprising that people who have not been able to give up any of their luxuries even today could have the courage of criticising people who have dedicated their lives for service and sacrifice in this country. It is highly improper that Maharani Gayatri Devi should bring in the name of Mrs. Indira Gandhi who is not here to defend herself, who as a silent worker, has won the hearts of millions of people and who has chosen the path of service and not the path of power. If she wanted she could have become much more; but she has chosen the path of service imbibing in her the great qualities of all the great people. She has proved very efficient and we sometimes feel that she is even more

capable than her worthy father. I only pity the feudal mind of the Maharani that it cannot think of a woman as a personality herself except as the daughter of so and so or as the wife of so and so. I am glad that the House condemned sometime back the ugly behaviour that has been created by some Members at the time of the President's Address. The cause of Hindi off and on has suffered at the hands of people like those who have been fanatics. They do not understand the feelings of the people in the South. It is not as though these people can force this in the minds of the people of the South. People in the South have been gradually realising and feeling that they should learn Hindi. Indeed, the progress and success of Hindi in the South have been quite good. Especially in Andhra Pradesh, I know instances where even women who had not been to school or college for their education have learnt Hindi at home and have passed Rashtra Bhasha and other higher examinations.

An Hon. Member: What about mother-tongue?

Shrimati Lakshmikanthamma: You cannot impose it!

An Hon. Member: One cannot impose the mother-tongue.

Shrimati Lakshmikanthamma: You must understand that in this country all languages are national languages, but for convenience we will have to choose one language, and the country has reconciled itself to the choice of Hindi. This Rashtra Bhasha should create Rashtra Bhavana among the people.

Inter-State disputes such as disputes about water, etc., should be settled as soon as possible. They should not be allowed to pollute the atmosphere nor should any impression be given to the States that some States

[Shrimati Lakshmi Kanthamma]

are in the good books of the Centre and that some States are not. In respect of some States, it is like writing judgment before hearing. That feeling should be removed from the minds of the people of some States and enough faith should be enthused in them.

Sometime back there was so much confusion in Andhra that the Heavy Electrical plant was going to be removed from there. But I am thankful to the Prime Minister and the Minister of Steel and Heavy Industries for having assured us that we are going to have a much more powerful plant there than the one thought of before. You know that Telengana in Andhra Pradesh is a backward area, and there is a project called Pochampad. If once it is allowed to progress with its work, within three years we will wipe out the entire rice deficit of this country and we will have even more to export to other places. I can guarantee that. So also is the Srisailem project.

As far as gold is concerned, many of our Members have expressed their opinion. I am very glad that women have been keeping quiet on this, though they cannot make new jewellery; still, already some men are very happy because their wives would not trouble them about gold. But anyhow, I am glad that the Government is finding ways and means to provide employment for the goldsmiths. The States should also co-operate in this and as soon as possible, at the earliest, they should provide employment for these people and save them from misery.

A few days back, I read in the papers that the Defence Minister has said that all boys would be given compulsory NCC training. Why not girls also be given this training? In this country girls have never lagged behind. There should be compulsory NCC training for girls also.

Another point which I wish to make is that newspapers that are harmful to the cause of the country should be dealt with seriously. Many of our friends have expressed their opinion about ending the emergency. It is indeed unfortunate that even while the threat of invasion continues, and when China has not accepted the Colombo proposals, the people should choose to raise their voice against the continuance of emergency. Their logic is rather ingenious, but it appears to me that their main aim is to hasten forcibly the complete identification of this country with the western bloc. Coupled with this rosy picture is the torrent of crocodile tears in the name of the people who are day in and day out asked to believe that they are suffering untold hardships on account of the emergency. Lastly, there is the innuendo that the Congress Governments are revelling in the improper and excessive use of these powers. The aim and argument of these friends are very well designed to suit each other and also to suit their political objective of bringing the Government of the day into disrepute.

It is a near tragedy that these commonplace methods of ordinary party politics, which are perhaps understandable during times of peace, should continue to be employed even during a nation's life and death struggle. No one in this country will. I am sure, like the continuance of the emergency for even a day longer than it is absolutely necessary. At the same time, no sane man would relax in his efforts and moods and take it easy once again. We will have to keep our determination to strengthen our borders. After all, the emergency is not our making. We have very little choice in it unless we choose to live again in a fool's paradise. There can be no question of ending the emergency without reference to what China may or may not do in the near or the distant future.

Both friends in the Opposition, Shri A. K. Gopalan and Shri Ranga, have agreed on one thing: that these emergency powers have been misused. But let them quote an instance. They cannot quote a single instance wherein the emergency powers have been misused. I know in my own constituency, which I visited a few days back, and which is a stronghold of communists there, the people have been threatened not to contribute to the National Defence Fund, but still the Government has not taken any action. I cannot understand how they can keep silent over a matter so serious as that. Instead of harping on the theme of ending the emergency in the name of the people, the friends from the Swatantra party and these critics could have perhaps been more direct and precise by urging our entry into the western bloc; not that they are not doing it, but their recourse to the arguments regarding the emergency, however plausible they may appear, will end only in confusion and confusing the people.

The question of non-alignment versus entry into the western bloc should be discussed on comparative merits separately. As far as the assistance from friendly countries is concerned, the people from the opposition, especially the Swatantra party, have been shouting that we have not been ready to ask or accept assistance from friendly countries. Is this true? We have not hesitated to ask from friendly countries for all the help that we require. Our shopping list has been quite long and comprehensive. There was no mental reservation on this point. The Swatantra party is enraged because the list is not addressed to only one bloc. But ultimately what we get from the western bloc will turn out to be much more than what we get from other blocs. After all, the quantum of assistance is bound to depend on a variety of factors pertaining to the country that is giving assistance. But the ability to get assistance from both the blocs for the same purpose, that is, defending

our borders against China, is a phenomenon whose significance cannot fail to impress any thinking individual unless he chooses to remain blind for party or political reasons. The mere fact of getting assistance and being prepared for all eventualities does not do away with the determination to contribute to the peace of the world. Only a non-aligned India—even the blocs are convinced of this—can contribute to this.

My hon. friend Shri Ranga should realise that power blocs are cracking. They are cracking certainly but slowly. Making of rigid power blocs is becoming obsolete and unprofitable. Political ideologies are day by day becoming so flexible and pragmatic that both the major power blocs have begun to realise the futility of brinkmanship. They are convinced more than ever before that the world should first be allowed to exist before going in for the luxury of an ideological warfare. The only possible method of survival in the world today is co-existence. Either the world co-exists or does not exist at all. The rigidity and finality of the blocs have become uncertain. While the communist bloc has found itself divided more than ever before, the falling out among the Atlantic Powers over the question of the European Common Market is an even of profound significance. When an important member of the SEATO can start hobnobbing with China on the slightest provocation, the time is not very far when these kaleidoscopic possibilities would reduce bloc-making to an expensive farce. These are some of the pointers which lend support to the view that the world is gradually rejecting the theory of the inevitability of the war between capitalism and communism and accepting the alternative view of the inevitability of co-existence with ample scope for variations in the ways in which the peoples of the world lead their lives.

There are, of course, hard-boiled enthusiasts like China who refuse to

[Shrimati Lakshmikanthamma]

see the writing on the wall. Since old habits die hard even these cracks in the blocs may not last long and in this struggle between old and new, the initial success may be for the old. We do not know what will happen in the next two decades. But the recent trends have necessitated a fundamental rethinking on the question of power blocs. If, after two terrible World Wars, France and Germany could suddenly fall in love with each other, while the United Kingdom and the United States look on, it is obvious that any tendency to cling to old notions of bloc fanaticism has very little sense or utility left in it.

It is in this bewildering complex context that India has to strengthen her border defences so as to stand in readiness to face any aggression from any quarter at any time. The defence of India will become so much easier and more effective if it is viewed as part of the greater defence. If this premise is correct, it follows that all those who are partners in this larger process of defence should have very clear notions as to what they are defending and as to what they are defending it against. Any confusion or attempt to work at cross-purposes in this behalf would ultimately end up in a fiasco and render all subsequent attempts at defence totally ineffective.

Sir, it would be interesting as well as vital to find out how far this unity or identity of purpose exists today between India and the other friendly countries who are expected to give her the bulk of assistance for her defence. It is only on the basis of a permanent identity of purpose that that long-term defence arrangements could be readily agreed to as between independent nations.

It is commonly believed that the main purpose for which American is giving assistance to certain Asian countries is the containment of communism in Asia. The United States

would perhaps like to be satisfied that this objective is fully accepted by the recipient nations before assistance is actually given on a large scale and on a permanent footing. If this is so—we have to answer the following questions before we accept aid from America on a large scale—do we in India unequivocally agree with this objective? Does this objective conform to our own rather limited objective of national defence against a possible aggression? To the extent to which America's objective transcends India's, does it constitute a political string? And if it does, how will its acceptance be consistent with India's fundamental concept of non-alignment? Only after these questions are answered satisfactorily, will it be possible for us to receive defence assistance on a massive scale without further inhibition. The recent series of trips of military missions to India and the delay in coming to a firm understanding on a permanent footing are perhaps attributable to the uncertainty as regards the answers to the above questions. Pakistan's attitude in opposing large-scale defence assistance to India is also likely to present considerable difficulty. Besides, it will also to some extent shake the faith of the western powers in the dependability of the Asian nations.

The only way to remove the above complexities is to evolve an integrated ideology with co-existence and containment as its positive and negative sides respectively in a global context. Whatever may be the professions of different nations as regards co-existence, what is happening in effect today could perhaps be described as an attempt at co-expansion. Obviously co-existence cannot be a serious proposition with those who are indulging in co-expansion, which at some stage is bound to lead to a head on collision. It is, therefore, necessary that the objective of containment of communism is spelt out merely as a corollary of the

principle of co-existence and not as a step in the expansion of capitalism.

Shri Maurya (Aligarh): On a point of order, Sir. The hon. Member is reading a statement. Is it allowed?

Shri P. K. Deo (Kalahandi): After all, she is a lady.

Shrimati Lakshmikanthamma: I have every right to note down the points and refer to them. If the hon. Member would have been looking at my face all the time, he would have known that I am only referring to some points and not reading my speech. *(Interruption).*

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Order, order. She should conclude now. Her time is up.

Shrimati Lakshmikanthamma: I will conclude in two minutes. *(Interruption).* The hon. Member is enraged because of Hindi. I was explaining how there is a way out and how we can get support from both the blocs, bringing the blocs together. There are only a few points left.

Shri Ram Sewak Yadav (Bara Banki): On a point of personal explanation The hon. Lady Member referred to me. The interruption was made by my colleague here and not by me.

Shrimati Lakshmikanthamma: I thought, because he is your neighbour it has influenced you.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Order, order. Members cannot go on talking across like this. She should conclude now.

Shrimati Lakshmikanthamma: I shall conclude in two minutes. If this approach is accepted by America and other friendly national giving military assistance to India, I think that an identity of purpose could be established between India and those countries at the earliest. The corresponding approach will *mutatis-mutandis* apply to countries of the

communist bloc, who also believe in co-existence. The only country which will be isolated in this context is China whose rulers have no belief in co-existence as all others understand it. No ideology can be an end in itself. It can only be a means to an end. Fanatics will find to their great dismay that mankind at large is not quite keen on annihilating itself merely to prove the correctness of an ideology. On the other hand, the prevailing mood of mankind is to dilute ideological rigidities so as to avoid a global holocaust. The primitive idea of promoting an ideology by externally inspired insurrections has to be given up at the earliest. Instead, nations should be left completely free to choose their respective ways of life.

The time is coming when the common man will not be able to distinguish one ideology from the other. So much common ground will be discovered among them that quarelling over the points of difference would be looked down upon as a tribal tendency. I am sure, Sir, that under the inspiring guidance of our beloved Prime Minister, we in India will strengthen not only our national defence, but also, the defence of peaceful co-existence in the world.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Dr. B. N. Singh.

Dr. B. N. Singh (Hazaribagh) rose—

Shrimati Lakshmikanthamma: Everytime the Members raise the point that I am reading my speech. We are supposed to note down some quotations from papers, etc. Is that also not permissible?

Some Hon. Members: It is permissible.

Shrimati Lakshmikanthamma: Everytime they go on raising the point that I am reading my speech. It should not go on record that I am reading my speech.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Order, order. I have called another hon. Member.

Dr. B. N. Singh: Sir, I have studied the address delivered by the President to both the Houses of Parliament very carefully. I have tried hard to find some exhilarating remarks, some words of genuine comfort, something which will reduce the burden from the shoulders of the common man if not wholly, at least to a great extent. But in the Congress Government's policy as propounded in the address of the President, I could not find any such remarks which will go to ease the tension which we find in the villages today.

The Address of the President has been more or less the old tune with mere changes and alterations in the accent only. While paying my deep gratitude to the President for his Address, I am afraid it is not possible for me to support the thesis enunciated by him.

The policies of the Congress Government have ceased to hold any attraction with the people residing in the rural areas. Since we attained independence we have had Congress Government throughout and the people of the rural areas have been expecting at least two square meals a day, a little more of cloth to cover their nakedness and employment for all those able-bodied persons. And, what have they been given? Mostly wholesome speeches on Congress ideology of socialism and socialistic pattern of society and more and more of tax burden. The Finance Minister—though he is not present—must be feeling quite elated within himself that within less than a week from today he is going to bleed the entire nation white by imposing very heavy burden of fresh taxes all round. He has already ruined the Indian economy and the Indian people. He has hurt their sentiments very much. He has destroyed the rural credit bank by promulgating

the Gold Control Order. He has converted this Government into a "14 carat Government".

From time to time, I may say, we have been supplied very ambitious figures and voluminous reports which pretend to tell us how enthusiastically the Government has been going about doing its job of ameliorating the condition of the rural population through its Five Year Plans. Much also has been said with regard to the panchayati raj and the community development centres. Apart from the fact that crores of rupees are being spent on these schemes much of which could have been saved for a proper victory plan and for making the Indian army strong, these institutions have become the den of filthy politics in the villages. They have disturbed the peace and serenity for which the Indian villages were once famous. Literally speaking, warring camps have been established in each village and brothers are seen fighting brothers where village feuds were unknown before.

The common man is not concerned with the jungle of avoidable literature that is being published in testimony of the Government's boastful achievements, nor is he interested in the clever indices that are being manufactured in the various ministries every day.

Despite all propaganda to cover the shortcomings of the Government, it is common knowledge that the people living in the rural areas today are as ignorant as before, poverty has increased manifold and in its train has brought misery, corruption, jobbery and nepotism. Unemployment figures are soaring higher and higher every year, and this 14-carat-policy of the Government has further thrown between 3 million to 5 million skilled artisans out of their hereditary occupation. Millions, Sir, are still without having proper medical attention.

The truth of the Shakespearean phrase: "Words without deeds never to Heaven go" has been brought home to us. In short, the Government has miserably failed to provide fully even the basic necessities of life after 15 years of its continued governance.

This is not the only field where the Government has failed. They have suffered an all round failure. However, they have succeeded in two respects: firstly, in building and developing the institution of "brown doll bureaucracy" and, secondly, in capturing and retaining power on a minority of votes polled. The Government has failed in the domestic front, their foreign policy has failed, they have failed to distinguish friends from foes and vice versa and, above, all, they have failed in their sacred duty of protecting the territorial integrity of India. In my opinion, therefore, they have morally forfeited their right to govern India any further.

Let us analyse the reason for this complete failure. The Nehru Government has been living since independence in an artificial atmosphere of their own creation, auto-intoxicated by their own eloquence, induced by self-complacency and righteousness, with the result that reality today has taken a revenge on us.

Our President, when he returned the other day from NEFA, summarised the mistakes of the Government in the following words. He said:

"We have been credulous and negligent".

The armed invasion by China about which many well meaning friends had forewarned—but those in power sought to minimise—has found us quite unprepared and unequipped. Still, Sir, Pandit Nehru is clinging on to his pet scheme of non-alignment. I do admit that during peace time non-alignment may be a good policy to pursue yielding rich dividends, but certainly not when our

country has been brutally attacked by a mighty foreign power. We know for certain that the USSR Government cannot and will not come to our aid in our fight with Communist China. So where is the hitch in going all out and getting massive military aid from the western democratic powers, becoming strong and taking the initiative in our own hands of driving the Chinese out from our soil. But I am afraid, Sir, the Congress Government does not seriously wish to take this initiative of driving the Chinese out from the soil of India. Had that been so, they would not have accepted this humiliating unilateral cease-fire offer from China.

During the Second World War, after Hitler had occupied most of Europe he sent a peace offer to Churchill which the latter spurned and rejected because Mr. Churchill was very clear in his mind that democracy was fighting Nazism and Fascism and that between these two diametrically opposed ideologies there could be no truce or compromise. But the Prime Minister of India is not clear in his mind whether he is fighting Chinese chauvinism or expanding Chinese communistic suzerainty over Asia.

From his actions, however, it is apparent that he is merely trying to bully all opposition in the country and perpetuate his power by maintaining the Emergency—Defence of India Act and Rules—when the urgency from the emergency has gone.

The hot war with China has come to an end and the cold war has started. Therefore, I can certainly say that a *de facto* armistice has come into being. It is absurd, under the circumstances, to continue the emergency any further. The argument by our Prime Minister only a few days ago that "China had not accepted the Colombo Proposals *in toto* and has not agreed to come to the talking table, therefore, anything might happen", is a lame argument in favour of continuing the emergency in our country indefinitely. Like many other Congress

[Dr. B. N. Singh]

policies, the policy of continuing the emergency when actually there has been a cessation of hostilities is fatuous. Perhaps, our Prime Minister does not wish to renounce the extraordinary powers which he and his Government both at the Centre and in the States, enjoy under the proclamation. The fate of 400 million Indians today is in the hands of one man. Never before, not even during the Mughal period, was the destiny of such large number of people controlled by a single person.

An Hon. Member: He has worked for the unity of the country.

Dr. B. N. Singh: That is all evident, because they are now coming with these proposals.

The unique power which the Prime Minister is enjoying today can only be seen in countries which have got a totalitarian form of Government. This power is being enjoyed here in India under the pretence of emergency.

The Congress have gone a step further. They have directed their members not to associate themselves with members belonging to other political parties who do not share the ideology of the Congress party. Sir, I would like, with your permission, to read out an item of news which appeared in *The Statesman* of 20th February. It says:

"Congressmen have also been directed to keep themselves aloof from unnamed parties or groups whose declared policies are opposed to those of the Congress."

They want support and co-operation at this moment from all parties, and they are trying to keep this policy of segregation alive.

An Hon. Member: They are afraid that they will get polluted.

Dr. B. N. Singh: This isolation, I am speaking subject to correction, is born

out of the inherent fear in the minds of Congressmen that the right elements of the Congress might be indoctrinated by the opposition parties against the continuance of emergency, especially when there is no emergency. And where is the emergency? Do you find the emergency anywhere? Life in the villages and in the cities is quite normal; business is running in the normal manner; gay parties are being thrown every day; foreign dignitaries are being welcomed and most lavishly entertained; Government officers are thronging the clubs every evening; bridge tables and tennis courts are being kept busy and our Ministers are, as usual, trying to fortify their positions in party politics. So, where is the emergency? Everything is normal under the cloak of abnormality.

It must be clearly understood in the present context that the cold war does not affect the people at large. Democratic countries which have been subjected to cold war ever since the cessation of the second world war have not thought it proper to curtail the fundamental rights of their citizens. So, why should we, unless it is to help the party in power to remain in absolute power?

I admit that China today poses a permanent danger to India. But this does not mean that the citizens of India should indefinitely be stripped of their fundamental rights guaranteed to them under the Constitution to meet the permanent menace which is coming from the other side of the Himalayas. If the emergency powers are to continue, let them be exercised in making the army of India strong. The emergency powers should also be exercised in trying to bring about all-round improvement in production, both from our industries and from the fields. Certainly, the civic rights and privileges of the people should not be curtailed and controls imposed in the name of emergency. This would then mean the gradual liquidation of

democracy in India and the silent victory of communism. This is exactly what the Communist Party wants, and that is why today the Communist Party of India is solidly behind our Prime Minister in his policy on China.

Anyway, out of the debris of our policy has emerged a nation, resolute and united as it never was before. The national humiliation which this country has received under the leadership of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru cannot be avenged by merely carrying on parleys. Military aggression can only be vacated through military strength and not by chanting peace mantras across the table.

It is very surprising indeed that while the Congress Government has thought of continuing the emergency, the President has not reiterated in crystal clear terms in his address the resolution which this House passed on the 14th of November 1962, all standing, and the pledge which this nation took on the 26th January 1963. It is this resolution, it is this pledge, that has united every single Indian to a common cause, and it is through the implementation of this pledge that we shall be able to avenge the brutal attack on India by Communist China. The initiative has remained in the hands of the Chinese for too long. It is high time for our Prime Minister to snatch the initiative from the Chinese and take immediate steps to drive the Chinese marauders from the soil of India: or else, he should absolutely withdraw the emergency orders, failing which the farce of emergency becomes patent and leads to stifling of democracy for partisan ends.

Before I conclude, I would like to sound a note of warning. It is a dangerous policy to try the enthusiasm of the people unnecessarily for a long time lest we may find it lacking when we need it most.

Shri M. P. Swamy (Tenkasi): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, I would like to support the motion of thanks, so ably

moved by Shri R. S. Pandey and so well seconded by Dr. K. L. Rao, to the President for his address to the joint session. This is the first address of Dr. Radhakrishnan as President to the joint session. Dr. Radhakrishnan has been referred to as the philosopher statesman. He has shed lustre on his high office. By his masterly survey of the achievements of the Government, he has given the country a bird's eye view of the present situation.

As we all know, we are facing a crisis due to aggression by China. The President has also referred to the Chinese aggression in his address. It is the overriding issue of all issues today, and everything else has to be viewed in that light. We have done everything to defend our frontiers. Our warriors have fought battles with courage, firm determination, vigour and endurance. They have fought the battle under difficult circumstances. But the Opposition leaders criticize and say that we have not taken any steps to guard our frontiers. We have taken ample steps to guard our frontiers. Every machinery of the Government is geared up to meet the situation. All the Community Development projects have been geared up to the present situation to check the Chinese invasion. Our Ordnance Factories are working round the clock. Our workers have unanimously passed resolutions saying that they will work half an hour more in factories without any pay. This shows that the emergency is enduring. We hear the opposition saying that they see no signs of an emergency. But there is an emergency. We see that Government offices are working half an hour extra because we need more time to devote for our war efforts.

The Chinese invasion has brought one good thing and that is that all fissiparous tendencies have vanished and all the people have united. In every State we find that oneness. That oneness, I wish, should last long be-

[Shri M. P. Swamy]

cause only if we are united we feel strong. If we are divided we will fall. The great poet from Tamilnad, Subramanya Bharati, who is the author of many poems, wrote a poem for the achievement of independence where he said that independence is dear to us. I quote, with your permission, one Tamil verse:—

*"Thanneer vittovalarthom sarvase
ippairai Kanneral Karthom karuka-
thiruilamo"*

The translation of this is:—

"Oh God! we irrigate the crop of independence not by water but by shedding tears. Do you wish that this independence should perish?"

So, we all know that independence is dear to us. Therefore we are defending our country with all the power which we can have.

We are thankful to the nations which have come to our rescue in this crisis, that is, the UK and the USA. They have supplied us arms and we are thankful to them. Now we feel that our soldiers have better training and better arms. They are well-equipped and will not submit to the dictation of the Chinese forces. That is our firm determination about which this august House also took a pledge.

The President's Address has referred to one point. He said that a strong agricultural base is the pre-requisite for the nation's security. We have taken ample measures to have more agricultural produce. We have set a target for agricultural produce, that is, by the end of the Third Five Year Plan, during the year 1965-66, agricultural production should reach 100 million tons. To achieve this we have to gear up many plans.

In this respect I may say that incentives to farmers are necessary to produce more. The effective incentive to farmers to produce more is better

and assured remunerative price. That is the greatest incentive for the farmers to produce more both extensively and intensively.

Now the prices of foodgrains have fallen. For example, in Madras State the price of paddy has fallen unduly. Last year the price was higher; this year the price is low because the millers and the merchants are not willing to purchase paddy as they do not have bank advances and private credit. The Government should therefore come forward with a proposal to buy foodgrains directly from the farmers so that they can get a better and assured remunerative price for their produce.

By improving agriculture we improve our standard. So, the President has rightly said that a strong agricultural base is a pre-requisite for national security.

Our hon. Food Minister, Shri S. K. Patil, has said that an army moves on a strong stomach. So, we have to feed the stomach of the Army people and have to produce more. For that we have to give incentives to farmers. The one important incentive is that there should be an assured remunerative price for the produce of agriculture.

There are certain sources for irrigating more land. We have to tap those sources. For example, in Kerala adjoining my constituency, that is, Tenkasi, they have three rivers, namely, Keeriyar, Pambaiyar and Kallar. These three rivers can easily be diverted to the Tamilnad area, so that the dry land hitherto not under cultivation can be brought under cultivation if the goodwill and co-operation of the people of Kerala are forthcoming. Surely they will co-operate. They have co-operated in bringing forth the Parambikulam project from which we are producing electricity and irrigating the lands. In the same way in this matter also if they will co-operate, we will bring more land

under cultivation. The people of Madras State say, "If you Kerala friends give us water, we will return to you rice and paddy; let us barter water for rice and paddy." I will request the hon. Food Minister to use his influence over the Kerala Government for diverting the excess waters in these three Kerala rivers to Madras State, particularly from Pambaiyar.

Shri N. Sreekantan Nair (Quilon): Why not accept some population also?

Shri M. P. Swamy: Yes, let them come and cultivate the lands.

So, if they divert that excess water, land can be utilised in Tinnevely and Ramanathapuram Districts of Tenkasi Sankarancoil Taluks in Tinnevely District have dry lands and with these waters, which can easily be diverted, more land can be cultivated. So, I request the Central Government to do their best to influence the Kerala State.

The most important occupation in the villages is the handloom industry. The handloom industry is an ancient occupation. This industry was given preference even 2,000 years ago, that is, in the days of Thiruvalluvar. This industry has been praised by him. He says:—

*"Seyyum thozil ancaithum
seerthokki parkunkal Neyyum
thozhilukkor nikar illai"*

The translation of this is:—

"If we analyse all intricacies and niceties of industries the handloom industry is the best industry. It is the sinless industry. There is no equal to the work of weaving."

This industry is now facing a crisis. We see that handloom goods worth about Rs. 57 crores are lying accumulated, the reason being that the prices of 17 and 20 counts yarn used in the handloom industry have risen,

with the result that the cost of production has gone up. The accumulation of handloom goods in the cooperative field in Madras State alone is estimated at Rs. 3½ crores. These have to be sold out. The off take is poor because of the high prices of yarn. What is the remedy for that? We have to reduce the price of handloom yarn. We should set up many co-operative spinning mills at places where the handloom industry is predominant. I understand that the Central Government has issued licences only for 12 cooperative spinning mills. This is not enough. More co-operative spinning mills should be started to supply yarn for the handloom industry at reasonable prices. If, for example, we take the Tenkasi area, around that area lakhs of people are dependent on the handloom industry for their livelihood. They are now hard hit. I had an occasion to visit my constituency recently. I met so many of my weaver friends and I asked them about their earnings. They gave me a calculation showing that if a husband and wife worked, they got a net income of Rs. 18½ a month. This is not enough. Because of the high prices of yarn and poor offtake of handloom cloth the master weavers have reduced the charges payable to the handloom weavers. Theirs is a poor plight. This should be remedied. So, I request that Government should come to their help. I am not blaming the Government at all. They have done very much. They have set up the All India Handloom Board. They have opened so many centres for designing new designs and for introducing them. They have given a rebate also. The Madras Government is asking for a further rebate of 5 nP raising the total to 10 nP in the rupee on the sale of handloom goods. If this is given, I am sure, to a certain extent the poverty of the handloom weavers will be removed.

This should be remedied.

I wish to refer to one other matter. The Opposition Members said that in

[Shri M. P. Swamy]

this emergency when defence fund was collected coercion or compulsion was used. It is not so. To my mind, there is no compulsion at all. We know even Members of Parliament have contributed one month's salary. Do they mean to say there was compulsion? Certainly not. There was no compulsion. There is an impulse, a push from the heart to help the national cause. It is so everywhere. It is so not only in Delhi; it is so through out the length and breadth of India. We see poor people, young people, old people, farmers, industrialists come forward to help the national cause. There is no compulsion at all. It is not self-boasting Sir, when I say that when I addressed a meeting, a boy came there with 50 N.P. which his mother had given him for expenses for the Ekadasji festival and he gave that 50 N. P. to me for the National Defence Fund. Was there any compulsion? No compulsion at all. There is the impulse, the national feeling to help the national cause. I think this national feeling will continue.

Now, we have promulgated certain orders in this emergency. One of them is the Gold Control Order. It was said by the Opposition that our Government has become a 14 ct. Government. It is not so. What is the reason for this order? The order is meant to put an end to the strain on foreign exchange caused by the smuggling of gold into India. We are not doubting the purpose of this order. But, it has created a temporary hardship to the poor goldsmith. We have to give them alternative employment. I understand in Kerala they have given two measures of rice to the poor goldsmith families. I think, when our people are accustomed to 14 ct. gold, they will give more work to goldsmiths. In the interim period, we have to provide alternative employment. I have received so many petitions from the goldsmiths in my constituency. They say, we will make gold ornaments according to standard, but in the mean-

while, we are not getting any work. I request the Government to help them. It is seen that a licence also has to be taken by goldsmiths. Financially, they are very poor people. Free licence should be granted to them.

With these words, I support the Motion of Thanks moved by Shri R. S. Pandey.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Shri Krishna Deo Tripathi; Shri Brij Raj Singh.

श्री बृजराज सिंह (बरेली) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, अपने राष्ट्रपति सरीखे प्रकांड और महा विद्वान द्वारा दिये गये अभिभाषण में कुछ कमी निकालना या उसमें कोई खामी निकालना मुझ जैसे सदृश व्यक्ति के बाहर की बात है। फिर भी सरल बुद्धि से और साधारण बुद्धि के आघार पर मैं यह कहने की घृष्टता करूंगा कि राष्ट्रपति का भाषण केवल एक परम्परागत, कनवेंशनल भाषण होना पर्याप्त नहीं है। उससे अधिक महत्व उस भाषण का होता है। मैं समझता हूँ कि इसका महत्व केवल लोकसभा और राज्य सभा के सदस्यों के लिए ही नहीं वरन् सम्पूर्ण और समस्त देश के लिए यह एक आघारभूत संदेश के रूप में आना चाहिए जिससे जनता का मनोबल बढ़े, मानसिक शक्ति बढ़े और धैर्य बढ़े। केवल इतना ही नहीं अपितु मैं तो यह कहूंगा कि समस्त संसार के लिए वह एक संदेश के रूप में आना चाहिए ताकि दुनिया जान सके कि हम क्या हैं, क्या चाहते हैं और किस के लिए हम खड़े हैं? परन्तु बड़े खेद के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि राष्ट्रपति के पूरे भाषण को पढ़ने के बाद मैं इस नतीजे पर पहुंचा कि वह सरकार के कारनामों और सरकार के ऐलानों की समीक्षा मात्र है, एक सिनीपसिस जैसा है।

उदाहरण के तौर पर चीन के आक्रमण का मसला जो आज हमारे देश के लिए

सबसे महत्वपूर्ण मसला है उसके बारे में राष्ट्रपति ने केवल थोड़े से शब्द कहे हैं। मैं उन्हें आपके सामने पढ़ देना उचित समझता हूँ :—

"Some years ago, China commenced its surreptitious aggression in Ladakh which later resulted in some incidents between the two countries. This matter has often been discussed in Parliament. We hoped that we would succeed in solving this question also through peaceful methods. On the 8th September last, however, a new aggression started across the border in the North East Frontier Agency and, after some probing attacks, China, on the 20th October, mounted a massive attack on both the NEFA and the Ladakh sectors of the India-China boundary."

उसके बाद कहा है। कोई भी हमला हम पर होना - -

the words are:—

"Any attack on the integrity of India would have been painful, but an attack coming from a country with whom we had tried to be friendly, and whose cause we had espoused in international councils, as a gross betrayal etc. etc."

मैं निवेदन करूंगा कि चीन ने ८ सितम्बर को हम पर हमला किया। केवल इतना ही नहीं, उससे ५, ६ वर्ष पहले से चीन घेरे-घेरे आक्रमण करता चला आ रहा है और हमारे एक बहुत बड़े भूभाग पर उसने अपना कब्जा कर लिया। राष्ट्रपति से जनता यह आशा करती थी कि वह कम से कम बतलाते कि इस ८ सितम्बर से पहले चीन एग्रेशन था या नहीं था और यदि वह एग्रेशन था तो क्या यह आशा की जा सकती थी जैसी कि आज की जा रही है कि हम शांतिपूर्ण उपायों से उसके एग्रेशन को खाली करा लेंगे। इतना बड़ा हमला

हुआ। हमने उसे हमला शायद माना नहीं और राष्ट्रपति ने उसका कोई उल्लेख भी नहीं किया। इससे तो केवल एक ही बात स्पष्ट होती है कि ८ सितम्बर से पहले के हमले को हमने हमला नहीं माना। उसे कुछ पीसफुल एग्रेशन की संज्ञा दी गई। उसके बाद ८ सितम्बर वाला जो एग्रेशन हुआ उसको एग्रेशन कहा जाता है। लेकिन फिर भी हम कुछ न कर सके। केवल यही किया कि हमने यह नौन-एलाइनमेंट का जो इतना नारा पीटा था, इतना ढोल पीटा था उसे आंशिक रूप में तोड़ देना पड़ा और हमारी सरकार को वैंस्टन कंट्रीज से सहायता लेनी ही पड़ी। भारत सरकार ने उनसे सहायता ली। फिर अंत में क्या हुआ ? चीन ने अपने आप हमें माफ कर दिया, हमें छोड़ दिया, जाओ हम और अधिक तुम्हारे ऊपर एग्रेशन नहीं करते। उतना एग्रेशन और हमारा अपमान करके छोड़ दिया।

एक माननीय सदस्य : बलात्कार कर के छोड़ दिया।

श्री बृजराज सिंह : आज हम आशा करते थे और देश इस बात की राष्ट्रपति से अपेक्षा करता था कि गत नवम्बर मास में सदन में चीनी आक्रमणकारियों को भारत भूमि से बाहर खदेड़ने का जो संकल्प लिया गया था उस प्रतिज्ञा के बारे में वे राष्ट्र को कुछ आश्वासन देते कि हम उस पर दृढ़ हैं परन्तु ऐसा कोई आश्वासन नहीं दिया गया है जिससे कि आज मन में बड़ा क्षोभ और परेशानी है। हम समझ नहीं पाते कि सरकार अब क्या करने जा रही है और उसका क्या इरादा है ? चीन से हमें बराबर धोखा हुआ है। यह बारबार कहा गया है। हमारे प्रधान मंत्री जी ने भी कहा है और प्रेसीडेंट के इस भाषण में भी आया है परन्तु अंत में फिर भी कहा गया है :—

"Our country, committed as it is to peaceful methods, will

[श्री बृजराज सिंह]

always endeavour to solve disputes peacefully."

एप्रैशन जो ८ सितम्बर से पहले हमारे ऊपर हुआ उसे हम पीसफुली सोल्व करने की कोशिश करते रहे। दुबारा चीन ने ८ सितम्बर को फिर हम पर हमला किया और दुबारा हमें धोखा हुआ और इसके बाद भी वह ८ सितम्बर की लाइन के लिए हमारी सरकार ने कोलम्बो प्रोजेक्ट्स के रूप में फिर से मान लिया और आज भी हम यह दावा करते हैं कि अब भी हम चीन को पीसफुली पीछे हटा देंगे? कहां तक यह हो सकेगा मेरी समझ में नहीं आता है?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: We have to take up non-official business now. The hon. Member may continue on Monday.

14.30 hrs.

HINDU MARRIAGE (AMENDMENT) BILL

(Amendment of section 13)
by Shri D. C. Sharma

Shri D. C. Sharma (Gurdaspur): I beg to move for leave to introduce a Bill further to amend the Hindu Marriage Act, 1955.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The question is:

"That leave be granted to introduce a Bill further to amend the Hindu Marriage Act, 1955."

The motion was adopted.

Shri D. C. Sharma: I introduce the Bill.

YOUNG PERSONS (HARMFUL PUBLICATIONS) AMENDMENT BILL

(Amendment of section 2)
by Shri C. K. Bhattacharyya

Shri C. K. Bhattacharyya (Raiganj): I beg to move for leave to introduce

a Bill to amend the Young Persons (Harmful Publications) Act, 1956.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The question is:

"That leave be granted to introduce a Bill to amend the Young Persons (Harmful Publications) Act, 1956."

The motion was adopted.

Shri C. K. Bhattacharyya: I introduce the Bill.

WORKING JOURNALISTS (CONDITIONS OF SERVICE) AND MISCELLANEOUS PROVISIONS (AMENDMENT) BILL

(Insertion of new Section 7A)
by Shri C. K. Bhattacharyya

Shri C. K. Bhattacharyya (Raiganj): I beg to move for leave to introduce a Bill further to amend the Working Journalists (Conditions of Service) and Miscellaneous Provisions Act, 1955.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The question is:

"That leave be granted to introduce a Bill further to amend the Working Journalists (Conditions of Service) and Miscellaneous Provisions Act, 1955."

The motion was adopted.

Shri C. K. Bhattacharyya: I introduce the Bill.

14.32 hrs.

CENTRAL SILK BOARD (AMENDMENT) BILL

(Amendment of sections 4 and 6)
by Shri Sham Lal Saraf

Shri Sham Lal Saraf (Jammu and Kashmir): I beg to move:

"That the Bill further to amend the Central Silk Board