

[Shri Satya Narayan Sinha] ed the House on the 19th February, 1963.”.

Mr. Speaker: Motion moved:

“That this House agrees with the Twelfth Report of the Business Advisory Committee presented to the House on the 19th February, 1963.”.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath (Hoshanabad): I do not wish to raise any objection or anything of that sort. But the impression left on my mind and on the minds of some of my colleagues was this, namely that the decision of the committee was that the time allotted, as it was finally decided upon, was not 20 hours but 21 hours plus the time taken for reply by the Prime Minister. I think that that was what was decided upon.

Mr. Speaker: The time allotted was 20 hours, and the discretion remained with me for the extra 1 hour.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: The other point is a minor one. I do not think that it is quite proper that this report should be signed by you and carry your name in your capacity as Speaker. Since it comes from the Chair, any motion on that may not be voted upon, and therefore, if it is signed by you as chairman of the committee, then it will be in the fitness of things; it is not the Speaker who should sign it as such but it is you as the chairman of the committee who should sign it.

Mr. Speaker: But if I happen to be the Chairman?

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: As chairman, if your name is, it is all right, but what we find now is that below your signature, the designation ‘Speaker’ appears. I think that that is not quite proper.

Mr. Speaker: All right. I shall look into it.

The question is:

“That this House agrees with the Twelfth Report of the Business Advisory Committee presented to the House on the 19th February, 1963.”.

The motion was adopted.

12:08 hrs.

MOTION ON ADDRESS BY THE PRESIDENT

Mr. Speaker: Shri R. S. Pandey may now move the motion. But before he does so, I would like to make one observation.

In order to give opportunity to hon. Members and their parties to look into the matter, I have to make one observation. The amendments that I have received from the parties run into a large number, and they are as follows: UPG: 10; Muslim League 6; Jan Sangh: 25; Unattached: 3; IPG: 1; Communists: 27; Swantantra Party: 5; PSP: 3; and Socialist: 14.

We have decided as follows, and if they want, I can read it out. In order to limit the number of amendments to motions or resolutions, each party or group may, if they so desire, table one amendment only in the name of one or several members of the party or group. The present practice whereby a large number of individual Members give notices of separate amendments should be dispensed with. It would be better if the party makes up its mind and tables one motion, because ultimately also it comes to the same thing. Therefore, I would request the Leaders of the groups that within the next two hours or so, they may just make a decision and then convey it to me as to what particular amendments they can regroup and give notice of on behalf of many Members of their own party. It would be better if they choose one amendment for each party or group.

श्री राम सेवक यादव (वाराणसी) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, अगर पहले से हम लोगों को मालूम होता कि इस तरीके से कम अमेंडमेंट्स दिये जाते हैं और एक ही अमेंडमेंट देना है तो हम इस की व्यवस्था कर सकते थे। लेकिन अब जबकि यह दिये जा चुके हैं तो यह संभव नहीं है क्योंकि वे सब बातें एक एक संशोधन में नहीं आ सकतीं।

Mr. Speaker: 'I take it that the House agrees with these procedural changes, and I appeal to the Members to extend their co-operation in giving effect to them'.

That was what was done.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy (Kendrapara): So far as our Party is concerned, we have given notice of only one amendment, standing in the names of four Members of our Party.

Mr. Speaker: That was what I was saying. He might make his choice so that he may have one amendment.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath (Hoshan-gabad): It is one amendment.

Shri Priya Gupta (Katihar): You can add two commas and make it one.

Mr. Speaker: Even after the leaders have spoken, is that explanation and clarification necessary by the Secretary of the Party?

श्री रा० शि० पाण्डेय (गुना) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं प्रस्ताव करता हूँ :

“कि राष्ट्रपति की सेवा में निम्न-लिखित शब्दों में समावेदन प्रस्तुत किया जाये :—

“कि इस अधिवेशन में सम्बन्धित लोक-सभा के सदस्य उस अधिभाषण के लिये राष्ट्रपति महोदय के अत्यन्त आभारी हैं, जो उन्होंने १८ फरवरी,

१९६३ को एक माय सम्बन्धित संसद् की दोनों सभाओं के समक्ष देने की कृपा की है।”

अध्यक्ष महोदय, हमारे गणराज्य के सर्वोच्च अधिकारी और प्रथम नागरिक, डा० सर्वपल्ली राधाकृष्णन्, ने जो भाषण और सम्बोधन हमारे सामने उपस्थित किया है, उसके लिए मैं उनके प्रति अतुलनीय होने के प्रस्ताव को आपके समक्ष प्रकट करता हूँ। उनके भाषण में तीस सूत्र हैं और उन तीस सूत्रों के द्वारा उन्होंने अपनी भावनाओं को इस देश के जन-मानस को समर्पित किया।

राष्ट्र को सम्बोधित करते हुए उन्होंने कहा, “उत्तिष्ठत जाग्रत प्राप्य वरान्निबोधत”—उठो, जागो, जो अवसर आप को प्राप्त है, उनको पहचानो और तब तक आप बढ़ो, जब तक कि लक्ष्य को सिद्धि प्राप्त न हो जाए। उनके इन शब्दों से निश्चित रूप से राष्ट्र को प्रेरणा मिलना स्वाभाविक है। उन्होंने अपने हृदय की भावनाओं को जिन तीस सूत्रों में सदन के सम्मुख उपस्थित किया, उनमें कुछ प्रधान सूत्रों की ओर मैं आपका ध्यान आकृष्ट करना चाहता हूँ।

आरम्भ में उन्होंने संसद् की रहनुमाई का जिक्र किया और उसके द्वारा देशवासियों के मूलभूत अधिकारों के संरक्षण के लिए किए गए यत्नों का उल्लेख किया। गणराज्य में समाजवाद के लक्ष्य की सिद्धि और उपलब्धियों की ओर भी उन्होंने सारे राष्ट्र का ध्यान आकर्षित किया। इसके बाद उन्होंने देश में खेती के विकास की आवश्यकता, विश्व राजनीति में हमारे प्रमुख भाग, संसार में शांति-स्थापना के लिए हमारे योगदान और हमारी तटस्थता की नीति की सिद्धियों और और उपलब्धियों पर प्रकाश डाला। इस देश पर किये गए चीनी आक्रमण और उसकी अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय भर्त्सना का उल्लेख करते हुए

[श्री रा० शि० पाण्डेय]

उन्होंने राष्ट्र की अखण्डता पर हुए इस प्रहार पर दुःख प्रकट किया और देश की एकता और तैयारी की दुर्दुर्भाग्यवती। उन्होंने अफ्रीका, ब्रिटेन और उन तमाम देशों के प्रति आभार प्रदर्शित किया, जो कि हमारे संकट काल में हमारी सहायता के लिए दौड़े आए। जनता ने राष्ट्रीय रक्षा-कोष में जो योगदान दिया और धन, सोने, मंगल-सूत्र और कंगनों का जो ढेर लगा दिया, उसकी ओर भी उन्होंने संसद् का ध्यान आकर्षित किया। औद्योगिक प्रतिष्ठानों में शान्ति-स्थाना की उन्होंने सराहना की। इसके बाद उन्होंने देश भर में पांच करोड़ विद्यार्थियों के लिए शिक्षा की व्यवस्था और वैज्ञानिक तथा टेक्निकल शिक्षा पर दिये जा रहे बल की ओर भी संकेत किया।

तृतीय पंचवर्षीय योजना के अन्तर्गत किये जा रहे चतुर्मुखी विकास के सम्बन्ध में उन्होंने जहाजरातों की प्रगति और कोयले के उत्पादन में वृद्धि का उल्लेख किया। इसके साथ ही उन्होंने खर्च में कमी और मितव्ययिता की आवश्यकता पर बल दिया। एटामिक पावर के विकास के सम्बन्ध में हमारे देश में जो एक क्रान्तिकारी कदम उठाया गया है, उसकी भी उन्होंने सराहना की। इसके साथ साथ देश में पंचायती राज, कम्युनिटी डेवेलपमेंट प्रोग्राम और ग्राम स्वयंसेवक दल की स्थापना का भी जिक्र किया।

श्री जसवन्त मेहता (भावनगर) :
राष्ट्रपति ने तो यह सब कहा। माननीय सदस्य क्या कहना चाहते हैं ?

श्री रा० शि० पाण्डेय : संसार में जो देश हाल ही में स्वाधीन हुए हैं, उनका राष्ट्रपति जाँ ने स्वागत किया। हमारे देश में अन्य देशों के जो राजा, रानी, प्रधान मन्त्री और अन्य नेता पधारे, उनके अभिनन्दन का भी उन्होंने जिक्र किया। क्यूबा के सम्बन्ध में एक विध्वंसात्मक युद्ध शुरू होने की आशंका की ओर इशारा करते हुए उन्होंने कहा कि

उन दो सम्बद्ध राष्ट्रों की को-एग्जिस्टेंस, सह-अस्तित्व की भावना ने उस ज्वाला को रोक दिया।

यह उन तीन सूत्रों की संक्षिप्त कहानी है, जो कि राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने भाषण में रखी। अब माननीय सदस्य, श्री जसवन्त मेहता, सुनें कि मैं क्या कहता हूँ।

राष्ट्रपति के प्रति कृतज्ञता ज्ञापन की परिपाटी हमारे गणराज्य और संसद् के निर्माण के साथ ही आरम्भ हुई। हमारे राष्ट्रपति के कार्यकाल का यह प्रथम वर्ष है और अतएव उनके प्रति यह हमारा प्रथम कृतज्ञता-ज्ञापन है। राष्ट्रपति हमारे प्रजातन्त्रीय जीवन के श्रेष्ठतम नागरिक एवं अधिकारी हैं। उन के प्रति कृतज्ञता-ज्ञापन वा अर्थ सम्पूर्ण राष्ट्र, संसद के प्रणाली एवं शासन के द्वारा दिये गए वार्यों और नेता-मंडली के प्रति कृतज्ञता ज्ञापन करना है।

हमारे राष्ट्रपति विश्व के माने हुए मानवदर्शन के आचार्य, शिक्षा शास्त्री, अनेक भाषाओं के उद्भट विद्वान, शील तथा नम्रता से मुखरित पावन गम्भीर व्यक्तित्व से सम्पन्न, राजनीति के महापंडित हैं उनके नेतृत्व से हमारा गणराज्य धन्य है।

राष्ट्रपति ने अपने भाषण में कुछ अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय समस्याओं का जिक्र किया। विशेषकर चीन के आक्रमण के सम्बन्ध में उन्होंने जो विचार प्रकट किए, उनको दृष्टि में रखते हुए यदि हम झांक कर उनकी मनःस्थिति को देखें, तो हम पाते हैं एक अपवाद और दुःख से भरा हुआ हृदय और मानवता के प्रति हो रहे षड्यन्त्र से विचलित मानस। इस बीसवीं सदी में, जबकि संसार का प्रत्येक स्वतन्त्र राष्ट्र अपने नागरिकों को राजनीतिक न्याय, वाणी-स्वातन्त्र्य, पूजा की आजादी, बरादरी का दर्जा, व्यक्ति की प्रतिष्ठा और राष्ट्र की एकता की गारण्टी देते हुए, नैसर्गिक मूलभूत प्रजातांत्रिक सिद्धान्तों के सहारे मान

मात्र के सुख-शान्ति का वातावरण निर्माण कर रहा हो उस समय यदि कोई राष्ट्र किसी अन्य राष्ट्र पर हाथ उठाए या उसको पराधीन बनाने की कुत्सित चेष्टा करे, तो राष्ट्रपति के कथनानुसार, उसको बर्दाश्त नहीं किया जा सकता है। ऐसे अवसर पर, जबकि चीन ने हमारे देश पर आक्रमण किया, हमें राष्ट्रपति के नेतृत्व से बड़ा बल मिला। क्यों नहीं? वह हमारे प्रजातन्त्र के मुखिया हैं। उनसे लगी हुई हमारी शुभ आशाएँ "तमसो मा ज्योतिर्गमय" के मार्ग-दर्शन के रूप में फलवती हुईं।

राष्ट्रपति जी ने संसद के कार्य की सराहना की और उसकी कठिनाइयों की समीक्षा। हमारी संसद शाश्वत-जीवी संसद है। यह हमारी ज्ञान-गंगोत्री है। देशवासियों के हृदय-तटों को सपर्श करती हुई, "न मानुषात् श्रेष्ठतरं हि लोके" के गीत को गुनगुनाती हुई, प्रधान मन्त्री के शब्दों में लिहाज और बर्दाश्त का सन्देश देती हुई, अपने आप में सर्वसत्तावान् शाश्वत रूप में विद्यमान है और रहेगी।

राष्ट्रपति जी के भाषण के लिए उनके प्रति आभार और कृतज्ञता प्रकट करने के प्रस्ताव को इस सदन के सम्मुख रखने का जो सौभाग्य मुझे मिल रहा है, उसके लिए मैं अपने आप को गौरवान्वित समझ रहा हूँ। राष्ट्र के सर्वोच्च अधिकारी, डा० सर्वपल्ली राधाकृष्णन्, ने हमारे भूतपूर्व राष्ट्रपति, प्रातः स्मरणीय डा० राजेन्द्र प्रसाद द्वारा डाली गई संयम, सद्भाव और दृढ़ता की भाषा की परम्परा का आदर किया है। राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने संक्षिप्त भाषण में देश की आर्थिक तथा औद्योगिक प्रगति, स्वास्थ्य साधनों का विस्तार, कृषि उत्पादन में वृद्धि, शिक्षा प्रसार, टैक्नीकल व्यवस्था तथा अनेक क्षेत्रों की उपलब्धियों का साधन और सामर्थ्य से समन्वय करते हुए जो विशुद्ध चित्र हमारे सामने उपस्थित किया है, वह न केवल वास्त-

विक है बरन् प्रेरणाप्रद, उत्साहवर्धक एवं कर्तव्य बोधक भी है।

श्रीमन्, राष्ट्रपति जी ने गणराज्य निर्माण के बाद लोकतन्त्रीय समाजवादी समाज व्यवस्था स्थापित करने और इस व्यवस्था को सिद्धियों से मंडित करने की दिशा में दो पंचवर्षीय योजनाओं के पूर्ण होने और तृतीय पंचवर्षीय योजना के मध्य में जो हम हैं, उसका उल्लेख करते हुए अर्थ व्यवस्था के अनेक क्षेत्रों में हुई प्रगति को स्वीकार करते हुए कहा है कि हमें इस तरक्की, हमें इस प्रगति से सर्वथा सन्तोष नहीं हुआ है। हमें बड़े आदर के साथ उनकी इस भावना को आत्मसात करना है। मैं ऐसा अनुभव करता हूँ कि जो उन्होंने ये विचार प्रकट किए हैं, इनसे उनका आशय और उनका संकेत यह है कि हमारी योजनाएँ द्रुत गति से आगे बढ़ें और उनको वेगवान बनाया जाए ताकि जनता इनके फलस्वरूप लाभान्वित हो।

श्रीमन् हमारी आर्थिक प्रगति के सम्बन्ध में राष्ट्रपति जी ने स्वयं ही कृषि उत्पादन, औद्योगिक उन्नति, शिक्षा प्रसार, कुटीर उद्योग उद्योगों और स्वास्थ्य के सम्बन्ध में जो झांकड़े आपके सम्मुख प्रस्तुत किए हैं वे प्रमाणित करते हैं कि हमने देश की चतुर्मुखी उन्नति की है। आज देशवासी चाहे नगरों में रहते हों और चाहे देहातों में रहते हों और चाहे छोटी छोटी झोंपड़ियों में ही क्यों त रहते हों, हमारे कठोर भागीरथ प्रयत्नों से विकास रूपी गंगा जल से यदि स्नान नहीं कर सके हैं तो आचमन से पावन और लाभान्वित अवश्य हुए हैं।

श्रीमन् आज प्रत्येक गांव किसी न किसी योजना से आबद्ध है, चाहे वह कम्युनिटी डिवेलपमेंट हो, चाहे छोटे बड़े डैम हों, चाहे इंडस्ट्रियल एस्टेट हो चाहे स्टील प्लांट हो, बिजली का उत्पादन हो, सड़कों का निर्माण हो, किसी न किसी योजना से हमारे गांव लगे हुए हैं। आज गांवों में शहरों की अपेक्षा अधिक सड़कें बन रही हैं और ट्रांसपोर्ट और कम्यु-

[श्री ग० सि० पाण्डेय]

निकेशन के साधनों की वृद्धि से गांवों की आर्थिक स्थिति में विकास हुआ है। जहां हमारे ग्रामवासी तार और चिट्ठी के आधुनिक साधनों से अनभिज्ञ थे, वहां आज हमारे ग्रामवासी चाहें तो टेलीफोन पर बातचीत कर सकते हैं, बैलगाड़ी के स्थान पर साइकिल, बस, ट्रेन और चाहें तो बोइंग से भी सफर कर सकते हैं। जिन्होंने रेल भी नहीं देखी थी वे आज लैंडिंग और टेक ऑफ देखने का अवसर प्राप्त कर रहे हैं।

श्रीमन्, हमारी वर्तमान अर्थ व्यवस्था का यह टेक ऑफ है। चाहे विश्वकर्मा ही क्यों न हो, भवन निर्माण के पहले नींव डालनी होती है। हमने नींव डालने का काम समाप्त किया, नींव डालने की प्रक्रिया समाप्त हुई। दो मंजिलें भी हमारी पूरी हुई। तीसरी मंजिल का काम हमने शुरू किया है। चौथी, पांचवीं छठी, सातवीं और इससे भी अधिक हमारी मंजिलें पूरी होंगी हम अपने ग्रामवासियों को, हम अपने देशवासियों को बसाते हुए आगे बढ़ते जायेंगे। यह है हमारी प्रगति, यह है हमारी निष्ठा।

श्रीमन्, खेती के सम्बन्ध में राष्ट्रपति जी ने बड़ा ही गहरा अनुराग, बड़ी ही गहरी दिलचस्पी बताई है। हम जानते हैं कि हमारे समूचे राष्ट्र की जनसंख्या का सत्तर प्रतिशत गांवों में बसा हुआ है। हमारे पास ३५० मिलियन एकड़ धरती है। इस पर खेती होती है, श्रम होता है। ३५० मिलियन एकड़ धरती में से कितनी धरती पर सिंचाई होती है, जिस को जल से प्लावित करने की व्यवस्था है, वह बहुत कम है। केवल ५८ मिलियन एकड़ में ही सिंचाई होती है। ८० मिलियन एकड़ में एग्योर्ड रेनफाल होता है, यानी इस को जो ऊपर से पानी गिरता है, वह प्राप्त होता है। बाकी जमीन, यानी दो-तिहाई के करीब है जिसके लिए हम सिंचाई के साधन अभी तक उपलब्ध नहीं कर पाये हैं। इस धरती के लिए

सिंचाई की सुविधायें उपलब्ध करने में भी हमारी सरकार प्रयत्नशील है। इस प्रकार से हमें एहसास हो सकता है कि हम जो भी आधुनिक साधन हैं खेती के सम्बन्ध में, उनके प्रति जागरूक हैं। छोटे बड़े डैम, नहरों की खुदाई, बंध निर्माण, सायल कंजर्वेशन की व्यवस्था इत्यादि की और ठोस कदम उठाने की प्रक्रिया हमारे यहां आरम्भ है।

श्रीमन्, खाद्य की समस्या भी है। यदि आप १९४९-५० के आंकड़े लें तो आप को पता चलेगा कि हमारे यहां केवल ४९ मिलियन टन अनाज होता था और अब १९६१-६२ के जो आंकड़े आपके सामने हैं, उन से पता चलता है कि करीब ८० मिलियन टन हमारे यहां अनाज का उत्पादन हुआ है। खेती एक बायोलॉजिकल प्रोसेस है। यह इंडस्ट्रियल प्राइव्केशन से त्रिन्कुल भिन्न है। इंडस्ट्रियल प्राइव्केशन के कच्चे माल से पक्का माल बनाना आसान है क्योंकि वह मैकेनिकल प्रोसेस है। मशीन की गति तथा मनुष्य की टैक्नीकल दक्षता दोनों के संग-साथ से हम उत्पादन बढ़ा सकते हैं। लेकिन खेती का काम असंगठित है। वह सात करोड़ परिवारों में बंटा हुआ है। ३५० मिलियन एकड़ में खेती होती है। सात करोड़ परिवारों के हाथों उसका काम होता है। फिर इसके लिए हमें चाहिये कई चीजें पानी, खाद, अच्छा बीज, कर्ज, नहरें, बंध, सायल कंजर्वेशन इत्यादि और साथ ही साथ पीछे की रक्षा। जमीन को खोद कर जब बीज को हम धरती में गाड़ते हैं तो उसका फल हम को लम्बे समय के बाद मिलता है और तब तक उसकी रक्षा करनी पड़ती है। यह इंडस्ट्रियल प्राइव्केशन की तरह नहीं है। यह प्राकृतिक है इसको उतने ही दिन लगेगे, उतनी ही पैदावार होगी, इसको चाहिये, पानी, इसको चाहिये खाद, इसको चाहिये परवरिश, इसको चाहिये अनुकूल वातावरण और जब यह सब कुछ हो जायेगा तब जा कर वह सात या आठ महीने के बाद फल देगी।

खेती की तरफ हमारा ध्यान गया है, इस में कोई सन्देह की बात नहीं है। दूसरी चीजों के आंकड़े भी आप देखें। हमारे यहां १९५० में क्रिस्टल शूगर १० लाख टन होती थी और अब करीब तीस लाख टन शक्कर पैदा होती है। पहले का तिहास हमें बताता है कि हमको शूगर का इम्पोर्ट करना पड़ता था। लेकिन इस समय हमने २.५ लाख टन शूगर का एक्सपोर्ट किया है और इतना होने के बावजूद भी हमारे पास एक्सपोर्ट के लिए सरपलस शक्कर बची हुई है। १९४९-५० का अनाज का उत्पादन अगर आप लें तो आप को पता चलेगा कि १९६०-६१ में यह ३५ प्रतिशत के करीब बढ़ा है। कर्मशियल क्राप को आप लें। कर्मशियल क्राप्स का उत्पादन करीब ४८ प्रतिशत बढ़ा है। कर्मशियल क्राप्स और अन्न के उत्पादन को अगर मिला दिया जाये तो इन दम ग्यारह बरसों में उत्पादन में ४० परसेंट की वृद्धि हुई है। इसका नतीजा यह निकला है कि फारेन एक्सचेंज की अगिज में हम वृद्धि कर सके हैं।

जहां तक जूट के उत्पादन का सम्बन्ध है, तीसरी योजना में जो लक्ष्य निर्धारित किया गया था वह लक्ष्य हम ने तृतीय योजना के आरम्भ में ही प्राप्त कर लिया है। ६२ लाख गांठें हमारी इस सफलता की प्रतीक हैं। जैसे जैसे हम आगे बढ़ेंगे, इस तृतीय योजना के दौरान हमारा उत्पादन और भी बढ़ेगा।

तृतीय योजना के मध्य में ८० मिलियन टन अनाज हम ने पैदा किया। इस योजना के अन्त तक हमें सौ मिलियन टन अनाज चाहिये। पहले और अब उत्पादन में जो वृद्धि हुई है, उसकी हम ने सराहना की है। लेकिन कभी कभी वृद्धि की वृद्धि देख कर हमें आश्चर्य होता है। हमारे यहां ८६-८७ लाख बच्चे हर माल पैदा होते हैं। हमारी यही कामना है कि जच्चा और बच्चा दोनों सुरक्षित रहें, वे चिरंजीवी हों। हमने तृतीय योजना के जो टारगेट हैं, जो लक्ष्य हैं, उनको प्रगर प्राप्त भी कर लिया और सौ मिलियन टन

अनाज हम पैदा करने में सफल भी हुए तो फिर इसी गति से हरमाल अगर ८६-८७ लाख बच्चे प्राते गये तो पता नहीं कि हमारे नन्दा साहब या पाटिल साहब कौन सी आधुनिक प्रक्रिया के द्वारा अनाज की पैदावार में वृद्धि कर सकेंगे। यद्यपि हम निराश नहीं हैं और न ही निराश होने का कोई कारण है। जिस गति से हमारी योजना सफलता और सिद्धियां तथा उपलब्धियां प्राप्त कर रही हैं, उसके महत्व को हम भली भांति समझते हैं और जो हमारे दायित्व हैं, उनको भी हम समझते हैं और उनका हम बड़ी कर्मठता के साथ पालन करेंगे।

श्रीमन्, जहां तक सत्ता के विकेन्द्रीकरण का सम्बन्ध है, उस दिशा में भी हम आगे बढ़े हैं। पंचायती राज की कल्पना ले कर हम आगे बढ़े हैं और नौ राज्यों में पंचायती राज आरम्भ हुआ है। हम आशा कर सकते हैं कि बहुत शीघ्र ही उन प्रान्तों में भी जहां पर इसका श्रीगणेश नहीं हुआ है, वहां पर भी हो जायेगा। पंचायती राज के जो आंकड़े हमारे पास हैं, उनको अगर आप देखें तो एक आशाप्रद चित्र आपके सामने उपस्थित हो जायेगा। २ लाख ३० हजार पंचायतें हमारे यहां काम कर रही हैं, २ लाख कोआपरेटिव सोसायटीज हैं, इसी वर्ष हम ने २५० करोड़ ६० किसानों को कर्ष देने की योजना की और वह सफल हुई। इन कोआपरेटिव सोसायटीज में कोई १ करोड़ सदस्य हैं। ५,२०० डेवेलपमेंट ब्लाक्स १९६३ में पूरे होंगे। इन सब पर यह दायित्व है कि वे हमारे अनाज के उत्पादन में वृद्धि करें। हम देखते हैं कि इसी के साथ साथ देश की परकैपिता, अर्थात् व्यक्तिगत आमदनी भी बढ़ी है। वह ३३० के करीब है।

हमें यह स्वीकार करने में तनिक संकोच नहीं है कि हमारा देश गरीब है, किन्तु हीनता के भाव से हम ग्रसित नहीं हैं। हम ने अपने यहां ऐटमिक एनर्जी, मशीनों और आधुनिक तत्वों को प्रोत्साहन दिया है ताकि हमारी आर्थिक स्थिति सेल्फ जेनरेटिव हो जाय।

[श्री रा० शि० पाण्डेय]

ऐटमिक पावर का उत्पादन हमारे देश में एक क्रान्तिकारी कदम है ।

हम योजनाबद्ध संगठन के साथ ४२ करोड़ जनसंख्या के काफिले को ले कर अपनी विकासमयी तीर्थ यात्रा के दो चरण समाप्त कर तृतीय चरण में प्रवेश कर रहे हैं । सारा देश अनुशासन के साथ, निष्ठा और श्रद्धा के साथ आदरणीय नेहरू के दो पैरों के साथ ६४ करोड़ पैरों को मिला कर चलना सीख रहा है—आखिर हमारी स्वतंत्रता की तरुणाई केवल पन्द्रह वर्ष की है—हमारे अपने इतिहास की काली मसि, अर्थात् स्याही, अभी भी सूखी नहीं है । फूट, जातिवाद, सम्प्रदायवाद, फिरके परस्ती, छुआ छूत, छोटे बड़े की विभीषिका की कहानी से, जो कि हमारी गुलामी का कारण बनी थी, इतिहास भरा पड़ा है । पिछली कहानी हमें बताती है कि उन्हीं तुच्छ जघन्य पापों के कारण हमें दासता के बन्धन में फंसना पड़ा था । इतिहास के वे काले पन्ने खोलते ही शर्म से गर्दन झुक जाती है ।

वापू अबतार नहीं थे, लेकिन वे हमारे राष्ट्र के जीवन में अबतारित हुए । गुलामी और दासता के बन्धन से मुक्ति दिलाने के लिये वापू ने बड़ी कीमत अदा की । उन्होंने अपने आप को बलि के कुंड में स्वाहा कर दिया । “गणराज्य” यह उनकी फूकी हुई शक्ति का वरदान हमें मिला और हमें उन के उत्तराधिकारी मिले हमारे प्रधान मंत्री । आज उसी गणराज्य की रक्षा का प्रश्न है । इस लिये मैं ने अतीत की कहानी आप की सेवा में उपस्थित की । कांग्रेस जो हमारी पार्टी है, जिस का हमें एक सदस्य होने का गौरव प्राप्त है, उस की आत्म बलिदान और त्याग ही भरोहर है । राष्ट्रपति जी ने देश के शासन संचालन का दायित्व श्री नेहरू जी और उन के साथियों के सबल हाथों में सौंपा है । हमारे राष्ट्र को नेहरू जी के नेतृत्व में शान्ति, मैत्री, नैतिकता, एकता, समता तथा युद्ध की

तैयारी और आत्म निर्भरता की प्रेरणा मिली, जो हमारे लिये एक वरदान का द्योतक है । इस संकट काल में यह हमारे प्रधान मंत्री का अनुपम साहस है कि वे प्रजातंत्र, योजना और नान अलाइनमेंट को बगैर विचलित हुए एक साथ चला रहे हैं । मैं आप से निवेदन कर रहा था कि पंडित जी के नेतृत्व में हमारा देश आगे बढ़ा । तीन चुनावों के महान् मन्थन से अपनी राय देने के प्रति जनता में एक निष्ठा का प्रादुर्भाव हुआ । संसार की बड़ी से बड़ी शक्तियों ने स्वीकार किया कि हम प्रजातंत्र के मूलभूत सिद्धान्तों को कार्यान्वित करने में सक्षम हैं ।

हमारे सम्बन्ध प्रायः सभी देशों से मैत्रीपूर्ण हैं । हमारा दृष्टिकोण दूसरे देशों से सम्बन्ध रखने के माध्यम के रूप में पंचशील, सहअस्तित्व, तटस्थता अर्थात् नानअलाइनमेंट और शान्ति का था । हम नेहरू जी के नेतृत्व में ममाजवाद की रचना, सत्ता के विभाजन, आर्थिक विकास तथा “वसुधैव कुटुम्बकम्” के कार्य में तल्लीन थे कि चीन ने हम पर आक्रमण किया । कोलम्बो प्रस्ताव के मुद्दाव हमारे सामने आये । प्रधान मंत्री के नेतृत्व में हम ने बड़ी सफलता और कुशलता के साथ स्थिति का मुकाबला किया । परिणाम यह हुआ कि चीन ने हम पर जो आक्रमण किया संसार के तमाम राष्ट्रों ने उस की भर्त्सना की, आलोचना की ।

राष्ट्रपति जी ने जैसा जिक्र किया, चीन ने हमारी मैत्री को चुपके चुपके शत्रुता का रूप दिया । चोरी से हमारी सीमाओं को लांघता हुआ, उस ने २० अक्टूबर, १९६२ के दिन हमारी उत्तरी और पूर्वी सीमाओं पर आक्रमण कर दिया । इस आक्रमण से हम को दुःख भी हुआ, आश्चर्य भी हुआ । दुःख और आश्चर्य होना स्वाभाविक भी था । किन्तु उस के कुछ घन्टों के परिणाम भी

Shri U. M. Trivedi (Mandsaur): Sir, I rise to a point of order. I do not know—I might not be well informed—whether we have changed the rule to the effect that a Member can read out his speeches from manuscripts. The hon. Member is reading out his whole speech.

An Hon. Member: He is only referring to his notes.

Shri U. M. Trivedi: He is not referring, he is reading out his speech.

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. No Member can read out his speech. He might have a prepared speech; there is no harm in that. He can place it before him and consult his notes. I have been watching the hon. Member. He has been consulting his notes very often although he has been raising his head many times.

श्री त्यागी (देहरादून) : चूँकि वह स्टैण्डर्ड हिन्दी बोल रहे थे इस लिये शायद आप की समझ में नहीं आया ।

श्री उ० म० त्रिवेदी : जनाब मैं आप से ज्यादा अच्छी हिन्दी बोलता हूँ । आप मेहरबानी कर के अपने वर्ड्स विघड़ा कीजिये ।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : अब माननीय सदस्य को २७ मिनट हो चुके हैं, मेरा खयाल है कि अब उन को दो तीन मिनट में अपनी स्पीच खत्म करनी चाहिये ।

श्री रा० शि० पाण्डेय : यह जो पांच मिनट का मेरे स्पीच में इंटरप्शन हुआ है उस को उस में से निकाल दिया जाये ।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : इंटरप्शन भी स्पीच का हिस्सा है ।

श्री रा० शि० पाण्डेय : जब हम पर चीन का आक्रमण हुआ तो हम ने देखा कि गोली का जवाब हमारे जवानों ने गोली से दिया । इस चीन के आक्रमण के कारण एक मोड़ पर खड़े हो कर पृष्ठभूमि में भविष्य,

वर्तमान और भूतकाल के दिनों को सामने रख कर हमें कुछ निर्णय करने पड़े । किसी से छिपा नहीं है कि हमारे जवानों ने लदाख और चूशूल में घमासान युद्ध करके जिस रणबांकुरेपन को दिखलाया उस से हमारा सिर गर्व से ऊंचा हो जाता है यद्यपि नेफा में हमें कुछ पीछे भी हटना पड़ा । यदि मैं एक देहाती ग्रामीण भाषा को आप के सामने प्रस्तुत करूँ, तो उस ने मुझ से यह कहा कि जब वह आगे बढ़े तो हम पीछे हटे और जब हम आगे बढ़ना चाहते थे तो वह पीछे हटे, और पीछे हटे और हट गये । हम दुवारा पीछे नहीं गये ।

श्री उ० म० त्रिवेदी : चाइनीज हट गये ? क्या बत है ?

श्री रा० शि० पाण्डेय : हमारा और चीन का झगड़ा केवल सीमा का झगड़ा नहीं था । यह झगड़ा है सिद्धान्त का, प्रजातंत्र और साम्यवाद का । और उस का निर्णय होगा । सारे संसार के जितने शक्तिवान राष्ट्र हैं वे इस बात को तय करेंगे कि माइट इज राइट और राइट इज माइट । इस का निर्णय संसार के लोग करेंगे । इंस समय हम पर जो संकट आया उस में जिस प्रकार हमारे प्रधान मंत्री ने संयम और दूरदर्शिता से काम लिया है, उसके लिये हम उन के कृतज्ञ हैं । राष्ट्र का नेतृत्व करते हुए जब उन्होंने जनता का आह्वान किया तो सारा देश एक हो गया, तमाम पार्टियों के झंडे झुक गये और उस समय वेद के शब्दों में सारा राष्ट्र एक हो गया ।

सं गच्छद्ध्वम्, सं वदत्वम्, सम्बो मनांसि जानिताम्, अभिराष्ट्रेने वर्धताम्
अर्थात् एक साथ चलो, एक साथ बैठो, एक मन से विचार करो और इस प्रकार राष्ट्र की उन्नति करो ।

कुछ राष्ट्र हमारी सहायता के लिए सामने आये । हम ने उनका अभिनन्दन किया । उन में अमरीका और ब्रिटेन प्रधान हैं । कुछ तटस्थ देश सन्धि के प्रस्ताव को ले कर हमारे

[श्री रा० शि० पांडेय]

पास आये। हम ने उस को स्वीकार किया और उस प्रस्ताव के सम्बन्ध में मैं महाभारत की एक आख्यायिका को आपके सामने रखना चाहता हूँ। युद्ध आरम्भ होने के पूर्व कौरव कुल पूज्य धृतराष्ट्र ने संजय से कहा कि तुम जा कर धर्मराज से कहो कि हम युद्ध नहीं चाहते, शान्ति चाहते हैं। जब संजय धर्मराज के पास पहुँचे तो उन्होंने संजय से कहा कि तुम को दुर्योधन के वे शब्द याद हैं जो उसने हमारे सन्धि प्रस्ताव पर कहे थे :

शूच्याग्ने न केशव

अर्थात् मैं सुई की नोक के बराबर भी भूमि बिना युद्ध के न दूंगा। उस समय श्री कृष्ण जी भी वहाँ उपस्थित थे। उनकी ओर इंगित करते हुए धर्मराज ने कहा कि संजय सन्धि का प्रस्ताव लाये हैं। तो श्री कृष्ण ने संजय से कहा कि तुम कौरवों और पांडवों के सम्बन्धों से परिचित हो। अब सन्धि का समय नहीं है। धृतराष्ट्र से जा कर कह दो कि अब हमारी नीति यह है कि :

न दैन्यम् न पलायनम्

अब देर हो चुकी है। अब सन्धि का समय नहीं है युद्ध का समय है। उन्होंने संजय से कहा कि अब वे युद्ध और संग्राम के लिए तैयार रहें। हम अब न दैन्य दिखलाना चाहते हैं और न पीठ दिखलाना चाहते हैं।

आज आप देखें कि चीन के इस कृत्य की निन्दा सारी दुनिया के देश कर रहे हैं। यही नहीं साम्यवादी देश भी, पूर्वी यूरोप के देश और एशिया और अफ्रीका के वे तमाम देश जो कि साम्यवाद को मानते हैं उन्होंने चीन की भत्सना की है। जब श्री टीटो मास्को गये और उनकी श्री छुश्चेव से बात चीत हुई तो उन्होंने प्रधान मंत्री जी को संदेश भेजा कि वे उनकी नमनएलाइनमेंट की पालिसी की ओर दृढ़ता की सराहना करते हैं और चीन की निन्दा करते हैं।

जो व्यक्ति और पाटियां यह कहते हैं कि हम पराजय की भावना से ग्रस्त हैं वे असत्य कहते ने। हम इस युद्ध में काम-याब हुए हैं। हमारी विजय हुई है। हमारे —सद्धान्त की विजय हुई है। सिद्धान्त से राष्ट्र का सम्बन्ध है।

जहाँ तक नानएलाइनमेंट की पालिसी का सम्बन्ध है उसकी हमने पिछले १५ वर्षों से पूजा की है और उसको आज संसार मानता है। यदि कोई इस स्थिति में सारे देश को सामने रख कर कहे कि हमारी पराजय हुई है तो हम कहेंगे कि या तो उसकी बुद्धि उसका साथ नहीं देती और अगर ऐसा नहीं है तो हमको उसकी बुद्धि पर तरस आता है।

जिस समय अभी हाल में क्यूबा का प्रश्न खड़ा हो गया और एक ध्वंस लीला होते होते बची, उस समय जर्मनी की कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी की मीटिंग में श्री खुश्चेव ने कहा कि सहअस्तित्व के सिद्धान्त के बिना सरवाइवल आफ पीस नहीं हो सकता। हमने इस सिद्धान्त को किसी से नहीं सीखा वरन् हमारे देश के मसीहा श्री जवाहरलाल ने इस सिद्धान्त को इस देश और संसार के सामने रखा। उन्होंने कहा कि मगर हमको संसार में शान्ति को अक्षुण्ण रखना है और मानव कल्याण को अक्षुण्ण रखना है तो संसार को सह अस्तित्व के सिद्धान्त को मानना होगा। हम चाहते हैं कि न केवल हमारा देश बल्कि सारा संसार इससे शिक्षा प्राप्त करे।

हम आत्म निर्भरता चाहते हैं। यह ठीक है मकल्ट काल में हम दूसरों की सहायता ले सकते हैं लेकिन हम अपनी रक्षा के लिए स्वावलम्बी होना चाहते हैं। हमने अभी सहायता ली, लेकिन पंडित जी ने एग्गर अम्ब्रेला के सम्बन्ध में कहा कि हम नहीं चाहते कि इसके लिए हमारे यहाँ कोई अपने अड़्डे बनाए। हमारी भूमियों में रक्त है। हमारे पास जवान

है, हमारे पास शक्ति है और भावना है। हम चाहेंगे कि हम अपनी सुरक्षा स्वयं कर सकें। हम चाहते हैं कि अपनी सुरक्षा के लिए हम किसी की ओर आशा भरी दृष्टि से न देखें। अगर हमारे ऊपर कोई हाथ उठाएगा तो हम उसका हाथ मरोड़ देंगे। यदि कोई हमको धक्का देगा तो उसका उत्तर देने की शक्ति हम में है। फिर भी अगर हमारे संकट के समय हमको कोई सहायता देने के लिए आता है तो हम उसका स्वागत करेंगे।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : अब तो माननीय सदस्य को खत्म करना चाहिए। ३५ मिनट हो चुके।

श्री रा० शि० पाण्डेय : पांच मिनट और दे दीजिए।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : आपको ३५ मिनट हो गए हैं। एक दो मिनट में खत्म कीजिए।

श्री रा० शि० पाण्डेय : कोलम्बो प्रस्ताव के सम्बन्ध में मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ...

अध्यक्ष महोदय : मेरी दरखास्त सुनी गयी?

श्री रा० शि० पाण्डेय : मन्त्रि की बात को हमने स्वीकार किया।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : अब माननीय सदस्य जो शब्द आखिर में कहना चाहते हैं वे कह दें और एक दो मिनट में खत्म करें।

श्री रा० शि० पाण्डेय : मैं उन तमाम राष्ट्रों के प्रति जिन्होंने हमारे साथ सद्भाव-मैत्रीय प्रकट किया और हमारी सहायता की तथा इस संकट काल में जिन्होंने हमारी तटस्थता और नान-एलाइनमेंट की पालिती को सराहा, अपने अनुगृहीत होने का भाव प्रकट करना चाहता हूँ।

श्रीमन्, परमों के दिन हिन्दी के नाम पर जो एक वितंडावाद हमारे मटल हाल में उठस्थित हुआ अगर मैं उसका जिक्र न करूंगा तो ऐसा लगेगा कि मैंने अपने कर्तव्य का पालन नहीं किया—

श्री राम सेवक यादव : वह हिन्दी का झगड़ा नहीं था बल्कि राष्ट्र भाषा का झगड़ा था।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : आर्डर, आर्डर।

श्री रा० शि० पाण्डेय : हमारे गणराज्य के सबसे बड़े पुजारी सबसे बड़े माधक जब विधान के अन्तर्गत हमें सम्बोधित करते हैं उस समय हिन्दी के नाम पर, जो हमारी राष्ट्र भाषा है, यदि इस प्रकार का बवंडर खड़ा किया जाए और इस प्रकार का उद्दंड व्यवहार किया जाये तो उससे सारे राष्ट्र की गरदन झुकती है, हमारी गरदन झुकती है और हिन्दी की भी गरदन झुकती है।

श्री राम सेवक यादव : चीन से निपटिए।

एक माननीय सदस्य : आज जो सरकार है वह संविधान का पालन नहीं करती उसको बन्द किया जाए। आज जितना कानून संविधान में है वह काफी है उसी पर अमल किया जाए...

अध्यक्ष महोदय : क्या आप उनकी बोलने देंगे या नहीं। उनकी स्पीच का समय है।

श्री रा० शि० पाण्डेय : भाषा और संस्कृति राजनीति से ऊपर होनी चाहिए। सेदन की एक छोटी सी पार्टी के नेता, जिस पार्टी का नाम सोशलिस्ट पार्टी है, उन्होंने राष्ट्र के नाम पर और हिन्दी के नाम पर इस प्रकार का कुत्सित व्यवहार किया, जिससे प्रधान मंत्री को दुःख हुआ और सारे राष्ट्र को दुःख हुआ और जिन लोगों ने इस

[श्री रा० शि० पाण्डेय]

प्रकार का व्यवहार किया है उनको राष्ट्र कमी क्षमा नहीं करेगा।

हम पुनः राष्ट्रपति के प्रति आभार प्रकट करते हैं।

Dr. K. L. Rao (Vijayawada): Mr. Speaker, I beg to second the Motion of Thanks so ably moved by my hon. friend, Shri Pandey. In doing so, I feel a high sense of honour is done to my constituency, Vijayawada, the main town of the constituency and the second largest town of Andhra Pradesh. It is the nerve-centre of the political activities of the State. It is located on the banks of the great river Krishna. It is the geographical centre of the railway system, of the roads and of the canal system. It is adjacent to one of the largest and most prosperous agricultural areas of the country.

Mr. Speaker: Was it on account of Vijayawada that he was asked to second the motion?

Dr. K. L. Rao: I will come to that. In spite of all these resources, the town is bereft of adequate water supply and sanitation and transport is itself posing a problem of bottlenecks. Thus under-development of my constituency in spite of resources is truly representative of the country's state, the rapid development of which is the main theme of the esteemed President's Address.

I am sure I am expressing the feelings of the entire House when I say that we are very fortunate in having as a successor to the great *Karmayogi* Dr. Rajendra Prasad, as the present head Dr. Radhakrishnan, one of the most brilliant philosophers of the world to guide us in these difficult times.

Many years ago Dr. Radhakrishnan, after writing a book on the *Bhagwad Gita*, approached Mahatmaji for a message. Mahatmaji seems to have

told him, "I am a man of action, (*An Hon. Member: Karmayogi*) I am Arjuna and you have written a book on the Gita. There is no reason for me to give a message." How fittingly profiting is this saying of Mahatmaji that as years roll by, Dr. Radhakrishnan comes to play the part of the great philosopher.

The esteemed speech of Dr. Radhakrishnan foreshadows the continued development of economic and industrial growth in this country. He stated that even under the pressure of the burdens imposed by the Chinese aggression, the Government will do its utmost in the five fields of agriculture, industry, transport and commerce, power and technical education and research. It is true that the Government has done tremendous work in these various fields, but there is a long way which we have yet to cover. While America and the Western countries are in the orbit in the economic sphere, we are still on the ground; we are still attached to the earth for taking off. Therefore it is necessary that the nation has to be energised, that is, the total energy of the nation has to be increased.

Energy is derived from wood and coal, from oil and gas, from falling water and from nuclear power. Whatever may be the source of energy, the most economical method of utilising this energy is through electricity. By transforming it into electricity man has contrived to take more energy from coal than from direct use. As an illustration I might state that when coal is used in the steam locomotive it gives only 10 per cent as tractive effort but when it is used in an electrical machine, it gives as much as 20 per cent. India has at present got only 43 kilowatt hours of per capita energy as against 2,000 and more of the Western nations. Therefore we have not only got to improve our quantum of electricity but it is also necessary to use electricity because it is the most economical way of utilising our resources.

Scientists know well that energy is proportional not to speed but to the square of speed. Therefore, if you want to do things in a quick way, it is very necessary that you have to increase electrical energy not by doubling it during the Plan period but by increasing it many more times.

The one great obstacle in the way of getting this energy is that the cost of the equipment that we have to purchase is very high. It is necessary for us to remember that we have got to purchase this machinery from countries where labour costs are very high. For example, the fees of an obstetrician who delivers a baby are more than the cost of the machine which does the work equivalent to a fully grown man. The per capita income of those countries is anything like Rs. 2,500/- to Rs. 10,000/- as against India's mere Rs. 300/-. That being so it is almost impossible for a low-energy nation like ours to be able to purchase this equipment from outside. Therefore I submit that we should go ahead with the establishment of these electrical equipment manufacturing factories all over the country, in every State, so that we may be able to meet the needs as early as possible.

There is unfortunately a curse of bigness in our present planning. We want to do things in a big way in the very first instance, like the factory at Bhopal, and this is really hampering the growth of the nation.

There is one other aspect which I should submit and that is the technological progress of the country. It is true that in the matter of technical education and research the country has taken tremendous strides. But in technological progress, I am afraid, we are not following the correct path.

Let us see how the industrial development of the United Kingdom took place. In England, having a large sea coast, people used to build ships from the early times. They built ships

from wood. To get the wood they cut down their forests and the forest wealth went down. Therefore they wanted to use iron to replace wood. To make iron they had to go in for coke and to dig the coke they had to dig in deep mines where there was water; therefore they had this problem of pumping out the water. That is how the steam engine was first invented. They soon used it in the locomotive. As the steam engine was not so efficient, they invented the diesel engine.

Similarly, in respect of oil resources, they were using oil in the early periods for lighting the lamps. In fact, the high distillates, like petroleum and other products, were neglected and were considered as a nuisance. But, later on, when the desire to use these various distillates came, the internal combustion engine was invented. I can give very many similar instances. For example, Bessemer first suggested the use of big guns. When he was told that the material with which guns were made had to be strong to withstand those explosions, he had to think over and he invented the present Bessemer process on account of which it has been possible to manufacture steel on an extensive scale.

What I want to submit is that whenever there are problems imposed by technological development, the nations must resolve the problems themselves. On the other hand, what we are doing now is to send for people from foreign countries. We are depending on foreign talent which, I submit, is not at all conducive to the development and progress in this country. I would, therefore, appeal that Indian engineers and Indian scientists be given a greater amount of responsibility for taking up the developmental work in the various fields.

The esteemed President-referred to the longevity of life as a consequence of the various social measures that we have taken. In this connection we

[Dr. K. L. Rao]

must remember the importance of control of population in relation to the economic development. Whatever economic developments take place tend to be absorbed by an increase in population. Many centuries ago Aristotle said that a good, proper and prosperous government can be ensured only if there is a certain amount of minimum and maximum population. It is said that if the United States of America contained the population of India today when the Pilgrim Fathers went, it would never have got the prosperity that it has got today. It is therefore necessary for us to ensure that at least the propaganda—I am not talking of the actual steps and so on—must reach every man in India to show him the greatest importance of this and how the increase in the population factor affects the economy. Once they get that conviction, I am sure, the results will follow.

The President has said that agricultural base is the pre-requisite for national security. Asia, no doubt, is considered a poor continent because half the world's population has to live on one-third of the food produced. But India's position is not so bad. We produce enough of food and we are deficient only by about 4 per cent which is really a marginal difference. No doubt, we want to see that this also is overcome and we also build up sufficient reserves against precarious weather conditions. We can even achieve it by preventing the wastage that occurs. More than that there are one or two other methods that I would like to mention by way of suggestions.

If we analyse the statistics of the various districts, we find that only . per cent of the districts of the whole of India give a high surplus in food commodities. Therefore if we search for a few more districts and study the population, area and the fertility of the soil and if it is possible by concentration on those districts to produce this high surplus, it is worth

doing; thereby we can wipe out the deficiency.

More than that I submit that India is now engaged on some of the very big irrigation projects. Projects like Gandak in Bihar, Broach in Gujarat and Nagarjunasagar in Andhra Pradesh should be pushed through and an accelerated effort must be put in so that anyone of these projects may help in completely wiping out the deficit and giving us the surplus in food. It is necessary also that people must be made to cooperate in the various stages of the construction itself so that when water potential is created, there shall not be a lag between creation of potential and its utilisation.

13 hrs.

Similarly, when these river controversies arise from time to time—it is but natural that they should occur; that shows the keen desire of the people to develop—it is necessary for us to come together and concert such measures as will meet with the wishes of all the people and all the parties. It is not a question of somebody arbitrating. If things are done on mutual agreement, it will be possible to push on with the developmental works vigorously.

It is also interesting to observe—I noted the other day—that the per capita consumption of cereals and pulses in this country is about 360 lbs. While in England the amount of food taken as starch and cereals other than meat is also about 360 lbs. The only difference is that half of it comes from pulses and a half from potatoes and other starch food. There is a hope that with the cereals that we have got, by developing potatoes and other types of starch foods, it will be possible for us to be able to meet the demand of even a larger population. It seems essential for us to remember that agriculture is our greatest national industry. It is therefore

necessary for us to keep it stable, prosperous and economical. For this, we must provide amenities to the agricultural population by way of rural water supply, rural electrification and access roads.

The esteemed President has referred to our coordinated and friendly relationship with other nations. Our endeavour to remain non-aligned in the face of the gravest provocation has borne fruit. There are lots of suggestions made as to why the Chinese have withdrawn or why the Chinese have ceased fire. Among the various reasons, the most acceptable one seems to be the stubbornness that India has shown in trying to stick to non-alignment in the face of this crisis—yes—the stubbornness of the great architect of India, the Prime Minister. Non-alignment never prevented us from getting aid from nations, to which handsomely the President has given our thanks, in particular to the United States and the United Kingdom which had come in very readily to help up in that hour of need.

13.03 hrs.

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

With Nepal and Pakistan, we have got a special attachment. We have got common rivers. As long as we have got common rivers and as long as water flows in these rivers, we are bound to each other and we have got to be friends. Bhagmati, Kosi, Gandak, all these and many other rivers have got their source in Nepal. Our sacred shrine of Pasupathi Nath is on the banks of the Bhagmati in Kathmandu. With such common interests, how can there be anything other than friendship? I am pretty certain that the present talks with Pakistan will move in this direction and will ensure greater friendship so that it will be possible for us to exploit the common rivers in the best interests of mankind. With China, we do not have common watercourses

except the Brahmaputra, by our common endeavour, it should have been possible to generate power to be shared between the two nations. But, unfortunately, China has overrate overreached itself. Surely, some day she will realise her mistake. Surely she will do it as soon as she finds that we are sufficiently strong to defend ourselves.

Showing the un-precedented oneness the like of which used to be heard in the days of Mahatma Gandhi, in the days of the freedom struggle, the nation has resolved that we shall build up un-breakable defences of the country. Let us remember the famous saying that in any undertaking it is not the beginning but the continuation thereof till it is finished that yields true glory.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The Motion has been moved and seconded. I shall now place it before the House.

Motion moved:

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

"That the Members of Lok Sabha assembled in this Session are deeply grateful to the President for the Address which he has been pleased to deliver to both Houses of Parliament assembled together on the 18th February, 1963."

There are several amendments. Shri Tridib Kumar Chaudhuri, which of the amendments do you move?

Shri Tridib Kumar Chaudhuri: From the side of our group, we will move amendment No. 3...

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: You will give at the Table. I will take those as moved. The motion and the amendments are before the House

Shri A. K. Gopalan: (Kasergod): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, the President's

[Shri A. K. Gopalan]

Address is before the House. The President's Address is the opening event of the Budget Session of Parliament. The President's Address should set the tone for the whole of the session. It should give us an idea of our tasks ahead. It should give us also a picture of the conditions in the country both economic and political and also of our relations abroad. However, I am sorry to say that I am disappointed both at the contents of the speech as well as its form.

Looking to the speech as a whole, I am amazed at the complacency with which the Government is viewing the economic and political situation. There is no awareness of the seriousness of the problems that are facing us today. Not only is there complacency, but there is a distinct tendency throughout to gloat over these things. It is clear, for example, about agricultural production. It is said that it has increased considerably. I want to say that it is not a complete fact. It is true that agricultural production has gone up to some extent during the last year. But, the basic question today is not that. We have seen statements by Cabinet Ministers as well as the Planning Commission. Also as a member of the Panel on agriculture, I have myself seen how in the panel meetings, Cabinet Ministers as well as the Planning Commission Members have admitted that during the initial year of the Third Plan, as far as agricultural production is concerned, it has not gone up. Also, as far as the target is concerned, the target of 100 million tons of foodgrains is also said to be remote. That is why I say, to say that agricultural production has increased considerably is not a real fact. Production of foodgrains was 79.7 million tons in 1960-61 and it declined to 78.6 million tons in 1961-62. As far as this year's crop is concerned, it is understood that it is not very good. Because, the rice

crop has suffered due to drought in many parts of the country and as far as the rabi wheat crop is concerned, it has also been affected due to the delay in rains this year. So, the indications are that production this year also is likely to slacken. This is the basic fact in agriculture. That is why I said, to say that production has increased considerably is wrong. The Government seems to be content with stating all sorts of irrelevant facts about intensive development, etc.

As far as this question is concerned, I want to point out also another factor which had not been mentioned in the speech. Everything it is not possible to mention. But, I want to point out this fact as far as land reforms legislation is concerned. Land reform legislation also forms a very great part as far as increase in agricultural production is concerned. That was why Government wanted to see that before 1960 all the States passed and implemented the land reform legislations. But, about a year ago, the Supreme Court passed a judgment in which they said that all the land reform legislations passed in the ryotwari areas of Kerala, Mysore and some other States of India were invalid. After that, the Kerala High Court also passed a judgment as a result of which the Agrarian Relations Act passed by the Kerala Government in its application to the whole of Kerala excepting a small part became invalid. About 22,000 peasants have gone to the land tribunals, and they have spent about Rs. 500 to Rs. 600 each and they have got reduction of rents. About five thousand to ten thousand peasants have deposited money to get the ownership of the land. But if those legislations have become invalid as a result of the judgments of the High Courts and the Supreme Court, then it is necessary that some constitutional changes should immediately be made. The Planning Commission has pro-

mised that a Constitution (Amendment) Bill would be brought forward during this session of Parliament for this purpose, although it is now late; I do not know whether that is coming.

The point that I want to make is this. Whenever certain reforms come, whether it be in the field of agriculture or in any other field, then certainly Government have to take note of it and see that the implementation does not suffer and if necessary immediately some constitutional amendments should be made. The Constitution was made at a time when our goal was not socialism. When we are making certain reforms, it is necessary that we should immediately change the Constitution to suit those reforms. I want to know from Government whether in this session they are going to bring forward any legislation for this purpose, although it is late, because several thousands of peasants have lost their belief in these reforms, because they know that when a legislation is passed and it is implemented, there comes a judgment either from the Supreme Court or the High Court and they lose whatever they have got as a result thereof.

As far as industrial production also is concerned, the basic fact is that during the last two years, the rate of growth of industrial production has declined. Here also, the case is more distressing, because this is a sector in which great improvement could have been achieved during the emergency. Our economy was already in a serious condition when the Chinese aggression took place. *The Commerce Annual*, 1962 in its editorial has made certain observations which are very important. I would like to quote it. It says:

"There is little reason to think that 1962 would have ended on a cheerful note but for Chinese aggression. The developments on the economic front preceding the

border war were far from encouraging. There were many stresses and strains with shortages of power, transport, raw materials and foreign exchange becoming more acute than in 1961."

This shows how acute the economic crisis is. It is clear that the situation has worsened since then. There have been no efforts made to utilise the huge unutilised production capacity during the emergency. I would refer to the engineering industry alone. There is idle capacity of 35 per cent or more in the engineering industry spread over 75 branches. The Engineering Association of India has stated that there is idle capacity to the extent of 3,41,853 machine-hours a month in 79 engineering units. So you can see what an amount of national waste is involved. Could we not do something to increase the utilisation of this capacity? When there is an emergency, it is all the more necessary that this should be utilised.

As far as the question of unemployment is concerned, normally it is mounting up every year, and the emergency has given an impetus. Due to the emergency, the handloom industry all over India, especially in Kerala, is facing an unprecedented crisis, and lakhs of people in the whole of India are unemployed; lakhs of weavers are unemployed. A number of other factories have also closed down, and particularly in Kerala, due to want of market for their products. For instance, the Ilmenite factory has closed down, and so many thousands of persons are unemployed. All these aspects of the situation should have been noted, because during the emergency, the employment position should have improved, and man-power should have been fully used, but instead of that it is deteriorating.

The situation created by the Chinese aggression has shown to the

[Shri A. K. Gopalan]

country the true colours of each and every class. The President in his Address has said something about this. I am quoting what he has stated. He says:

"Soon after the declaration of Emergency, the central organisations of labour and management unanimously adopted an industrial truce resolution aiming at the total elimination of industrial disputes and increase of production and reduction of cost to the maximum extent possible."

That was good, but what has happened? Who has tried to increase the production? The working classes cooperated to the utmost to increase the production. They worked extra hours and they worked on holidays also free, and there was no question of raising their wage claims. But the employers have utilised the emergency to narrow personal ends to squeeze out more profits and to crush the working class movement.

Here, I may quote from a memorandum submitted to the Punjab State Government by some trade union organisation. It says:

It say:

"However, it is our considered view that many employers have not fulfilled their obligations under the same resolution. On the contrary, some of them have sought to take undue and unfair advantage of the present national emergency for narrow selfish ends. Trade union leaders and other active workers have been dismissed or victimised in other ways. Arbitration offers to solve these problems have been refused out of hand. The process of issuing charge-sheets, suspension notices and imposition of fines has been accelerated. Contrary to the needs of increased production for defence and civilian needs, in some

places even normal production has been curtailed through short supply of essential materials and other mismanagement."

This is the picture throughout India. Using the pretext of emergency, the employers have sought to turn it to their advantage, and they have increased the workload, and they have also resorted to repression and oppression of workers and their unions. There is also the question of retrenchment and the closing down of factories; also in many places, they are refusing to settle industrial disputes etc. And what have Government done? Instead of intervening, Government have acted as a tool of the employers by encouraging and abetting them in their anti-labour policy, by obliging the employers through arrests and detention of trade union leaders and cadres and suppressing with an iron hand all movements of workers. This is the use that the emergency has been put to.

This brings me now to the question of the response of the people, as far as the National Defence Fund and the Gold Bonds Scheme are concerned. Undoubtedly, there has been a generous response especially from the poorer people, and the workers and the peasants to the call of the nation, but it is a well-known fact that the rich have not loosened their purse-strings. This is admitted by many people. I want to quote here from the survey done by the *Free Press Journal* of Bombay. They made a survey of what was done in the emergency in about seven or eight States. They have shown how the emergency was used and how collections were made. The survey says:

"For, the fact is obvious that the coercive measures now being practised are hitting the fixed income groups and the poor, while the rich are left largely unmolested."

There are so many other States also where the same is true, but I do not

want to take up the time of the House by referring to those things, I would merely state that the problem in every State is the same.

The Chief Minister of Kerala himself has said that the rich people have not responded, that the wealthy people have not responded, but the poor people, the workers and the peasants and the middle-class employees with fixed income have come out generously.

A serious drawback in the picture is the compulsion and coercion used by Government and the bureaucracy to collect funds for the National Defence Fund from the poor people; especially the poorly paid Government employees are the worst sufferers. I would quote in this connection from a letter written to the Prime Minister by a group of Mysore Government officials, published in a weekly. The letter says:

"Dear Panditji, we the officials of the Mysore Government beg to bring to your notice that the statements of your honourable self and also of the Home Minister on the floor of Parliament that there is no compulsion in collections to the National Defence Fund are being flouted by the Government of Mysore."

"Its recent circular shows what the realities are... This circular states that the contribution is to be generous and it fixes a minimum. At the same time, it also asks for a letter of consent. What need is there for a letter of consent, if the authorities are not forcibly recovering a day's salary for the NDF? The Government could as well issue an order cutting down the salaries by a percentage. It is regrettable that it does not realise that by forcibly collecting this amount, it is actually creating disintegration of the national forces".

According to the *Free Press Journal*, which I quoted, all government employees drawing more than Rs. 300 a month have been asked to forgo a month's salary in Mysore, and all those drawing less than that have to contribute half a month's salary to the NDF. Reports are coming from all over the country of forcible collections to the Fund, of misuse of the emergency powers by the bureaucracy and blackmail of poor people. On top of all this—this is an important thing I want to point out—the Congress Party is using the emergency for wreaking vendetta on political opponents. I have many such instances in my State.

I have got here cuttings of editorials of Malayalam papers—three or four of them—not communist but anti-communist. Here is the full text of a statement issued by Shri E. K. Joseph, BA; BL, published in *Thohilali*, the organ of the anti-Communist League, Trichur. This is the statement of a responsible person in the public press.

"I have studied the list of Taluk and Ward Committees constituted by the Thodupuzha Tahsildar. I think the Committee consisted only of certain Congressmen and their fellow-travellers, which is intended to restore the lost popularity of the Congress Party. This committee which is excluded of all the important people and those who are popular in the Taluk can neither activate the Fund collection nor earn the co-operation of the majority of the masses. What I have seen here was that these constituted Committees have become committees to help the Congress Party. The organisers of these committees have completely forgotten the fact that those committees should have been formed above party politics. The Defence Fund collection here has become a failure due to the in-

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clusion in the Committee of all sorts of anti-social elements, political monopolies, black-marketeers and those good-hearted fellows who are getting government loans and contracts.

I have seen a good portion of the collected fund written off as expenses. There are no doubt, instances of corruption in the collection. There is sufficient evidence to prove this fact. The hurry shown by some leaders to regain their lost popularity under the shade of the emergency has come to the notice of the public. I have noted even earlier the desperate plight of responsible officers before these political monopolies. I would like to request the Tahsildar to have his attention in this vital issue".

When an advocate writes like this, what is its effect on the people? If there was something wrong, action should have been taken. This is an open statement made in the press. I have got here other statements also.

Shrimati Yashoda Reddy (Kurnool): May I seek a clarification? The hon. Member said that response to the defence effort was not voluntary and he asked to what would be effect on the people. I ask: what will be the effect of statements like this in the international world where people will think that our response to the defence effort against Chinese aggression was coerced and not voluntary?

Shri A. K. Gopalan: I have taken up this matter with Government also. This was an open statement made in public. I asked Government to investigate this matter and take necessary action.

Shrimati Yashoda Reddy: But making such a statement here does not leave a good effect.

Shri A. K. Gopalan: There have been other statements made about the defence fund collections. Let me quote an instance. The Mayor of Calicut organised a Defence Committee. He called upon the citizens to form a committee, to collect funds. But the Government said 'No. He is not authorised to form that committee'. He was not allowed to collect funds for the defence effort. The Chairman of the Badagara Municipality, who is not a communist, formed a citizen's committee and collected Rs. 6,000. After collecting that amount, he was asked not to make such collections and to disband the committee. I do not want to go into further details. I want only to say that coercion has been exercised.

I wrote a letter to the President of India. He sent it to the Prime Minister. The Prime Minister made inquiries and this is the reply I have got. I gave only three or four instances and I will quote only one. This is an incident which happened in Chelannoor (Kozhikode district):

"The Headmaster of the local school who is the Chairman of the Chelannoor Defence Committee along with four others went to the house of Elattil Kuttan of Kannankara on 24th December, 1962 for defence fund collection. Shri Kuttan said that he had no money and that he could give some coconuts and chicken, if necessary. But they said, 'No we want money'. By this time, his son, Balakrishnan, came and said: 'I am a worker. I have already contributed Rs. 2.85 and I need not give any more'. It is alleged here that he also said, 'Even if the Chinese came, they would not go about asking for coconuts and chicken' and he refused to give the money. The Headmaster then gave a petition at Elathoor Police station stating that they were abused by Shri Balakrishnan. Shri Kuttan went to the Panchayat Executive Officer the next day, but the Executive Officer refused to accept the

money saying that the petition against him had already been presented before the Police Station. Next day Shri Kuttan and Shri Balakrishnan were called to the Police station for questioning by the Sub-Inspector, and they were asked to go away as it was found that their conducted was not actionable. Nothing else happened".

What will be the effect of this? Here is a man who has already contributed Rs. 2:85 and is prepared to give coconuts and chicken. But it is refused. The next day he goes with the money to the Executive Officer and says: 'I have got some money. Please accept it'. The money is not accepted. How can the money be refused? If there was anything against him, he could have been proceeded against. But this is the treatment that is given to him. What will be the effect of this on the people? There are other instances also, the Taliparamba incident, the Vilavatoor incident, the Koyyad incident and so many others.

People are called to the police station and treated in this manner. If they have any hatred against anybody, this is what they do. They do not give any reasons. People running a reading room had contributed Rs. 10. But a case was launched against them. Then it was found that it could not be sustained. When a false complaint is made like this, why is it that we do not see action taken against those responsible for it? The net result is that there is coercion exercised. I do not want to go into further details.

I want to say something about the function of the volunteer force. I have very serious objection to it. The President also has said that there is equality of opportunity. I have got many letters from people about the working of these organisations and the volunteer force, collections etc. Recently I received a deputation from some citizens of Trissileri, North Wynad. A village force with a dalpati and six updalpatis was formed at

a meeting convened by the Executive Officer of the panchayat on January 19. The meeting was attended by all sections of people. Unfortunately, the dalpati was not a member of the ruling party. So the next day there is an official notice issued cancelling all the proceedings of the meeting. Here was a meeting at which a dalpati and updalpatis were elected. After that, everything is cancelled.

I want to know whether it is Government's intention that these volunteer force units and labour banks should consist of only a certain section of the people. If that is the intention, they have to say so definitely, that they want only certain sections of the people in such organisations. A thorough inquiry should be made into this. It is not only one case but there are several cases. Here is the President's Address, it is said that a volunteer force should be created, a labour bank should be created for shramdan work. So if a man goes and efforts shramdan, how can he be told: 'Because you do not belong to a certain party, you cannot be accepted'? The Constitution gives every man the right to do some work. If a man comes and says he wants to do some work, you cannot prevent him because he belongs to a particular party. When elections are conducted and a man is elected, the executive officer says it is cancelled. There are many instances like that.

Either the Government should openly say that the defence committees, voluntary force, labour banks etc., are open to certain people only or let them make an enquiry into the actions of people who have gone against the spirit or intention of the Government. People thought the emergency powers would be used by the Government for furthering defence efforts, for strengthening the national economy, but experience has shown that Government, far from using them positively, have, except in one or two cases, used them negatively. Government has

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promulgated the emergency, suspended the fundamental rights of the people like the articles relating to civil liberties. While the rights of the working classes have been suspended, the rights of property-owners have been protected. These powers have been wantonly used for launching an attack against the Communist Party as a whole, which constitutes the main opposition in Parliament, and also against trade union and kisan workers.

Eight Members belonging to my group in Parliament are inside jail. As far as Tripura is concerned, it is unrepresented in Parliament, because there are only two representatives from Tripura, and they belong to the communist group, and both of them are inside jail. If there is any Bill or discussion relating to Tripura, Tripura will be wholly unrepresented.

Some were arrested while they were taking part in Parliament.

Others had come here before the emergency came into force, and they went back a week or ten days after the Parliament session; but as soon as they reached their place, they were arrested. More than 800 people have been arrested under the Defence of India Rules and the Security Act, but these powers have not been used against blackmarketeers except in one case which I read in the newspapers. The 800 communists include 10 Members of Parliament, 40 Assembly Members, 50 members of the National Council of our party. Besides, these powers have been used against employees to victimise them and subject them to harsh rules and regulations. There are many instances, but I do not have time to go into them.

The emergency powers have been used against trade unions and kisan Shabbas who have been giving vigorous support to defence efforts and to the improvement of food production in the country. If this is the main use

of the emergency powers, what is the use of the emergency?

So, we demand that all the political prisoners arrested and detained under the emergency powers should be released. If they cannot be released, we request Government at least to release them on parole, so that they maybe able to attend this session of Parliament. It is hardly necessary to keep the fundamental laws and basic liberties suspended, as Government have even now got extensive legislative powers with which they can handle the long-term situation without extending the emergency indefinitely.

About treatment of the prisoners inside jail, there are some reports from Punjab that it is worse than in the case of the ordinary prisoners. There is no family allowance given except in one or two States. Detenus from Tripura are taken to Hazaribagh Jail in Orissa.

Dr. B. N. Singh (Hazaribagh):
Hazaribagh is in Bihar.

Shri A. K. Gopalan: Then I come to the gold control scheme introduced by the Government. This at least is one of the positive uses to which the emergency has been put, though the Gold Control Order as it exists today could have been introduced, in my opinion, under the normal law of the country. We have got the Industries (Regulation and Development) Act, the Forward Markets Commission Act, etc., under which this could have been done. The problem is not how it was to be introduced, but what is the essence of the scheme and how it is implemented. I want to make it clear that we are in agreement with the principle of gold control. A huge amount of money is invested in gold ornaments and gold hoards. This is dead capital and a national waste. So, there is necessity for mobilising the gold hoards for productive investment. But how is it implemented? In its implementation, the purpose has not been achieved.

The Finance Minister said that the scheme would stop smuggling into the country, but we doubt the validity of this claim. It is very unlikely that the present scheme will affect smuggling or hoarding.

But it has created a lot of unemployment for the poor artisans and goldsmiths. Only this morning we had a calling attention notice on it. In some places families have committed suicide, and there have also been starvation deaths. It is not a question of a few people. I find the estimate is that there are about 5 million people who have gone out of employment by this order.

It has been estimated by various authorities that the hoarded gold in the country runs into thousands of crores. A month or two ago, Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao put it at Rs. 4,000 crores. But how much of it has come out as a result of the gold control scheme and the gold bonds scheme? The Government's policy has hit the middle class people and the poor goldsmiths, but the hoarder and the smuggler have gone scot-free. I would request the Government to tell us how much hoarded gold they have got.

We have some suggestions to make as to how the question of unemployment can be solved while at the same time achieving the purpose of the Government in getting hoarded gold. There must be a ceiling put on the possession of gold in any form; anything above the ceiling should be taken over under the gold bond scheme. The present insistence on 14 carat ornaments should be given up, and people should be free to make ornaments of 22 carat gold within the ceiling. Possession of gold in the form of bars and bullion should be made a penal offence. We are sure these modifications will meet the main ends of the gold control scheme and at the same time eliminate the unnecessary hardships and the unemployment of millions of people caused by the present scheme.

Now I wish to touch upon some of the problems in the field of foreign policy and defence. In recent months, our policy of non-alignment and peace-

ful negotiations has been subjected to terrific attacks from right-wing forces in the country as well as tremendous pressure from imperialists. It is a matter of satisfaction that they have not completely succeeded in their game, but at the same time it will be the height of complacency to imagine that nothing has happened. It is therefore very important for us to see where we go wrong, and correct our mistakes. It is no use being self-highiteous and blaming others for not seeing things as we see them.

In this connection, I wish to bring to your notice the recent flood of western military missions into our country, their doings and saying, because it is very important. In today's paper also there has been some statement. For example, it is said the US is going to build an air umbrella over Indian cities, operated by US and British personnel. There are rumours that the US and British have asked for a Polaris submarine base in Nicobar Island. True the Prime Minister has denied any knowledge of this proposal, but it has been published in the press in America and abroad. There is no doubt that some of them have come on the specific invitation of the Government of India. The question then arises: who has invited them without the knowledge of the Prime Minister? We think it is a serious matter. Even in today's papers it has been said that the Government of India must make it clear that these missions have come at their invitation as they wanted to discuss these things. We want our country to be well protected. But we are clear on this point that it cannot be done with foreign military aid and arms and involvement in foreign imperialist military strategy. It will negate our independence, bring in the cold war atmosphere in our country, disrupt our national development efforts and distort the political and economic development. Whatever may happen, we will oppose any effort to embroil the country in western military plans. But at the same time we support every effort of the Government to increase our defence potential, to build our own strong army, air force

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and navy and civil defence. But defence is to strengthen the freedom and independence of our country. If the process of building defence involves the loss of freedom and independence, that is no defence at all.

As far as Colombo proposals are concerned, at the time of the debate during the last session, we agreed to the proposal of our Government. We cannot understand why the Government of China is not accepting the proposals together with the clarifications especially when they have said that in principle they accept. Delay in their acceptance complicates matters. They only weaken the forces that stand for negotiation and peaceful settlement of the problem. We hope that China will not allow precious time to be wasted but will accept the Colombo proposals together with the clarifications. It would also be good if China returned all the so-called Indian prisoners of war to India without delay.

Now, to build up our defence involves sacrifices. Sacrifices should come from every one and not the poor people only. We have seen what happened in regard to the collection for our National Defence Fund, and what has happened during the Emergency. In order that we can build a strong economy and a strong defence the Government should think afresh. There are so many things which we have said before and which I do not want to report now. Government, for instance, has been saying that it is against scripping of prohibition. In order to raise resources for defence, Government should scrap prohibition. The State should take over trade in a large number of commodities internally and externally. It was estimated when the Third Plan was being formulated that taking over wholesale trade in foodgrains alone will bring in about Rs. 750 crores in profit to the State. A number of industries could be nationalised, including banks. To build up defence potential sacrifices must be made and all the resources that are available must be pooled and the steps we have not taken so far

should be taken. That is what I have got to say.

Shri Ranga (Chittoor): Mr. Deputy Speaker, I am sorry to have to say that I do not find it possible to express satisfaction with the President's Address. At the same time I would like to express my admiration and appreciation of the services that President Radhakrishnan has been rendering ever since he has assumed this high office. Unfortunately for him, it has become his duty to come to the joint session of both Houses and present this Address which has been prepared for him, naturally, by the Cabinet. So, when we speak about this Address, I am sure every one understands that we are having in our minds only the Government and its policies and not the personality or the feelings of the President.

I am glad that the President stressed one important point and said that the "issue of the Chinese aggression has been and is today the overriding issue before us and everything else has to be considered in that context. The freedom and honour of a country must be given the first place, the President goes on to say, and if a country cannot defend them other matters lose significance and so the nation's activities have thus been concentrated on this basic issue". I join issue with this last statement coming in the Address:

"The nation's activities have thus been concentrated on this basic issue."

I find that this is not the case. There is plenty of evidence to support my statement. Even the amendments that have been given notice of by some hon. Members of Parliament belonging to various political parties speak of this. One hon. Member's amendment regrets that no assurance has been given that the "Emergency will not be used as a cover to cover nepotism, inefficiency and red tapism that is now rampant in the administrative machinery". Another speaks of the

"abnormal rise in the retail prices of commodities of every day use on the one hand and the fall in prices of agricultural goods resulting in untold suffering to our people." A third speaks about the continuing backwardness of so many States in the country. Another Member complains about the absence of policy to solve the multipurpose water disputes regarding river valley projects among the States. It continues in spite of the talk of national unity and integration. People themselves have demonstrated their sense of unity but in spite of that the Government has not been able to take advantage of it and give a quietus to these disputes, at least during the Emergency. Rather, they encouraged these disputes to some extent. Another amendment complains about the fall in agricultural production especially of food-grains from 79.7 million in 1960-61 to 78.6 million tons in 1961-62. The President has referred to these facts but the Address fails to warn the public that the facts stated relate to the year that ended by June last year and that they do not have any information about the position from that day till now. They are not in a position to assure us that agricultural production has gone up, as we know that, for a fact, that agricultural production has gone down in various parts. When actual facts come to light it will be seen that production has gone down considerably. Attention is also drawn by an amendment to the failure to utilise the huge idle capacity in various industries such as the textiles, etc. and more especially in irrigation, where admittedly water enough to irrigate several million acres of land is going to waste because Government took no care to make use of it. Just now they say that they are going to develop field channels to provide water to irrigate three million acres more. Just think of this colossal waste, after having spend hundreds of crores on these projects. Another amendment complains of the Government and bureaucracy having used the emergency powers to coerce and browbeat the common people and yet

another complains about the Congress Party machinery being utilised for serving narrow partisan political ends, to wreak vengeance on political opponents. Another amendment refers to the worsening economic conditions and employment conditions prevailing in the country. In this connection we need remember the fate of the goldsmiths. Five million of them have been thrown into unemployment in a callous manner. The Government has been saying that they have been trying to find employment through various industrial concerns that they have been bringing into existence and also with the help of labour exchanges. And what did the labour exchanges contribute? They found employment only for three lakhs of people out of eight lakhs of vacancies registered and 18 lakhs of people who sought employment from them. Only for three lakhs of people they found employment. But, on the other hand, by one stroke of the pen, through one fiat of the Government, they put out of action and out of employment as many as five million goldsmiths who were not beholden to Government for their employment, who had been pursuing their own hereditary employment and who are highly skilled people and who are dependent upon their self-employment. These people have been deprived of their employment and when this fact was brought to the notice of my hon friend the Finance Minister, he was grand enough to say that such social revolutions would have to take place; when they do it, so many people have to suffer and the nation must be prepared to accept that kind of suffering. That is the credit for callousness, if I may say so.

There are also other Members who have said that they want compulsory military training to be given to all able-bodied persons. And the Prime Minister said it would not be possible. They are only considering giving training to the youths in the colleges and high schools. Even there, they are shifting the burden on to the shoulders of the State Governments.

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And the Government also have failed to mention any economy measures which they propose to take in order to tone up the administration and also bring down the cost of administration. There is complacency, there is an atmosphere of complacency in all these spheres.

As if it is not enough, our friend the leader of the communist party was saying that some discrimination is being shown against the communist party. If it is really an emergency, as we have said sometime ago, Government should have been able to make up its mind in regard to its policy towards the communist party. Nobody need have any feeling individually in regard to any member of the communist party. But one thing is clear: the communist party of this country is part and parcel of the world communist movement, and they have stronger fraternal feelings and dealings with the communists in other countries, more especially Soviet Russia and China, than with us, the ordinary citizens, of this country, as everyone knows.

Under these circumstances, it is high time that Government made up its mind to ban this communist party and made it clear to the friends: these are the conditions under which we function in our country, you must make up your mind whether you like to remain with the communist party or leave the communist party and live yourself completely, hundred per cent, wholly, with the rest of Indians to whom patriotism has the priority of place in their political as well as social convictions. But instead of that, if the Government continue their present policy, naturally they will make themselves liable to be criticised in the manner in which my hon. friend Shri Gopalan has criticised them, because, it is no good treating them as a constitutional party and, at the same time, not treating them also on a par with other sections of our citizens.

Then there is also the complaint in regard to rise in prices of cloth and other commodities. There is also a complaint about the ever-increasing bureaucracy, and about corruption, favouritism, nepotism, etc., being rampant in the country. There is a complaint also about the failure of the Government to provide any minimum wage to agricultural labour and to release uneconomic landholdings from rents. Lastly, there is the complaint about the anaemic stagnation that has overtaken the national economy and also the failure of the Government to formulate effective measures with a view to gearing it up for the urgent requirements of defence and development. (*Interruption*).

Shri S. N. Chaturvedi (Firozabad): We expect the leader of the Swatantra Party to make an independent contribution?

An Hon. Member: What will be the minimum wage for agricultural labour?

Shri Ranga: We must be very clear about what we are expected to do during this emergency. The hon. Prime Minister himself has stated sometime ago in this pamphlet which has been circulated, in his Call to the Nation—this was the message broadcast by the Prime Minister.

“... the principal thing is for us to devote ourselves to forge the national will to freedom and to work hard to that end. There is no time-limit to this. We shall carry the struggle as long as we do not win, ...”

“To Win” is the most important thing. Therefore, we have been laying stress upon the need for having a victory plan, and till now the Government has not come forward with it. On the other hand, the Government has got what is known as a plan for exploring ways and means as to how they possibly can get around the table along

with the communist aggressors so that they can negotiate and try and see whether they cannot peacefully reach an agreement over this border dispute. They did not talk of border dispute when they declared the emergency. They talked in terms of the Chinese invading India. The Prime Minister himself said that "this is an invasion of India," and yet they only talk in terms of parleys around a Round Table Conference, and the latest gift that has been made to us by our Government in regard to this is that if the Chinese are not accepting the Colombo proposals, then the Colombo proposals are abandoned. If the Colombo proposals are abandoned, then what is it that we are going to do? We have to give notice to ourselves: not to the Chinese; there is no need for us, India, to give any kind of notice to the Chinese, because it is the Chinese who have dictated to us; till today they are the victors; they have taken the initiative; they have set the limits and they have also cleared the ground and then stated the terms also, and they are there, on the other side. It is for us to throw them out of our country. It is for us to give ourselves a notice that we are doing our best in order to carry on this war to a victorious end which would help us to throw out the aggressors. There is no question of our going to Peking or any of their cities or places. All that we have to do is to drive away the Chinese aggressors from our sacred soil and that is the pledge that we have taken unanimously in this House and the Government is committed to it and everybody in this country is committed to it, but unfortunately we find that the Government does not seem to be so very keen on implementing the same.

Therefore we join issue with the Government in regard to the manner in which it has been misusing or using this emergency. Are they using it in order to step up our production. The facts do not support that. Are they using it in order to declare to all those political elements which are the enemies of Indian patriotism that they

cannot be allowed to enjoy the privileges that are available for our citizens? The facts are against this. Are they trying to assure our agriculturists not only a remunerative price but at least a minimum price? Only yesterday the Minister of Food and Agriculture was telling us that he is still negotiating with other Ministries in order to be able to take necessary steps to assure a minimum price for our agriculturists. Are they trying to help our own agricultural workers to achieve a minimum wage? No steps have yet been initiated in that direction. Are they trying to organise crop insurance? They say it is impossible. Are they trying to make use of the unused industrial capacity that is running to waste? They have themselves stated in the pamphlet that they have circulated among us called "Our Economic Resources" that so far as the textile industry is concerned, they are advising the textile industries to go slow in the production of cloth needed by the lower classes of our people. They are anxious that consumption levels should be brought down. They are considering measures to impose controls on the people in order to bring down the standards which are already too low, to a much lower level.

14 hrs.

Now, we are very soon going to be presented with a budget. My hon. friend, the leader of the communist party, was asking the House not to invite any assistance from western countries, democratic countries which are friendly to us and which share the same ideals as we do. Why should we not seek their assistance? Because it is felt by some people that it is beneath our dignity. Even the Prime Minister lent support to this wrong view, according to me. If it is beneath our dignity to seek assistance from other countries in this perilous position, has it not been beneath our dignity all these years to have been depending on these western countries for thousands of crores of rupees of economic assistance in order to implement

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our Five Year Plans? Is it not a fact that our Five Year Plans have been formulated on the definite understanding and definite assurance that we would be able to get more than Rs. 2600 crores worth of materials and assistance in various other forms also from all these other countries? If it was not undignified for us then to ask for, to accept and afterwards to appreciate the assistance that was coming from all those countries, then why should we consider it beneath our dignity today to seek and welcome the assistance that would be coming from all these countries? Indeed, the Prime Minister has given the answer that he has no objection. He has taken the initiative. He has appealed to all these countries and some of them have given generous help. The President himself has borne testimony to it. He has expressed the nation's gratitude also to the United States of America, the U.K. and various other countries which have been good enough to avow the common ideals that they share with us, the ideals of human freedom and human rights, democracy and all those fundamental rights that we have enshrined in our own Constitution for all our citizens. They have been good enough to come to our rescue. They rushed their assistance to us and that has helped us considerably. That must have been one of the factors why the Chinese decided upon their unilateral cease-fire.

If we were prepared to accept all that assistance, would it not be statesmanlike on our part to take the possibility of getting assistance from all those countries into consideration when we begin to formulate our own budget? It is indeed brave for anyone to suggest that we should stand on our own feet and on our own resources in order to carry on the defence programmes and plans. But when we cannot justify it and back it up with our own resources without at the same time letting our country go bankrupt, that sort of declaration would become a bravado and not an expression of bravery. We

have necessarily to depend on and seek the assistance of those various countries, which would be willing to come to our rescue, because they share our common ideals, if we do not want our country to go to pieces and our people to be destroyed in the process of throwing out the aggressor, regaining our national freedom and maintaining our national integrity.

My hon. friend, the leader of the communist party, has again repeated what his distinguished friend, Mr. Khrushchev and other friends from China have been repeating, namely, that the western countries are all imperialistic and India would be making a very grave mistake in seeking their assistance, because having liberated herself from western imperialism, India should not light-heartedly fall into the trap of western imperialism. If I may say so, they go on repeating like our old shastraic pandits things which are past, which are of no special significance in the present context. There is the United Nations. More and more of the colonies which have become free have become equal members of the UN. Only a few more have yet to become free and they are on the highroad to freedom. It is not from western imperialism that there is any peril to India; it is from the eastern imperialism, the Soviet imperialism and the communist imperialism that there is peril today. In this second half of the twentieth century, our people will have to be extremely careful indeed so that this neo-communist imperialism may not overwhelm, destroy and suppress the freedom of the peoples of the world.

What is it that we are up against? I was shocked to find in the President's Address absence of any reference to China as being the communist China. It is not the old Buddhist China which is at war with us; it is not Formosa-China which is at war with us, but it is communist China that is at war with us. That is why I was very glad indeed when my hon.

friend, who moved this motion on behalf of the Congress Party, said that there is this struggle between the two ideologies. We stand for parliamentary democracy. We stand for human rights and they stand for totalitarianism and communist dictatorship. What is worse, they stand for communist expansionism. If anyone cares to think for a minute as to what has happened since the second World War, he will find that after the war was over, the old imperialism has been liquidated more and more and a new imperialism has begun to swallow more and more countries. What has been the fate of the satellite countries of South-East Europe? What is happening to various other small countries in Asia? Why is it that so many countries in South-East Asia are shivering in their shoes? It is just because communist China, the People's Republic of China, is now opening its big eyes and looking at them. One after another, like flies before a lizard, they are simply being fascinated and being drawn into this big imperialist mouth of China. It is this expansionist Chinese communism that today is staring us in our face.

What is it that we are trying to do? The President has said that everything else should give way to whatever we have to do in order to strengthen our defence. Therefore, we wanted the Government to see whether any changes would be needed in the Plan. Even then, they were anxious to see with how few changes they could possibly carry on with the Plan and they have come to the conclusion that they can carry on with the plan, if not *in toto*, at least with certain reorientation of this frill or that frill in the Third Five Year Plan. My objection is not to the development of a number of industrial projects, the development of a number of drainage, irrigation, hydroelectric and various other power and engineering projects. All these are necessary. All these have got to be developed with a view to fit them into the victory plan, so that we would be able, with their aid to achieve victory.

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While we are in the process of achieving this victory, are we to undermine the fundamental rights of our people and the fundamental culture of our country, which is based upon self-employment? Are we to dismiss the self-employment of more than 100 millions of peasants and artisans and even the 5 million goldsmiths as of no account at all? Is that really the intention of the Government? I would like them to come out and say that it is not their intention to proletarianise our society as is the case with socialist countries, to nationalise all our industries, to socialise even our rural trade, to Communise our rural Society and co-operatives and collectivise our agriculture and to destroy the very social and economic basis on which the Indian culture has been nurtured during all these centuries from time to time being rejuvenated by various processes of reform and reconstruction. We stand for reform and reconstruction. Let it be clearly understood that the Plan as has been conceived here by this Government is different from and has got to be different from the Victory Plan that has got to be developed in this emergency if this emergency has any kind of a meaning at all, because this plan of theirs has been based upon their socialist ideals and their socialistic programmes. These socialistic programmes would spell the destruction of the economic independence and social hegemony and the freedom of the great masses in our country side as well as in our urban areas, and we have been opposed to that. But, if, on the other hand, the Government is willing to be liberal enough to make sacrifices from their end, just as they have been asking all other people to make sacrifices during this emergency, then they have to sacrifice only their dogma, their ideology and their affection for Soviet Russia, Soviet China and Sovietism as such. Are they not prepared to do that at least? If they are not prepared to do it, I can only say that they do not deserve to shoulder the responsibility, to shoulder the leadership of this country during this crisis.

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We want this victory plan. In order to be able to have that victory plan it is necessary for us to seek assistance from all these countries. Only then, only in the light of that it would be right, it would be proper for the Finance Minister to think in terms of imposing any more financial sacrifices upon our people either by way of taxes or by way of loans or by way of voluntary contributions.

Sir, so much has been said about the wrong manner in which defence collections have been made. I am inclined to agree with them. I have myself come to know the wrong manner in which in very many places—not in all places—the local officers have exceeded the limit of persuasion. Not only the officers, even the Ministers have done it. And the curse of it all is—as if these wonderful ministers are prepared to make contributions to build up our defence—they are not shy enough, they are not sensitive enough to avoid the unseen demonstration as if they happen to be bridegrooms. Sir, this is not time when we have to gloat over these as bridegrooms and get ourselves weighed with currency notes and other things. We have to reach the people in the humblest of manners and welcome their contribution in a voluntary manner. Anyhow, now that the Defence Fund collections have served a very useful purpose of indicating how freely and how enthusiastically and on such a large scale millions of our people have risen in answer to the national call to place their small trinkets and small offerings at the feet of our mother India in the shape of these collections, I would like the Government to say to the nation that they do not want any more of these as collections, but that they would certainly welcome people to send of their own accord their own contributions by money orders, by way of postal stamps and things like that to the Central Fund, and that they would depend for their sinews of war upon

taxes and loans to be raised in this country and also assistance from other countries.

Then, Sir, there is this Gold Control Order. I do not know which particular genius in political life has been responsible for having imposed this very unpopular order upon our Government and the Finance Minister. Some newspapers began to take the Finance Minister and other Ministers to task because they were sensible enough to give a warning to the people that such and such a thing was under contemplation. Sir, my fear is that this order will meet with the same kind of fate that prohibition has met with. We are finding it so very difficult to get rid of drink evil, but at the same time we know that a new cottage industry has sprung up in the wake of prohibition. Nobody knows whether it has done good or it has done something bad, but everyone knows that it has not been an unmixed good. Worse will be the fate of our country under this Gold Control Order. My hon. friend was asking why the Government has not been able to get much of gold in spite of the fact that the order was promulgated two months ago. It is just because all this money is only imaginary. When I was young and I was in the university, our professors used to tell us that India is a sink for all the precious metals in the world. The same story has been conveyed to our economists and those are the economists who have the ear of the Government or the Government has on subpoenaed by those economists with the result that this unpopular and untimely wrong order has come to be promulgated.

What is happening? All this gold is not piled up in 3000 or 3,00,000 coffers. They are to be found in small trinkets on the necks, hands and fingers of our women, the poor people in their cottages. What is more it is

a very important thing among the Hindus that their women must have their *thali*. Is this the proper way of going about in this emergency and making war preparations by creating this impression, this fear in the minds of our women that even their *thali* is likely to be taken away one of these days? My hon. friend says that we may put a ceiling. You may put a ceiling at a particular level, but where is the guarantee that that ceiling will not be reduced down and down with the result that some unpopular or stupid or silly officer would go and desecrate the honour and self-respect of our women by demanding that the *thali* also should be given over (*Interruption*).

Shrimati Lakshmikanthamma (Khammam): Can you give one instance? We can defend ourselves.

Shri Ranga: Let the hon. Members listen to me. I only said that there is a likelihood of a thing like that happening. I have not said that it has happened. My friends seem to be so much excited that they must somehow or other rise and interrupt me in an unseasonal manner. That is why, Sir, I say that this Gold Control Order is unpopular, is wrong, is untimely and, what is more, is likely to cause a lot of harm indeed to the creation of the spirit of support in this emergency.

What do we mean by emergency. We want this emergency in order to prepare the country to resume our fight against Chinese aggression. We are not warmongers, but certainly we cannot be accused of warmongering merely because we want to regain the lost land, the lost territory and we want to throw away the aggressors. Are we quite sure that we are doing all that is necessary to achieve this? Is there not real justification in many people feeling or entertaining the fear that this emergency is not being used to the best advantage, in the right

manner, in a non-partisan manner, in an all-party fashion and in an entirely un-political manner? That is why, Sir, one of our hon. friend has suggested in his amendment that there should be a national government. What is the good of my saying or his saying that there should be a national government; it is for that Government to make up its mind whether there should be a national government or not. Some others have mooted the idea that there should be a coalition government. It is for them to think about it. Now they are welcome to carry on as they are carrying on, but they must see to it that they carry on their administration in such a manner that this emergency becomes a real emergency and in an emergent manner they carry on their administration. They have to put down waste and achieve economy, waste not only in the ministerial paraphernalia but also in the administration. They have to put down corruption and bribery. They have to go even to the extent of taking some of the guilty ministers to task and seeing to it that they behave well, change their ways and become more democratic and more honest than what they have been. I am not speaking of all but of such of them as could be accused of. Are they doing all these things? Nothing of the sort. On the other hand, wherever we go we find that they are behaving as if there is no emergency. People are given that impression and the ruling party and its members have already taken for granted that they can begin to indulge in their usual ways of politics, whatever it is. They are welcome to do it. But, at the same time, we have our sacred duty to impress upon the people by our own proper behaviour, non-party behaviour and national-minded behaviour that we are really keen and keenly conscious of the existence of this emergency and, therefore, we are prepared to make our sacrifices.

What sacrifices have the ruling party made? Are they prepared to give up their affection for licences and permits, quotas and controls? No. On

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the other hand, one after the other, their own authorities have written a number of articles in *Our Economic Resources* published by the Publications Division how they are preparing schemes for more and more controls and they are trying their best to push in their pet schemes and giving effect to their pet dogmas through the Third Plan in the hope that by the time this emergency comes to an end they would be able to achieve their socialistic re-organisations of the country. It is this that is going to do a lot of harm to the national effort.

The Prime Minister has himself been talking of the national resistance. How can there be a spirit of national resistance when this Government goes to the extent of organising one thousand, what are known as, co-operative farms? They are expected to be a challenge to our peasant economy. Is this the time, when they ought to be diverting the national effort to mount an offensive against the aggressors, to deprive the livelihood of five million of goldsmiths? Is this also the time when they can be thinking in terms of defence labour bank, village volunteer force and so on on a party basis? My hon. friend from the Congress side says that they are not organised on a party basis. How can they say that they are not likely to be organised on a party basis? Who is there to give guarantee that they shall not be organised on a party basis? Every adult has got to make his contribution. Every woman has also to make her contribution. Till what age? Old women, young women, every one will have to make one's contribution. Who is going to exempt old people and sick people? So, you are going to vest discretion in the hands of the village sarpanch. What is the guarantee toht people belonging to the minority groups or factions—there may not be political parties in villages but there may be factions or groups—are not likely to be victimised by the sarpanch, by the BDO, by the various other officers that have come into exis-

tence? That is why we are opposed to these innovations which are being brought in today under the guise of this emergency. Actually, these are the things which have been under contemplation of the National Planning Commission during the past ten years and they have been waiting for an opportunity when they could inaugurate all these things so that they can gain control over more than ten crores of our peasants in the villages and more than three crores of our agricultural workers, and they have got an opportunity today.

If this is the manner in which this emergency is going to be exploited, I wish to say that it is time that Government made up their mind to end this emergency. Once we are free from this emergency, at the same time, let us prepare ourselves by every peaceful means, by every lawful means, because there is plenty of legislation on the statute book in order to curtail the rights of people who indulge in unruly, unsocial and anti-national activities if we are prepared to abandon these emergency powers, seek their co-operation to the extent that they are willing to offer, after restoring their fundamental rights. If the Government are not prepared to do that, all that I can say is that this government will not be able to succeed in making this emergency serve the national purpose for which it has been proclaimed. And if they are not prepared to give up this emergency and, at the same time, abandon their own partisan and dogmatic way of dealing with these things, the vicious way of dealing with these things, then all that I can say is that the opposition would not be able to co-operate with them.

श्री ब्रह्मप्रकाश (बाह्य दिल्ली) : डिप्टी स्पीकर साहब, मैं आपका खाम तौर से कृतज्ञ हूँ कि आपने मुझे मेरे पुराने दोस्त रंगा जी के बाद बोलने का मौका दिया। आज मैं अपने दोस्त रंगा साहब व उनकी पार्टी के सोचने के

तरीके, वे अपने जनसंघ के दोस्तों के और काम करने के तरीके के बारे में कुछ कहने के लिए खड़ा हुआ हूँ। आज जो बातें हमारे दोस्तों ने, खास तौर से रंगा साहब ने और दूसरे दोस्तों ने प्रस्तावों की शकल में रखी है उनसे उनके सोचने के तरीके का पता चलता है कि किस तरह का वह इस देश को बनाना चाहते हैं और देश के आदर्शों को किस तरह ऊंचा उठाना चाहते हैं।

हमारे राष्ट्रपति ने कुछ मौलिक सिद्धान्तों की ओर हमारा ध्यान दिलाया है और हमको यह भी बतलाया है कि उन मौलिक सिद्धान्तों को सामने रखते हुए हमारा देश किस तरह से तरक्की कर रहा है और किस तरह से हम आगे बढ़ना चाहते हैं। उन्होंने हमको यह भी बतलाया कि किस तरह से हम चीन की तरफ से या जहाँ से भी हो, अपनी आजादी के खतरे से बचना चाहते हैं। उन्होंने बतलाया कि वे मौलिक सिद्धान्त अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय शान्ति, हमारा स्वतंत्रता का मकसद और हमारा समाजवाद का दृष्टि कोण है। उन्होंने बतलाया कि किस तरह से उन सिद्धान्तों पर चल कर हम आगे बढ़ना चाहते हैं।

मुझे यह देखकर खेद है और काफी अफ-सोस है कि हमारे उन स्वतंत्रता, इंटरनेशनल पीस और सोशलिज्म के सिद्धान्तों को काफी खतरा है। सिर्फ हिन्दुस्तान में ही नहीं, आज सारी दुनिया में इन चीजों को खतरा है और इस वास्ते हमें इन मौलिक सिद्धान्तों पर काफी सोचने की जरूरत है।

बैसे तो हमारे रंगा साहब कम्मुनिस्ट पार्टी के खिलाफ रहते हैं...

• श्री उ० मू० त्रिवेदी : क्या आप कम्मुनिस्ट हैं ?

श्री ब्रह्मप्रकाश : हमारे जो कम्मुनिस्ट दोस्त हैं और जो हिन्दुस्तान की कम्मुनिस्ट पार्टी है वह कुछ दूसरे मुल्कों से अपने विचार

लेते हैं और कुछ दूसरे मुल्कों से सम्बन्ध रखते हैं। जब जब भी इस देश पर संकट का मौका आया, उसूलों के लिए लड़ने का मौका आया, स्वतंत्रता की लड़ाई का मौका आया, तो यहाँ की कम्मुनिस्ट पार्टी ने कोई अच्छा तरीका अख्तियार नहीं किया। इस दफा पता नहीं कैसे, शायद चीन और रूस के आपसी भगड़े की वजह से, उन्होंने कुछ अक्ल दिखायी है और पहली मर्तबा हिन्दुस्तान की कम्मुनिस्ट पार्टी ने एक सही नेसनलिज्म और कौमपरस्ती लाइन ली है और उस तरह विचार किया है। मैं उसकी मराहना करता हूँ।

Shri Ranga: I hope my hon. friend will excuse my going out.

श्री ब्रह्मप्रकाश : अभी तक तो मैं समझता था कि हमें कम्मुनिज्म और कम्मुनिस्ट पार्टी से ही खतरा है लेकिन अब इनकी विरादरी देश में बढ़ रही है। अब लगता है कि हमारी स्वतंत्र पार्टी और जनसंघ पार्टी भी किन्हीं दूसरे मुल्कों से अपनी प्रेरणा ले रही हैं। वे तो अपनी दूसरे मुल्क से प्रेरणा लेने को अब कुछ खत्म करने की तरफ चले हैं लेकिन हमारे यह दोस्त दूसरी जगह से प्रेरणा ले रहे हैं। यह देश की और हमारी बदकिस्मती है कि कुछ अखबार भी हैं जो कि वाहर से प्रेरणा ले रहे हैं।

Shri Bade (Khargaon): That shows your colossal ignorance. (Interruption by Shri Bagri).

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Order, order.

श्री ब्रह्मप्रकाश : अब यह तो चोर की दाढ़ी में तिनके वाली बात हुई। चूँकि मेरी यह बात उनको फिट बैठती है इसलिए मेरे कहने का उनको काफी बुरा लग रहा है...

एक माननीय सदस्य : मूँछ में तिनका।

श्री ब्रह्मप्रकाश : इसमें कोई शक नहीं कि इस खतरनाक और अचानक चीनी हमले ने हमको एक बड़ी गहरी नींद से जगा दिया है। हम समझते थे कि दुनिया में समाजवाद शान्ति और स्वतंत्रता के नये नये विचार आ

[श्रीब्रह्म प्रकाश]

रहे हैं। कुछ लिबरलिज्म दुनिया में आ रही है। हमें यह पता नहीं था कि अभी भी इस दुनिया के अंदर पुराने तरीकों से दूसरे मुल्कों पर हमला करने वाले और कब्जा करने वाले नोग मौजूद हैं...

एक माननीय सदस्य : क्या सो रहे थे ?

श्री ब्रह्मप्रकाश : अजीब बात है कि मैकाथिज्म खत्म हो रही है। स्टैनलिज्म खत्म हो रही है, कैंनेडी और खुशेव नये-नये रास्तों की तरफ सोच रहे हैं लेकिन यूसु यह देख कर हैरानी हो रही है कि माओ एंड कम्पनी की सरकदगी में हमारे देश में एक नयी स्टैनलिज्म और नयी मैकाथिज्म पैदा हो रही है। जो पुराने मुर्दा, डूबते और टूटते हुए विचार अथवा आदर्श हैं उनके साथ हमारे यह दोस्त चिपटे रहना चाहते हैं। हमारे यह दोस्त शायद यह समझ नहीं पा रहे हैं कि यह बदलती हुई दुनिया है और हम दुनिया के एक नये मोड़ पर खड़े हैं। जो पुराना सोचने का हमारा तरीका था एक इम्पीरियलिज्म का, कैपटलिज्म का और कम्युनिज्म का, वह पुराना तरीका खत्म हो रहा है।

श्री ब्रजराज सिंह (बरेली) : कम्युनिज्म का तरीका नया है।

श्री ब्रह्मप्रकाश : इस तरीके से सोचना कि हम कैपटलिज्म का मुकाबला कर रहे हैं या हम कम्युनिज्म का मुकाबला कर रहे हैं यह बहुत पुरानी बात हो चुकी है। हम एक ऐसे नये युग में शामिल हो रहे हैं जिसमें कि खाली एंटी-कैपिटलिज्म या काली एंटी-कम्युनिज्म का नारा लगाकर अपने रास्ते को ठुस्त नहीं कर सकते हैं। यह देख कर दुःख जरूर होता है कि दुनिया में वे देश जिनको कि वेस्टन डेमोक्रेसी कहते हैं, कुछ हमारे दोस्त उनको कैपिटलिस्ट कंट्री कहते हैं और उधर हम उनको कम्युनिस्ट कंट्री कहते हैं जब कि कम्युनिस्ट दोस्त उनको सोशलिस्ट

मुल्क कहते हैं, यह अलग अलग गिरोह बन रहे हैं। यह बात भी देखने में आ रही है कि वह खुद अपने यहां अपने अपने गिरोहों में जा रहे हैं। उन मुल्कों के अन्दर ऐसे मुल्क भी हैं जो कि एक नए किस्म की नेशनलिज्म की बुनियाद डाल रहे हैं जैसे कि चीन और एक, दो मुल्क और हैं। जब कि दुनिया कुछ स्वतन्त्रता और कुछ ऊंचे विचारों की तरफ बढ़ रही है जब कि दुनिया में कुछ कोशिश हो रही है खासतौर से यू० एन० ओ० की मार्फत कि इस तरीके से दुनिया में भूखमरी को दूर किया जाय, खाली हिन्दुस्तान में ही से ही नहीं बल्कि उस तमाम तीन चौथाई दुनिया से जिसमें कि अभी तक भूखमरी है, जहां यह विचार आ रहा है, उस जगह हमारे दोस्त अभी तक जो गुट्टू बन्दी का एक पुराना तरीका है, जो कभी कभी हमारे गांवों में भी नजर आता है, जो खास तौर से हमारे आचार्य रंगा जी में नजर पड़ता है। उस पुराने तरीके से वे चिपटे रहना चाहते हैं। इसलिए मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि इन मौलिक सिद्धान्तों के बारे में दुनिया को बहुत गम्भिरता से सोचने की जरूरत है। कांग्रेस की पालिसी किसी जगह एंटी कम्युनिज्म की नहीं है और न ही वह एंटी कैपिटलिज्म है उस माने में जिसमें कि हमारे दोस्त सोचते हैं। हमारी कांग्रेस की पालिसी तो यह है कि किस तरीके से हम स्वतन्त्रता के साथ रह सकें, इज्जत के साथ रह सकें, हम इस देश से भूखमरी को मिटा सकें और दुनिया में किस तरीके से शांति स्थापित कर सकें। आज की दुनिया इतनी छोटी हो गई है जनाब कि अब कोई यह समझे कि अकेले मैं अपने रिमोसेज से अपने मुल्क की तरक्की कर लूंगा तो वह बिल्कुल गलती पर है या वह यह समझे कि मैं खुद ही लड़ाई कर के दुनिया पर काबू पा जाऊंगा तो यह भी आज एक गलती है। हमारे कुछ मुल्कों में कुछ दिन हुए दुबारा कोशिश की कि वे स्वेज पर कब्जा कर ले लेकिन वह नाकामयाब हुए और वह जो पुराने तरीके का सोचने का कैपिटलिज्म का जनाजा है वह नहर स्वेज के अन्दर पड़ा लेकिन रंगा साहब उससे सबक लेने के लिए

तैयार नहीं जो एक पुराना तरीका कम्युनिज्म के सोचने का था कि झगड़ा करो और हमला कर के काबू करो, किसी तरीके से इन्फिल्ट्रेट कर के, किसी के ऊपर जबरदस्ती करके, डरा धमका कर किसी तरह कमजोर करो और फिर हमला करके उसको अपने काबू में करो, उसका जनाजा हिमालय की महाड़ियों में आकर पड़ा। अब इस तरह से पुराने ढंग से चल कर कोई भी मुल्क यह समझे कि हम किसी गैर मुल्क पर छा जायेंगे यह नामुमकिन है।

आज जहरत इस बात की है कि हमारे मुल्क के जो मौलिक सिद्धान्त हैं, खासतौर से कांग्रेस ते जिन बुनियादी और मौलिक सिद्धान्तों को लेकर इस देश की स्वतन्त्रता की लड़ाई लड़ी थी और वह उसूल यह थे कि हम किस तरीके से अपने देश में आजादी, इज्जत और अमन के साथ रह सकें और किस तरीके से दुनिया के अन्दर अमन कायम रख सकें, जिन उसूलों पर हमने चलना शुरू किया, आज खासतौर से १५ साल की आजादी के बाद फिर दुबारा एक नये सिरे से सोचने और नये सिरे से उस पर काम करने की जरूरत है क्योंकि मुझे खतरा है कि यह जो दूसरे मुल्क को हड़प करने की और दूसरे के धन को हड़प करने की ताकत है यह ताकत फिर उभरना चाहती है और इस इमरजसी के नाम पर वह खास तौर से बढ़ना चाहती है। गा साहब इस बात की बड़ी दुहाई दे रहे हैं कि इस देश पर बड़ा भारी खतरा है, बड़ा हमला होने का खतरा है और सरकार ने यह नहीं किया और वह नहीं किया लेकिन मजा यह है कि सरकार द्वारा जो भी कदम उठाये गये हैं रंगा साहब सब की मुखालफत करते हैं। जो कस दे सकते हैं उनकी टैक्स से वे बचाना चाहते हैं। जो देश को मजबूत करने के लिए एक विलेज वालिडियर फोर्स बनाना चाहती है उस की मुखालफत करते हैं। जो पुराने तरीके गांव को स्वावलम्बी बनाने के हैं और जिसको कि अम बैंक का नाम दिया है कि साल

में गांव वाले एक दो दफ इकट्ठे होकर गांवों का किस तरीके से बंदोबस्त करें, काम करें और उसके एसटस को बढ़ायें, उस की भी वे मुखालफत करते हैं। इसी तरह से सरकार ने सोने पर जो प्रतिबन्ध लगाया है उस की भी रंगा साहब मुखालफत करते हैं। उन्हें क्या यह मालूम नहीं है कि इस देश में ८० फ्रीसदी के पास तो पसा है ही नहीं। केवल २० फ्रीसदी लोग जिनके कि पास पैसा है उनकी रंगा साहसा रहनुमाई कर रहे हैं और उन को वह टक्सेज से बचाना चाहते हैं।

श्री कड़वाय (दवास) : आप किस कटेगरी में है ?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Order, order.

श्री ब्रह्मप्रकाश : जिनके पास कुछ ज्यादा जमीन है और सरकार उन के ऊपर कुछ बोझ डालना चाहती है तो उनको वे बचाना चाहते हैं क्योंकि उन को महीने में एक दिन अमदान करना पड़ेगा। मेरी समझ में नहीं आता कि वह किस तरीके से इस इमरजेंसी में इस देश की मदद करना चाहते हैं? यह जो नया खतरा हमारे देश में पैदा हो रहा है मैं समझता हूँ कि हमारा कर्तव्य है कि उन नये खतरों का मुकाबला करें। इस देश को जो खतरा आज तक कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी के सोचने और काम करने के तरीके से रहा है वही खतरा आज स्वतन्त्र पार्टी और जनसंघ से पैदा हो रहा है। अगर हम इस देश के अन्दर स्वतन्त्रता को बचाना चाहते हैं, इस देश के अन्दर अगर हम समाजवादी ढंग की समाज कायम रखना चाहते हैं और अगर इस दुनिया के अन्दर जो अमन और शांति के लिए कोशिशें हो रही हैं उन के साथ अगर हम शामिल होना चाहते हैं तो ऐसी प्रतिक्रियावादी ताकतों का जो कि इस देश में उभर रही हैं, उनका मुकाबला करना हमारा सबसे पहला धर्म हो जाता है। मैं आपसे अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि मुल्क के डिफेन्स को मजबूत बनाया जा रहा है और आने वाले बजट में जरूर इस सम्बन्ध में कुछ कदम उठाए

[श्री ब्रह्मप्रकाश]

जायेंगे। लेकिन मि० रंगा एंड कम्पनी इस कोशिश में हैं कि डिफस और इमजैन्सी के नाम पर किसी तरह से हमारे इंडस्ट्रियलिस्ट्स और प्राइवेट सक्टर को और ज्यादा मौका मिल जाये कि वे अपनी ताकत को ज्यादा बढ़ा सकें और रीबों को और पीछे फेंक सकें।

इस में कोई शक नहीं कि देश ने तरक्की की है और गरीबी किसी हद तक कम हुई है। आजादी के बाद इस अरसे में देश जितनी तरक्की कर सकता था, उस से ज्यादा तरक्की उस ने की है, लेकिन इस बात को भी बुलाया नहीं जा सकता है कि अमीर अमीर हुआ है और गरीब की हालत नहीं सुधरी है। (Interruptions) अगर जन संघ और स्वतंत्र पार्टी की पालिसी पर चला जाये, तो तो इतना अमीर हो जायेगा कि मेरे खयाल में गरीब फिर देश में नहीं बच सकेगा।

(Interruptions) मैं कहना चाहता कि समाजवाद और हमारे प्लान को यह जो खतरा है, उस का मुकाबला कर के हम को उसे खत्म करना चाहिए। इसलिए यह जरूरी है कि देश की डिफेंस प्रोडक्शन के सम्बन्ध में इस बात का खयाल रखा जाये कि नये लाइसेन्स और नई इंडस्ट्रीज सिर्फ पब्लिक सैक्टर और को-ऑपरेटिव सैक्टर में शुरू किये जायें, न कि प्राइवेट सैक्टर में इंडस्ट्रियल पालिसी रेजोल्यूशन को किसी तरह से कमजोर न किया जाये। बल्कि इस बात की कोशिश की जाये कि कौम की नैशनल वैल्यू बढ़े और वह अच्छी तरह से डिस्ट्रिब्यूट हो।

मुझे इस बात की खुशी है कि प्राइम मिनिस्टर साहब ने मुनासिब वक्त पर मुल्क की अखबारों की तरफ लोगों का ध्यान दिलाया है। आज जरूरत इस बात की है कि अखबारों पर इस तरह का नियंत्रण लाया जाये कि वे रुपया, वैल्यू और कैपिटलिज्म का रास्ता न बन जायें। इस के लिए उन पर काफ़ी कंट्रोल रखने की जरूरत है।

जो लोग यह कहते हैं कि इमजैन्सी को खत्म कर दिया जाये, उन से मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि क्या चाइना का खतरा कम हो गया है। असल में जो लोग इमजैन्सी को खत्म करना चाहते हैं, उन के इरादे कुछ और ही हैं और इसलिए मैं इस नारे की सख्त मुख़ालफ़त करता हूँ।

अगर हम दिल्ली से बाहर देश की दूसरी जगहों में जायें, तो मालूम होता है कि वाकई देश में इमजैन्सी है, लोगों में डिसिप्लिन है और काम हो रहा है। लेकिन अगर हम नई दिल्ली की दुनिया को देखें, तो ऐसी कोई बात नज़र नहीं आती है। इस वक्त मैं इस बारे में कुछ नहीं कहूंगा, बल्कि फिर कभी इस में जाऊंगा। मुझे यह कहते हुए दुख होता है कि गवर्नमेंट और प्लानिंग कमीशन के जिम्मेदार मेम्बर, जिन पर इस देश के एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन और प्लान को चलाने की जिम्मेदारी डाली गई है, एक दूसरे को पब्लिक में क्रिटिसाइज़ करते हैं। हमारी गवर्नमेंट और उस के नेताओं का पता नहीं है कि इस तरह वे देश में कितनी इनडिसिप्लिन पैदा कर रहे हैं। मैं प्राइम मिनिस्टर से दरखवास्त करूंगा कि वह गवर्नमेंट और प्लानिंग कमीशन के मेम्बरों पर इस बारे में कंट्रोल रखें, क्योंकि पब्लिक पर और इस के साथ ही एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन पर इस का बहुत बुरा असर पड़ता है। हम देखते हैं कि प्लानिंग कमीशन का एक मेम्बर किसी मिनिस्टर को क्रिटिसाइज़ करता है और मिनिस्टर उस को क्रिटिसाइज़ करता है। इसी तरह एक सीनियर मिनिस्टर दूसरे मिनिस्टर को क्रिटिसाइज़ करता है।

Shri Narendra Singh Mahida
(Anand): Why not?

श्री ब्रह्मप्रकाश : माननीय सदस्यों के लिए तो यह ठीक है, लेकिन मेरी राय में गुड गवर्नमेंट और एक अच्छी एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन के लिए यह बात नुकसानदेह है। अगर आपस में कोई इख़लाफ़ है, तो आपस में बैठ कर उस के

वारे में फ़ैसला किया जाये और अगर उन में ईमानदारी है, तो वे प्लानिंग कमीशन और गवर्नमेंट से उठ कर चले जायें ।

मैं आप का आभारी हूँ कि आप ने मुझे मौका दिया । इन शब्दों के साथ मैं इस प्रस्ताव के साथ पूरी सहमति प्रकट करता हूँ, जिस में प्रैजिडेंट साहब का शुक्रिया अदा किया गया है ।

श्री अ० प्र० शर्मा (बक्सर) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, जो प्रस्ताव सदन के सामने प्रस्तुत है, माननीय सदस्य, श्री ब्रह्मप्रकाश, ने जिस का समर्थन किया है, मैं भी उस का समर्थन करने के लिए खड़ा हुआ हूँ ।

मैं इस सदन का अधिक समय नहीं लूंगा मैं पहले एक दो बातें सुझाव के रूप में रखना चाहता हूँ । राष्ट्रपति जी के भाषण में एग््री-कल्चरल प्रोडक्शन में बढ़ती की बात कही गई है, अच्छा होता अगर वहीं पर इस उद्देश्य की पूर्ति के लिए सिंचाई की सुविधाओं को बढ़ाने का भी जिक्र किया गया होता ।

राष्ट्रपति जी के भाषण में इंडस्ट्रियल टूस रेजोल्यूशन का भी उल्लेख किया गया है । मालिकों और मजदूरों के केन्द्रीय संगठनों के प्रतिनिधियों ने दिल्ली में ३ नवम्बर को स्वतः इकट्ठे हो कर यह तय किया कि मुल्क में औद्योगिक झगड़े पैदा नहीं किये जायेंगे, बल्कि उन को खत्म कर दिया जायगा । जब मैं माननीय सदस्य, श्री रंगा, के भाषण को सुन रहा था, तो मुझे ऐसा मालूम हुआ कि वह स्वतंत्र पार्टी के प्रतिनिधि न हो कर किसी मजदूर या किसान दल के प्रतिनिधि हैं, जैसे कि पहले वह किसान दल के प्रतिनिधि थे । उन्होंने यह बतलाने की कोशिश की कि सोने के सम्बन्ध में जो नियम बनाए गए हैं और उस पर जो प्रतिबन्ध लगाया गया है, उस के कारण लाखों आदमी बेकार हो गए हैं । मैं यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि स्वतंत्र पार्टी को देश के मालिकों

और पूंजीपतियों का समर्थन प्राप्त है और इंडस्ट्रियल टूस रेजोल्यूशन को पास करने में उन लोगों के प्रतिनिधियों ने भाग लिया । मैं माननीय सदस्य, श्री रंगा, से यह पूछना चाहता हूँ कि जिस पार्टी का वह प्रतिनिधित्व करते हैं, उस ने उस प्रस्ताव को कार्यान्वित करने के सम्बन्ध में क्या ठोस कदम उठाया है ।

उस प्रस्ताव को पास करते समय मजदूरों के प्रतिनिधियों ने, और खास तौर पर राष्ट्रीय मजदूर कांग्रेस के प्रतिनिधियों ने, इस बात पर जोर दिया कि मजदूर स्वतः यह फ़ैसला करके कि वे कम से कम एक रुपया अपने वेतन का राष्ट्रीय सुरक्षा कोष में देंगे, तथा कम से कम एक दिन के वेतन के बराबर पैसे के वे डिफेंस बांड्ज भी खरीदेंगे और इस के साथ ही अधिक से अधिक काम कर के, पैदावार को बढ़ा कर, देश की सुरक्षा के काम को आगे बढ़ायेंगे । मालिकों के प्रतिनिधियों ने भी इस बात को स्वीकार किया कि वे अपने शक्ति भर दान देंगे मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि माननीय सदस्य, श्री रंगा, ने जिन लोगों की तरफ से बहुत विद्वत्पूर्ण भाषण इस सदन में दिया, उन का योगदान इस सम्बन्ध में क्या रहा है । हिन्दुस्तान के किसानों और मजदूरों ने जिस अनुपात में राष्ट्रीय सुरक्षा कोष में दान दिया, क्या मालिकों ने भी उसी अनुपात में दान दिया है ? मजदूरों और किसानों ने अपने आराम, अपने अधिकारों और अपनी सुविधाओं को देश की सुरक्षा के लिए त्याग कर उत्पादन को बढ़ाने का निश्चय किया । उन्होंने उस निश्चय के अनुसार काम किया और आज भी कर रहे हैं और वे तब तक करते रहेंगे, जब तक कि देश को अपनी आजादी को बचाने के लिए उन की मदद की जरूरत होगी । लेकिन इसकी तुलना में मालिकों के प्रतिनिधियों तथा मालिकों ने आज तक क्या किया ?

[श्री अ० प्र० शर्मा]

माननीय सदस्य, श्री गोपालन, ने कहा कि वर्कज एंड ट्रेड यूनियन्ज राइट हैज बिन सस्पेंडिड । मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि यह स्टेटमेंट बिल्कुल गलत है । वर्कज और ट्रेड यूनियन्ज ने स्वतः इस बात का फ़ैसला किया कि वे देश की आजादी की सुरक्षा के लिए अपनी फ़ैसिलिटीज और सुविधाओं का त्याग करेंगे और तब तक त्याग करेंगे, जब तक कि चीनियों को देश से बाहर नहीं भगा दिया जायगा । राइट्स और प्रिविलेजिज को ससपंड करने का आज कोई सवाल नहीं है । आज तो देश के लिए त्याग करने का सवाल है । इंडिस्ट्रियल ट्रूस का जो रेजोल्यूशन पास हुआ था, उस पर मालिकों ने किस प्रकार से अमल किया है, इस के बारे में दो एक दिलचस्प बात मैं आप को बतलाना चाहता हूँ । उस में कहा गया था कि झगड़ों का निपटारा करने के लिए पंचों के सहारे लिये जायेंगे, पंचों की मदद ली जायगी और मजदूरों तथा मालिकों दोनों की तरफ से ऐसा कोई काम नहीं होगा जिस से उद्योगों के चलने में, उत्पादन के बढ़ने में किसी भी तरह की दिक्कत पेश आए या किसी भी तरह की गड़बड़ पैदा हो । हमारे रंगा साहब ने कहा कि इस एमरजेंसी का इस्तेमाल दो बातों के लिए किया जा रहा है, एक तो ब्वनमेंट की जो गलतियाँ हैं उन को छिपाने के लिए और दूसरे कांग्रेस पार्टी, जोकि रूलिंग पार्टी है, उस को मजबूत बनाने के लिए, उस के काम को आगे बढ़ाने के लिए । मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि स्थिति इस के बिल्कुल विपरीत है । उद्योगों के मालिकों ने, इस एमरजेंसी का इस्तेमाल मजदूरों के हकों को कुचलने के लिए तथा अपने हकों को मजबूत करने के लिए किया है । यह तय किया गया था कि अगर कोई औद्योगिक झगड़ा उठ खड़ा हो तो उन को पंचों के सुपुर्द किया जायगा लेकिन मालिकों ने ऐसा नहीं किया । इतना ही नहीं बल्कि सुरक्षा कोष में जो धन देने की बात थी, जो पैसा देने की बात

थी, उस को अगर आप देखें तो आप को पता चलेगा कि सरकारी और गैर सरकारी सभी उद्योगों की तरफ से यह तय किया गया था कि मजदूर स्वतः अपना डेकलरेशन देंगे, आप्शन देंगे और उन की इस दरखास्त पर उन के वेतन से पैसे काट कर सुरक्षा कोष में जमा किये जायेंगे । मजदूरों ने तो ऐसा किया । मगर मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि हिन्दुस्तान के प्राइवेट या पब्लिक सैक्टर में, चाहे वह सरकारी महकमा हो या गैर सरकारी महकमा हो, किस मालिक ने और कहाँ तक कदम उठाया इस काम को आगे बढ़ाने में और कितने रुपये इस तरह से डिफेंस फंड में जमा किये गये हैं । मैं समझता हूँ कि अगर इस एमरजेंसी का इस मुल्क में किसी ने नाजायज फ़ायदा उठाया है, तो मालिकों ने मजदूरों के खिलाफ उठाया है, उन के खिलाफ इस एमरजेंसी का इस्तेमाल किया है, अपने हकों को आगे बढ़ाने के लिए इस का प्रयोग किया है ।

श्री बागड़ी (हिसार) : आप को चाहिये था कि धन वालों को आप जेल में डालने और अगर नहीं डाला है, तो क्यों नहीं डाला है ?

श्री अ० प्र० शर्मा : हमारे बागड़ी साहब सोशलिस्ट पार्टी के हैं । इन की पार्टी की तरफ से बहुत लम्बी चौड़ी बातें की जाती हैं । मैं इस पार्टी के सम्बन्ध में ज्यादा नहीं कहना चाहता हूँ । वह खुद अच्छी तरह से जानते हैं कि उन की पार्टी का समर्थन कौन करता है, हिन्दुस्तान का मजदूर करता है, किसान करता है या पूँजीपति करता है ।

14.53 hrs.

[DR. SAROJINI MAHISHI in the chair]

हिन्दुस्तान की कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी के सम्बन्ध में हमारे भाई ब्रह्मप्रकाश जी ने कहा कि जो हालत स्वतंत्र पार्टी की इस

देश में है बिल्कुल वही हालत आज कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी की भी; हिन्दुस्तान में है। मैं इस से एक कदम आगे बढ़ना चाहता हूँ। जब कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी ने प्रस्ताव पास किया कि हम देश की सुरक्षा के काम में देश के लोगों का साथ दोगे, तो मुझे बड़ा आश्चर्य मालूम हुआ क्योंकि यह वही पार्टी है जिम ने १९४० में हमारे देश के साथ गद्दारी की थी, उस वक्त आज़ादों की लड़ाई को खिलाफत की और उस वक्त आज़ादों की लड़ाई को कुचलना चाहता था, मुल्क की आज़ादी के खिलाफ थी, मैंने उन का साथ दिया था। आश्चर्य की बात है कि वही कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी इस तरह का निर्णय आज करती है और कहती है कि हिन्दुस्तान की रक्षा के लिए हम देश का साथ दोगे। जो असलियत है, इस का बाद में पता चल गया। जब हम मैदान में काम करने निकले, तब इस का सी-सही पता चला। आज भी गोपालन साहब ने कहा कि कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी के बहुत से लोग जेलों में बंद कर दिये गये हैं। और कामत जी ने सबालों के वक्त कहा कि जो कम्युनिस्ट बंदी बनाये गये हैं, उन को तो कम सुविधायें दी जाती हैं और जो चीनी बन्दी बनाये गये हैं, उन को अधिक सुविधायें दी जाती हैं। इस तरह की बातें सुन कर के मुझे हंसी आती है। जो देश के साथ गद्दारी करने वासू लाग हैं चाहे वे दूसरे देश के हों या हमारे देश के ही लोग हों, उन को अधिक सुविधायें दी जायें या कम सुविधायें दी जायें, इस तरह की बातें इस सदन में करना अफसोस और दुःख की ही बात है . . .

श्री सरजू पाण्डय (रसड़ा) : आप अपने बीच के गद्दारों के बारे में क्या कह रहे हैं ?

श्री अ० प्र० शर्मा : आप के ही सम्बन्ध में मैं कुछ कह रहा हूँ। मुझे आश्चर्य इसलिए आ कि क्या यह पार्टी भी हिन्दुस्तान की देशभक्ति के गाने गा सकती है, देश और

आज़ादों की रक्षा के लिए कुछ काम कर सकती है और इस चीज़ का पर्दाफाश उस वक्त हो गया जबकि इस ने उन लोगों को भी अपनी पार्टी में रख छोड़ा जोकि एरेस्ट हो गये हैं। एरेस्ट कौन लोग हुए हैं ? एरेस्ट वे लोग हुए हैं जिन पर चीन की मदद करने का चार्ज है। चीन से हमदर्दी रखने का अभियोग है। अब भी यह पार्टी उन को अपने बीच में रखे हुए है, गद्दारों को अपनी पार्टी में रखे हुए है। ऐसी हालत में यह देश की रक्षा कहाँ तक कर सकती है और देश की सुरक्षा के कामों को कहाँ तक हाथ में बँटा सकती है, यह सभी लोगों के लिए सोचने की बात है। इस पार्टी ने जो कुछ भी किया है, अपने पुराने ढंग के मुताबिक किया है। इन के कुछ लोग डचर हैं, कुछ उधर हैं, कुछ बाहर हैं और कुछ भीतर हैं। यह इस का पुराना तरीका है मुझ जैसा आदर्श; जो कि मजदूरों के बीच बीस पच्चीस साल से काम कर रहा है, उस का रात दिन मुकाबला इन से होता है। मैं दावे के साथ कह सकता हूँ कि ईमानदारी से काम ये करने वाले नहीं हैं।

राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण में जहाँ पर जिक्र किया गया है :

“ . . . there were over fifty-million boys and girls in our schools and colleges.”

वहाँ पर हमारे देश में जो बहुत बड़ी समस्या है, बेकारी की समस्या है, उस का भी जिक्र अगर कर दिया जाता तो अच्छा रहता। माननीय सदस्यों ने अपनी अपनी कंस्टिट्यू-एण्ड्स में तथा सारे देश में देखा होगा कि यह बहुत बड़ी समस्या है। इतनी बड़ी जो समस्या है, इस का अगर जिक्र कर दिया जाता और किस तरह से इस को सुलझाया जा सकता है, यह भी बताया गया होता तो बहुत अच्छा होता। अगर इस के सम्बन्ध में कोई संकेत होता तो बहुत अच्छा होता।

[श्री अ० प्र० शर्मा]

मैं अधिक नहीं कहना चाहता। इतना ही मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि आज देश के सामने जो परिस्थिति आई है, उस में यह सही है कि हम अपने देश का रक्षा करें, अपनी फौज को बढ़ायें, मजदूरों और किसानों को साथ ले कर चल और इस को समझें कि जो एक्स्ट्रा-टैरिटरियल लाजलट्टे रखने वाले लोग हैं, वे हमारा मदद नहीं कर सकते हैं, जो पूँजीपति लोग हैं और जो एक एक पैसे के लिए सभी गलत या सही काम करने को तैयार रहते हैं और जिन के लिए पैसा ही सब कुछ है, वे भी हमारा मदद नहीं कर सकते हैं, उन से भी हमें मदद नहीं मिल सकती है। आम जनता में देशभक्ति का जोश उमड़ रहा है। चारों तरफ इस जोश को कयम रख कर, देश को पूरी तरह से तैयार कर के हमें अपने दुश्मन का मुकाबला करना है।

इन शब्दों के साथ जो राष्ट्रपति के लिए धन्यवाद का प्रस्ताव रखा गया है, उस का मैं समर्थन करता हूँ और आपको धन्यवाद देता हूँ।

Shri U. M. Trivedi: The uppermost reaction in my mind was that I should give some reply to the aberration which existed in the mind of my friend Shri Brahm Prakash. As has been sufficiently answered by my predecessor, I refuse to go into that. I only pity his ignorance. We are all feeling that the problems before our country are so numerous and the points that I will have to cover in this House today are so numerous themselves that it is not possible for me to enter into a wordy warfare with ignorant friends like him.

Infiltrating Chinese, rising prices, lessening production of foodgrains, flourishing corruption, increasing jobbery, thriving nepotism and rising taxation are the problems which are before us. We have to consider all these problems. Only yesterday, we discussed the question of rising prices. Each one of us will agree that prices are rising. Each one of us will find

that production of grains has gone down. Some figures were given by my friend Shri A. K. Gopalan when he spoke, that the figures have gone down from 1960-61 to 1961-62. What has further happened is this. Some sort of bottleneck has appeared in transport in our country with the net result that in areas which produce large quantities of grains, movement is not taking place. Maize which is saleable at Rs. 11-14-0 in U.P. and other areas is available in my town for Rs. 8-6-0 a maund. ,

That is because the transport is not available for movement. The poor agriculturist who has sweated all the month and has produced it is not able to reap the benefit thereof, and we have not applied our mind to this problem.

15 hrs.

Then, what have we done about this corruption which is flourishing like anything? We have got a big example set up and tom-tommed all over the world that here, the great hero, Shri Pratap Singh Kairon, the Chief Minister of Punjab has reduced his Cabinet, but by the back-door comes the provision for all those who have gone out from the Ministry to secure sinecure jobs.

Shri Ranga: That is an advisory council.

Shri Iqbal Singh (Ferozepore): It is an advisory council. It is not a job.

Shri U. M. Trivedi: Is this the way of reducing the expenses?

Shri Iqbal Singh: The Chief Minister can take advice from anybody.

Shri U. M. Trivedi: He can take advice from you also.

The question that has to be seen is this. Have we in any manner applied our mind to this corruption which has been rampant in our country? Year in and year out, for the last eleven years, we were using very strong language, when this question of corruption was brought before us in its full picture, and we went to the extent of saying that those who were blackmailers or blackmarketeers must be shot dead. Have we done that? Have we progressed in that direction?

The question that again arises in my mind is this? Has this gold control order in any manner done any good to the country except depriving 27 lakhs of goldsmiths in India of their means of livelihood? In one day they are not going to learn how to manufacture gold ornaments from 9 carat or 14 carat gold. It is impossible. Generation after generation, they have been making gold ornaments of a particular type. They have learnt that art. Nobody has taught it to them. They have not gone to any school, and they have learnt it themselves. Those formulae are not available in the schools; those formulae are not available even to the boy who studies chemistry. Those formulae are only available to the handicrafts man who does his work as a goldsmith. But we have deprived him of his means of livelihood, and we have not been able to offer any alternative means of livelihood for him. And we write long letters and publish long articles on this question.

Who has benefited out of it? Let us draw the complete picture. The ornaments made before 9th February, 1963 could be of any category; they may be of 22 carats or 24 carats. And those ornaments were the ornaments which were pledged on which the economy of the small trader used to depend. The small trader received notices as soon as the Gold Control Order came, and he was told 'Come on, pay the extra money; pay the marginal money; or else, your gold will be sold and your ornaments will be sold'. The poor man had to rush forward and write off the ornaments. Now, those ornaments were written off at a particular low price and the man who was already rich has become nearly four times richer now than what he was before, because those ornaments cannot be squeezed from him. He is in regular possession of the ornaments, and he will now reap greater benefit out of those ornaments, because those ornaments will now be coveted after, and people will be running after those ornaments, and to secure those ornaments, and he will charge heavy prices for them, and he will be able to do so

as well. So, the order has not served the purpose for which it was made.

Then, again, I ask: Why make use of the Defence of India Rules for the purpose of issuing the Gold Control Order? If you think that the economy of the country requires that there must be something in the shape of a Gold Control Order, why not bring forward a legislation before Parliament and have this Gold Control Order? Why resort to this dubious method of taking shelter behind the Defence of India Rules?

Have the Defence of India Rules been observed in the spirit in which they have been framed? We all joined, and we all agreed to have the Defence of India Act and we all agreed to the Defence of India Rules being framed, but the Defence of India Rules were not to be framed for crushing the Opposition. But that is how they have been used.

I have seen in what manner the *mantram* is used. The *mantram* is simply writing down this namely 'Whereas the Governor is satisfied that you are likely to act prejudicial to the interests of the country, you are hereby ordered to be detained in such and such a jail'. That *mantram* is enough to put the man behind the bar, and no challenge can be made before the High Court.

We had all agreed to the Defence of India Act, and we had all agreed to the Defence of India Rules, with this impression that they will not be abused. We are no longer a slave country. This abuse was not forced upon us even in the days of the British. When the Defence of India Rules were framed earlier, I remember that Shivnath Banerjee's case went up from the Calcutta High Court to the Federal Court and from the Federal Court to the Privy Council. The two Indian judges who sat in the Calcutta High Court said, 'No, the order must on the face of it, *ex facie* show that it is an order of the Governor, and, therefore, Shivnath Banarjee must be set at liberty'. The Government of Bengal appealed against it, and the Federal Court jud-

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ges, Justice Zafrullah Khan and Justice Varadachariar, held also that *ex facie*, the order must show that it was an order of the Governor, and, therefore, Shivnath Banerjee must be set at liberty. But the Privy Council which was made up of English judges, judges belonging to an empire which was shaking and which was slowly getting out of hand, came to a different conclusion. But, here, we are again doing the same thing; we are out-heroding Herod. And today, the judges of our High Court are prepared to accept this proposition that it is not necessary that the order must be from the Governor, a mere scrap of paper which contains the stamp saying that it is of the Government of a *phalana phalana* State is enough, and it will be accepted as an order of the Governor I would ask: what is it that we have done? What is the type of complacency which we are showing? Have we realised where we are? On the one hand, we are talking that the emergency should continue. I am at one with my hon. friends when it is said that the emergency should continue. I think that there is emergency. But what are we doing?

We are talking of bye-elections. What for were these bye-elections kept at a standstill? We are talking of elections and bye-elections as if one seat here or one seat there remaining vacant was going to do harm to the country. What machinery is to be moved for the purpose of these bye-elections? If really an emergency exists, do not talk of these things. Do not talk of constructing palaces, and do not talk of spending a sum of Rs. 1.25 lakhs for making some repairs to your palaces unnecessarily. All these things must be taken into consideration if we want that the emergency should exist.

The emergency is not to be utilised for the purpose of making opportunities for aggrandizement available to certain persons who are mere job-hunters. They are jobbers and they

want jobs, and they go about saying 'I am going to become the National Defence Fund treasurer', and they go about like a big man, saying 'I am a Congressman, you will have to pay the money; if you do not pay the money, I shall put you behind the bars', and the next day comes the policewallah, saying '*He, thum ne sahab ko goli diya hai*; come on I shall put you into the prison' I ask you: What is this which is going on? Why this utilisation of the services of the collectors and deputy collectors and commissioners and sales tax officers and income-tax officers for the purpose of collecting funds? Why it being done in this manner?

I most respectfully submit that the emergency measures are being used for the purpose of putting the Congress Party at a premium; it had gone down to a discount. What was the reason for my hon. friend Shri Brahm Prakash to run down the Jan Sangh. I know it. For the last eleven years, I know that he is obsessed with the idea that the Jan Sangh will dethrone him, and he cannot get out of it, and therefore he must oppose the Jan Sangh. What else can he do. That is what I would say, and this is typical of him. He has been answered sufficiently by my hon. friend Shri A. P. Sharma, and, therefore, I do not want to enter into it. He, a fellow-traveller, has been rushing to the rescue of the Communist Party and saying what the Communist Party cannot say. I say to my Congress friends that I have been a Congressman myself, and, therefore, I say to my Congress friends, drive them out, do not keep them with you, for, then you are in bad company.

Now, I would draw your attention to what Shri S. N. Agarwal has written. He no longer writes his name as Shri S. N. Agarwal, but he writes it as Shriman Narayan. He writes in this small book, which has been supplied to us, entitled, *Our Economic Resources* as follows. Let us call him by the name by which he wants to be called. Shri Shriman Narayan writes:

"Increased agricultural and industrial production is crucial to the organisation of effective defence."

None of us has any quarrel with it. But he points out another thing in the same article, to which I would draw your attention and through you, that of the House as well.

"In the absence of an efficient and streamlined administration in this respect, additional allocations of money by themselves would not be able to achieve substantial results in strengthening the rural economy. The earlier this obvious but rather neglected fact is understood by all of us the better".

These are the words of a man who has been in the Congress for a long time, a very intelligent thinker, a man really, worth his salt. He makes this assertion. Are we doing it? Have we done it? We are merely living in complacency. We have not done anything whatsoever to drive out the aggressor. When we passed that Resolution on November 14, that memorable day, we agreed as one man and each one of us stood up and agreed to drive out the Chinese. But what have we done thereafter? I do not want to decry the position that we lost a battle. Never mind. These things do happen. I am not thinking in those terms. But now are we bucking ourselves up to fight them? No. We are looking to the Colombo proposals, come and go. What is this 'Colombo proposals' business? 'Come on. Gird yourselves up. Be ready to fight, to go to the front and drive out the Chinese'—that must be the attitude. That attitude is missing today amongst us. Who is responsible for it? Not you, Madam, nor I, but the people in whose charge we have placed this country are the persons responsible for it. It is they who are showing some sort of complacency. If this complacency does not disappear, we can just imagine what is in store for us.

We can never conceal from our minds what has happened in Tibet, how the Tibetans have been destroyed,

how genocide has taken place how they have been destroyed fully and completely, how the Khambas have been wiped out so that they are no longer in existence. Are we going to tolerate such a thing happening to us? No. The country was behind us when the sovereign Parliament decided on that day that we must gird ourselves up and we must fight every inch until the last Chinaman is driven out of our land.

I was very much surprised to see in our worthy President's Address no mention of this aggression by Chinese communism on our country. He referred to aggression by China I do not speak this of China. It is still a member of the United Nations, whatever China it is. It is the exiled Government of China now stationed in Taiwan that is in the UN. It was not that China that has attacked us, it is the Chinese communists the only imperialists who exist today in this world, who have trespassed upon our territory. It is against these Chinese communists we are fighting and whom we want to drive out of our land. We have no quarrel with the ordinary Chinaman, but it is Chinese communism under Mao Tse-tung which has to be fought. The tentacles that Chinese communism is now spreading all over the world are to be seen by us. Even Khrushchev ridiculed him at the recent conference in East Germany. But the Chinaman, stoic as he is, has stood the game. He never cares. He has written articles even against Russia. Russia might be afraid. 150 million Russians might be no match for the 700 million Chinese. But we are able to fight. We are more than 400 million. Man to man, each Indian soldier is capable of destroying at least 20 Chinamen. Under these circumstances, we need not be afraid. Ours is the only country in the world which can face Chinese communism today. Ours is the only country in the world which can keep in check the progress of Chinese communism. A duty is cast upon us to protect not only our own land, but the whole

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world in the sense that they are looking to us. The smaller nations of South-East Asia are afraid. Each one of them is looking to us. It is our duty to give the lead which we have not given so far. Everyone is hoping that we will give a proper lead. Our prestige has been affected. Why should our prestige be affected? We are there. We will fight. It was just a chance that we lost a battle. That is no reason why we should feel cowardly about it? We should not become

अशक्तिमान भवेत साधु

Because we have got no power, therefore we should talk of something good. No. Have the power, then become a *shurvir* and then forgive the Chinese.

क्षमा वीरस्य लक्षणम्

Be *vir*, without that nobody is going to listen to your words. Therefore, I say with great respect that I cannot join wholeheartedly in support of the motion of thanks to our very worthy President that has been moved.

There is another thing which comes to my mind. That is a small constitutional matter. You are a very learned person and I know you will agree with me that the purpose of calling the two Houses by the President is to mention the work that has to be done by Parliament. The purpose, though not mentioned in the summons, has to be related in so many words in the Address. What is the purpose of the Address? It is to enunciate Government's future policy.

Shri Sham Lal Saraf (Jamru and Kashmir): It will be mentioned in the Budget.

Shri U. M. Trivedi: The Address should indicate what should be the budget, what are the indications for raising taxation and what particular legislative measures are to be undertaken. Instead, we have been told something off hand, no reasons are given for anything, and the budget question has not been touched at all.

We have been told something very nice about China and some other things. We have expressed thanks to

the USA and UK. They are all very good words. They are not empty platitudes. They are good, whatever they are. But go a little further. A list of Bills that will be placed before the House is enumerated. Why these Bills are necessary has not been mentioned. But I was completely flabbergasted when on that very day lay on my table the newspaper *Statesman* which said that a Bill for continuing the English language as the national language would also come up. I do not know on whose part this breach of privilege took place. Who committed it? I cannot blame the editor of the paper. He must have got the news from somewhere. The *Statesman* is a paper, which is more or less reliable and when it gives such a news, it means that there is something in the offing. Why keep people in the dark? When you have given so many things for which there is no explanation, why was this kept back? I hope and desire that this Bill will not be presented, and it shall not be presented, in view of the fact that there is resentment all over the country and the reason that this constitutional position is there, that this major Bill which was a matter of controversy, has not been expressly mentioned in the President's Address.

Shri N. Sreekantan Nair (Quilon): Then how can you harangue in the House?

Mr. Chairman: Let him express his opinion.

Shri U. M. Trivedi: I can speak sufficiently well in Hindi. From that day in 1965, when the Constitution accepts Hindi as national language. Shri Sreekantan Nair will not find me speaking in this foreign tongue. I will do that.

Shri N. Sreekantan Nair: Hindi is as much foreign to me.

Shri Sham Lal Saraf: Charity begins at home.

There is one thing more to which I would draw attention. The biggest problem before the country today is

meeting the Chinese menace. We have tried various methods, but my personal experience is that even now our method of recruiting the jawans is not very wholesome, in the sense that we are only tapping the well-known resources and depleting the fine men of Punjab. We are not going outside to Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra. If you go at all, you go to Ratnagiri and Satara and catch hold of some fine Marathas, but then any amount of material is available in the villages, who can be turned into good soldiers. We are not tapping that. Our officers have been used to a life of luxury. You will be surprised to know, and I am ashamed to tell this, that out of 15,000 divorce cases filed in Delhi State during the past five years, about 12,000 were of the army officers and men—a disgraceful state of affairs. You will therefore agree with me that something must be done in the direction of putting up high moral standards by our army men, and the method of recruitment must so change that the country as a whole is able to put its manpower to the defence of the country.

Madam Chairman, I must have taken about 25 minutes. I hope I have not over-stepped the limits. I thank you for this opportunity.

Shri T. Subramanyam (Bellary): The President's Address is a striking and inspiring call for us to awake, arise and fulfil our obligations in the present context created by the Chinese aggression.

The Chinese threat came to us in the midst of our preparations to build up the prosperity and happiness of 44 crores of people within the framework of a democratic and socialist order.

I have heard with attention the speeches of the leaders of the Communist and Swatantra groups. The former charged the Government with detaining the communists, and making use of the emergency provisions against some of the Opposition people in the country, while the latter demanded a ban on the Communist

Party. They have cancelled out each other, and I feel the policy adopted by the Government is quite sound, justified and wise.

I may tell the leader of the Communist party that we are sincere and genuine in our effort to establish a democratic State, ensuring the dignity of the individual and stabilising his fundamental freedoms, but we cannot allow any persons to make use of these fundamental freedoms to undermine that very freedom and establish an order in which no freedom is possible. It is not one of the rules of democracy that it should commit suicide or self-destruction.

We are certainly not against the Communist Party or communism as such, but we are witnessing a realignment of historic forces in the world today. Lately, a tussle has been going on between Chinese communism and the Russian type of communism. The differences between them are of a fundamental and, they say, ideological nature. We must therefore take stock of the situation and try to use it to our advantage.

Shri Gopalan asked us not to get the support of the western bloc, while the leader of the Swatantra Party advised us to make ourselves firm and full allies of the western bloc and get all assistance from them. We are trying to get all assistance from every country. We have been getting collaboration from 25 countries in our industrial development, and we have welcomed it. Even after the Chinese threat has overtaken us, we have taken assistance from all countries. The President's Address refers with grateful feelings to the help and assistance received by us from all countries, particularly from the UK and USA.

Soviet Russia has sent us some MIGs. It may be a small thing, but then they are helping us to establish two factories where MIGs will be manufactured in our own country. The sites have been decided upon, and I am sure that with their collaboration and co-operation we will set up these factories and strengthen ourselves

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When we were in the midst of our efforts to improve the lot of our people, China, which was making massive preparations under the smoke-screen of peaceful and cordial talks, *bhai bhai* and that, suddenly mounted a massive invasion against us last October and November, over-running a large part of our country in the north-east and northwest. Later, they declared a unilateral cease-fire and withdrawal. Then Colombo conference came. I am amazed at some people in our country asking us to reject the Colombo proposals. The Colombo Powers are friendly to us, they are non-aligned. I feel personally that it is an act of supreme statesmanship and wisdom to have accepted the Colombo proposals after securing the classifications. We have put ourselves right with them, and from a diplomatic point of view, it is a unique success of our leadership. Therefore, we did quite well in accepting the proposals and intimating the Prime Minister of Ceylon and others of our acceptance.

The Chinese threat has become the basic issue, and in this context we have to organise and mobilise all our human and material resources. We are making our defence preparations. Our ordnance factories are producing some of the equipments required by us. The expansion of the armed forces is also taking place. We are also taking the help of other countries.

An argument has been advanced that in the present context we should give up our policy of non-alignment. I am somewhat amazed that this sort of advice should come to us in the present circumstances. Ten years ago when this plea was first advanced, we were almost alone. In the UNO ours was a lone, small voice, almost in the wilderness. But today, this policy has been adopted by a large number of Powers in Asia and Africa, and it is growing like a snowball, gaining in momentum, strengthened by the support of the various Powers. We have been received great co-operation in building up our industrial

strength. Moreover, the very persons, who complained against this policy, the leaders of both the blocs have now realised the soundness of the policy and complain no more: we have travelled a long distance since Vyshinsky was in the UN and Dulles represented the policy of the United States. The Russian and the American have now realised the soundness of our policy. Some of our opposition leaders today suggest that we should take an attitude which will drive Soviet Russia into the Camp of China. It is unwise. The President has stated that economic and industrial development is the very basis of our defence preparedness in our country and we have to implement the programmes in the Third Plan. Agriculture is the essential base and prerequisite of national security and the crux of the problem is to increase the yield per acre which is very low compared to advanced countries. We should make full use of the irrigation projects, major, medium and minor. I attended recently the Mysore State Development Council meeting and I am sure the State Governments will bring to bear on this problem a spirit of urgency. We want to produce 100 million tons of foodgrains by the end of the Third Plan. Today we produce about 80 million tons. Next to irrigation, fertiliser is very important in this context and the steps in this direction are not satisfactory. In every State there should be a fertiliser factory. Sometimes they say the site has not been selected or foreign collaboration is not arranged. With regard to generation of power also, one found the same excuses. Power was not in the core of the Plan. They learnt the mistake that they committed earlier and gave priority to power generation. Now, they should not delay the installation of a fertiliser factory in every State if agricultural production has to go up. The Third Plan target for nitrogenous fertilisers is one million tons but we have an installed capacity of only 0.59 million tons. Our internal production satisfies only one-third of our needs. We should take immediate steps to implement this part

of the programme. No doubt improved seeds, improved tools and improved agricultural practices will also help. A high-powered committee is going to visit various States to see where the bottlenecks lie.

Our industrial growth is heartening and an increase of 7.5 per cent was registered in the last nine months of the year 1962. Heavy industries contributed about 12 per cent of our national income. Small scale industries, through contributing a little less, did well. Even in advanced western countries 30 per cent of the national income comes from small-scale industries and we have to take note of this. The iron and steel plants form the very base of our economy. They should be started in other States also. Sometimes back, while speaking to the Minister of Steel and Heavy Industries, I told him about the availability of large quantities of precious iron ore in Bellary district of Mysore State. I am not mentioning this because it is my constituency or my State. Some of the foreign specialists, for instance the Russian specialists, say that the iron ore found there is one of the best varieties found in the world and Shri Subramaniam, Minister of Heavy Industries said that he was seriously considering the question of making the best use of it. I hope a big steel plant will be started there.

We are producing about 51 KW of power per capita, compared to 2,000 to 7,000 KW of power utilised in advanced countries. We should generate more power, be it from hydel, coal or diesel resources. The President's Address refers to the nuclear power and says that Tarapore will give us power at a cost less than coal. I am sure in other States also it can be worked successfully. Rana Pratap Sagar is there, Sharvati Hydel Station is there in Mysore. I am only mentioning one or two examples. We must utilise all the sources of power. We can get 40 million KW of power

from hydel sources alone. I referred to Sharavati. It has been taken up and the hon. Minister of Irrigation and Power who is here has been very helpful in this matter. He has assured us that before the end of the Plan period we will get seven of the units going into production and they would make available 778 thousands of KW power. Power is a long felt need and industrial development has lagged behind because of that. Power development and industrial growth should go hand in hand and supplement each other so that there may not be under production on either side. There should be a co-ordinated Plan.

The problem of transport should also be thought of in an imaginative manner. We must make use of all the ways of transport—railways, roads, and waterways. In the present context of emergency, defence must be given priority while we are trying to develop our transport requirements. Planned regional development must also take place. Take the railway lines for instance. In Mysore, a railway line from Hassan to Bangalore has been provided for in the Budget... (Interruptions.) A metre gauge has been provided for, but because that line has been planned or programmed to carry iron ore, I feel that a broad gauge line would serve the purpose better. In the same context, to develop our export trade in these ores, a line from Kottur to Harihar and from Raidurg to Chitaldurg would also serve the purpose and so the construction of these lines also should be taken up.

Then I should like to refer to panchayat raj and community development. They are rendering good service. If life in the villages is to be rendered brighter and happier, we have to make use of these institutions. I cannot find an alternative to the use of these organisations. We must build the local leadership at the village level and also have conscientious and honest and helpful officers, so that with a combination of local leadership

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and conscientious officers we can build up a brighter and happier life in the villages of the country.

The leader of the communist party was saying something about the collection for the National Defence Fund. I must refer to it in fairness to the various State Governments, and particularly to the Mysore State Government. Our country contains about 5,80,000 villages and lakhs and lakhs of officers. It is possible that here and there may be some officers who are fond of quick methods and are overenthusiastic and whose judgement may not be quite sound, but by and large, it has been my experience that these contributions to the fund have been spontaneous and voluntary, and there is excellent enthusiasm in the rural areas, particularly, to come forward to contribute to the National Defence Fund. Lastly, my hon. friend Shri U. M. Trivedi was saying that...

Mr. Chairman: The hon. Member has already taken 20 minutes, and he must wind up now.

Shri T. Subramanyam: The hon. Member was saying that the President's Address does not refer to the whole programme of the present session. I may say that it is not a document which gives all the details, and all the arguments and all that. It only refers by way of illustration, to some of the measures that are going to come up in this session.

Then I must refer to Hindi. All of us in South India are very anxious that Hindi should take its role in our national life. But, at the same time, I must say that it should be brought about in a planned and purposeful manner and we should not take up a dogmatic and fanatic view in this matter. The unity of the country is something to be cherished and we

must leave this to our future generations. I feel that we must play a statemenlike, wise and constructive role and leave the future generations in a united, free and happy India.

Mr. Chairman: Shri Maniyangadan—
not present, Shri R. G. Dubey.

Shri R. G. Dubey (Bijapur North): I would like to join my colleague on this Motion in paying my humble tribute to the Rashtrapati for his inspiring and very wise words; particularly the concluding portions of the Rashtrapati's Address are very significant, where he has asked the nation to awake, arise, etc. Our Rashtrapati, Shri Radhakrishnan, is in line with our very ancient kings who were great scholars and philosophers and so he is in tune with the Indian tradition and culture and has great knowledge. I believe that our present Rashtrapati has done much to present this philosophy and culture to the outside world, much more than anyone else, except perhaps the Prime Minister who because of his very deep knowledge of the affairs of India's history, past and present, has done much to represent our cause to the outside world.

The Government has rightly claimed that it has achieved certain things during the last two five years Plans, but I feel that the time has come when, instead of looking merely to attainments and achievements, we should also try to understand our drawbacks and weaknesses. The Rashtrapati has appealed to us and the Prime Minister also has appealed to us, that the people should not lose their enthusiasm, that the enthusiasm should not be wasted and that we should all have always a sense of emergency. I am sorry to confess—I am coming fresh from my constituency and from other parts of the country—that that enthusiasm is missing now. It is a problem to be considered. Why should that enthusiasm be missing? Maybe there is no direct programme of action for the people at the lower level except possibly the NDF collec-

tion which the officers make. What is the programme for the masses of the country? We have been asked to have training in civil defence. But I was told there was no rifle; nor were there instructors. The same is the case with other things.

Then there is another thing. I am not criticising, and that is not my view. But what I feel is that at various levels of administration, that sense of urgency has not touched. I am not sure, but I was told that the STC wanted a barter deal with some other country. For example, they wanted to have road rollers. Road rollers are very important in the context of our border situation, to construct roads. So, the proposal was made to have road rollers from Czechoslovakia and other countries, in lieu of iron ore and other things. There is also another aspect and that is about the tractors. We talk about food production. I may tell you from my experience that instead of importing food under PL 480, if we allow the people to import tractors, that might be better service to the agriculturists. I am told that this proposal would not receive proper attention. Maybe that some vested interests in the country do not want to import road rollers. This is the kind of thing that is going on, and when are we going to put a stop to it? Unless that sense of urgency and emergency percolates to the various levels and branches of the administration, the people also will not, and do not, feel inspired. This is a problem which we have to consider.

In the course of this discussion we saw two aspects of the controversy or the problem. The leader of the Swatantra party said that the programme in the direction of socialism will destroy the enthusiasm and put the wheels of progress back. There was another view expressed by the communist party, namely, that nothing should be done to retard the progress of social reconstruction, lest some vested interests should come in the way. In all humility I may suggest

that this repeated talk about the rich people, business people, capitalists, etc., is no good. I think it is time that we stopped indulging in that kind of criticism. Personally I am a cent per cent believer in the cause of socialism and I would even approve of radical measures in that direction. But what is of utmost importance now is national unity. I must say in fairness to our people that the princes, the richer people, the capitalists, the industrialists, have all donated to the fund. May be that the poor people have donated more. But we cannot say that the people have not responded. The people have responded cent per cent; all sorts of people have responded, and they have stood behind the Prime Minister in this national crisis. What is the good of picking holes and saying that the capitalists has not done this or that? I think this kind of approach is like trying to put the cart before the horse. To my mind, what is of the utmost importance now is not the achievement of socialism here and now, but to see that the Chinese aggression is vacated. We will be diverting the public opinion from this task if we say that nothing should be done to retard the progress of socialism. When we say that, does it mean that freedom is less important? We are wedded to socialism but what should we do when the freedom of the country is in danger? So, the first thing is the vacation of the Chinese aggression. Only then can we think of socialism.

Why I am putting this in specific terms is because there is an attempt in the country to see that the issues are confused and public opinion is diverted. That might also come in the way of proper war effort. We have to consider these things carefully.

In this context, there is an ideological controversy going on between Peking and Moscow. There are two aspects. One thing is China thinks that the method of war and the spreading of communism to other countries must be followed. China believes in that approach, whereas the

[Shri R. G. Dubey]

Soviet Union, led by Mr. Khrushchev, does not believe in it because it thinks that in the present context of nuclear arms if a war is resorted to, not only will the capitalist world be destroyed but also the socialist world will be destroyed. Naturally, that is a wise approach. Similar is the case with Yugoslavia. And Soviet Russia now believes that Yugoslavia has her own way according to the conditions in her country and they are also treading the path of socialism. So, it is time that the communist party of India took note of these facts, because they often attack the Government saying that we are trying to protect capitalist interests. Even Karl Marx, if he were alive, would not approve of what the communists are doing now. Therefore, we must think in material terms and have a realistic approach to the problem. That does not mean that we should not have clarity or we should be ambiguous. We should not be merely guided by dogmas.

Coming to the armed forces, I am glad the President has mentioned in the address that we are doing everything possible to help our armed forces. We are happy to know this. In this context, I would like to refer to what Napoleon said long ago: "Let China sleep, when she wakes the world will be sorry". I am afraid the prophecy of Napoleon has come true. I have with me a book *The Red Army of China* by Edgar O'Ballance. We have been discussing this problem and in my own humble way, I would like to read one or two extracts from this book about the Chinese armed forces:

"The land force is divided into three distinct parts, the combatant element, which may amount to 2½ million, the transport corps, which may have over 1 million men, and the line-of-communication units, which may have some ¾ million personnel, to which will have to be added the air force and the navy."

There is also an interesting reference about the Chinese soldier:

"Much capital is made of the idea that the Red Chinese soldier, on only a bandolier of rice which he carries himself, can march and fight on almost indefinitely. The harsh fact is that he can only march for short distances and fight for short periods on such a Spartan diet, when, unless he can live off the country or further supplies are brought up to him, he will come to a sudden stop as surely as any Western soldier in similar circumstances. It is a fallacy to assume that the Red Chinese Army does not need a conventional line-of-communications."

He also refers to the Chinese air force and says that China possesses 3000 fighter interceptors and 1000 light jet fighters. He sums up in the following manner:

"The Red Chinese armed forces can be likened to a huge dragon, which sits and licks its lips in a self-satisfied manner, but only a few of its teeth and claws are sharp—many are missing. Nor can it walk very far, if at all. It is also completely dependent upon Russian fuel to enable it to spit fire.

The military hierarchy is ageing, lives in the past, is guerilla warfare minded, is cautious and reluctant to change with the times.

Shortly, the armed forces, in spite of their size, have only limited offensive capabilities, but many defensive factors are in their favour.

Lastly, should the Communist idols fall, or the Communist gods reveal their clay feet, a military junta might step into power."

This information, according to Edgar O'Ballance, is based on the information he got in 1961. It is difficult to get proper information about the

countries behind the iron curtain. This speaks of the size of the problem which the Indian armed forces have to face.

But one need not be nervous, because China has a population of 650 million people. They have an army of the size of 4½ million including the transport corps. But I do not think China can deploy the whole army against India, because we are told by Edgar O'Ballance that they are concentrating important units on the coast across Formosa. So, all these problems are there and we have to face them.

They have a militia. My opinion is, speaking as a layman, I do not see any reason why we should not also have that kind of militia in our districts along the Himalayan border. There are 20 or 30 districts and in each district, we can raise one or two divisions consisting of peasant youths between the ages of 18 and 25. They need not be mobile; they can pursue their own occupations, but they can receive training. This can serve as a defensive wall.

Coming to agricultural production, I am happy that it is growing. But if we consider the time, energy and money that we have spent during the last ten years, our progress could not be considered satisfactory. Instead of trying to look to the better side of the picture, let us try to look at our weaknesses, and try to rectify them.

With these words, I support the motion.

Shri N. Sreekantan Nair: Mr. Chairman, amendment No. 3, which I have given notice of on behalf of my group, reads thus:

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

but regret that in the Address no assurance has been given to Parliament and the country that the Declaration of Emergency

will not be used as a cover to cover nepotism, inefficiency and red-tapism that is now rampant in the administrative machinery."

On this and some other amendments, I should like to say a few words. I do not see eye to eye with the Governments at the Centre and in the States on the broader question of enforcing the powers vis-a-vis the preparation of the country for an all-out defence. The attitude of the various Governments has been to strengthen the powerful cliques in the Congress Party itself as against other sections of the Congressmen and all sections of the opposition. All committees and actions are directed in that light, so much so, our defence problem has become the problem of a very small clique in the country. It is no longer the concern of the vast majority of the people of this country. Naturally, it loses its significance, because it is not a national effort, but it is only a sectional effort.

Added to this is the question of the attitude of the bureaucracy. The Defence of India Rules give wide powers to the bureaucracy and they are using them to their own benefit and advantage. Anyone who attacks nepotism, corruption, black-marketing, etc. can be taken in and clamped in jail as the enemy of the country. It is not a question of going to jail, but the odium of being dubbed as an enemy of the country which is significant. Many honest people, who have fought for national liberation and who are fighting for the liberation of the common people, feel it very much if they are dubbed as enemies of the country. So, this kind of emergency, as it is now controlled by the various Governments, should be done away with.

The police have become all-powerful all over India. Any policeman can say that X, Y or Z is an enemy of the country and immediately he becomes an enemy of the country for practical purposes. And the police naturally cater to the ruling clique. If this state

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of affairs continues, I think it is not going to strengthen even the Congress Party, because there is a limit to the capacity of the people to suffer and that limit, I am afraid, has already been reached. If we go any further, there will be a violent reaction in the country and that will go against the interests of our defence effort. Therefore, I demand a radical change in the approach to the people and the popular participation in the war effort. The narrow suicidal attitude of the ruling party should be given up.

16 hrs

Another problem is the feeling of complacency—now there is no war and so there is no need to be very active in our defence effort. That complacency is eating into the vitals of our defence. The Colombo proposals have been practically rejected by the Chinese and they are bidding their time. Many people do not understand the significance of this attitude. Naturally, they divert the attention of the people by mutual petty and partisan fights. The situation is also utilised by the big vested interests to serve their own purpose. We have gone through the Vivian Bose Commission's report. Almost every big capitalist group in the country is following the very same tactics. It was their misfortune that the Dalmia Jain Group were alone brought to a very close microscopic examination. Had it been done in the case of most of the other business houses we would have found just the same malpractices. Before this very Parliament several questions regarding the secrets of other business houses have come up for discussion. The mysteries of the Birla House and the Tatas and others have been brought up. None of these people are saints and they are trying to utilise this situation to enrich their own pockets.

What is the overall result? In recent survey conducted by the Planning Commission they arrived at the following results. The results which they

have arrived at are appalling. I am giving you the summary of the results published on 25th January, 1963 in the Press. They say: "one-third of the entire national income of this country goes to 10 per cent. of the people". What is still worse is: "one-fourth of the country's total consumption goes to the same 10 per cent.". "On the other hand", they say, "one-third of the total population will be below the bread line even at the end of the twentieth century".

16.02 hrs.

[SHRI THIRUMALA RAO in the Chair]

Therefore, throughout the century we have no salvation. Then, fourthly, they say: "the poorest 10 per cent. of the people earn below 2½ per cent. of the national income and they get only less than 3 per cent. of the goods available for consumption". Then it is said: "Above all, two-third of the entire population of India now subsists at the starvation level". This, Sir, is the picture of the socialistic pattern of society we are following.

Therefore, we have not only got to fight the Chinese aggressors, we have to fight the reactionary vested interests inside the country, as well. These vested interests include not only monopoly capital but also monopoly Press. Recently our Prime Minister has gone out against them in strong terms. But such speeches are not very effective because they are not at all affected by it. Recently, you might have known, a section of the monopoly Press went against no less a person than Vinoba Bhave because he is a man of liberal views. Our Prime Minister himself is a target for these people and they are out for his blood because he holds progressive views.

Thus, Sir, the country is being threatened by forces both internal and external, and it is high time we girded up our loins and prepared ourselves for defence. For this it is necessary that all sections of the people who are progressive, all sections

of the people who love this country, should be brought together irrespective of the fact whether they belong to this or that party. If we do not adopt this attitude, naturally, the whole question of defence will continue to be as it is now, a matter of a very small section of the ruling clique.

Sir, the Defence of India Rules are being used mainly to wreak vengeance against this or that enemy. Even personal and petty quarrels are being resolved now under the Defence of India Rules. Shri Trivedi has pointed out that it was very unfair to have utilised the Defence of India Rules for controlling gold. I am not a friend of smugglers or the big bullion merchants. But what about the one million—he says there are 2½ millions but there must be at least more than a million—goldsmiths and artisans in this country? They are facing destitution and complete starvation. There is another aspect of the question. In the villages gold has always been a source of not only barter but also of banking facilities for the poor people. In my State, for example, there are thousands of women cashew factory workers and coir workers who are also women. They get less than a rupee per day on an average. Out of that they occasionally save a naya paisa or two naye paise, accumulate such savings and buy very small ornaments. These are the only protection for them against the rainy day. They have no other small saving schemes conveniently available. Therefore, these poor women would be subject to a lot of harassment if this control as it is now prescribed continues. Nobody wants 14 carat gold. What is the fun of limiting it to 14 carats. In two measures there will be gold worth 28 carats. The quantum of gold is the most important issue. Let us retain the quality and prescribe a limit to the quantity. If the hon. Minister would have laid down some ceiling on the maximum holding which any particular individual could have, there would have been some meaning. Restricting the quality of gold is mean-

ingless. I think, unfortunately, our Finance Minister has no sense of beauty, no aesthetic conception and that is why he has gone against the quantum of carat of gold.

Another point I want to raise is about the imposing of elections in the midst of emergency. In my State, Kerala, I am told that it was at the instance of the Central Government that elections to the local bodies were put off. In Bengal also the same was the case. Now the Central Government comes forward with the order for by-elections for the Parliament and State Legislatures. What do they mean by it? Do they want the opposition parties to come out in the open and criticise them, naturally, in every aspect of their functioning including their war efforts? But then the Defence of India Rules will come in. What is the remedy? Sir, it is a mockery, it is a farce to conduct the elections now. If the Government wants still further to strengthen the Congress Party which is already predominant as a force in this country, then there will be no democracy. They are stifling democracy by bringing in elections at this time. They are making themselves a laughing-stock and there are many people in the Opposition who may not be so much frightened by the Defence of India Rules and may take up the challenge. Therefore, we have to consider whether it is necessary to carry on the elections at this critical stage. If it is necessary, then there will have to be freedom of speech to all the opposition parties to oppose the Government in all its activities irrespective of whether it touches the war efforts or not. So, naturally, the security and defence of the country will be in danger. This question must be very seriously considered.

Then, the President has said that the wholesale prices have remained almost static. Of course, I can understand the position with regard to the index figures, but as an ordinary citizen I have found that the prices of daily necessities have gone up four or five times. If there is anything to

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set off this increase in the prices of articles of every-day use, it is a fall in the price of agricultural goods. So, there is increase on one side on articles of emergency use for the common man. To set off that, there is a fall in prices in agricultural commodities. What is the total result? It smashes both the urban and village population; it smashes both the village and the town so much so that the vast majority of the people suffer untold misery.

Along with this there is the question of showing down the national reconstruction works. When developmental programmes are given up, naturally it leads to unemployment. Statistics have been quoted to prove that there is increased production. But those are old statistics depending on the stocks that were available with the industrialists before the emergency came into force. What is the position now? I have read a press report that no less a concern than the Visakhapatnam shipyard could not succeed in getting foreign exchange from the Minister of Finance. When that is the plight of a public sector organisation, we can well imagine what the position of private sector concerns would be. I am a trade union worker with intimate contact with many industries. Production has gone down in many industries due to lack of raw material and foreign exchange. What will be the position after six months? We can very well expect that it would not be as hopeful as it is now presented to the House.

In Kerala the industrial situation is becoming very tragic. Production is going down, and the ilmenite mines have been closed down. The President's Address has been jubilant over the opening of a small uranium mine in Bihar. But what about the condition of ten thousand workers who are working in the ilmenite mines in Kerala? In the balance sheet of the Travancore Minerals Limited, which the Prime Minister was pleased to lay

on the Table of the House yesterday, the financial position of the factory is given in full and I will give you some details from it. The company was started under the joint control of Central Government, Kerala Government and Madras Government with a total paid up capital of Rs. 50 lakhs. In the year 1961-62 alone, the company earned a gross profit of Rs. 35,21,721:19 nP. During the past five years it has built up Rs. 13 lakhs as general reserve and a dividend equalisation fund of Rs. 7 lakhs after providing Rs. 6 lakhs and odd for depreciation; that is to say, more than the capital investment had been paid back. Yet, this industry which had given the Central Government about Rs. 2 crores in foreign exchange, the Kerala Government about Rs. 75 lakhs per year as royalty, and a fairly decent living for about 10,000 families had died out. Why? Because the Central Government and the Kerala Government fought for the plums of the industry. They never looked into the conditions of the industry and they never studied the world market. They simply fought for the fruits of the industry.

In the meantime, the foreign buyers who came to India were maltreated or they were offended by the treatment meted out to them by the high brows of the Atomic Energy Department. So, they went back and sought their raw material elsewhere. Naturally, we lost that market. The question is how to redeem that market. Had we acted in time there would not have been any difficulty. The buyers are complaining that there is 2 per cent chromite or chromium in the ilmenite which is supposed to be one of the purest in the world with the highest titanium dioxide content. That impurity could not be removed by our great Atomic Energy Department which is supposed to have all the monopoly of scientific knowledge. They do not know how to separate this, either physically or chemically, and present the ilmenite as a pure

stuff. When this aspect is pointed out, the officers, naturally, give all sorts of wrong information to the hon. Prime Minister and he throws it in our face. So, an industry which has supported very honourably and decently 10,000 families has died out because of highbrow, inefficient attitude of the department and the fight between the Central and Kerala Governments.

The plight of the workers in other industries also is not much different. Everywhere victimisation has become rampant. Everywhere increase in the workload has been imposed. Everywhere a change in the conditions has been illegally introduced because the workers, out of patriotism, declared a no-strike policy. Because they signed an industrial truce voluntary, employers have got the upper hand. In the past even when we had the right to strike, we naturally used to approach the hon. Labour Minister in the Centre who has always been known as a friend of the labour, to come to our aid in difficulties. Now he is too much engrossed with other duties and there is so much of complaints that he cannot attend to them properly. The States' machineries have not been tuned up to meet this threat. What is the position? The workers are helpless. They are bristling with unrest and it cannot be contained for long.

We may be told that there are the Defence of India Rules which may be utilised against us. But we are the people who have fought the Defence of India Rules under the British Raj. We have fought them with success. But now it is a different question. Now it is a question of India, our own motherland, being attacked and we do not want to challenge the Defence of India Rules if we can. But there is an 'if'. We cannot continue this indefinitely. So, if the rights of the workers are not protected properly, if Government do not try to control the prices of daily necessities of life, if Government do not restrict the employer from enhancing the work-

load without a proportionate enhancement in the wages, naturally we will be forced to resist and no Defence of India Rules can curb us and put us down. Therefore production will suffer. I would very seriously bring to the notice of this House and of Government that something must be done immediately, otherwise the industrial peace in the country will be broken. We will break it without any fear of the Defence of India Rules.

श्री राधे लाल व्यास (उज्जैन) : सभापति महोदय, श्री राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण पर श्री पाण्डेय ने घन्यवाद का जो प्रस्ताव रक्खा है उसका मैं हृदय से समर्थन करता हूँ ।

राष्ट्रपति महोदय ने अपने अभिभाषण के पृष्ठ ४ पर सब से अधिक महत्वपूर्ण बात यह कही है :—

“हमारे सामने आज चीन के हमले की समस्या सब से बड़ी है और इस को सामने रख कर ही हमें वाकी सब बातों पर विचार करना है ।”

यह बिलकुल सही है कि इस समस्या पर गम्भीरता से विचार करते हुए हमें अपने सभी योजनाओं को बनाना है और उन को कार्यान्वित करना है । देश की रक्षा का सवाल सब से प्रथम है और हमें यह जान कर प्रसन्नता है कि हमारी जो आर्डिनेन्स फौजदारी हैं, रक्षा के काम में आने वाले जो शस्त्रादि बनाने के कारखाने हैं उन में चौबीसों घंटे काम चल रहा है और उस में काफ़ी प्रगति हुई है । लेकिन केवल इस से सन्तोष नहीं हो सकता है । हमें इस देश की विशाल जनसंख्या को देश के ऊपर आये खतरे का सफलतापूर्वक सामना करने के लिए तैयार करना है और जैसाकि दुश्मन

[श्री राधेलाल व्यास]

हमारे सामने है उस को देखते हुए यह कारखाने काफ़ी नहीं हैं। इस के लिए नये नये कारखाने बनाये जाने चाहिए।

अभी आप ने देखा कि सारे देश की जनता ने नेशनल डेवलपमेंट फंड में जो योगदान दिया और जो सहयोग और उत्साह दिखाया उस से एक बड़ी आशा हम को होती है। इस सम्बन्ध में मेरा एक विनम्र सुझाव है कि जो जनता ने पैसा दिया है जिस राज्य से जितना पैसा प्राप्त हुआ है, उन हप्यों से उस राज्य में आर्डिनेन्स फैक्टरीज या आर्मामेंट फैक्टरीज कायम की जानी चाहिए ताकि यह यादगार बनी रहे कि वहां की जनता के पैसे से और उन के सहयोग से यह कारखाने देश की रक्षा के लिए बनाये गये। आप को यह जान कर प्रसन्नता होगी कि मध्य प्रदेश भी इस मामले में पीछे नहीं रहा है और मध्य प्रदेश में भी उज्जैन ला सर्व-प्रथम रहा है। मेरा अनुमान है कि पर कैपिटल के हिसाब से सारे देश में शायद उज्जैन ज़िले का पहला नम्बर आयेगा। मेरा सुझाव है कि इन लोगों और राज्यों का उत्साह बढ़ाने के लिए वहां पर नए नए कारखाने कायम किए जाने चाहिये।

यह भी प्रसन्नता की बात है कि हमारे यहां हवाई जहाज़ का कारखाना बनने जा रहा है। बंगलौर के कारखाने में भी हवाई जहाज़ बनने शुरू हुए हैं और उस में प्रगति हुई है। लेकिन चूँकि बहुत बड़ी संख्या में हवाई जहाज़ चाहियें, इसलिए और भी कारखाने बनाये जाने चाहिए, जिन में छोटे बड़े, सब प्रकार के हवाई जहाज़ बनाने की व्यवस्था हो। हम को वाम्बज, फ़ाइटर और रैडार्ज की ज़रूरत होगी।
के लिए काफ़ी पैसा, काफ़ी

जानकारी और ज्ञान चाहिए, परन्तु इस दिशा में हम को शुरुआत तो करनी चाहिए। इन को जानने वाले और चलाने वाले पायलट्स आदि की हज़ारों की संख्या में ज़रूरत होगी। सरकार को केवल इस दृष्टि से नहीं सोचना चाहिए कि जिन व्यक्तियों को नौकरी में रखना है, केवल उन्हीं को इस सम्बन्ध में प्रशिक्षण देना है और चालक बनाना है। आज हमारे देश में लाखों नौजवान यह काम करने के लिए तैयार हैं। उन को आवश्यक प्रशिक्षण दिया जाना चाहिए, ताकि ज़रूरत पड़ने पर हम पायलट्स और टैक्निकल पर्सनल के रूप में उन का अच्छी तरह से उपयोग कर सकें।

राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने अभिभाषण में व्यापारी जहाज़ों का जिक्र किया है। यह प्रसन्नता की बात है कि उन का टनेज बढ़ रहा है। लेकिन आज की स्थिति में नेवी और लड़ाकू जहाज़ों को नज़र-अन्दाज़ नहीं किया जा सकता है। हमारा काफ़ी बड़ा समुद्र-तट है और उस की रक्षा करने के लिए जहाज़ी-बेड़े को तैयार करना होगा और उस को बढ़ाना होगा। इस समय हमारा जहाज़ी-बेड़ा छोटा और दुर्बल है। दुश्मन के हमले से देश की रक्षा करने के लिए हम को सबमैरिन्ज की भी ज़रूरत है। आज संसार में ऐसा कोई देश नहीं है, जोकि समुद्र से घिरा हुआ हो और जिस के पास सबमैरिन्ज की आरगनाइजेशन और यूनिट्स न हों। इस दिशा में प्रगति करना बहुत आवश्यक है।

राइफल ट्रेनिंग की व्यवस्था भी बहुत जल्दी करने की आवश्यकता है। जगह जगह पर लोग हम से पूछते हैं कि राइफल ट्रेनिंग की व्यवस्था क्यों नहीं

की जा रही है। यह जरूरी नहीं है कि गवर्न-मेंट की तरफ से ही राईफल दी जायें। हर जगह पर लोगों के पास राईफल हैं और उनका उपयोग किया जाना चाहिये। अगर कार्ट-रिज नहीं हैं, तो शुरू में छरों से ही काम चलाया जाये, जैसा कि पार्लियामेंट के मेम्बरों को ट्रेनिंग देते समय किया गया था। आज सारे देश में बड़े पैमाने पर राइफल ट्रेनिंग का कार्यक्रम शीघ्र ही शुरू किया जाना चाहिए। मैं नहीं समझता कि इस विषय में देर क्यों हो रही है। इस बारे में लोगों को निराशा होने का मौका नहीं दिया जाना चाहिए।

आज की स्थिति में आम्ब्रं एक्ट को भी कुछ ढीला करने की जरूरत है। लोगों को ज्यादा से ज्यादा हथियार रखने की सुविधा देनी चाहिए और लाइसेन्स देने में उदारता की नीति अपनानी चाहिए। अगर आवश्यक हो, तो आम्ब्रं एक्ट में संशोधन किया जाना चाहिए।

आज जो लड़ाई हो रही है, वह पहाड़ों पर हो रही है और उस का अन्तिम निर्णय पहाड़ों पर ही होना है। इसलिए अधिक से अधिक लोगों को माउन्टेन वारफेयर की शिक्षा देनी चाहिए। पिछली दफा हम ने देखा कि पहाड़ों की लड़ाई का अनुभव न होने से हमारे जवानों और देश को काफी क्षति उठानी पड़ी। भविष्य में इस गलती को न दोहराया जाये, इसलिए माउन्टेन वारफेयर के लिए लोगों को शिक्षित करने की समुचित व्यवस्था करनी चाहिए।

यद्यपि सम्भव है कि मेरे साथी मुझ से सहमत न हों, लेकिन मैं विनम्रतापूर्वक निवेदन करूंगा कि हम को न्युक्विलियर वैपन्ज के विकास की दिशा में भी कुछ सोचना चाहिए। आज सब देश यह समझते हैं कि केवल कन्वेंशनल वैपन्ज ही काफी नहीं हैं। यद्यपि वे बहुत जरूरी हैं, लेकिन न्युक्विलियर वैपन्ज को रखना भी बहुत आवश्यक है—दुश्मनों पर हमला करने के लिए नहीं, लेकिन दुश्मनों को यह

बताने के लिए कि अगर वे इनका उपयोग करते हैं, तो उनको भी जवाब में जोर का तमाचा मिलेगा। अगर इन वैपन्ज को डेवेलप करना और रखना खर्चीला हो, तो कम से कम एक माडेस्ट तरीके से, छोटे पैमाने पर, इस काम को शुरू किया जाये, ताकि हमारे लोगों को उनका ज्ञान हो और आगे चल कर हम उनसे वंचित न रह सकें।

हमारे देश में कम्युनिटी डेवेलपमेंट ब्लाक्स और पंचायतें हैं और अब रक्षा श्रम बैंकों की भी स्थापना की गई है। मैं इसका स्वागत करता हूँ। मेरा मुझाव है कि इस योजना को केवल देहातों तक ही सीमित न रखा जाये, बल्कि शहरों में भी रक्षा श्रम बैंकों का काम शुरू किया जाये और शहरों के सब बालिया लोगों से महीने में एक दिन श्रम लेने की व्यवस्था की जाये, नहीं तो देहाती लोगों को यह शिकायत करने का मौका मिलेगा कि सब काम देहातियों के लिए ही रखे जाते हैं, जबकि शहरों के लोगों को कोई काम नहीं दिया जाता है।

लोगों का उत्साह बढ़ाने के लिए और उनका सहयोग प्राप्त करने के लिए यह बहुत जरूरी है कि शासकीय यन्त्र को गीयर अप किया जाये। आज लोग यह बर्दाश्त नहीं कर सकते कि कहीं पर भ्रष्टाचार हो और कहीं पर लाल-फीता शाही हो। उन को तुरन्त समाप्त करना चाहिए और यदि कोई सरकारी कर्म-चारी इनका अपराधी पाया जाये, तो उसको कड़ी से कड़ी सजा देनी चाहिये।

श्री बागड़ी : वजीर और मिनिस्टर ?

श्री राधेलाल व्यास : इस बारे में कोई अपवाद नहीं है। यह कह देना आसान है कि वजीरों के खिलाफ कार्यवाही की जाये, लेकिन हालांकि हमारे मित्र इतने दिनों से यहां पर हैं, लेकिन वह किसी भी वजीर के खिलाफ एक भी कंक्रिट बात नहीं रख सके। केवल प्रचार के लिए आरोप लगाना और

[श्री राधेलाल व्यास]

बदनाम करने की कोशिश करना उचित नहीं है। कांग्रेस पार्टी के सदस्य भी किसी के रिश्तेदार नहीं हैं। अगर कोई वजीर कोई गलती करता है, तो पार्टी में उसकी खबर ली जाती है। माननीय सदस्य को मालूम होना चाहिए कि यहां पर और राज्यों में भी यही परिपाटी है।

न्याय को जल्दी सुलभ करने की व्यवस्था करनी चाहिए। यह कहा जाता है कि सामाजिक, आर्थिक और राजनीतिक न्याय उपलब्ध करने की व्यवस्था की गई है, परन्तु हम देखते हैं कि अदालतों में यद्यपि फ़ौजदारी मुकदमों के फ़ैसले जल्दी हो जाते हैं, लेकिन सम्पत्ति से सम्बन्ध रखने वाले मामले महीनों और वर्षों तक चलते हैं। डिग्रियां होने के बाद उनकी हकरसी में कई साल लग जाते हैं। इस सम्बन्ध में उचित व्यवस्था की जानी चाहिए, ताकि लोग न्याय से वंचित न हों।

राष्ट्रपति जी ने खर्च में कमी करने, चीजों को जाया ने होने देने, अपने सीमित साधनों को बचाए रखने और सम्भाल कर उनका उपयोग करने की आवश्यकता पर बल दिया। आजकल इन बातों की बहुत अहमियत है। यह एक बहुत महत्वपूर्ण प्रश्न है और लोग यह आशा करते कि अब फ़िज़ूलखर्ची में कमी की जायेगी। मैं अनुभव करता हूँ कि इस दिशा में जितने ठोस कदम उठाए जाने चाहिए, अभी तक वे नहीं उठाए गए हैं। हम देखते हैं कि हमारे देश में विभिन्न राज्यों में कहीं पर छोटे जिले हैं और और कहीं पर बड़े जिले हैं, कहीं पर कमिश्नरी है और कहीं पर नहीं है। इस प्रकार एडमिनिस्ट्रिव एक्सपेंसेज में बहुत वृद्धि हो जाती है। मध्य प्रदेश में एक तरफ़ तो बिलासपुर और रायपुर जैसे जिले हैं, जहां अठारह बीस लाख की आबादी है और दूसरी तरफ़ दंतिया का जिला है, जिस की आबादी सिर्फ़ दो लाख है। इस तरह कैसे काम चलेगा? इस इमजन्सी

की स्थिति में खर्च में कमी करना बहुत जरूरी है। एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन के खर्च में जितनी अधिक कमी की जा सकती है, वह की जाए। जहां पर जिले कम किए जा सकते हैं, उन को कम किया जाए। जहां पर कमिश्नरी को हटाया जा सकता है, उस को हटा दिया जाए। स्टाफ़ को कम किया जाए और काम के घंटे बढ़ाए जायें। दफ़्तरों में आठ दस घंटे काम हो, ताकि थोड़े आदमियों से अधिक काम लिया जा सके।

इसी प्रकार टी० ए० और डी० ए० के रूल्स में परिवर्तन करने की जरूरत है। नेशनल डिफेंस फंड को इकट्ठा करने के लिए जिले और तहसील के अधिकारियों ने काफी दौरे किये और मेहनत की। लेकिन पिछले सालों में इतना टी० ए० और डी० ए० झा नहीं किया गया होगा, जितना कि इमर्जेन्सी के इस जमाने में नेशनल डिफेंस फंड को इकट्ठा करने में वसूल कर लिया गया। उन लोगों ने एक दिन की तन्बवाह तो दी, लेकिन उस से कई गुना टी० ए० और डी० ए० वसूल कर लिया। मेरा सुझाव यह है कि जो सरकारी अधिकारी सरकारी कार में जायें, सरकारी पेट्रोल का उपयोग करें, सुबह जायें और शाम को घर आ जायें उनको उस रोज़ का टी० ए० और डी० ए० कतई नहीं मिलना चाहिये। वे अपने साथ टिफिन ले जा सकते हैं घर से जहां पर उनको फिर आना होता है। इससे लाखों रुपये की बचत की जा सकती है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि इस तरह की व्यवस्था कर दी जाए।

एक माननीय सदस्य : मिनिस्टर्ज के बारे में भी तो कुछ कहें।

श्री राधेलाल व्यास : हमारे दोस्त मिनिस्टर्ज की बात कहते हैं। शायद उनको पता नहीं है कि सेंटर के जो मिनिस्टर हैं, उनको सरकारी कार नहीं मिलती है, पेट्रोल भी नहीं मिलता है, ड्राइवर भी नहीं मिलता है और जब वे स्टेट्स में जाते हैं तो स्टेट गैस्ट होते हैं,

और उनके लिए टी० ए० और डी० ए० का कोई सवाल ही पैदा नहीं होता है। यह सब कुछ जानते हुए भी वह जब इस तरह की बात करते हैं तो मुझे आश्चर्य होता है।

मेरा एक विनम्र सुझाव है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि एक इकोनोमी कमेटी जिस में पार्लियामेंट के मੈम्बर हों, कुछ रिटायर्ड अफसर हों, हाई कोर्ट के जज हों बनाई जाये। यह स्टैंडिंग इकोनोमी कमेटी बननी चाहिये जो हमेशा इस बात का सर्वे करती रहे कि देश में किन किन बातों की जरूरत है और किन किन खर्चों में कमी की जा सकती है। यह बहुत जरूरी है। केवल अभिभाषण में इसका जिक्र कर देने से कि खर्चों में कमी की जानी है, कमी नहीं होने वाली है। मेरा सुझाव है कि एक स्टैंडिंग कमेटी कायम की जाए।

काम के घंटे बढ़ाये जायें, छुट्टियाँ कम की जाएँ। हम देखते हैं कि स्कूलों और कालेजों में दो दो और ढाई ढाई महीने की छुट्टियाँ रहती हैं। जो हाई कोर्टस हैं और दूसरी कोर्टस हैं वहाँ भी हम देखते हैं कि बड़ी लम्बी छुट्टियाँ रहती हैं। इन छुट्टियों को इस एमरजेंसी में खत्म कर दिया जाना चाहिये। स्कूलों और कालेजों में जब एक एग्जैमिनेशन हो जाए और दूसरा सत्र शुरू हो, यानी जब तक रिजल्ट न निकले तब तक उस बीच में जनरल एजुकेशन, दूसरे विषयों की एजुकेशन, देश रक्षा की एजुकेशन उनको दी जानी चाहिये।

साथ ही साथ उद्घाटनों वगैरह पर जो खर्च होता है, उस में भी कमी की जानी चाहिये। ब्याह शान्तियों का खर्च आरंभ भोज आदि पर नियंत्रण लगाया जाना चाहिये और अल्प बचत की ओर ज्यादा ध्यान दिया जाना चाहिये। बड़े बड़े उद्योगों में काफी मुनाफा होता है। बोनस बांटा जाता डिविडेंड बांटा जाता है। मैं समझता हूँ कि इस एमरजेंसी में बोनस का बांटना, डिविडेंड का बांटना, मुनाफा अधिक लेना, यह सब बन्द

होना चाहिये। जो रकम इस तरह से बचे, उसको डिफेंस बांडज में लगा दिया जाना चाहिये और लोगों को नहीं दिया जाना चाहिये। इस तरह से उस रकम का सदुपयोग हो सकता है और साथ ही साथ इनप्लेशन से भी देश की रक्षा की जा सकती है।

शिक्षा के क्षेत्र में काफी प्रगति हुई है और हमारे शिक्षा मंत्री जी ने काफी इस ओर ध्यान दिया है। मेरा हमेशा ही यह सुझाव रहा है कि विद्यार्थियों को पढ़ने के लिये कर्ज दिये जायें। इसकी व्यवस्था इस साल से हो रही है। लेकिन टैक्नीकल एजुकेशन का जहाँ तक सम्बन्ध है, मेरा कहना है कि जो ये इंस्टीट्यूशंस हैं, वे काफी नहीं हैं। मेरा सुझाव है कि जो इंस्टीट्यूशंस दिन में चलती हैं, रात को भी अगर वे काम करें और स्टाफ बढ़ा दिया जाए या फिर उनको ही और एलाउंस वगैरह दे दिया जाए तो अच्छा रहेगा। नाइट क्लासिस भी टैक्नीकल इंस्टीट्यूशंस में खोली जानी चाहिये ताकि अधिक से अधिक लोग इन से लाभ उठा सकें और जो लोग दिन में कहीं काम करते हैं, वे अगर रात में पढ़ना चाहें टैक्नीकल एजुकेशन लेना चाहें, उनको भी यह मुविधा प्राप्त होनी चाहिये। शिक्षकों का स्तर भी ऊंचा उठाने की जरूरत है। यह बहुत बड़ी शिकायत है। उनका पढ़ाने का स्टैंडर्ड तथा उनका मारेल वगैरह ऊंचा नहीं होता है, उनमें साम्प्रदायिकता फैलती जा रही है। इस सब की तरफ ध्यान देने की जरूरत है।

समान अवसर की बात की जाती है। मेरा विनम्र निवेदन है कि समान अवसर से लोगों को बंचित रखा जाता है। मैं आपको बतलाना चाहता हूँ कि हमारे मध्य प्रदेश में कुछ लोग, कुछ टैक्नीकल लोग, क्वालिफाइड लोग बाहर जब स्थान रिक्त होते हैं, तो एप्लाई करना चाहते हैं, लेकिन उनकी एप्लीकेशंस फार्वर्ड नहीं की जाती

[श्री राधेलाल ब्रास]

हैं। दूसरी जगहों पर भी ऐसा होता है। ऐसा करके उनको समान अवसर से वंचित रखा जाता है। यह जो एप्लीकेशंस पर प्रतिबन्ध है, यह हटाना चाहिये और लोगों को मौका मिलना चाहिये कि वे बाहर जा सकें।

कहने को तो मुझे और भी कहना था लेकिन चूँकि समय हो गया है और आपकी आँखें मेरी ओर लगी हुई हैं, इस वास्ते कह नहीं सकता हूँ। मैं आपको धन्यवाद देता हूँ और जो धन्यवाद का प्रस्ताव रखा गया है, उसका मैं समर्थन करता हूँ।

Shri Karuthiruman (Gobichettipalayam): Our thanks are due to the President of India, the great philosopher, Dr. Radhakrishnan, for his Address. In it, he has mentioned the policy of our Government which has been pursued and is being pursued. This is the first Address delivered by our President during the emergency period. It has covered many important and vital things. It has given a call to the nation, to our people working in the industrial and agricultural sectors to rise to the occasion and to defend our motherland. The policy of non-alignment has proved to be not only successful; in fact, it is the best policy, because it has been approved by almost all the great nations of the world. The President has expressed our thanks for the help given by the USA and UK. There is a great saying by Tiruvalluvar:

*"Udukkai izhandavan kai pol
ange Idukkai kalaivadam natpu."*

16.35 hrs.

[MR. SPEAKER in the Chair]

It means that a friend in need is a friend indeed. When we were in urg-

ent need, when even the honour of our country was at stake, the help rendered to us was a real and great help. We are all thankful to the people of those two eminent countries and to all the friendly nations which have come to our rescue in the hour of our peril.

In his Address, the President has said:

"Agriculture, which is the most important sector of our economy, has undergone material developments and agricultural production has increased considerably."

I shall confine myself to only agricultural production. As I have had occasion to remark, the present increase in agricultural production is partly due to our plans, partly due to our advanced methods of cultivation and chiefly due to the prevailing prices of foodgrains. The economists say that if you control the prices of foodgrains the prices of other commodities will automatically come down. That might have been true in the 19th century, but in the 20th century, especially after the second world war, this is not a fact, and we can prove that with the fall of prices of foodgrains the prices of other commodities have not come down. Other people are taking advantage of a fall in the price of foodgrains, and it is only the poor agriculturist who suffers.

In the present emergency, it is not only a question of fighting in the frontiers. The question of the farmer fighting in the farm is, in fact, the most important thing. We should see that the farmer gets not a lucrative price, but at least a reasonable and fair price for his produce.

The Planning Commission has fixed a minimum price for agricultural produce. They throw the blame on the Food and Agriculture Minister for it, while he throws the blame on them, with the result that the agriculturist, like a football, is being kicked from place to place. But the agriculturists have not raised a cry, rather their voice has not been heard, because they do not have proper representatives here.

Even the economists say that the prices have now gone to such a height that the major portion of the people's expenditure is on foodgrains. Take the example of rice. An ordinary human being consumes 16 oz. per day. Unless the price is fixed at Rs. 21 per maund, it is practically impossible for the agriculturist to produce, as it will cost him only 25 nP. per head per day. As a practical farmer, I can prove this to the Planning Commission and the Food and Agriculture Minister. Is it not reasonable that has to spend at least 25 nP. per head per day? The urban people raise a hue and cry because they want to go to the cinema and spend extravagantly on other things. For that, they want to put the blame on the agriculturist and they want to lower his price. It is a most uncharitable act. The floor price that has been fixed is unreasonable. By that we are not helping the agriculturists. Indirectly we are asking them not to grow more food. They will turn to cash crops, and production of foodgrains will in due course go down, there is no doubt about that.

Even an upper division clerk in the secretariat is more favourably placed compared to the so-called landlord in Madras State. The Planning Commission fixed a land ceiling of 30 standard acres, and Rs. 3,600 per annum is the ceiling on the income of a farmer whereas the Members of the Planning Commission receive Rs. 3,000 per

month. They fix Rs. 300 per month as a ceiling for the agriculturist but they themselves get Rs. 3,600 as salary as they are not able to live in the cities. How can a poor farmer do farming without even ordinary facilities? You say: grow more food, grow more food. But the price fixed is Rs. 15 per maund. It is the most unjust act of the Food Minister or the Planning Commission. Let them calculate the cost of cultivation per acre. It comes to about Rs. 400 per acre. Let them then fix the price of the produce. The ordinary farmer does not know the floor or ceiling price and the traders take maximum advantage. The State Governments almost mortgage the farmers to the traders. They say: you give us 1.5 lakh tons of rice at the floor price that is fixed. The traders deliver that amount of rice to the Government. Now, when it comes to the consumer, after adding the transport charges, gunnies, profits, etc. it is not sold at the floor price. It is not the farmer who benefits in any way; it is the trader who takes advantage of the scarcity. Let the Government fix a reasonable price for the produce and then let it severely control it; I do not mind. Unless the price is fixed at Rs. 21 per maund of rice, it is practically impossible for a farmer to take to rice production. Let the price for the consumer be fixed at 10 per cent more. Unless Government takes serious action and unless co-operative societies handle the trade, the poor farmers of our country will be the victims of the traders; they will not reap the harvests of their fields.

Then there is no parity of prices. A person taking to sugarcane gets a thousand rupees while a person taking to wheat or paddy gets at the most Rs. 200. Naturally he grows cotton or other cash crops where he gets more money. It is impossible for industries to flourish without agricultural production. A farmer sells his cotton to a textile mill for Rs. 150 or Rs. 200 kapas per quintal but the textile mill gets Rs. 1500 for the finished products

[Shri Karuthiruman]

and all the profit is taken by the industrialists and the urban people. Only the poor agriculturist does not get anything. We all say we represent the rural population. The Planning Commission has an urban bias; it should be otherwise, 30 per cent of cultivable area under new irrigation projects has not come under the plough because the agriculturist feels he is not getting the proper price for the produce. If that is fixed satisfactorily, production will increase by leaps and bounds. There should be a minimum guarantee price announced once a year in advance so that the farmer can plan the cultivation. The Food Minister may say that a successful season will fetch him more crops. Bad season will give the cultivator lesser crop. If that is due to adverse climate, there should be crop insurance for the poor farmer at least to meet the cost of cultivation incurred by him through crop insurance. So, I request the Government to see to this. They say that the price-line should be held. There is a confusion between the holding of the price-line and the stabilisation of the price-line. Holding of the price-line means, you should first of all have a fair price for the farmer and see that the price is stabilised. But what they now mean by holding of the price-line is, they want to reduce it first and then hold it. Unless all the other things are held in line, unless everything else is fixed, the Planning Commission or the Ministry of Food and Agriculture cannot fix the price only for the foodgrains. That is why everything should be fixed. Compared to 1939, the pre-war period, the cost of production has now increased to 1,000 points, taking 100 as the base in 1939. But the price that is prevalent for the foodgrains, if you take 100 points as the base, is 500 points. It has only increased five times more than what it was in the pre-war years. The cost of production has risen to ten times—1,000 per cent—whereas the price that the farmer has got now is only 400 per cent or 500 per cent.

Shri P. B. Patel (Patan): That is not so. Take the index for 1951.

Shri Karuthiruman: Even if it remains at the price prevalent in 1951, I shall be happy. It may be five times more.

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. It might develop into a private conversation.

Shri Karuthiruman: Even if it is 1950 or 1951, I would say that it should be maintained at that level, and I shall be quite happy. But the price that is fixed now for wheat or rice is not the price that has been there in 1951. Mahatma Gandhi said in 1948 that there was no question of controls since controls were responsible for the stealing of food of the farmers. Then we had removed controls, and production had increased. Why did Mahatma Gandhi, the Father of the Nation, say that controls should be lifted? Because, by the imposition of controls, only a few industrialists or traders might benefit but not the farmers or the agriculturists.

For example, if the Government fix the price at the 1950-51 level, we are quite happy. But unless the price for the farmer is stabilised and is reasonable, there is no question of increase in production. During the emergency, it is very important and essential that the farmer should be given a reasonable and fair price.

Mr. Speaker: I have to inform the House that the various Groups have since selected the following amendments which the hon. Members may now move:

Shri N. Sreekantan Nair—amendment No. 1.

Shri Muhammad Ismail—amendment No. 2.

Shri H. P. Chatterjee—amendment No. 3.

Shri Hari Charan Soy—amendment No. 4.

Shri A. K. Gopalan—amendment No. 5.

Shri U. M. Trivedi—amendment No. 6.

Shri Ranga—amendment No. 7.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy—amendment No. 8.

Shri Ram Sewak Yadav—amendment No. 9.

Shri N. Sreekantan Nair: I beg to move:

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

“but regret that in the Address no assurance has been given to Parliament and the country that the Declaration of Emergency will not be used as a cover to cover nepotism, inefficiency and red-tapism that is now rampant in the administrative machinery”. (1).

Shri Muhammad Ismail: I beg to move:

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

“but regret that in the Address there is no mention of steps proposed to be taken by the Government for rectifying and removing the economic weakness and backwardness of certain States like Kerala”. (2).

Shri H. P. Chatterjee: I beg to move:

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

“but regret that in the Address there is no mention of any effective steps to protect innocent citizens from detention under the Defence of India Act 1962 and Rules made thereunder”. (3).

Shri H. C. Roy: I beg to move:

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

“but regret that in the Address there is no mention of the following problems facing the country, namely:—

(a) the degree of the national preparedness, militarily and economically, to meet the Chinese aggression, so far achieved;

(b) the imperative need for the proper management of industries, specially the Railways, Mines including iron ore and manganese and to improve the existing working conditions of the lower category of workers, specially, the contract labourers engaged in these industries, and various big construction projects, and, also the urgency to implement the long overdue recommendation of the Cement Wage Board.”

(c) the concrete steps to implement and accept the recommendations of the Dhebar Commission Report regarding the impact of industrialisation on the tribal population, specially in Bihar-West Bengal and Orissa-Madhya Pradesh Zone, and the urgent need for their systematic rehabilitation, training and employment in and around the industrial projects”.

(d) the imperative need to enhance and accelerate, inspite of the present emergency, welfare programmes for the socially and economically backward sections of our population, specially the Scheduled tribes and castes to narrow down within a reasonable period the existing disparity”.

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

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

“but regret that:

- (a) while the working class has sacrificed a lot to increase the production, the owners have utilised the emergency to shut down factories, to retrench workers and create serious unrest;
- (b) the claim that the National Defence Fund has met with generous response is practically true in as much as only the ordinary people have responded while the well-to-do people and especially the big-business have not responded; and
- (c) the powers of emergency assumed by the Government have been solely used to suppress the democratic liberties and people's rights, to arrest over 800 Communist Party leaders and cadres and large number of other Trade Union, Kishan Sabha people.” (5).

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

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

“but regret that:

- (a) in spite of continued occupation of India's territory by the Chinese communists and the need of emergent action to combat it, the emphasis laid in the Address on peaceful methods is calculated to undermine the morale of the people and to rob the national crisis of its content of urgency and the proclamation of Emergency is being continued mainly to strengthen the Party in power; and
- (b) the failure of Government to step-up effort to ensure

whole-hearted and effective flow of military aid from all friendly countries.” (6).

Shri N. G. Ranga: I beg to move:

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

“but regret that the Address fails to:

- (a) reiterate the nation's firm resolve, as solemnly and unanimously expressed by Parliament on November 14, 1962 to drive out the aggressor from the sacred soil of India, however long and hard the struggle may be; and
- (b) indicate concrete plans or measures to vigorously prosecute the war for the liberation of Indian territory from Communist China's occupation and for the restoration of India's territorial integrity”. (7).

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: I beg to move:

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

“but regret that the Address fails to:

- (a) reiterate the nation's solemn resolve, embodied in the Resolution unanimously adopted by Parliament on November 14, 1962 to drive out the aggressor from the sacred soil of India, however, long and hard the struggle may be, and further, to indicate concrete measures for vigorous prosecution of the war to liberate Indian territory from Communist China's occupation, and for the restoration of our territorial integrity;
- (b) take note of the anaemic stagnation that has overtaken the national economy, and to

formulate effective measures with a view to gearing it up for the urgent requirements of Defence and Development; and

- (c) utilise the state of Emergency for the maximum mobilisation of the people's energies as reflected in the patriotic upsurge in the wake of the massive invasion of our country by Communist China." (8).

Shri Ram Sewak Yadav: I beg to move:

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention of the failure in making drastic changes in the defence and foreign policy, in taking concrete measures to bring social and economic equality in the masses, in giving proper place to the people's languages, to check the misuse of Defence of India Act and the futility of Defence of India Rules and to check the rising prices of essential commodities." (9).

Mr. Speaker: Shri Bagri. He will have to be content with ten minutes; his leader told me.

श्री बागड़ी : अध्यक्ष महोदय, राष्ट्र-जी का अभिभाषण मैंने बहुत गौर से सुना। राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण के अन्दर इस वक्त ऐसी नवीनता की ज़रूरत थी, जिसकी बुनियात पर हिन्दुस्तान को एक ऐसी इमारत बनानी थी जिससे कि देश शक्तिशाली बनता और अपनी सरहदों की हिफाजत करता हुआ, अपनी खोई हुई मान-मर्यादा को दुबारा प्राप्त करता हुआ, इस देश की गरीबी और दरिद्रता का मुकाबला करता हुआ आगे बढ़ता। लेकिन बड़े खेद की बात है कि राष्ट्रपति ने अपने अभिभाषण के अन्दर कांग्रेस सरकार की नाबराबरी की नीतियों के कारण जिस तरह से देश रसातल की ओर बढ़ता गया, जिनके कारण इस देश में हजारों, लाखों

खानाबदोश लोगों को सोलह सालों की आजादी के दौरान बसने के लिये जगह नहीं नहीं दी जा सकी, जिस कांग्रेस सरकार के राज्य के अन्दर लाकानूनी भ्रष्टाचार और कुनबापरवरी का बोलबाला है, उसके बारे में कोई जिक्र नहीं किया है।

अध्यक्ष महोदय, आज देश में जगह जगह इमरजेंसी के बारे में चर्चा होती है। ऐसा मालूम देता है कि यह देश का धर्म बन गया है। बच्चे से लेकर बूढ़े तक जो भी बात करता है पहले इमरजेंसी का सवाल करता है। लेकिन वह इमरजेंसी कहाँ है और किस के लिये है इस तरफ राष्ट्रपति जी को इशारा करना चाहिये था जिससे कि देश के अन्दर नवीनता आती।

देश में एक ओर तो गरीब लोग बड़े उत्साह से दे रहे हैं। कहीं कहीं तो ऐसा भी होता है कि उनसे जबरदस्ती टैक्स के तौर पर डिफेंस फंड के लिये पैसा लिया जाता है। लेकिन दूसरी तरफ इस देश के बड़े बड़े हाकिम हैं, मंत्रियों की पलटनों की पलटनें हैं। राष्ट्रपति जी ने उनके लिये अपने भाषण में कोई सुझाव नहीं दिया कि मंत्रीमंडल में मंत्रियों की तादाद कम की जाए और उन पर जो खर्चा होता है वह कम हो।

एक तरफ इस देश के अन्दर औसत आमदनी ३०० रुपया साल है और एक गरीब आदमी आठ आने, बारह आने और १४ आने रोज में अपना गुजारा करता है, और हमारे कांग्रेसी भाई समाजवाद का नारा देते थकते नहीं, और दूसरी ओर प्रधान मंत्री का २५ हजार रुपया रोज का खर्चा है। ऐसा समाजवाद देख कर हम को

अध्यक्ष महोदय : मेम्बर साहब जो भी बयान दें उसके पहले उनको यकीन कर लेना चाहिये कि दुस्त बात है। इस हाउस में तकरीर की आजादी इसी वजह से है कि स्पीकर का कंट्रोल रहता है और

[श्री बागड़ी]

मेम्बर की भी जिम्मेवारी समझी जाती है। इसलिये वह जो भी बयान करें अपनी जिम्मेवारी को खयाल करके करें।

श्री बागड़ी : जी हां। इसके बाद मैं आपके मारफत सदन से अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ।

Shri R. S. Pandey: How has he arrived at the figure of Rs. 25,000 as the expenditure of the Prime Minister?

Mr. Speaker: That is a different question. If he makes that statement, he is responsible for that.

श्री बागड़ी : मैं आप से अर्ज कर रहा था कि हिन्दुस्तान में एक तरफ गरीब आदमी हैं, एक चौकीदार और सिपाही ४५ और ६० रुपये महीने तनखाह पाता है तो दूसरी तरफ बड़े बड़े ओहदेदार हैं जो ६ हजार तक तनखाह पाते हैं। यहां गरीब और अमीर में सैकड़ों गुने का फर्क है और दूसरी तरफ अमरीका जैसे अमीर मुल्क में एक और तीन और एक और ६ का फर्क है। हिन्दुस्तान में समाजवाद की दुहाई दी जाती है। यह नेहरू का समाजवाद हो सकता है, गरीब का समाजवाद नहीं हो सकता जिसमें कि लोगों की आमदनी में इतना बड़ा अन्तर हो।

जब देश में इमरजेंसी है तब भी हिन्दुस्तान में जो करोड़पति और लखपति हैं वे उसी तरह से रह रहे हैं और राजे महाराजाओं को बड़ी बड़ी पेंशनें दी जा रही हैं। जब देश पर इमरजेंसी है तो मेरी समझ में नहीं आता कि यह पेंशनों का लाखों रुपया क्यों नहीं रोका जाता और क्यों नहीं उस को डिफेंस फंड में लिया जाता। इस रुपये को डिफेंस फंड में खर्च करने के लिये राष्ट्रपति जी ने कोई संकेत नहीं किया।

आज देश के डिफेंस की बात कही जाती है। इस देश की सरकार ने एक तरफ तो तिब्बत को चीनी दरिन्दों के मुंह में फेंक

दिया और फिर पंचशील का नाम लेते हुए अपने कं. कमजोर रखा और अपने को शक्तिशाली नहीं बनाया जिससे कि चीनियों का मुकाबला कर सकते, और दूसरी तरफ देश में सोने में तुलते हैं। कहीं वित्त मंत्री जी सोने में तुलते हैं जिन्होंने देश में सोने को खत्म कर दिया। उन्होंने देश विदेश में देश की सम्पत्ति का दिवाला निकाल दिया। शायद उनके सिले में यह सोने में तुलते हैं। हिन्दुस्तान के प्रधान मंत्री सोने में तुलते हैं जैसे कि उन्होंने हिन्दुस्तान की सरहदों को पार करके दुश्मनों को खदेड़ दिया हो और हिमायल को चीनी दरिन्दों से बचा लिया हो।

मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि आज हिन्दुस्तान की दोगली नीति है। कभी तो हम रूस की खुशामद करते हैं और फिर कभी अमरीका की खुशामद करते हैं। सरकार की अपनी कोई निश्चित नीति नहीं है। इन विदेश नीति के बारे में भी राष्ट्रपति जी को अपने भाषण में कोई संकेत देना चाहिये था। हमारी नीति किसी तरफ भी न झुकने वाली और मुस्तकिल नीति होनी चाहिये थी। लेकिन हम देखते हैं कि आज कभी-कभी सरकार रूस की हां में हां मिलाती है तो कभी अमरीका की हां में हां मिलाती है। उसकी अपनी कोई निश्चित नीति नहीं होती।

इसके बाद मैं समझता हूँ कि राष्ट्रपति जी को अपने भाषण में यह स्पष्ट कर देना चाहिये था कि हमारी चीन के साथ वही सरहद है जो कि १५ अगस्त, सन् १९४७ को थी, हमारी वह सरहद नहीं है जो कि सरकार की दबू नीति के कारण ५ मितम्बर की सरहद हो गई है। और मैं समझता हूँ कि अगर हम इसी दबू नीति पर चलते रहे तो इस सरहद के बारे में और भी तारीख बन जाएगी।

मैं आपके मारफत अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि आज डिफेंस आफ इंडिया रूलस के मातहत किशन पटनायक जैसे लोक सभा के सदस्य को, जो देश भक्ति में किसी के कम नहीं है गिरफ्तार किया जाता है। डा० लोहिया की देश भक्ति की आलोचना की जाती है, जिन्होंने देश के लिये अनेक कष्ट उठाए और अपने शरीर को बर्फ की सिल्लियों पर रखा जाने दिया। आज जो हाकिम बने हैं वे उनकी देश भक्ति की आलोचना करते हैं। इसी तरह से उड़ीसा में एम० एल० एफ० को गिरफ्तार किया है। वहाँ सूखा पड़ा था। किसानों की फसल नहीं हुई थी फिर भी उनसे चन्दा लिया जा रहा था। उन्होंने भाषण दिया और ज्यों ही वे भाषण दे कर उतरे उनको गिरफ्तार कर लिया गया जैसे कि उनको गिरफ्तार करने की कोई प्लान पहले से मुनज्जम हो।

आपने मुझे दस मिनट का समय दिया है इसलिये मैं इसमें ज्यादा नहीं जाना चाहता। मैं आपके मारफत यह अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ.....

अध्यक्ष महोदय : मँबर साहब यह ख्याल कर लें कि मुझे कोई एतराज नहीं है। जितना वक्त उनकी पार्टी के लिये है वह सारा ले लें। मुझे एतराज नहीं होगा। लेकिन उनके लीडर ने कहा है कि उनको दस मिनट का वक्त दिया जाए।

श्री बागड़ी : मैं आपके मारफत इस सदन को राष्ट्र पिता बापू के शब्दों की याद दिलाना चाहता हूँ। आजादी के पहले कहा करते थे कि मैं १३० साल जीना चाहता हूँ। लेकिन आजादी के ६ महीने बाद ही वह कहने लगे थे कि अब तो मैं चाहता हूँ कि इस संसार से उठ जाऊँ। हमारे शासकों ने बापू की बातों की, जिन पर सारी दुनिया चलती थी, परवाह नहीं की। बापू कहा करते थे कि जो लोग अपने बच्चों को

अंग्रेजी पढ़ाते हैं वह न हिन्दुस्तान का हित करते हैं, न अपना हित करते हैं और अपने बच्चों का हित करते हैं।

मैं आपके मारफत अर्ज कर देना चाहता हूँ कि हम सौमन्ध लेते हैं अपने संविधान के मुताबिक कि हम संविधान की और राष्ट्र भाषा की रक्षा करेंगे। मैं आपसे कहना चाहता हूँ कि पिछले १५ वर्षों में कांग्रेस सरकार के मातहत हिन्दी उतनी तरक्की नहीं कर पायी जितनी कि उमको करनी चाहिये थी। बल्कि वह पीछे की तरफ जा रही है। राष्ट्रपति ने इस ओर कोई इशारा नहीं किया कि कांग्रेस सरकार हिन्दी को पीछे हटा कर अंग्रेजी को हमारे ऊपर ठूस रही है। मैं आपके मारफत अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि हमारे प्रधान मंत्री पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू हिन्दुस्तान की करोड़ों गरीब जनता को चुनीती देते हैं। जिनकी मातृभाषा और राष्ट्र भाषा हिन्दी है, उनको कहते हैं कि हम निपट लेंगे हिन्दी बोलने वालों से और इन भाषा वालों से। मैं हिन्दुस्तान के प्रधान मंत्री से अदब से अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि प्रधान मंत्री जी आप हमसे ऐसा क्यों कहते हैं हम तो आपके साथ हैं। हमसे बाध में निपट लेना। अगर निपटना है तो उन से पहले निपटिए जिनसे पंचशील का प्रोग्राम किया था और जिनके साथ हिन्दी चीनी भाई-भाई का नारा लगाया था। उनसे निपटिए जिन्होंने हमारी और आपकी गैरत को चैलेंज किया है। उनसे आप निपटिए। जो गरीब आदमी इस देश का जो आपको सलाम करता है, अगर वह भूखा और नंगा होता है और आपसे अपनी-बात कहता है तो उसके लिये पुलिस का डंडा है और जेल की काली कोठरी है।

इन चन्द एक शब्दों के साथ एक बात कहते हुए अपना स्थान लेता हूँ कि यह डिफेंस आफ इंडिया रूलस यदि देश के वचाव के लिये इस्तेमाल किये जाय तो अच्छा

[श्री बागड़ी]

और उचित है। लेकिन इस डिफेंस आफ इंडिया रूल्स का इस्तेमाल कांग्रेसी सरकार का बचाव करने के लिये इस्तेमाल न किया जाय जैसा कि किया जा रहा है।

17.01 hrs.

*The Lok Sabha then adjourned till
Eleven of the Clock on Thursday, Feb-
ruary 21, 1963/Phalguna 2, 1884
(Saka).*