

2.11 hrs.

MOTION ON ADDRESS BY THE
PRESIDENT—Contd.

Mr. Speaker: The House will now take up further consideration of the following motion moved by Shri R. S. Pandey and seconded by Dr. K. L. Rao on the 20th February, 1963, namely:—

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

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

Also further consideration of the amendments.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy (Kendrapara): This is the first Address of the new President to Parliament, and that at a time when we have declared a state of emergency in this country. The least that was expected from the Government, when they made the President, as head of the State, to make a statement of policy for the coming year, was to take into account the desires of Parliament and the country at the moment and the country's immediate requirements.

There are two tests for a consideration of this policy statement: firstly, how far the Government has been able to carry out the Resolution of Parliament passed on November 14 to which the President has referred as giving a lead to the nation, and secondly, how far they have succeeded in laying out plans and programmes, in view of the emergency and in view of the fact that extraordinary emergency powers have been vested in them, for the defence and development of this country. My criticism of this policy statement would be based on these two considerations.

It seems as if a deliberate attempt has been made to make it appear that conditions are normal, everything is going on O.K., and that the emergency is just on paper. I am sorry if I carry this impression from the Address, but one cannot while going through this document carry any other impression. Neither does it create an impact on the country that in the coming year we are going to take some firm and definite steps to carry out our policies and measures.

The President has stated in his Address that the question of China, Chinese aggression, is the main question today. That is the over-riding issue and everything else has to be considered in that context. Therefore, before turning to other points, I will take up this question.

This matter has been debated in this House very often. Even towards the end of last month we had a full dress debate. Some development have taken place after that regarding the Colombo proposals. So, we expected that a categorical statement of the steps that Government propose to take in this matter would be embodied in this statement.

I want to put two pertinent questions: Firstly, are we at war with China or not? Secondly, are we preparing ourselves to get back the lost territories which were occupied by the enemy. We have not gone into the territories vacated by the enemy. When I mention this I do not say that you go and occupy the areas tomorrow.

We may decide the time when we are strong enough. We are biding time to prepare ourselves but is that our intention that we are going to reoccupy those areas?

Shri Tyagi (Dehra Dun): Of course.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: Once that is determined, all our policies would follow of this characterisation

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of the present state of affairs. While saying this I do not mean that we abandon peaceful settlement. Peaceful methods are there but when they are abandoned not by us but by China, then in order to restore peaceful conditions is it not necessary that we meet the challenge by strength so that the enemy who by virtue of his force wants to disturb the entire state of affairs would come to his senses.

Regarding the Colombo proposals, I was thinking that Government would say here categorically that we had stated our position and now it was the concern of the Colombo powers. What are these Colombo Powers? They are well meaning friends and they made very good attempts. But the fact has to be admitted that even of these six nations that constituted the Colombo powers, four are definitely on the side of China. It is regrettable that even the Prime Minister of Ceylon who took a lead on this matter has to say that China and India have both agreed in principle and they should now come to the table for discussion as if no other fact or dispute remains as far as they are concerned. Whatever may be the motivating factor that made them take this step, a bold step I would say, the fact remains that they are not even free to judge matters on their merits. Therefore, there is no point in delaying or saying that if they do not accept it, that falls. That is all right. What are we going to do? Are we again waiting to see whether a second Colombo Conference takes place after the return of the Prime Minister of Cambodia? Are we to wait till then to decide our own policy? We have neglected our neighbouring countries in the interest of our name as great peace makers. Recently we are attempting to make friendship with Pakistan and Nepal. I am glad that no less a person than our Home Minister proposes to visit Nepal in order to bring about good relationship between these two countries. That is all right so far as it

goes. But these neighbouring countries are, it is to be admitted, not with us. What about the communist countries and Soviet Russia and their neutral attitude? It seems that Soviet Russia and also our communist friends in India are showing greater concern, not for the restoration of the lost territory or for maintaining our territorial integrity but for something else. Not a word was uttered by Shri Gopalan when he spoke yesterday about our own territory. They show great concern that this whole country under the leadership of the Prime Minister is going to be converted into a western base in view of the Chinese invasion and is almost going into the lap of the western powers! A bogey has been raised and they are more concerned about this. I am glad the Prime Minister has come out with a statement about the air umbrella clarifying the issue. My hon. friend Shri Gopalan was very much worried yesterday about this umbrella or whatever it is. After all this umbrella will come to India even to protect our communist friend, Shri Gopalan. The Prime Minister says that there were press reports which stated that they were going to create bases.

I want to know which are the presses which published such tendentious reports and whether any action was taken against them or not. Why should we be apologetic?

I was again surprised when 15 members of the Congress Party—15 MPs—took up this problem. I have never heard these names ever taking up the problem with the Prime Minister, that in this country there is a feeling that enough efforts are not being made for the defence of the country. But these people—of course they had every right to meet the Prime Minister and write to him as the leader of the Congress Party to represent their views, whatever they are—went in a deputation, and saw to it that what they said was published in the press, and the whole thing appeared as if in the Congress Party also

they have little faith in the Prime Minister. (*Interruption*). I want to say it, and ask, do these bogey-makers have faith in the Prime Minister. I want to put it to the communist friends and the Congress friends also. Do they believe in their hearts that the Prime Minister will sell the country?

Shrimati Vimla Devi (Eluru): Yes; yes.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: And so, they have come out now.

Mr. Speaker: She probably did not follow. (*Interruption*).

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: If it is not so, would we have adopted a policy of non-alignment?

Shrimati Vimla Devi: Please save the country.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: So far as China is concerned, it is not a non-aligned country and we want to make our defence stronger. We are suffering under non inhibition. We want to take the help from any other friendly country which wants to give us guarantee for protecting our territorial integrity and for protecting us from communist invasion. That is our attitude and that is a good attitude. The entire nation appreciated this attitude and approved of this attitude. If that is so, we want the Prime Minister to follow this policy to the maximum extent possible without being in any way worried about these few persons, communists and crypto-communists in the Congress Party who want to raise a bogey here. Not only this. They want to make it a political weapon, making it appear as if the country's defence is not the problem; they are probably more concerned to defend the Prime Minister himself!

An Hon. Member: And the communist party.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: In the utterances of congressmen, whether we

see them in the papers or whether one goes to the mofussil to listen to them, there is very little mention of what the duties of the people are. The only mention is the Prime Minister must be defended. There is no challenge to the Prime Minister in the country today. No party has demanded that the Prime Minister must vacate his office. In spite of the fact that even under the Defence of India Rules a fair deal has not been given to the opposition, yet, all of us swear here that we stand behind this Government to see that aggression is vacated. Where is the threat to the Prime Minister? That bogey is being raised in order to cloud the entire issue, in order to make it appear as if there is a clash between the progressives and the reactionaries. Who are the progressives? Are they the progressives who want to be aligned with communist powers? Or, are they progressives who want to align us with the American bloc? Who are the progressives and who are the reactionaries? (*Interruption*). I know our friends are very much worried about it, but they know that they are completely exposed.

Mr. Speaker: There ought not to be any progressives and reactionaries in interruptions!

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: I was thinking that probably Shri Gopalan will also come forward with the same theory that, "Why are you bringing the Soviet experts for the MIG factory?" I have read in the papers that some expert is arriving to advise us about the manufacture of MIG aircraft that we have received. This is no concern to him. They will also be in a position to know when they advise us, for the establishment of the factory for the manufacture of MIGs everything in detail about the factory. Is that not a concession to him? No. That should go on merrily. These issues are raised because of the lull that has been created in this country; because of the ambiguity

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of the utterances from the Government it has been made to appear as if we are again returning to the old quarrel, leaving apart the main issue before us. I want to ask the Prime Minister, and I would expect from him a precise answer to this question, whether the dispute with China can be settled through negotiations. Does he believe so? Negotiation means a certain attitude of mind. Negotiation is possible when the conflicting interests of both the countries are capable of reconciliation. Then only negotiation takes place. We want to maintain our territorial integrity and China wants to grab our territory by naked force. Is there any possibility of any reconciliation between these two attitudes? We must create conditions to impel China that they must reduce this conflict to a mere border problem after the entire area is restored to us. Therefore, it involves a great question. Not that we are against negotiations. But the question is whether with the present enemy there is any possibility, even any remote chance, of any result coming out of these negotiations.

I would read out here what Mr. Chou-En-lai spoke here when he addressed us, the Members of Indian Parliament, on the 29th December, 1956.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath (Hoshangabad): Those were bhai-bhai days.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: Those were bhai-bhai days, of course. He said:

"The Chinese Government and people will never forget India's constant and firm support to Chinese struggle for unification of China and for restoring China's legal rights in the United Nations."

What did he promise in return? He said,

"In return, China would always support India in her defence of

sovereignty and territorial integrity and promotion of world peace."

So, when we are going to negotiate with him, do you believe that he stands by this declaration? Here was an ally—an enemy today—who does not believe in these things. Their words can never be trusted; these are not my words, but the Prime Minister's words. The least that can be said of Mr. Chou En-lai is, he can chew and lie. Probably that is the real meaning of Chou En-lai.

Mr. Speaker: Even about our enemies, we ought to be discreet in making references.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: I do not mean any disrespect to anybody.

Mr. Speaker: It is not fair.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: They have called our Prime Minister the running dog of imperialism. Is it politer discreet? (*Interruptions*).

Mr. Speaker: He can show better standards. There ought not to be any quarrel on that account. (*Interruption*).

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: My main intention was that they can never be trusted.

Take these emergency conditions. I would charge this Government with introducing ambiguity and vagueness on this India-China policy matter and breaking the unity achieved in this Parliament. Not only that; I also charge the Government with weakening the determination of the people who spontaneously rose as one man to give them everything for the sake of the defence of the country. A deliberate feeling has been created—you may admit it or not—there is a shift in the public mind now that there is not going to be any fight. As the Prime Minister himself has so many times said, it is not that only the army would fight. The people in

this country must be made to feel that they are in the midst of an emergency and they must prepare themselves all the time to meet the emergency and to meet the requirements of the country. Now, that psychological atmosphere has to be maintained. And, the Government have in this emergency failed completely to mobilise the people's energy. Massive invasion, as the Prime Minister so many times said, is a blessing in disguise. It was a golden opportunity for us to build up this country and to overhaul the machinery. We want to maintain the democratic apparatus; not only maintain but prove that in times of emergency the democratic apparatus is superior to any other apparatus. Therefore, we should have taken steps to overhaul the entire machinery. But the emergency has showed that not only there is a failure in the leadership but it has exhibited, it has exposed the hollowness, ineffectiveness and inefficiency of the entire administrative machinery of the country today.

Sir, after these four months of emergency what do we find? We find that the Ministers in spite of the extraordinary powers given to them are showing an extraordinary capacity of blaming each other. When they have to show how their ministry has been able in this emergency to achieve something, they only blame the others. There is the statement of the Minister of Economic and Defence Co-ordination who complains that inter-State and inter-departmental quarrels are so much that nobody looks to the problem, and he does not know whom to contact and where to co-ordinate. Then there is the Minister for Agriculture who says that they are not at fault and it is the Ministry of Community Development which is at fault.

The Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Food and Agriculture (Shri A. M. Thomas): No, no; we have never said like that.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: You might not have said, your colleague might have said. Then, the Minister for Community Development says that it is not their fault, everything is all right at the Centre and it is the States who are at fault.

The Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Community Development, and Co-operation (Shri B. S. Murthy): No, no; we did not say that.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: When they are unable to discharge their own responsibility; when individually and collectively they are not in a position to say what they have been able to achieve, in order to cover up their own failure they more or less go on saying defend the Prime Minister, they do not defend themselves. Sir, my suggestion for the reduction in the size of the Cabinet and the number of ministries was turned down because it was said that it will have an impact on the efficiency. We are seeing that efficiency in these four months. Not only the Ministers but the ministries are also completely, I would say, incapable of discharging the duties today. Even today, the Ministers, for the lack of work, are busy in the old fashion attending ceremonies, exhibitions, opening ceremonies etc., etc. I am even told—it is in the papers—that during the emergency when the Ministers were asked by their colleague to reduce their expenditure on electricity, which is to the tune of Rs. 1000 or Rs. 2000 a month in their residences, they are not willing to do it. That is how they really behave in this emergency, and the country is to take these leaders for leadership. It is the Ministers who go out and make statements on the radio, in the newspapers and through other methods, and the people follow what they say. Sir, I have got a paper here. I do not like this paper, but I would give credit for the way in which a foreign journalist from U.K. has described the attitude of the

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Government towards the emergency. He has said:

".....it symptomizes the dual approach of the Indian Government to the problems of the emergency: blood, sweat, and tears from the platform, business as usual at the desk."

That is how we are getting on in this emergency. The economy measures not at all impressive. We want to know how much really you have effected by way of economy. You must convincingly prove that really some economy has been effected. It is not that this country would not be prepared to bear any extra burden for the sake of defence, but even a single naya paisa extra asked for must be explained. It must be explained whether it is a rightful expenditure and whether you have any real plans to carry out the demands of the nation. That is how it should be done.

Sir, waste goes on as usual. There is corruption. I was thinking that the Home Minister with the very wide powers that he has under the Defence of India Rules would do something to root out corruption. Whether you appoint a committee or not, it is admitted by all that there is corruption. The Home Minister was not prepared to answer when my colleague Shri Kamath put a question whether he was going to appoint anybody with the authority to go into the question of corruption committed by the Ministers. They have not yet decided even that. I am rather surprised there is no mention about this in the President's Address. When we want that money should come, at the same time we want that corruption should be checked.

Then I want to draw your attention to a news item in a Calcutta paper which has been very widely published. Here is a daily "Lok Sevak" which

has given it in the front page. There are several other papers also which have published it. I say that recently a search was made in Calcutta of the premises of a business concern when, it seems, a book was found in which there were entries containing the names of not only some Central Ministers but the name of one Chief Minister and another Minister of a State.

An Hon. Member: Which State?

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: It may be my own State; I do not like to say that. It seems that every year lots of money were drawn by these persons paid through this organisation a foreign agency. I am told, this matter is with the Home Ministry for the last one year and this has been suppressed on account of the fact that high personalities are involved. If this be the state of affairs, how can we rouse the enthusiasm of the people? Take even the Kalinga Airlines. A question was raised in the Congress Party meeting and the Prime Minister it appears from newspaper reports, said "Well, you produce some instances; we will make enquiries". This is the attitude of the Government. What was the Central Intelligence doing all the time? It was openly alleged that blankets meant for the army were sold in the black-market.

Mr. Speaker: He should conclude now.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: I would like to have a little more time.

Mr. Speaker: He can continue as long as he likes. But if he takes more time, he will deprive the second speaker of his party the opportunity. His party has got 43 minutes in all. He has now taken 23 minutes.

Shri Tyagi: Only destructive criticism; nothing constructive.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: Then, take the collection to the National Defence Fund. I would again appeal

to the Government that when we form these committees we have to see that they do not become a Government show. What is happening now? It reminds us of the last war during the British days. Only Ministers and Congressmen are associated with it. You will be surprised to know that the Orissa Defence Council has passed a resolution that every villager in the country should pay at the rate of Rs. 1 per head. In this way, coercion is applied by Government officials. If these things continue, how can the people feel enthused enough to donate as they were doing before? These are matters where coercion should not be applied at all.

Then, it was said here "Oh; you have hauled up all the Communists." My own charge is that you have been lenient towards them. You are detaining them and then acquitting them, I do not know on what basis or on what criterion. The big guns are allowed to go scot free. And how are they helping the war effort? If you will give me a few more minutes, I will just quote the statement of no less a person than the Chairman of the Communist Party, Shri Dange. Addressing a very big public meeting in Bombay on the 17th he says:

"If the affluent did not show enough enthusiasm to pay their portion, he would ask every worker not to contribute a single naya paisa by way of cash or gold to the National Defence Fund."

Is that the attitude which one should adopt? Then he says:

"I am prepared to face the consequences."

There may be many cases where Government may not have acted properly. But is that the reason for any one saying: therefore, we will resist the war effort? These are matters which do not seem to have attracted the attention of the Government of India to invoke the powers under the Defence of India Rules. But the

moment one criticises the Prime Minister, or his policy which has nothing to do with the war effort, immediately they are ready and the machinery works to arrest such persons.

Is that the way the Defence of India Rules should be operated in this country? Is that the way for which we, all of us, without any hesitation, vested you with these powers?

I will leave the economic situation to my hon. friend, Shri Hem Barua, who will speak tomorrow, but I will only say this much.

Mr. Speaker: If he leaves him time for tomorrow?

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: There has been no increase in agricultural production, it has been stated. The President has been given a wrong picture and wrong facts. I have the Government's figures and statistics supplied to me as a member of the Panel on Agriculture of the Planning Commission where it has been stated categorically by the Chairman of the Panel on Agriculture, who is a member of the Planning Commission, that so far as the agricultural situation is concerned, the situation is very bad. I do not quote the figures but I only quote one sentence and it is this—

"The conclusion is, therefore, inescapable that the rate of progress in agricultural production is much below the mark and it has to be more than doubled for the rest of the Plan period in the interest of achieving the Plan target because the agricultural production which was contemplated to be at the rate of 6 per cent per annum, the rate of increase between 1949-50 and 1960-61 has been of the order of 3.84 per cent per annum."

Let them satisfy themselves by putting it in the mouth of the President that so far as the agricultural situation is concerned, we are all right, that we are making good progress,

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that the country is safe and that everything is going on merrily at the Minister's behest.

Shri H. N. Mukerjee (Calcutta Central): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I confess I feel a certain discomfort in following my hon. friend who has just sat down not because I am particularly perturbed by the argumentation or the lack of argumentation which he has displayed but because did I expect that on this occasion he would show in his speech certain qualities which I notice personally in him and which, I expected, would be on display as far as this particular debate was concerned. I would, therefore, try to steer clear, as far as I can, of certain ardent irrelevancies which he chose to indulge in. I shall only refer to certain points which he sought to make and which to my mind are absolutely unrelated to the facts.

Shri Nath Pai (Rajapur): I think, it is the Treasury Benches which will reply. Why should you undertake this responsibility?

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: I thought it was in the nature of Parliament that debate is conducted in a manner that speeches, when they are made, refer to points put forward by hon. Members of different parties and I fear that I shall not take instruction in regard to parliamentary forms except from you as far as this House is concerned.

The President whom we have the honour to have presiding over the destinies of our country is a master of words, but in spite of the final exhortation the Address which he has given to us appears—I might be wrong—to me to be a listless document. I say this because, though my evaluation of things is entirely different from that made by my hon. friend, Shri Dwivedy, we all know that in recent months our people have gone through a remarkable experience. Whatever

the rights and wrongs of political formulations, a situation has been created where patriotism was wrung the heartstrings of our people and the result was that an image of India had emerged during this crisis which, I thought, was something we should all try to profit from. If we really and people and of all the world, as the truly wish to profit from this experience and to work for the good of our President himself has said somewhere in his Address, it is necessary for the country's leadership, which, I presume, is represented in this House to a certain extent, and particularly for the country's Government to adopt measures which would be in tune with the peoples deepest aspirations. I fear that there are very few indications in the Address that such measures will be taken.

The President was certainly correct in saying that the overriding issue before the country today is the question of Chinese aggression. In regard to that I should say that as far as this country is concerned Parliament has pronounced itself, the hon. Prime Minister's policy which Parliament has endorsed and the country has acclaimed is plain and today there is no scope, no necessity either, of trying to pick holes in the policy of the hon. Prime Minister. The Colombo pro-

Shri Ranga (Chittoor): No; no, Sir; by majority.

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: I know, there have been some objectors to that. God, or the Devil, bless them! But by an overwhelming majority the representatives of this country have given their support to the Colombo proposals and today the prime emphasis is on the demand which is being put on China from every corner of the world that China should stop her unpredictable conduct and should accept the

Colombo proposals. That is the crux of the matter. The conscience of the world, including the Communist part of the world, calls upon China to accept the Colombo proposals which have been put forward by non-aligned nations so that talks might ensue between our two countries.

My hon. friend, Shri Dwivedy, has chosen this occasion to malign the Colombo Powers.

*Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: No, no.

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: I know, it is easy.... (Interruption).

If to question the *bona fides* of the non-aligned Powers who have chosen to try to do what they consider to be their duty by India does not amount to maligning, I do not know what terminology is supposed to signify.

Shri Nath Pai: Now you are maligning Shri Dwivedy. This is called maligning.

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: If Shri Dwivedy is strong enough to stomach parliamentary repartee, I am sure, his friends need not be too perturbed.

As far as the Colombo proposals are concerned, we have done our part. China so far has not done it. As far as my Party is concerned, we have called upon China to do it at once, without any delay whatever. China's misadventure has already cost us a very great deal. It has cost us the rather unpleasant experience of having to listen to some irrelevant speeches and observations in this House as well as outside. Reaction has got a fillip in this country which it would not have got in a hundred years. Thanks to China all this has happened. More delay on the part of China would be even more disastrous. That is why we want this thing to be settled.

It is a pity, however, that sometimes we discover not only Shri Dwivedy, who after all is an Opposition leader, who tries to pick holes in the

Government's policy, but Cabinet Ministers going about saying that this India-China matter is a purely military problem and has to be solved by military means. That is something which, I feel, militates against the pre-suppositions and the basic formulations of the Government's foreign policy. But that sort of thing is, however, being done and I wish Government to take note of that.

In regard to our relations with Pakistan, reference has been made by the President to that matter. I should say that while we are all for settlement, while nothing should be said or done to hinder the talks which are proceeding between our two countries.....

Shri Nath Pai: Where are the talks proceeding?

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: They are about to start.

An hon. Member: Between India and Pakistan.

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: My hon. friend, Shri Kamath, had an appearance of gold, as you said earlier this morning—an estimation which I support with all my sincerity—but to have Shri Kamath in my audience with a running commentary all the time is a particularly ungolden experience.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: You are misrepresenting.

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. He should be allowed to proceed now.

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: I feel that there are certain rounds of talks taking place between India and Pakistan. If reference to the talks is considered to be grammatically or terminologically in exact, I cannot help Mr. Kamath's sensibilities.

It is our idea that we certainly should settle whatever outstanding problems we have got with Pakistan. But, at the same time, it is necessary that Parliament is taken into confidence by the Government a little more in regard to this matter. Nothing

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should be done which would jeopardise the status of Jammu and Kashmir, because, that has been suggested by certain circles to whom we go to pay our tribute for their generosity and that sort of thing a little to much these days. Perhaps there are certain powers which want to utilise the strategic position of Kashmir to build military bases which would be aimed at the independence of neighbouring countries including our own country of India. I was rather intrigued to find that the Swatantra party, led so formidably by my friend Shri Ranga here, passed a resolution the other day where the Swatantra party gave a free hand to the Prime Minister to settle this question. I have seen the spokesmen of the Swatantra party in this House calling upon the Prime Minister almost to quit his position because a different kind of leadership was necessary in the context of today. I have read Swatantra spokesmen like the sage Rajagopalachariar asking for the same sort of thing. They can do all that in regard to whatever is happening on the other border. But, in regard to Pakistan, their suggestion is that everything be left to be done behind the scenes by the Government. On behalf of our party, we have said that we are all for settlement of outstanding problems with Pakistan. We support entirely the basic policies pursued by the Prime Minister. We have no suspicions in regard to that at all. But Parliament should know a little more about what is happening in regard to Indo-Pakistan negotiations and we should have a more clear guarantee that nothing would be done which would jeopardise the interests of India and which would go against the status of Jammu and Kashmir State.

In a similar spirit, in spite of our support, because of our support for the basic policies of the Prime Minister in foreign relations, I would like more light on the Western defence proposals. I did not interrupt the

Prime Minister this morning when he read that statement. Besides, technically, possibly, I could have been prevented by you also from asking a question. But, I am not very happy. I want to be very clear that the operational control of even certain particular types of military equipment should not be in foreign hands as far as our country is concerned. I do not like this air umbrella at all and I do not think the Prime Minister likes it either. The idea of foreign personnel even by the backdoor coming to this country and foreign machines based on Indian air fields and installations is something which goes against the grain of India's foreign policy. I know that these people have come at the invitation of India. I do not want to reflect upon them or the invitation which was sent out to them. Perhaps, in times of danger, when we have to call upon other people for support, we have to do certain things which, when the danger is not so insistent, we may have to worry about in a different way. But, in regard to the western defence proposals, we wish the Government take the Parliament more into confidence and we wish Government to reiterate as the Prime Minister did in a way which was, I am afraid, a little halting, at least so far as my judgment is concerned I wish the Government to reiterate that these western defence proposals do not militate against the independent foreign policy which has been so often reiterated by the Government of this country and particularly by the Prime Minister himself.

Shri Bader (Kharagone): What has he to say about the MIG umbrella?

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: I ask Parliament to beware of some of these people whose generosity we applaud, the United States for instance. The United States, today, is putting pressure on our neighbour country Ceylon. We know how the aid has been stopped only because Ceylon was paying a certain compensation to foreign oil com-

panies which was not to the liking of the oil barons and that is why America is putting pressure on Ceylon. Therefore, with this kind of experience, we have to be very careful.

This reminds me that the Afro-Asian countries, today, appear, sometimes, to be not responding as warmly as we wish to our requirements. It may be because the Afro-Asian countries have a more vivid and a more recent experience of contact with the imperialist powers and there may have been a growing suspicion in their mind that India is becoming a little soft in relation to these powers, that India is hobnobbing with them a little too much. This suspicion may not be entirely correctly based on facts. But, this suspicion is there and this suspicion added on perhaps to the inability of the Indian Government to put its case before other countries has made us look not quite as good as we should like to in the Afro-Asian countries. This is linked up with the whole idea of western relationship which, I hope the Government will clarify and will give assurance which would satisfy the country. This Chinese mis-adventure....

Dr. M. S. Aney (Nagpur): Do you think that they have good ground for that suspicion against us?

Shri Nath Pai: Not at all.

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: All that I want is that assistance can be had from any country whichever its colouration provided that assistance can fit in with our own idea of independent operation of that assistance. Apart from that, I have no other suggestions to make.

This Chinese mis-adventure, as I said earlier, has given an opportunity to right reaction....

Shri U. M. Trivedi (Mandsaur): Adventure on their part or adventure against us?

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: Right reaction has the utterest licence to do all the

damage and that is why interruptions can take place in a manner it takes place. (*Interruptions*).

Mr. Speaker: Order, order.

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: They are doing damage not only to the foreign policy of this country. Right reactionaries are doing damage not only to the foreign policy of our country, but to the Plans for the development of the country in the direction of socialism, plans without which a self-respecting country cannot defend its honour and integrity. Yesterday, my friend Shri Ranga was asking for a complete reversal, so to speak, of the direction towards socialism which the Government's economic policy is at least ostensibly trying to take. He wanted that because he wished the wheels of history in India to be pulled back altogether.

Shri Ranga: I wanted a victory plan.

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: He wanted a victory plan. A victory plan is not made in the air. It is not made of thin gas. A victory plan has to be built on the foundations of an independent economic structure for which our plans are the only wherewithal.

Shri Ranga: A plan against any aggression and encroachment.

Mr. Speaker: Order, order.

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: If, today, in the year of grace 1963, in spite of the opposition of big money interests, more than one-third of the world has gone socialist, there is expectation in the breast of Shri Ranga that the old capitalist methods would bring about a kind of change which revolution and victory implies, I say, God and the devil help him. I cannot say anything else.

Shri U. M. Trivedi: There is no difference between God and the devil to them.

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: Right reaction, as I said, is having the run of the country. (*Interruptions*).

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. He may be allowed to proceed un-interrupted. Occasional interruption may be called for and may be sweet also and pleasant also. It may be enjoyed. But, continued interruption does not do good.

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: I was saying, right reaction is having the run of the country. Shri Ranga has made so many wonderful speeches. The Jan Sangh held its jamboree in Bhopal in December or January. The P.S.P. with its allies of various colourations held Anti-Compromise day meetings...

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: The Communist party leader went out of India and held conferences and meetings....

Mr. Speaker: Order, order.

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: Could not I have some protection against this?

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: He asked for it and he got it.

Mr. Speaker: Order, order.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: Let him have your umbrella.

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: May I submit, there is nothing wrong intrinsically or in a parliamentary sense in the reference which I made to meetings held by political parties whose objective is to oppose the idea of any kind of settlement with China. That is the kind of thing which is happening. Mr. Kamath rises to say, God knows what. I do wish....

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: I hope his hearing is all right.

Mr. Speaker: Order, order.

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: I do wish a curb on some people's tongue. Sometimes it is necessary so that at least those who cannot hear need not hear those things.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: Do not hear then.

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: I do not wish to hear the kind of thing which the hon. Member says from time to time.

13 hrs.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: He referred to the meetings of other parties, and, therefore, I had to interrupt.

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. I would request the hon. Member to kindly control himself. I have already allowed some interruptions. Sometimes, they can be allowed. But continued interruptions, if they go on persistently, are not proper.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: He is asking for it.

Shri Nath Pai: Does he think that his party is sacrosanct?

Does he think that he can go on poking fun at others?

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. Everyone has had his turn.

Shri Nath Pai: He should play the game fairly.

Mr. Speaker: Everyone has had his turn. The other parties also had the occasion, and they have said what they wanted against the Communists. They will have further opportunities also.

Shri Vasudevan Nair: (Ambalappuzha): They even wanted us to be banned.

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: I do not mind. Let them have whatever intentions they have, but it is my duty; I am here as a Member of Parliament, elected by my people, still claiming the right which their suffrage has given to me, and I have my responsibility and obligation to say certain things.

I would refer now to the anti-national role which is being played by the big-moneyed interests, to which reference was made by the Prime Minister only the other day when he addressed a forum of journalists, and which I think is a matter of sufficient importance to have been brought into the President's Address.

I notice in the journal called the *Socialist Congressman*, in two numbers of it, articles being written in regard particularly to the extremely mischievous role about the present situation played by one paper in Delhi which belongs to a very large chain; and there are articles dealing with the danger to the liberties of this country, which is represented by the growth of these press barons. If there was time, I would have quoted from these articles, written by very reputable people like Harsh Dev Malaviya, who is the editor of the *Socialist Congressman*, and we have heard, and we have seen how the country really feels about this sort of thing. These papers are doing a kind of propaganda which is basically against the interests of the country, which helps nobody except themselves, their profiteering friends and so on and so forth.

I have here, for instance, a Bengali daily, the *Ananda Bazar Patrika* which claims to have one of the largest circulations in the country, and on a special issue which it brought out on the 26th of January, it printed a cartoon, so vulgar, depicting our Prime Minister and Shrimati Bandaranike, the Prime Minister of Ceylon, with a caption so vulgar that I cannot translate in this House. I propose to send it on to the Home Minister. I wish he were here, but he is not here. I want to send it on to him, only in order to say this that this kind of thing is being perpetrated by the big-moneyed press with impunity. I was told, I was not here last session, but I was told, the Prime Minister himself had his attention directed to that sort of thing, and he had criticised the vulgarity which was being shown by certain

sections of the press. This issue is dated the 26th January, after the Prime Minister had made the statement in Parliament. That sort of thing goes on being done, and I wonder if Government is sincere. Then, again, what I find is that it is not only journalists who are being brought up, not only people who have to work in some newspaper or other in order to earn their daily bread, but it is also the writers and artists of our country who are being bought up by these big press combines which are behaving in a manner which is utterly vulgar, and which because of reaction they have got an opportunity to do, and which is going to vitiate the entire intellectual and spiritual atmosphere of our country.

The Prime Minister has himself shown his awareness of the danger which is represented by the growth of these press baronetcies, and I do hope that something is done about it.

That reminds me of another thing, that only the other day we got as Members of Parliament copies of the report of the Vivian Bose Commission on the Dalmia-Jain and allied concerns. Now, it is rather peculiar that much of this report, the more essential parts of this report, were available to Government as early as June last year, but we did not get them. The report was issued to the press, but then again, the press barons put their foot down, and it was not reported properly except for one paper which gave a more or less adequate summary of the recommendations of the Bose Commission, the other papers, almost all, as far as the big national papers, the so-called national papers are concerned, blacked out this whole thing. Even *Swarajya*, the mouth-piece of the Swatantra Party, and Rajagopalachari who writes so very prolifically has chosen not to say a word about the Bose Commission's Report, this report which shows how millions on millions of rupees of our people have been pocketed by the

[Shri H. N. Mukerjee]

most disgraceful methods by big-money representatives with whom most of our Ministers like the Finance Minister and others do openly hobnob, and have had themselves photographed for publicity purposes in the newspapers. This kind of thing has been going and is being done all over the place.

I remember that as early as 1949, the All Indian Bank Employees' Association brought out a pamphlet against the Dalmia-Jain abuses, but what happened was that the Bharat Bank employees were victimised, and Government took no steps whatsoever. This is the sort of thing which happens. Now, how can Congress and the Government turn a new leaf? It is necessary that they should do something to show some spirit, in view of these things happening, but the Chief Ministers themselves are attacking non-alignment. We find a Chief Minister going out of his way to praise a former General of the Army who is going from place to place making the most objectionable type of speeches. We find the press bars being pampered by leaders of the Government at the Centre as well as in the States. And we find that in spite of the right reactionaries behaving in the way that they are doing, the representatives of Congress go about talking in the most vulgar fashion. The West Bengal Congress Members of the Assembly—I would not name names, but Atulya Babu is here, and he knows, and he would perhaps know who I have in mind—have gone about making speeches asking for the blood of communists and not only of the communists but they have asked for the heads of the wives and children of known communists. This sort of thing is being said and done openly; vitiation of the atmosphere has taken place, and a complete de-spiritualisation of the atmosphere in our country has taken place, and that is because Government is inert, Government do not wish to take any steps in this regard,

lest the Communists get some advantage out of this position.

13.08 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair].

Shri Atulya Ghosh (Asansol): Since my name has been mentioned, I would like to interrupt. Everything which has been done in West Bengal has been due to the provocative speeches made by the CPI, State Branch of West Bengal.

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: I do not know; I have no opportunity now of defending what was done by the CPI in West Bengal, but I have yet to learn that a professed devotee of Gandhiji says that 'the other side has done something and, therefore, I do a worse wrong'. I do not know, but Members of the Assembly, calling for the blood of Communists, calling the audience to bring the severed heads not only of members of the Communist Party but also of their wives and children. This sort of thing is happening....

Shri Atulya Ghosh: The provocation came from the other quarters. All of us follow Gandhiji, and the Communists also profess to follow Gandhiji. We are all human beings, and some of us may have followed the Communists in following Gandhiji . . .

Shri Tyagi: Their wives are not so bad.

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: I am not yielding, Sir.

This is linked up with the misuse of emergency powers, which has taken place, and in regard to this matter, reference was made by my hon. friend Shri A. K. Gopalan yesterday. A vindictive attitude is being shown to members of our party. Personal grudges and local political rivalries are being sought to be satisfied by clapping communists into jail, and

when they are sent to jail, classification is not given; and they are put on a par with common criminals; facilities for interviews are hardly given except in very rare cases, family allowances are not permitted, even patients who suffer from cancer and heart trouble are not being released. This is the way in which they are proceeding. They have a suspicion of the people. The powers that be, the Congress and their bigwigs have a suspicion of the people, and because of this suspicion of the people, they will perhaps never be able to do the right thing by the people. They do not have the consciousness that the common people are really the salt of the earth, and that is why they take the side, not of the common people but of other people in higher social brackets. That has come out in so many things, in the gold rules and in everything; whatever they do, it is their siding with the upper layer of people that has become so prominent.

My hon. friend, Shri Surendranath Dwivedy, chose to read out something from a Bombay paper where Shri Dange, Chairman of our Party, is supposed to have asked people not to subscribe to the National Defence Fund.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: It was from the *Times of India* (Delhi edition).

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: I am not questioning what was quoted. But as far as I know, that reporting—if that is the report which he has quoted—must be completely inaccurate and completely unrelated to facts. We have done our best—we are doing it all the time—for the Defence Fund collections.

An Hon. Member: Why not issue a contradiction?

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: I do not see here a Member of our Group, Shri Prabhat Kar, who is Secretary of the All-India Bank Employees' Association. I asked him this morning and

he told me that upto the 31st December last year, the bank employees who even today have not yet got a need-based wage—my hon. friend, the Deputy Minister of Planning and Employment knows it—have paid Rs. 7,22,000 through their Union which is led by a member of the Communist Party who is a Member of this House. In Delhi, for instance, the Delhi working class is largely under the influence of the All-India Trade Union Congress, which is described so often as a Communist organisation, and these Delhi workers have paid at least upto December last, Rs. 20 lakhs out of a total collection in Delhi of Rs. 1.25 crores.

Shri U. M. Trivedi: Not through communist effort.

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: We are doing our best. But you stop us. In West Bengal, for instance, we wanted to hold as early as November 14, 1962,—we wanted permission from Government to hold a massive meeting of the sort that we only can hold in Calcutta (*Interruptions*). It may be that Atulya Babu has done such damage that tomorrow I cannot hold that kind of meeting. I agree. I know that. But on the 14th November, we could have called a meeting which would have been of a size no less than that the Prime Minister himself can mobilise. But we were not given the permission to do so.

Shri Atulya Ghosh rose—

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: What is this kind of thing? Why does he get up? He has nothing to do with this.

Shri Atulya Ghosh: He has mentioned my name.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The hon. Member is not yielding.

Shri Atulya Ghosh: I am only saying this. He says he does not know about the speeches made there. I am quoting one of the speeches of the Leader of the Opposition there, Shri

[Shri Atulya Ghosh]

Joyti Basu; he said that Jalpaiguri should go to Tibet.....(Interruptions).

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Order, order. Unless he yields, the hon. Member cannot interrupt him.

Shri Atulya Ghosh: It only shows his ignorance.....

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Unless he yields, the hon. Member cannot stand up and go on like this. If he has got any explanation to make, he can do so after the hon. Member concludes.

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: My simple point was that we have always been trying to do the maximum possible in order to help the defence effort. But we were prevented from doing so. And today Shri Dwivedy comes and says that the idea of the Communists is not to contribute to the Defence Fund. That cannot be true. I am not questioning his quotation, but that quotation is something which is absolutely baseless as far as facts are concerned.

This is why it is so important that we remember what is happening in our country. This is why Government should remember that it is the people who are carrying the lion's share of whatever burden is imposed by the necessities of our country today.

This remains me of what appeared in a very recent issue of *The Economic Weekly* of the 16th February 1963 in which was shown the contrast between the manner in which the common people contribute to the National Defence Fund and the manner in which the uncommon people, the U-sector, the upper class has behaved in regard to this matter. I am quoting from *The Economic Weekly* of the 16th February 1963. It says how in Rajasthan the people have come forward enthusiastically to contribute to the Defence Fund. Then—I am only

omitting the name; the name is printed here—it goes on:

“The...Maharaja and Maharani called a public meeting—which was publicised with the beat of drums (literally) for days in Jaipur—to ‘announce’ their contribution to the Defence Fund. All sorts of speculation was rife about what they would give—a part of their huge foreign exchange hoards; the fabulous Jaipur jewel collection; the armoury; or even, some said, jet planes. In the meeting, the Maharaja announced his contribution of Rs. 2 lakhs although he gets almost this sum by way of free electricity and water charges from the State....”

I do not know I cannot vouch for the accuracy of it. But here is *The Economic Weekly*, one of the top class journals in this country, where they mention names and point out the contrast between the common people who have come forward and given all that they can in view of the nation's danger and the upper class. We have seen that overtime voluntarily rendered by workers for higher production—I wish the Deputy Minister of Labour and Employment takes note of it; there have been cases of overtime work voluntarily rendered for higher production—but the result was that the workers who did overtime work were declared surplus! That is the contrast in our country today. This contrast has got to be removed and the attitude of Government has got to change.

That is why even in regard to such things as the Gold Control Order the Government cannot touch the gold hoards in this country. The Government cannot get things out of the security vaults which have secreted so much of the wealth of our country. Government cannot get those things out. Government adopts some foot-lings little device about the 14-carat Business—we are going to have a discussion about it later on. But my

main point is that Government cannot strike where the striking should be done. The Government cannot get things done only because it relies not upon its links with the common people, but upon whatever can be got by persuading people who can never be persuaded. These 'Dalmia-Jain' and other affairs have shown us very clearly that you have got to take very definite steps in order to see that the country means business, that we want to go ahead in a socialist direction.

That is why I say that the President's Address leaves us in a rather listless mood. It does not bring together the perspectives which are opened up before the country today. It does not call upon the sections of our people who will really and truly respond to the call of patriotism and come forward. That is why with all the ostentatious declaration of good intentions, the results will by no means be proportionate to the desire of our people. That is why we are sorry that Government has not thought fit to get the President say something rather different from what he has done in his Address.

Shri P. R. Patel (Patna): The President was pleased to refer to agriculture in his Address. In paragraph 4 of his Address, he has said:

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

Then in paragraph 15, he has said:

"A strong agricultural base is a pre-requisite of national security".

I believe that unless we double our agricultural production, we will not be able to get through our Third Five Year Plan, and then the prosperity of the country will be at stake. Agriculture, no doubt, is the base. But I must say that agriculturists are the base of agriculture, and unless they are looked after well, agriculture is not

going to prosper and agricultural production is not going to be doubled. What I see is that after independence, we imported foodgrains worth Rs. 2,000 crores. We are always importing foodgrains and even now have to depend on foreign foodgrains. The Central Government has given a subsidy of Rs. 290 crores in the last 14—15 years, and yet we have to maintain retail shops here and there in the country and the problem is not solved. We are importing today cotton worth Rs. 60—80 crores annually. If this drain goes on, I think it will bring poverty to our country.

We have tried to improve our agriculture by giving more fertilisers, better seeds, loans, also here and there better and improved implements and insecticides, and with all this the production has not increased as it should have. So, there is some fault somewhere. Why does not production increase to our satisfaction?

Our planners thought of these things. They considered fertilisers, loans and other things to be given to the agriculturists, and yet they came to the conclusion that incentive was wanting and so agriculture does not improve to our satisfaction. At page 323, paragraph 49, of the Third Plan, they say:

"The assurance of minimum remunerative prices for important cereals and cash crops like cotton, oilseeds and jute over the period of the Plan will provide the necessary incentives for increasing production, thus adding to the effectiveness of the various development programmes provided for in the Third Plan. With this object in view, decisions regarding the prices at which Government should buy and sell, should be taken sufficiently in advance of the sowing season. Where floor and ceiling prices are fixed, they should be related to the requirements of production, and the range between the minimum and maximum prices should not be too wide."

[Shri F. R. Patel]

We are in the third year of the Third Plan, and these things are only in the book as decorations. They are not implemented, and we are talking of so many things except the minimum remunerative price.

Some friends say price support should be given, some friends talk of a fair return to the agriculturists, some friends refer to reasonable prices, while some others speak of stabilisation of prices, and yet others mention holding the price line. All these things individually or together do not mean remunerative minimum price. These are good words to charm the ignorant cultivators, because naturally they desire a fair price or a good return. All these things are only good charms, but the substantial thing that should have been done was to fix a remunerative minimum price and guarantee it to the agriculturist. That has not yet been done. Unless that is done, we are not going to progress in agriculture. What is the incentive to the agriculturists? If they do not get a good return for the labour and investment put in, if they are put to a loss, why should they increase production? Should they increase production only to suffer more loss? So, it would be in the best interests of the country to implement the advice given by the planners and, without delay, fix the remunerative minimum prices of all agricultural commodities.

There is one thing more. Today the gulf between the floor and ceiling prices is bigger than perhaps the Pacific Ocean. For instance, the gulf between the floor and ceiling prices of cotton is about Rs. 450. Is it the way of helping the agriculturists? I submit the Government should reconsider the matter.

Then, stories are circulated that the agriculturists are getting a good price, that prices have increased like anything. I would refer to pages 120 and 122 of the Third Plan where the index

of wholesale prices for the years 1950 to 1961 are given, taking the base year 1952-53 to be equal to 100. For cereals, the figures were as under:

1950	92
1951	100
1952	95
1953	100
1954	88
1955	70
1956	86
1957	99
1958	95
1959	102
1960	103
1961	100

So, the price of cereals is at the level where it was in 1951. Now, let us go to pluses:

1950	..	80
1951	..	102
1952	..	85
1953	..	98
1954	..	71
1955	..	49
1956	..	77
1957	..	84
1958	..	78
1959	..	113
1960	..	90
1961	..	93

The price is much less than it was in 1951.

This shows that agriculturists do not get a better price than in 1951.

But has not the cost of production increased? There is increase in Government taxes, price of the post-card, railway fare, oil, medicines, cement. There is increase in the price of everything. It is only in foodgrains that there has been no increase in price.

Not only that. The State Governments are helping the agriculturists to earn remunerative prices by adding to their burden. They have increased the land revenue in some States by 20 per cent, in some by 100 per cent. So, even if the agriculturists do not earn more, their burden has increased, thanks to the State Governments, ap-

parently on the assumption that this will induce the agriculturists to put in more hard work.

Not only this. I may refer to the irrigation charges recently levied by the Gujarat Government, and that must be the same with other States too. In the days when we were part of Baroda State, the irrigation charge per acre was Re. 1-4-0 for water taken from Vatrasar and other tanks. I am talking of the tanks; the charges for watering from tanks were Rs. 1-4-0. But we have progressed and the agriculturists have become very happy and these irrigation charges have increased and were recently fixed at Rs. 14 per acre. Once you put an application for water from tank, Government promises one or two waterings to the extent there is water in the tank. If there is no water, the crops may fail but the agriculturist must pay Rs. 14 per acre a benevolent act of the State Government.

Then there are tubewells and the old rates were 10,500 gallons of water for a rupee. For jeera they charge Rs. 15 extra, for wariyari, Rs. 25; for cotton, Rs. 20 for vegetables, Rs. 8 and for chillies, Rs. 25. These things are wanted for exports and for earning foreign exchange. Because of the exportability of these commodities, the State Government thought it proper to charge additional levies! Recently, they have improved upon it they have nearly doubled the charges! During the monsoons, the tubewell charges are: one rupee for 17,000 gallons; winter months—one rupee for 10,000 gallons; and in summer months—one rupee for 13,000 gallons. In addition, they charge Rs. 10 if water is taken in monsoon months even if the agriculturist wants to water the foodcrops such as bajra as there may be one rain less. Unless he pays Rs. 10 plus the water charges he could not be given water. In winter and in summer, similarly, he has to pay Rs. 5 extra. That is to say, Rs. 20 have to be paid extra in addition to the ordinary charges. That is for a regular customer, who gives an undertaking to take

water for six years continuously. But for an ordinary customer the charges are fifty per cent more. Is it the way to help agriculture? In Gujarat the actual irrigated area is 450 thousand acres against irrigation potential area of 910 thousand acres. It is less than half. The policy towards agriculture has to be changed. Today the agriculturists are required to produce more. But are they ever consulted regarding the prices to be fixed for their commodities, regarding the difficulties that they encounter? Are their organisations ever consulted? The only thing that we talk in this Address is about agriculture, not agriculturist. What is the economic condition of an agriculturist? Unless this problem is considered in this light, we are not going to improve our agriculture. Unless agriculture improves, our prosperity would be imaginary. For the prosperity of our nation, of our industry, the first thing needed is improvement in agriculture; it is the base. But the first base, the agriculturist and the second base is agriculture. If these problems and difficulties are considered and remedied, everything else will improve.

Shri Abdul Ghani Goni (Jammu and Kashmir): While speaking on the Address delivered by the President, I feel very proud as I had been his student in Benares University; I am happy that I have this opportunity to speak on Dr. Radhakrishnan's address....

Shri U. M. Trivedi: Please speak a little louder.

Shri Abdul Ghani Goni: Since yesterday the hon. Members have been discussing the various aspects. I consider that the Address is rather brief. Just as face is the index of the mind, the Address serves as an inspiration to the whole nation although it is very brief. Some hon. Members, particularly the leader of the FSP and the Deputy Leader of the Communist Party have been playing to the galleries and attacked the Government based on some Press reports. I will

[Shri Abdul Ghani Goni]

not go into the details about these reports and I will confine myself to the Indo-Pakistan talks which directly concern my State. I am happy about some sympathy shown by Shri Mukerjee but I am worried that the basis of what is called the Kashmir Question has not been understood by him. He said that at least the *status quo* should be maintained. I would like to remind the hon. Members that we should talk in terms of our national and territorial integrity. Jammu and Kashmir acceded to India in October 1947. The ruler signed the instrument of accession which he had a right to. After that we convened a Constituent Assembly and on 5th November 1951, and we decided to become part of the great Indian Union. We discussed it in the State legislature; I was a member there then. It is not a bargaining of territories or piece of land. It was an ideological war that the Jammu and Kashmir people were fighting since 1931. We had always been supporting the national movement on a secular basis and we never supported communal politics indulged in some parts of India.

It is also a fact that we had three elections,—1951, 1957 and 1962; and we drafted a constitution in which we made the position clear. I would like to quote section 3 of State Constitution because there is some misunderstanding in the minds of some hon. Members here that the Jammu and Kashmir State is something different. Practically the very first section, section 3, of the Jammu and Kashmir Constitution which we drafted there says that "the State of Jammu and Kashmir is and shall be an integral part of the Union of India". And then in section 4 we defined the territory of the State to the effect that "the territory of the State shall comprise all the territories which, on the 15th day of August, 1947, were under the sovereignty and suzerainty of the ruler of the State." That means that accession was not only if the part which was with India but the accession was complete for the whole territory of Jammu and Kashmir as it existed

on the 15th day of August, 1947. That means the legislature there had control over the entire territory of the State as it stood on the 15th day of August, 1947.

Similarly, when we passed the constitution there, it became a part of the Indian Constitution under section 370, and when you read the definition of the Indian union, you will see that the very first article, in clause (2), says that the Indian union shall consist of so many States as defined in the First Schedule; and in Schedule I, you have got the Jammu and Kashmir State; as defined in the State Constitution, as the 15th unit of the union of India. That means, Jammu and Kashmir as a whole is part of our Indian Union as it existed on the 15th August, 1947. Here, I am limiting my speech only to the Kashmir problem since the time is limited.

Unfortunately, we were subjected to aggression from the Pakistan side. We were fighting against that. Not only the leaders of Kashmir, not only the Government of Kashmir and not only the people of Kashmir, but even the most beloved leader of India, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, has always said that we will get every inch of our territory vacated by Pakistan; and that that time will come. This has been our stand so far, but unfortunately, there and I do not know what is there in this side and that side; and China also comes in. When China comes into Ladakh territory again, the Kashmir question is raised. We are obliged to help from the western countries, particularly the United States of America and the United Kingdom. But that does not mean that we should surrender our own territory, surrender Ladakh or NEFA or our stand on Kashmir.

I would request hon. Members of the House to take cognizance of the speeches made in our State legislature which is discussing the State budget these days. Our leader, Bakshi

Ghulam Muhammad, has repeatedly stated that the integrity of the Kashmir State will not be allowed to be disturbed. Yet, I am perturbed when some Members speaking in the upper House, Rajya Sabha, said that the *status quo* should be maintained. This morning, Shri Mukerjee said that the *status quo* should be maintained. I do not know what this *status quo* means. Does it mean that the talk in terms of a division? I would humbly submit that those persons who talk in terms of division—whether they are in Jammu and Kashmir or in the rest of the country or Pakistan or anywhere else may be in the United Kingdom or the USA—are living in what you call **fool's paradise**. We will not allow any division of Kashmir because we have been fighting against Pakistan, and we are hopeful that the aggression of Pakistan will be vacated and also the Chinese aggression on Ladakh will be vacated although they are different problems. But we should not submit to the foreign powers for a few guns or a few planes. They are coming here, and we say we are ready to compromise on the question of Kashmir. This question pinches me. What do you mean by compromise on Kashmir? The Kashmir people have expressed their confidence in the whole of India that is Bharat Kashmir has been an integral part of India, and the members of the State legislature there have got in a constitutional provision, and the State legislature cannot alter the position of accession. No amendment can be moved either there or here. So, I submit that to talk in terms of surrender is a gross violation of the Indian Constitution and a gross violation of our State Constitution, which is part of our Indian Constitution. So, to talk in terms of surrender or to talk in terms of dividing Kashmir is gross violation.

We know how we have fought without force; without the Central Government we fought against Pakistan aggression. We could easily go to Pakistan; there are Muslims this side and that side. We could easily go, but our history is based on secularism. We

used to fight along with the National Congress. I remember Jinnah once came to Kashmir before 1947. He was hailed throughout the country, but those who know a little of Kashmir will remember how Jinnah returned from Kashmir without any response. He had to come back with nothing. This is past history. It is not a question of surrender of any part of Kashmir or part of Indian territory. But it is an ideological war. I am proud that Jammu and Kashmir has stood the test of secularism and now it is for the other States to understand it. I come from the Jammu and Kashmir State, and I feel that Kashmir is not only ours but it is of the whole Indian nation, because it is part of India. I have got as much regard for NEFA as I have for Kashmir. We should all talk of Jammu and Kashmir as good a State or province of India as any other State or Province of India, such as Madras, Bombay, Maharashtra, Punjab and West Bengal. So, anything which is being tolerated in the name of Indo-Pak relations is something which I do not understand. I do not understand what these relations are. You know General Ayub Khan is there. They ask for plebiscite in Kashmir. What have they got for the last 15 to 16 years? Did that administration give any chance to the people there to form a new Government, a Government of their own choice there? The Government has come into power there through intrigues, and then the Ministry changes day after day. On the other hand, in Jammu and Kashmir—which is part of India—they have got a stable Government, particularly after 1953. I do not know exactly what you mean by sentiments, but let us face the facts. Even Sheikh Abdulla who was then the leader of the National Conference there—our hon. friend Shri Sham Lal Saraf is here and he was one of his old comrades—took a decision that they shall be within India. It was under Sheikh Abdulla's leadership, I think, we passed a resolution that we are part of India. Sheikh Abdulla is under trial? Even Sheikh Abdulla cannot dare to say that he is for Pakistan. He dare not. I cannot

[Shri Abdul Ghani Goni]

comment on it, but particularly after 1953, when Bakshi Ghulam Muhammad took over, the conditions are much better and Jammu and Kashmir is progressing. Geographically and topographically though Jammu and Kashmir State may not be most backward, it is a backward State when you compare it to the rest of the States in India. But inspite of that we have built roads and other development projects. These are minor things, but let me tell you that the people there are advancing, and they are not interested in talking about accession now, because we all think that the question of accession is complete. We are now concerned with the plan and the development of the State. We have completed the first plan and the second Plan, and now we are in the run for the third Plan, you must know how much we have advanced in education, health, power, forest and industry. We have introduced land reforms and abolished being landed states without compensation. In 1947-48, we had 1190 primary schools in the State. In 1960-61 the number was 2859. The number of middle-schools increased from 50 to 533 during this period. During the same period, the number of high schools increased from 54 to 226, and the number of colleges increased from 4 to 12, besides the medical, engineering, polytechnic, ayurvedic and agricultural colleges. Before the start of the first Plan, power production was 4360KW. Today we have got 17,800KW and 6,000KW more are coming up in Gardanal. Our industry is mainly silk industry. Before the institution of the first Plan, we produced 1,30,000 lbs. Today we have got a production of 2,50,000 lbs. So, the people of Kashmir are already developing through the Five Year Plans. Some gentlemen here or in Pakistan or in USA seem to think that we are just like chattel or sheep that we can be divided and distributed in pieces. This will not be tolerated.

I will request the House to think in terms of the territorial integrity of

India. Today they demand Kashmir; tomorrow they may demand Assam. Today Pakistan demands the division of Jammu and Kashmir on communal lines. Tomorrow the division of Assam may be demanded and after sometime they may demand division of Bengal. So, it is not a question of only surrendering territory. It is a question of ideological war. We have never accepted the division of India on communal lines. Today we are trying to develop the backward areas in our States. We have developed Ladakh and we are developing the other areas. There is road development, power development, transport development, etc. Educational and medical facilities are there. We have developed the forest industry also. In 1947-48, the income from forests was Rs. 77 lakhs. In 1961-62 it was Rs. 3.73 crores.

You will be surprised to know that Jammu and Kashmir State is the first State which has introduced free education. Today in my home town, the son of a peon becomes an engineer. The son of a coolie who works on the road becomes an engineer because of free education. We give loans to meritorious students. I would tell hon. Members of the House that throughout India free education should be introduced, so that meritorious students can receive education and become an asset to the nation.

As I said, the ideological war is there. If we try to please Field Marshal Ayub Khan today, who knows who will be the President there tomorrow? Nobody is sure, because the changes in Government there have been so sudden. Formerly there was the water dispute. It was settled. But now they claim something more from Chenab and Jehlum rivers. Their demands are continuous and we will not be able to satisfy them.

In conclusion, I would request the House, particularly the Leader of the House—fortunately Morarjibhai is

here—to value our sentiments, to remember the sacrifices of the people of Jammu and Kashmir and not to betray them.

With these words, I support the motion of thanks to the President for his Address.

श्री डा० ना० तिवारी : (गोभालगंज) :

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, राष्ट्रपति जी के भाषण का अगर चन्द शब्दों में वर्णन किया जाये, तो कहा जा सकता है “सत्यं शिवं मुन्दरम्” । चूँकि राष्ट्रपति जी के भाषण में संसार के हर एक विषय पर बातें हो सकती हैं और उस भाषण पर विचार करते समय हम लोग सब कुछ कह सकते हैं, इस लिये हम लोग उस भाषण में सब कुछ खोजते हैं और चाहते हैं कि उस में सब बातों का उल्लेख किया जाये । धन्यवाद-प्रस्ताव के सम्बन्ध में जो एमेंडमेंट्स इस सदन में रखे गए हैं, अगर हम उन को देखें, तो मान्य होगा कि राष्ट्रपति के भाषण में यदि उन सब बातों का समावेश किया जाये, तो वह भाषण एक कैटालाग ऑफ प्रीवेंसिज हो जायगा, वह प्रीवेंसिज का एक पोथा मात्र बन कर रह जायगा और अधिक महत्वपूर्ण बातें तथा वर्तमान स्थिति के बारे में सरकार की नीति तथा कार्यक्रम कहीं छिप जायेंगे । हर एक मनुष्य हर एक चीज को अपने अपने दृष्टिकोण से देखता है और उस में अपनी भावना पाना चाहता है और झुंझता है । उस को न पा कर उस को सदमा होता है, लेकिन वह यह नहीं सोचता है कि अगर राष्ट्रपति जी अपने भाषण में इन छोटी छोटी बातों का जिक्र करने लगे, तो उस का स्वरूप क्या हो जायेगा और उस में महत्वपूर्ण बातों का समावेश कैसे हो सकेगा ।

राष्ट्रपति जी के भाषण के सम्बन्ध में जो धन्यवाद स्ताव रखा गया है, उस पर अब तक चार दलों की तरफ से स्पीचिज हुई हैं । एक स्पीच तो श्री गोगालन की हुई है जिन की विचार धारा मास्को-लाइन के अनुसार

चलती है । दूसरी स्पीच आचार्य रंगा की हुई, जो कि इस बात के लिये वेनाब हैं कि हिन्दु-स्तान जल्दी से जल्दी किसी गूट में शामिल हो जाये । तीसरा भाषण महापंडित श्री यू० एम० त्रिवेदी का हुआ । मैंने उन को महापंडित इस लिये बड़ा कि जब एक सदस्य बोल रहे थे, तो उन्होंने कहा था कि वह इग्नोरेंट है, मूर्ख हैं । जो व्यक्ति दूसरों को मूर्ख समझता है, वह महापंडित होगा ही ! वह अपने को महापंडित समझता होगा, तभी तो वह दूसरों को मूर्ख कह सकता है ।

श्री बजराल सिंह (वरेला) : माननीय सदस्य दूसरे को महापंडित समझते हैं, तो वह क्या होंगे ?

श्री डा० ना० तिवारी : अपने को महापंडित समझने वाले और दूसरों को मूर्ख समझने वाले को लोग क्या कहते हैं, यह माननीय सदस्य खुद सोच समझ लें ।

एक माननीय सदस्य : “मूर्ख” नहीं कहा, “इग्नोरेंट” कहा ।

श्री डा० ना० तिवारी : “इग्नोरेंट” के माने वही होते हैं ।

चौथा भाषण हुआ सोशलिस्ट पार्टी के नेता, श्री बागड़ी, का जिनकी एक खासियत यह है कि वह कभी भी, कुछ भी कह सकते हैं और उन पर कोई भी प्रतिबन्ध या बंधन नहीं है । ना उन की जुबान पर लगाम है और न विचारों पर ही कोई नियंत्रण है ।

इन सब भाषणों का एक सारांश यह निकलता है कि उनका पहला प्रीवेंस इमर्जेन्सी की घोषणा, या डिफेंस ऑफ इंडिया बिल के सम्बन्ध में है । वे समझते हैं कि ये, कांग्रेस के लोगों के फायदे के लिये जारी किये गये हैं और उसी के लिये इस्तेमाल किये जाते हैं और उनके द्वारा दूसरी पार्टियों को दबाया जा रहा है । गृह-मंत्री महोदय ने बताया था कि लगभग सात सौ व्यक्ति डिटेंसन में हैं। मैं जानना चाहता

[श्री द्वा० ना० तिवारी]

हूँ कि उन में से स्वतन्त्र पार्टी और जनसंघ के कितने लोग हैं। अगर देखा जाये, तो उन में एक-आध तो कांग्रेस पार्टी के भी व्यक्ति हैं। जो इस हाउस में कांग्रेस पार्टी के सदस्य रह चुके हैं, वे भी इस समय डिफेंस डिटेंशन में हैं। जैसी किसी की करनी होगी, वैसा ही वह भरेगा भी अगर डीटेंन किये गये व्यक्तियों में कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी के लोग अधिक हैं, तो उस के लीडर, श्री गोपालन, को क्यों शिकायत हुई।

श्री सरजू पाण्डेय (रसड़ा) : वे बगैर करनी के हैं।

श्री द्वा० ना० तिवारी : मैं श्री गोपालन से पूछना चाहता हूँ कि क्या वह ईमानदारी से कह सकते हैं कि उन का पार्टी के सदस्य इस बारे में एकमत है कि चीन के साथ लड़ाई में हिन्दुस्तान का पक्ष लिया जाये और चीन के साथ जंग की जाये। नहीं, उन की पार्टी में विभिन्न रायें हैं और कुछ लोग चाइना-लाइन का समर्थन करने वाले हैं। क्या श्री गोपालन चाहते हैं कि उन को छोड़ दिया जाये, जिस से वे देश में गड़बड़ी मचा सकें? पहले आप अपने घर को, अपनी पार्टी को, अपने ग्रुप को आर्डर में लाइये ताकि यह मौका गवर्नमेंट को न मिले कि आपके आदमियों को वह पकड़े। आप समझ लीजिये कि जो कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी के लोग पकड़े गये हैं वे इसलिए नहीं पकड़े गये हैं कि वे इतने तगड़े थे या इतने बड़े थे कि कांग्रेस का नुक्सान कर रहे थे या कांग्रेस उन लोगों को नीचा दिखलाना चाहती थी वल्कि इसलिए पकड़े गये हैं कि उनकी हरकतें ऐसी थीं कि अगर उनको न पकड़ा जाता तो देश का बहुत बड़ा नुक्सान हो सकता था या अगर उनको छोड़ दिया जाये तो भी देश का बहुत बड़ा नुक्सान हो सकता है। कुछ लोग उनमें से छोड़े भी गये हैं और वे वे लोग हैं जिनका बाद में देखा गया कि आचरण सही है। नम्बूदरीपाद जैसे व्यक्तियों

को छोड़ दिया गया है। वे पहले पकड़ लिये गये थे। अगर फिर देखा जायेगा कि छूटने के बाद भी वे कुछ इस तरह की बातें करते हैं तो फिर उनको पकड़ा जा सकता है। फिर भी अगर गड़बड़ी वे करते हैं तो देखना होगा कि क्या कार्रवाई की जानी चाहिये। उनको पार्टी की सैक्रेटरीशिप से हटा दिया गया है। अब वह कुछ इस तरह की बातें करेंगे या नहीं करेंगे यह भविष्य ही बतायेगा।

14 hrs.

स्वतन्त्र पार्टी के लीडर चाहते हैं कि हम एक गुट में मिल जायें। मुझे एक प्रावर्ब याद आता है "मोर लायल दैन किंग हिममैल्फ"। कुछ दरवारी ऐसे होते हैं जो राजभक्ति में इतने अधिक बढ़ जाते हैं कि राजा जितना अपने लिए नहीं चाहता है, उससे अधिक करते हैं। अमरीका और इंग्लैंड तो हम से कह रहे हैं कि हिन्दुस्तान की नीति ठीक है, नान-एलाइनमेंट की भारत की नीति रहनी चाहिये। वह हिन्दुस्तान के लिए फायदेमन्द है लेकिन हमारे कुछ लोग कह रहे हैं कि हमारा बिना उनको बुलाये काम नहीं चल सकता है और उनकी तरफ हम नहीं जायेंगे तो हमारी हानि होगी। मेरी समझ में उनकी यह बात नहीं आई है। यह एक मोटी सी बात है। जिन की तरफ वह चाहते हैं कि हम मिलें वे तो कहते हैं कि मिलना ठीक नहीं है, तुम्हारा इसी तरह से रहना ठीक है, लेकिन यह कहते हैं कि नहीं, हमें जरूर मिल जाना चाहिये, हमें जरूर उनकी वफादारी करनी है। जब स्वतंत्र पार्टी के लोग इस तरह की बात करते हैं और इस तरह की भाषा का प्रयोग करते हैं तो उनकी बात को समझना मुश्किल हो जाता है।

श्री यू० एम० त्रिवेदी जी ने शिकायत की है कि हम हिन्दी की भ्रवहेलना कर रहे हैं। लेकिन वह हिन्दी की कैसी सेवा करते हैं, यह मैं आपके सामने रखना चाहता हूँ। जितने भी उनके भाषण होते हैं, जितने भी उनके प्रश्न

होते हैं, सब अंग्रेजी भाषा में होते हैं। हिन्दी भाषा भाषी प्रान्त के वह रहने वाले हैं और हिन्दी उनकी मातृभाषा है। आदमी उसी भाषा में बोलना अधिक पसन्द करता है जिस में वह अधिक अच्छी तरह से बोल सकता है। लेकिन उनको बोलना पड़ता है अंग्रेजी में . . .

Shri Koya (Kozhikode): He speaks in English so that others can understand.

Shrimati Gayatri Devi (Jaipur): Apni ki chan je ami Bangalai boli Amar party anje shadeshye annader bhisshaye bolen.

श्री डा० ना० तिवारी : आप बंगला बोलिये, हमें कोई आपत्ति नहीं है।

Shri Koya: Mattullavarku manassilavan vendeettanu Hindivil samsarikkathathu. Hindiyil samsarichal ellavarkum manassilavukailla.

श्री डा० ना० तिवारी : हमें समझना चाहिये कि बहुत से लोग इस सदन के अन्दर हैं जो हिन्दी नहीं समझते हैं और उनको हिन्दी बोलने में दिक्कत होती है। अब उनको कहें कि नहीं तुम हिन्दी में ही बोलो, तो इसका क्या नतीजा होगा। इसका नतीजा यह होगा कि जो फायदा उनके विचारों से हम उठा सकते हैं, उससे हम महरूम रह जायेंगे उनकी बात हमारे सामने नहीं आ सकेगी। अभी भी जितने हिन्दी भाषा भाषी प्रदेश हैं, उन में भी बहुत से काम अंग्रेजी में होते हैं। हाई कोर्ट के फैसले अंग्रेजी में होते हैं। हम लोग बिहार से आते हैं। वहां पर बहुत से काम अंग्रेजी में होते हैं। इसका मतलब यह है कि जो हिन्दी भाषा भाषी प्रान्त भी हैं, वे भी खुली हिन्दी में स्विच आन नहीं कर सके हैं। जब ऐसी बात हिन्दी भाषी प्रान्तों की है तो उन प्रान्तों की डिफिकल्टीज को भी हमें समझना चाहिये जिन की मातृभाषा हिन्दी नहीं है, जो आज तक हिन्दी में काम नहीं कर सके हैं।

गवर्नमेंट का प्रोपोजल क्या है? उसका प्रोपोजल है कि अंग्रेजी को सह-भाषा बनाया जाये, मेन भाषा हिन्दी रहे। संविका या लौंडी के समान बनाया जाये अंग्रेजी को हिन्दी की सेवा करने वाली बनाया जाये। यह उन प्रान्तों को मदद देने के लिए किया जा रहा है, जिन की भाषा हिन्दी नहीं है। क्योंकि उनको अभी दिक्कत होती है। इसलिये उनकी मदद करने के लिए अंग्रेजी कुछ समय तक रहे और उस समय तक रहे जब तक कि वे भी हिन्दी में उतनी ही सुविधा से न बोल सकें, वैसे ही आसानी से काम न कर सकें जिस तरह से दूसरे कर सकते हैं। अगर किसी पर भाषा को जबर्दस्ती लादा जाये तो मामला बिगड़ जाता है। यह दस बंस आदमियों का सवाल नहीं है। चार प्रान्त तो साउथ के हैं। एक बंगाल है। महाराष्ट्र और गुजरात के लोग भी अपने विचारों को बहुत फीली हिन्दी में नहीं व्यक्त कर सकते हैं। इसलिए उनकी डिफिकल्टी को ध्यान में रखना जरूरी है। दूसरों की भावनाओं को भी समझना जाना चाहिये। हमें नहीं चाहिये कि हम जबर्दस्ती उन पर इसको लाद दे और आगे चल कर काम बिगड़ जाए। इसलिए मैं श्री यू० एम० त्रिवेदी जी से पूछना चाहता हूँ जो कि इस समय यहां पर नहीं है कि आप तो अच्छी तरह से हिन्दी बोल सकते हैं, आप तो हिन्दी भाषा भाषी प्रान्त से आते हैं, तो फिर आप क्यों नहीं हिन्दी में बोलते हैं। जब आप हिन्दी नहीं बोलते हैं तो कैसे दूसरे लोगों से आप उम्मीद करते हैं कि वे हिन्दी में बोलें और काम करें जबकि वे हिन्दी भाषा भाषी नहीं हैं और अभी उन्हें हिन्दी की पूरी जानकारी नहीं हो सकी है।

इकोनॉमिक उत्थान की भी बात यहां की जाती है। इसका हैलथ से बहुत गहरा सम्बन्ध है। राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण ने एक लाइन दी गई है जिसको

[श्री द्वा० ना० तिवारी]

में पढ़कर आपको सुनाना चाहता हूँ।
उन्होंने कहा है :—

“The nation's health has improved greatly, and the expectation of life, which used to be 32 in the forties, has reached 47 and is rising still”.

इस सम्बन्ध में मैं आपसे कहना चाहता हूँ कि जिस देश का आर्थिक स्तर नीचा होता है उसमें जीवन का माप जो है वह कम होता है। हिन्दुस्तान में पहले जीवन की अवधि क्यों कम थी? इसलिए वह कम थी कि हमारे पास खाने को कम था, हमारी इकोनॉमिक कंडीशन खराब थी। लेकिन जैसे जैसे इसमें सुधार होता जाता है वैसे वैसे लाइफ स्पैन् भी बढ़ता जाता है। इकोनॉमिक कंडीशन हमारी क्या है? १९४७ से आज की तुलना आप करें। आपको पता चल जायगा कि कितना उसमें सुधार हुआ है। मैं मानता हूँ कि हमारी, आर्थिक दशा जैसी इंग्लैंड या अमरीका या रूस की है, वैसे नहीं है। लेकिन उन लोगों को आजाद हुए कितना समय हो गया है और हमें कितना हुआ है, इसको भी आप देखें। वे लोग उतने सताये नहीं गये थे, जितने हम सताये गये थे, उनका इतना एक्सप्लायटेशन नहीं हुआ था जितना हमारा हुआ था। सारा देश जरजर कर दिया गया था, कुछ यहाँ था ही नहीं। हर चीज का हमें निर्माण करना था। “नहीं” से हमने शुरू किया है और इस दशा में आ गए हैं।

कुछ लोग कहते हैं कि गरीब दिन-ब-दिन गरीब होते जाते हैं धनी दिन-ब-दिन धनी होते जाते हैं। मैं मानता हूँ कि धनी वर्ग धनी होता जा रहा है। मुरारजी भाई के साठे पंद्रह आने या पंद्रह आने रुपये में टैक लगाने के बाद भी ऐसा है। लेकिन आप देखें कि अगर एक कभोड़ रुपये का

इनवैस्टमेंट है तो दो पैसे तो जब रुपये में बच जाते हैं तो भी पांच दस लाख का तो यों ही एडीशन हो जाती है। यह तो हम नहीं कर सकते हैं कि सभी नका ले लें या सत्तरह आने ले लें। अगर हमने ऐसा किया तो कोई रोजगार ही नहीं करेगा, कोई कारखाना ही नहीं खोलेगा। यह समझ में नहीं आता है कि गरीब की दशा नीचे कैसे गिरनी जा रही है। मैं मानता हूँ कि डिफेंस कम नहीं हो रहा है क्योंकि धनी कुछ अधिक धनी होते जाते हैं और गरीब चाहे थोड़े बढ़े हैं, लेकिन बढ़े जरूर हैं। लेकिन कुल मिला कर हमारी आर्थिक दशा सुधरी ही है। आप देखें कि इन पंद्रह वरसों में जहाँ पहले देहातों में मिट्टी के मकान अधिक मिलते थे वहाँ आज ईंटों के मकान अधिक मिलते हैं, जहाँ मिट्टी से घर लोग जोड़ते थे वहाँ सीमेंट लोग मांग रहे हैं। अगर उनके पास पैसा न हो तो कैसे इन चीजों की मांग करें। हमें चाहिये कि हम सजेशन दें और नुक्ता चीनी भी करें लेकिन ऐसा हो जो समझ में आ सके और ऐसी न हों, जिन पर न अमल हो सकता हो और न सम्भव ही लगे। एक स्वीपिंग बात कहने से काम नहीं चल सकता है। इकोनॉमिक कंडीशन हमारी अच्छी हुई है लेकिन उम दजों तक नहीं हुई है जिस दजों तक होनी चाहिये थी। जो कमियाँ हैं, उनकी तरफ में आपका ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूँ।

पहली बात तो यह है कि कितना ही लोग पैसा पैदा करें लेकिन जब संतति बढ़ती जाए, आवादी बढ़ती जाए तो उसका रेशो ठीक नहीं रह सकता है। वह मनुष्य गरीब का गरीब रह जाएगा। हेल्थ मंत्राणी माहवा बैठी हुई है। उनमें मैं प्रार्थना करना चाहता हूँ कि वह फ़ैमली प्लानिंग पर अधिक जोर दे ताकि हर घर

में आठ या दस बच्चे न होकर एक दो बच्चे ही हों नहीं तो आर्थिक उन्नति के बावजूद गरीबी छाई रहेगी।

अनएम्प्लायमेंट की बात भी मैं करना चाहता हूँ। लाखों लोग स्कूलों और कालिजों से इम्तहान पास करके हर साल निकलते हैं। उनको ठीकरी कहीं नहीं मिलती है। इस और हमारा सबसे अधिक ध्यान जाना चाहिये। आप जानते ही है कि आइडल ब्रेन ज डेवलप एबोड, जब कोई काम नहीं मिलेगा तो खुराफात करने में उनका दिमाग लगेगा, और वे कुछ ऐसी बात सोचेंगे जो उनके तथा देश के दोनों के ही हित में नहीं हो सकती है, दोनों के ही खिलाफ हो सकती है। एम्प्लायमेंट पोर्टेंशल बढ़ाने के लिए प्रयत्न होते हैं। लेकिन अभी हम उस स्थिति पर नहीं आये हैं जिस स्तर पर हम लोग अपने सारे एजुकेटेड अनएम्प्लायड लोगों को काम पर लगा सकें।

तीसरी बात जिस के विरुद्ध लोगों में भावना बढ़ रही है वह है करप्शन की। करप्शन का दायरा इतना बढ़ गया है कि शायद यहाँ पर हम लोग उस का अनुमान नहीं लगा सकते। अभी श्री पटेल इरिगेशन की बात कह रहे थे कि उस के लिए उन्हें पैसा देना पड़ता है। लेकिन यहाँ केवल टैक्सेज की बात नहीं है। होता यह है कि जब तक अलग से पैसा न दिया जाय तब तक जिस गेट से पानी आता है, वह खोला नहीं जाता है।

श्री पु० र० पटेल : पर एकड़ ऐंडीशनरु लेवी है।

श्री डा० ना० तिवारी : लेकिन वह तो जायज लेवी है। मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि कोई बड़े से बड़ा आदमी कचेहरी चला जाय, पुलिस में चला जाय, स्टेशनों पर चला जाय, सब जगह लोग उस से कहेंगे कि आखिर हमारा भी पेट है। हमारे यहाँ

जो बड़े से बड़ा आदमी है, भले ही एक दो दिन उन की मुरीवत हो जाय, लेकिन तीसरे दिन उन से कहा जायेगा कि सरकार, हमें भी कुछ मिल जाय। वह भी अगर बहुत मुरीवत करे तो, नहीं तो सीधे सीधे आप का काम नहीं करेगा। यह चीज जितनी जल्दी दूर हो उतना ही अच्छा है। इस के लिए केवल पनिसमेंट से काम नहीं चलेगा। इस के लिए जैसे पुराने जमाने में किया जाता था वैसे ही होना चाहिये। भले ही वह नृशंस तरीका था, लेकिन अगर कोई घूस लेता हुआ पकड़ा जाय तो उस का हाथ कटया लिया जाय या फाँसी पर लटका दिया जाय। जब तक आप इस तरह का ड्रास्टिक स्टेप नहीं लेंगे तब तक—यह इतना डीप चला गया है कि—इस में सुधार नहीं हो सकता है।

मैं चाहता हूँ कि सरकार, जो तीब तीन बातों में ने कही है, उन पर अधिक ध्यान दे, अर्थात् (१) फॅमिली प्लैनिंग, (२) अनएम्प्लायमेंट और अन्त में (३) करप्शन को दूर करना।

Dr. L. M. Singhvi (Jodhpur): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, I rise to associate myself with the formal expression of gratitude to the President who was pleased to deliver an Address to the joint session of both the Houses. Although I am unable to endorse all that is said in his Address and all that has been omitted from the Address, I feel that the convention is an unexceptionable one as a formality but in so far as this affords an opportunity to Parliament annually to review governmental policies and performance and to diagnose and discuss the health of the Republic, I should like to offer a few observations.

There is no doubt that the last year has been the most momentous, the most trying one in the career of our young Republic. During this year we were confronted with treacherous external aggression from a country

[Dr. L. M. Singhvi]

whose cause, as the President has been pleased to observe, we espoused in the council of the nations, with whom we proclaimed enduring peace and brotherhood. I think that out of this ordeal the Parliament and parliamentary institutions in this country have emerged with greater prestige and I think it augurs well for the democratic set up that we have adopted in this country.

All the same, I feel that the Government has been lagging behind slightly, and now it is time that the Government, in following the example of Parliament and the people who have responded magnificently to the clarion call in the hour of need, to catch up, to accelerate and to gear up its administrative machinery, which remains and continues to be a somnolent machinery, a machine which is unmindful of the emergency that is overtaken us, a machine that is irresponsible to the need of the hour. I hope that Government will make a real, sincere and earnest effort to gear up this machinery, to streamline the administration, so that there is that throbbing dynamism, that pulsating enthusiasm, that self-sacrifice and dedication that we are entitled to expect from the government of this nation in the state of emergency, in the situation in which we find ourselves.

It has been repeatedly stated that the Chinese aggression has rudely awakened us to the realities and to the facts of international life. It would bear repetition indeed if I were to say this again, but I hope that the lesson is not lost on our government, both in the formulation of its policies and in the implementation of those policies. It has become clear, compellingly clear, to us that we can no longer afford to live in an artificial world of our own creation, to use a graphic phrase adopted by our distinguished Prime Minister; it has become clear to us that national self-interest must be the over-riding consideration of our foreign policy as well as of our domestic policies.

In that context, I should like to place before this House my view of what the foreign policy should be. I do think that a conscious general conception of policy, its aims and objectives, is necessary. It is necessary because, without it, without a conscious general conception of the aims and directions of policy, without philosophical content foreign policy would be blind. But, as the same time, the foreign policy of a country must take cognisance of the compelling realities and the current exigencies confronting the nation because, without paying full attention to these factors the foreign policy of a country would become lame. We have to see that our foreign policy is not rendered either blind or lame in any manner whatsoever.

I think that in the present context massive aid for our defences has become an imperative need for our nation. I feel that it is no longer possible for us to continue to think that we can finance our entire defence effort on our own, without completely crippling our economy, without debilitating our developmental projects and without really imposing hardships on the people of this country which they will not be able to bear and endure. It is in this context that I feel that a re-orientation of our foreign policy is necessary. I do not think that I am recommending any radical departure from the policy that has been enunciated by our distinguished Prime Minister. As a matter of fact, he has, at least in words, evinced his readiness to accept it, from whichever quarter it came. I do hope that now this whole outlook would be changed and we would be prepared to accept aid, we would be prepared to seek aid, from abroad on terms necessarily honourable to this country. We need not raise the bogey of the foreign interference, or that the foreigners acquire bases in our country. We must desist from overlaying the apprehension that we may become the handmaiden of any foreign power. I think those days are past. We have

created in this world an international machinery and India is, after all, too big a country to be swallowed by any other. I do not think it is right or fair to read such motives in the policies or in the outlook of those who have been quick to render aid to us in the moment of our crisis and our need. Nevertheless, there is no gainsaying the fact that a country's liberty is safeguarded by eternal vigilance. We will not mortgage our liberty to one nation in order to fight another. But I think it is possible in the present context of things, in the context of the prestige that our country enjoys, in the context of the fact that India is by far the largest power in this whole region, in the whole Afro-Asian compass, that India should be able to gain sufficiently massive and deterrent aid from abroad. If that does not fructify, it is necessary for us, in my opinion, to invoke such collective security measures and commitments of the United Nations as are necessary to meet the situation created either by Chinese aggression or any other aggression.

I feel that the hon. Prime Minister's policy of non-alignment did fulfil a great historical and catalytical role. It continues to be a highly acceptable policy insofar as our reluctance to join any military blocs is concerned, but I do not think that the price we have to pay for receiving massive foreign aid is to mortgage our freedom or to let ourselves become the handmaid of any other power. Therefore, the realistic and the compelling conclusion for us is that we must make immediate arrangements on a long-term basis to receive substantial and massive foreign defence assistance so that our economy may not be crippled, our aspirations may not be undermined and the revolution of rising expectations which is the ballmark of twentieth century is not defeated or

It is a good fortune for us that we have a man of distinction and eminence in our Prime Minister to preside over the formulations of our foreign policy. I think he is capable and equal to the task of re-orienting

our foreign policy. But the moment is now and we cannot linger; we cannot procrastinate. I hope that the hon. Prime Minister, quick as he always is to understand the mood of the nation, will act as he has always acted in the past in consonance with the requirements of our nation and with the temperament of our country.

I would like to say something about the fact—a fact of which much has been made by some people—that a wind of change has swept over the Kremlin. I think, it is a very welcome change and we should hope that this interesting development will be an enduring trend. But it would be a very infirm foundation for us to build our defence or foreign policy on this interesting development. It is a very uncertain factor in our calculations. At the same time, I think, that the silence and comfort which some well-meaning gentlemen derive from the fact that the Red Chinese have been isolated in world Communism is equally vain.

The Presidential Address contains an expression of anxiety to achieve a negotiated settlement with our neighbour, Pakistan. The motives which prompt and inspire this anxiety are indeed laudable, but the appreciation of facts from which this proceeds is equally lamentable. I think that even the Swatantra Party did not act rightly when they were prepared to say that the hon. Prime Minister may do as he likes in his case. It is a different matter to express and repose confidence in the hon. Prime Minister, but it is quite another matter to say that in this particular matter we would abide by the verdict of the hon. Prime Minister or whatever action the hon. Prime Minister chooses to take. I think that this whole approach to renewed and resumed Indo-Pakistan negotiations is an example of ill-conceived assumptions and of displaced diplomacy. I think that the failure of these negotiations was built in in the very situation. I was very happy, therefore to find that one of the hon. Members from the Congress

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Party, an hon. Member who hails from Kashmir, was able to speak unequivocally and eloquently in defence of the territorial integrity of Kashmir which is the subject matter of these negotiations. I am glad that there has been this fearless expression of opinion even from an hon. Member of the ruling Party over whom generally the sword or the whip hangs very heavily and threateningly. I hope, that expression would be taken as an authentic mandate of the people of Kashmir and would persuade our Government to put a moratorium on all such fundamentally untenable negotiations. The Government must declare once for all that no part of our territory is a negotiable commodity whether it is in Ladakh or in NEFA or whether it is in Kashmir. It is only by dealing honestly, forthrightly and truthfully that we can hope to win. Our emblem says "*Satyameva Jayate*". Why then abandon the truth which we have held dear and to which we have clung all these years?

I think that the failure of these negotiations was writ large even when these negotiations began. When the Pakistan Government made to our chief negotiator who was visiting them a present of the Sino-Pakistan Pact which is going to be finalised very shortly in Peking which Mr. Bhutto, the Pak Foreign Minister, is shortly reported to be visiting; the failure of these negotiations was a foregone conclusion because the Pakistani press and politicians have been running a campaign of vilification and have been singing a hymn of hate for this country, do you think that in all realism and in all honesty we can build an edifice of goodwill on these slender foundations? I hope, the Government takes stock of the situation ceases to toy with such fancy ideas and, therefore, stops from rendering greater harm than they would have done by abstaining from such negotiations because the end of these negotiations which we can all foresee is bound to create greater ill-will and is going to deepen the

chasm which divides these two countries. This I say with a heavy heart because I sincerely believe that the destinies of these two countries are truly tied together. But as hardheaded politicians, as people who take stock of things as they are, we must realise that this was not a propitious moment to launch negotiations either on our own or on the promptings of any other power.

I think, such negotiations, apart from being foredoomed to failure, are also humiliating and demoralising for the honour of our country. I think, the Government has not paused to consider the profound damage it does to the minds of the people living in the embattled and so-called and supposedly disputed area of Kashmir to which we are committed by our national policy reiterated time and again. The Government has not paused to consider that this has caused embarrassment to our friends and that this has caused discomfiture to those loyal adherents of this idea because Kashmir does not represent merely a piece of territory to India but Kashmir is representative of all the secularism that we have proclaimed so far. Kashmir represents indeed an ideology for India. Therefore, negotiating the territory of Kashmir on whatever basis or premise is hardly tenable and hardly acceptable to the nation. I am sure, the Government would realise that the people do not endorse any such policy; therefore, they would abandon this as soon as they can.

I should like to end this by saying that Pakistan, ruled as it is today, continues to be a cynical, restive, petulant fragmentation of a seamless fabric. It is not possible today to negotiate with Pakistan because it is not at peace with itself. It is suffering from an inner turmoil. Therefore trying to negotiate and make an effort which is foredoomed to failure is really trying to demonstrate that we have not even learnt an elementary lesson in diplomacy.

I should like to advert to the observance made by some hon. friends regarding the abuse and misuse of powers under the Emergency. I am not conversant with the details how it has been done and in what manner it has been done. But I do feel that justice should not only be done but it should seem to be done. We are a great country; we have a great system of democracy and we must, therefore, I suggest, evolve a system by which these complaints could be reduced even if these complaints are not well-founded. I had suggested earlier, both in the informal meeting that we had with the hon. Home Minister and later on in the House when the Defence of India Bill was being discussed, that we must evolve a committee of Members of Parliament or some other committee or, better still, an Ombudsmann on the Scandinavian pattern, to take into account all such complaints where the rights and liberties of citizens are affected. The institution of Ombudsmann has functioned with great success in the Scandinavian countries. It is the institution of a high jurist, of a jurist of repute being appointed—being elected, if you please—by the Parliament to that high office, in order to go into all complaints and grievances of administrative violations of one's rights and liberties. This has functioned with conspicuous and spectacular success in the Scandinavian countries, and I would suggest that the Government may in right earnest undertake consideration of the feasibility of introducing this institution in our country.

I should like to mention very briefly about the gold control measures about which many of my predecessors have spoken. I think that the impression is widespread that closely following on the heels of the failure of the gold bond policy the gold control measures were brought in: that is to say, consent was replaced by coercion. I am not against any regulatory mechanism in case it is for the welfare of this country, particularly in this state of emergency. But I do think, Sir, that with all honesty and with all the

earnestness I have tried to see the efficacy and the utility of these measures and I fail to find anything desirable in these measures. I do not think that the attempts to elicit the accumulations of gold by these measures are likely to be successful. After all, the Government is only calling forth non-ornamental gold. Ornamental gold in this country is 85 per cent. I am certainly not suggesting that Government should now embark upon calling forth ornamental gold also! But for the little gold that you are likely to obtain from these measures and for a certain curb that you are likely to be able to put on smuggling, which may be to the tune of Rs. 25 to 50 crores annually according to varying estimates, I do not think you have the right to put out of employment at least one million people, and perhaps at the most two and a half million people. I would not agree with the higher estimates of the number of goldsmiths and artisans likely to be rendered unemployed by these measures, because I do not think they accord with various other calculations that must be taken into account. But that is a very large number of people to add to the army of unemployed in this country. That is much more than we are able to provide for.

Therefore, while the Government is trying to elicit gold from the rich, they are actually penalising the poor artisans and workers who will have no alternative possibilities of doing gainful work. Now, I do think that the Government cannot be sitting pretty while this large number of people go out of employment; the Government cannot sit as passive spectators while all these people go begging or go looking for their bread, not finding any. This is the responsibility of the State in a welfare state, and if the Finance Minister had thought it fit to bring these measures for the greater good of the greatest number of this country, then the Finance Minister should have at least at the same time thought of providing for these people whom he was likely to render out of employment.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: There are one or two more speakers from his party.

Dr. L. M. Singhvi: There is one more speaker from my party.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: He has already taken 22 minutes.

Dr. L. M. Singhvi: Well, Sir, apart from the fact that the Finance Minister's name, as a consequence of these measures, will not have the opportunity of being written in pure gold—it will have to be written only in 14 kt. gold—I think the other consequences, the dislocation of economy and the psychological impact on the people is going to be so considerable that no one can fail to accuse the Government in this respect of being quite heartless and of being quite thoughtless. I hope, Sir, the Government realises this and, if it is not able to make any amends now, at least it proceeds with all expedition and will all goodwill and earnestness to provide for these artisans and goldsmiths who have been rendered out of employment.

I should like to say that in this I understand that several jewellers who were earning foreign exchange for us and whose products contained only a small percentage of gold, have also been adversely affected. Now, that could not possibly have been the intention of the policy, because we are trying to conserve foreign exchange, we are trying to earn more foreign exchange. And if this is the consequence of this policy, certainly it has not been properly thought out.

Sir, since the time at my disposal is short I should only like to conclude so far as the gold measures are concerned, by saying that it is a melancholy misdirection of our plan efforts, of our economic efforts and is a law that may be used for building up an organised black market in the country and would benefit only the unscrupulous. I should like in this respect to

quote, if I may, from Shakespeare who said:

We must not make a scarecrow of the law,
Setting it up to fear the birds of prey,
And let it keep one shape till custom make it
Their perch, and not their terror.

But we are making the law the terror, and not the perch, of custom. This is a law which has provoked great protest and extensive opposition in the country and any government responsive to the feelings and the plight of the people would respond in an adequate measure, I hope.

Sir, I have a few things to say about various other things which I shall briefly dwell upon. I want to say that the emergency has not registered any impact on the administrative machinery. Corruption continues to be where it was. And I was sorry to find that the Home Minister was not prepared to say anything positive in respect of corruption at the political level, which I consider to be the breeding ground for corruption. What objection could there be to appointing a committee or eliciting statements of assets from politicians? I do not accuse any one but, as I said, the impression has been created in this country everywhere and it is for the good of the administrators themselves, and the politicians and ministers, that they are honest, that they are cleared out by creating a proper institutional mechanism whereby they can say that they have declared their assets and that all the criticism against them is not well-founded. In respect of that the Home Minister could only tell us that although there are rules for the declaration of assets of the officials, there are no rules for the declaration of assets of politicians. This information the House already had. What it wanted to know was whether the Home Minister was prepared to do anything definite in this matter to take care of this situation. I had made a reference

to this situation and I had made a demand of this kind speaking on the Address of the President last year. But I find that there is no responsiveness in the Government to handle the situation and to satisfy not only the Members of the Opposition but to satisfy the people at large in the country.

Then I should like to say that red tape has increased very considerably and bureaucratic methods still reign supreme in this country. The emergency has only added to the red tape. You have to obtain the clearance of this Ministry and that Ministry to get things done. But nothing has really been done by way of cutting out the red tape and bureaucratic methods.

At the same time I should also like to say that the organisation of civil defence in the country demonstrated the kind of confusion and lack of co-ordination with which this Government is beset. It is a novel example, I think, in the history of parliamentary institutions that the Prime Minister had to come out in an open public meeting criticising the air-raid precautions which were being taken and introduced by the civil defence organisations. Now I understand that the Manual is being revised to bring it in consonance with modern conditions. How is it that without the knowledge of the Prime Minister civil defence steps are taken by the various departments of the Government, and the Prime Minister has to criticise those measures in a public meeting?

The same can be said, I think, of the statement recently made by the Minister of Economic and Defence Co-ordination. It reveals a callous lack of coordination in the departments which is the supreme need of the moment.

In the same way, I would suggest that economy in Defence expenditure is necessary. Economy in the entire Government machinery is necessary; at the same time, economy in defence expenditure is necessary. I would like to say that this branch of expen-

diture, by its very nature, remains a close preserve of only a few to scan and scrutinise. I would very much like that a Committee of Parliament on the lines of the Committee that was appointed in England, is appointed in this country to go into Defence expenditure from time to time, to see if it is in consonance with Government's Defence policy and suggest economies wherever possible. There should be these checks. Otherwise, Defence expenditure is going to be something of an unknown factor to all of us.

I should like to end by saying this. A committee on public sector undertakings was promised to us. I am glad that the Minister for International Trade is here and I think he would be able to vouch for his colleague. This Committee was promised to us many months ago. Each time I tried to bring a motion in this House for this, I was told that the Government was going to bring a motion. When the Government themselves are bringing a motion, a private Member is precluded from bringing the motion. But the Government withdrew the motion it had notified. This is a way of paralysing parliamentary activity. I should like the Government to promise when they reply, that this committee would be brought into existence before too long.

I should also like that a study is made of the extent to which the Directive principles of State policy are being implemented. These Directive Principles are the sheet anchor of our Republic. If there is no growth of those institutions and policies which are enjoined upon the administrators of this country by the Directive principles of State policy, we would be nowhere. After all, the letter and the spirit of the Constitution must be followed. Though these Directive principles are not justiceable, they are enjoined upon the State. In not observing them, in not implementing them, the State is showing disregard to the letter and the spirit of the Constitution. I would demand that a

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Commission is appointed to go into the extent to which these have been implemented and the reasons for the slow implementation of these Directive principles of State policy.

I should like, in the end, to pay a tribute to Major Shaitan Singh, a recipient of Param Vir Chakra, who belonged to my region. I and the people of my area are very proud of Major Shaitan Singh's great achievements on the battlefield. But, at the same time, I should like to say that the region to which he belongs is in a sordid and miserable state. People have to go 12 miles to fetch a pail of water. I think that at the time we are paying tribute to the hero of Chushul, we should look after the conditions of the people in that region, and commemorate his memory by opening more schools and giving better facilities in that area to which he belonged which he has greatly honoured by his heroic and gallant role in the Chushul campaign.

I am very thankful to you for giving me the opportunity for making these few observations.

Shri Maniyangadan (Kottayam) Mr. Deputy-Speaker, I deem it a great privilege to associate myself with the sentiments of gratitude expressed to the President for his Address.

In his Address, he has pointed out the objectives we have before us and also our efforts in achieving these objectives. The President has mentioned briefly some of our achievements. If we view the achievements in the background of the difficulties and the great problems that are facing us, my submission is that the achievements are not small. Any country, in the situation in which we are placed, can be really proud of the achievements. We are at the cross-roads of history and our future depends on how we face the problems that confront us now. While trying to usher a better future for the millions of our countrymen, we are faced with aggression from a neigh-

bour with whom we were associated for so long. When we are trying to build up the country through successive Five Year Plans, the freedom and honour of our country is now threatened. The President has stressed the necessity of facing the issue boldly. He has stated:

"The freedom and honour of a country must be given the first place and, if a country cannot defend them, then other matters lose significance. The nation's activities have thus been concentrated on this basic issue."

Therefore, it is very clear what our objective now is and what the main issue that faces us now is. I do not think anybody will dispute the importance which is attached to the defence of our country. The nature of the tactics adopted by the enemy being what it is, we have to be very careful and we cannot be sure that the conflict that now exists will be short-lived. So, we have to scheme things in such a way that the prosperity of our people is not jeopardised. The surest method of meeting any such national emergency is by strengthening the nation. If we falter in this, everything will be lost. There seems to be an opinion that the Five Year Plans should be scrapped. That means that our economic development will be put a stop to and people will be having nothing to look to and their aspirations will be failing. The hopes and aspirations of the people have to be realised by the successful working of Five Year Plans. I admit there must be boldness on the part of the Government to decide to go forward with the Five Year Plan. In the Address, the President has stated:

"It has therefore been decided to continue implementing the Third Five Year Plan with such minor modifications as may be necessitated by the circumstances, and by reorienting our industrial

pattern so as to give priority to defence needs."

I have to congratulate the Government for taking this bold decision, in spite of defence efforts and in spite of various other difficulties, to go forward with the Five Year Plan without serious pruning of that.

As I submitted, we are now at the cross roads of history. If we fail in our duty now, we will be meeting with utter disaster. To face the problems that are before us, great sacrifices are necessary. It has been amply proved that the people at large are ready to undergo any sacrifice. The spontaneous response of the people to contribute to the National Defence Fund is ample proof of the enthusiasm of the people. Some complaint has been made here that pressure and coercion has been exerted for collections to the National Defence Fund. Several crores have been collected and several thousands of grams of gold have been contributed to the National Defence Fund. I was pained to hear Shri A. K. Gopalan, the Leader of the Communist group referring to certain matters and saying that widespread compulsion is exerted by the authorities for collecting the fund. I was reminded then of a report regarding a broadcast from the Peking Radio which was saying that in India, poor people are harassed and collections are made. Now, I may be excused if I say that the Leader of the Communist group was repeating the same. He was giving certain illustrations.

In this connection, I would like to bring to the notice of the House the statements made by the Prime Minister himself and also from various other quarters that no compulsion should be resorted to. It is a voluntary contribution, and no compulsion whatsoever should be resorted to. That is the definite policy. When several crores of rupees are being collected, I do not deny that there may

be one stray instance here or there where some feeling must have been aroused that there is a sort of compulsion. My submission is that such instances should not be made much of. Here, the impression sought to be created is that a widespread compulsion is being exercised, and some stray instance here or there is being generalised. He was referring to an instance wherein a person, in his words, is alleged to have said that the Chinese would have behaved better. I know that there are certain people in this country who feel like that.

Reference was made to the large amounts contributed by the trade union members under the leadership of the Communist Party. I do not deny that. But I may submit that I know instances where contributions have been made by the adherents of the trade unions led by communist leadership, in spite of their leadership.

Reference was also made to a statement recently made by Shri S. A. Dange. I do not know whether he made it or not. There is such propaganda going on in certain quarters, and I know that personally. If such things happen, if an effort is made, a deliberate attempt is made, to defeat the collections to the National Defence Fund, certain reports may go to the police, and some enquiries might have been made. The leader of the Communist Group, before leaving Kerala for the Parliament session, had published in the papers that he had written to the President, and he had also made a public appeal or published a public appeal to inform him of instances wherein compulsion had been resorted to for the collections. I do not know how many instances have come to his notice, and how many people have written to him. But the idea behind this is to make it appear as if certain things are being done, and then he published it in the newspapers, saying 'Please let me know where this compulsion has been resorted to'. What is the purpose be-

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hind it? My submission is that this sort of propaganda against the Government in their attempt for this war effort is a matter that has to be seriously viewed.

He also stated that Congress people were utilising this opportunity to strengthen their organisation. I may submit that just the contrary is the position. My hon. friend was speaking about the situation in Kerala. In Kerala I know that in almost all the committees, non-Congressmen are included, and large numbers of them have been included. It may be that in some places, certain individuals who feel themselves to be very important in the locality have not been included, and an instance was pointed out by Shri A. K. Gopalan himself by referring to the statement published in a paper, according to him, a very responsible paper, of one Joseph, a very responsible person, according to him, wherein he has criticised the authorities concerned for not including certain people. I come from the place that Joseph is from, and I know that it is only recently when these publications have come that we hear of him; but he must have his own opinion about him; he may be feeling that he is very important, and unfortunately, the persons concerned in forming the committees might not have known that. That is all. So, if a particular person is not included in a committee, he comes forward with a statement saying that here is the party which is doing this and that, and that the Defence of India Rules are being utilised for strengthening the power of the party and all that. My submission is that this sort of propaganda should not be encouraged.

He also referred to the arrests of communists. It is true that certain communists and a few non-communists also have been arrested under the Defence of India Rules. Their cases are being reviewed regularly. Several of the persons who were under detention have already been released.

Still, some people remain in custody. I have never come across a complaint from any responsible quarters of any misbehaviour to them. They are properly treated. But due to circumstances which we all know they have to be kept in custody for some time.

A reference was made here from different groups to the non-alignment policy of Government. We do not know why this non-alignment policy is being brought up. Of course, there is one section which says that the non-alignment policy is an utter failure, and there is another section which wants that in the name of this non-alignment policy we should refuse help from the West. This is the unfortunate position in which we are placed. My submission is that the non-alignment policy pursued by Government has been a thorough success. It does not prohibit us from seeking aid from any country, and we are getting aid in our time of necessity from all countries, to whichever group they may belong.

Our acceptance of the Colombo proposals was criticised here. Our acceptance of the Colombo proposals has proved to the world who is right. The vacillation shown by China in accepting these proposals has proved how hypocritical they have been. So, the very fact that we are willing to accept the Colombo proposals has shown to the world that we are correct, and even countries and statesmen who were not willing to grant that India was in the right have now come forward saying that India's position is correct.

The President has referred to the position arising from our acceptance of the Colombo proposals. We do not know what the Chinese are going to do. If the Chinese are not accepting it, our position has been made very clear, that it is tantamount to rejection by them. As to what is going to happen next, we are not aware of it. Our resolution here on the 14th

November last stands and we are committed to that, and at any cost we are bound to recapture our territory from the enemy's hold.

In this situation, our military preparations have to be made very carefully and in a very planned manner and they are being made.

Regarding the 'air umbrella', some name like 'air umbrella' has been brought in. The point is this. If there is an attack on us, if there is a war, if there is an air raid on India, are we to remain unprepared? Our Air Force is not now in a position to meet the Chinese air attack. In the circumstances, we have to prepare ourselves. We have to get ready for any contingency. Powerful countries, which are our friends and which have proved by their act that they will help us in any way, have come forward to find out what improvements we have to make. The Prime Minister this morning very clearly stated what the position is. Yet there are expressions of doubt and fear from certain quarters. I do not know why there should be this fear and doubt. There is no question of slackening of our preparations. We have to be prepared for any contingency. That is the position.

15 hrs.

In the situation, my submission is that I cannot understand the logic behind casting doubt on the Government or the Prime Minister with regard to these matters and saying at the same time that the Prime Minister's policy is the best policy. The Prime Minister and the Government will never betray the country. They stand by the people. They are determined to maintain the prestige of the country; they are determined to defend the country; they are determined to drive the enemy out of our territory. In the circumstances, my submission is that preparations have to be made and help from other countries capable of helping us without any strings, accepted. This is what is being done.

Since I have no more time, I conclude by fully supporting the Motion.

श्री ग० सि० मुत्तासिर (अमृतसर) :
 उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, राष्ट्रपति जी के अभि-
 भाषण के सम्बन्ध में जो मोशन हाउस में
 पेश हुआ है, मैं उस का समर्थन करने के
 लिये खड़ा हुआ हूँ। राष्ट्रपति जी का जो
 एक एक लफ्ज है उस को हमारे देश की
 जतना न बड़े ध्यान से पढ़ना है और सुनना
 है। इसलिए इस वक्त हमारे देश के सामने
 जो सबसे बड़ा सवाल है उस पर विचार करना
 बड़ा जरूरी है। राष्ट्रपति जी ने जो अपनी
 स्पीच में जो ३० पैराग्राफ रक्खे हैं उन में
 से ६ या ७ में उन्होंने ने जो हिन्दुस्तान और
 चीन की जंग है या जो चीन का मामला
 है उस के बारे में बड़ा बात की है। तरतीबवार
 जो आरम्भ में उन्होंने ने देश की पालिसी
 का जिक्रल तीर पर जिक्र किया है, हम उस
 के एक एक लफ्ज का समर्थन करते हैं। हालांकि
 इस में कोई शक नहीं है कि इस वक्त चीन
 के हमले से हमारी पालिसी पर एक चोट
 लगी है, मगर चीन के हमले के बाद जो
 बाक़ात हुए हैं उन से यह बात स्पष्ट है कि
 जो हमारी ननप्रलाइनमेंट की पालिसी है,
 वह ठीक ही रही है। इस वक्त भी जो हमारे
 देश के सोवने वाले लोग हैं वे यह कहते
 हैं कि इन पालिसी ने हिन्दुस्तान का सिर
 ऊँचा किया है। हमें इस बात का तजुर्बा
 है कि शुरू शुरू में हमारे राष्ट्र पिता के बाद
 राष्ट्र पिता के सही जॉनशॉन हमारे प्राइम
 मिनिस्टर पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू की
 रहनुमाई में हिन्दुस्तान की आजादी के बाद
 जो पालिसी अख्तियार की गई, उस ने हिन्दु-
 स्तान का नाम रोजन किया है और उस
 की वजह से दुनिया के लोगों की तवज्जह
 हिन्दुस्तान की तरफ हो गई है। छोटे छोटे
 राष्ट्रों की ती बात ही क्या है, जो बड़े बड़े
 राष्ट्र हैं, वे भी उस से मुतासिर हैं, और
 पीत अर्थ अमन और पंचशील की बात
 करने लगे हैं। अब कुछ वातावरण बदल
 गया है, इस में शक नहीं है, मगर मुझे इस

[श्री गु० सि० मुसाफिर]

बात की समझ नहीं आती कि जो दोस्त नानअलाइनमेंट की पालिसी को इस वक्त भी ठीक नहीं समझते, आखिर किस तरह की पालिसी चाहते हैं। खास कर जो हमारी स्वतंत्र पार्टी के भाई हैं वह खुद तो स्वतंत्र रहना चाहते हैं, लेकिन देश के गले में जरूर एक फंदा डालना चाहते हैं। इस चीज को मैं बिल्कुल नहीं समझ पाता हूँ।

श्री यशपाल सिंह (कैंगडा) : चीनियों के हमले से आप को स्वतंत्र करना चाहते हैं।

श्री गु० सि० मुसाफिर : मैं एक देहाती आदमी हूँ इसलिये देहाती मसाला याद आती है। एक जाट और तेली की लड़ाई हो पड़ी। तेली ने कहा जाट रे जाट, तेरे सिर पर खाट। यह बात जाट को बुरी लगी। वह कहने लगा कि तेली रे तेली तेरे सिर पर कोन्हा। तेली कहने लगा कि, इस में तो काफिया नहीं मिला। जाट कहने लगा कि काफिया भले ही न मिला हो लेकिन बोझ से तो मरेगा। यही बात इन दोस्तों पर भी लागू होती है। हमारे अपोजीशन वाले भाई किसी न किसी ढंग से हमारी पालिसी का विरोध करना चाहते हैं, स्वाह उस विरोध का कोई मूताबिकत उस बात से हो या न हो।

दूसरी बात जो मैं कहना चाहता हूँ, वह यह है कि राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने अभिभाषण के श्वे पॅराग्राफ में कहा है :

“आज कल कोई लड़ाई नहीं हो रही है। लेकिन पिछले कुछ महीनों के अनुभव से हम खबरदार और मजबूत हुए हैं और हम ने पक्का इरादा किया है कि हम इस संकट से अपना बचाव करेंगे और अपनी रक्षा व्यवस्था तथा

आर्थिक ढांचे को पूरी कोशिश से मजबूत करेंगे।

बेशक हम इस संकट से अपना बचाव करेंगे, मगर मैं समझता हूँ इस वक्त सिर्फ अपने बचाव तक ही हमें सीमित नहीं रहना चाहिये। जो बचाव की बात है वह तो अव्वल बात है। अब हम यह जरूर देखते हैं कि चीन का जो खतरा है वह कुछ कम है, लेकिन चीन पर कोई ऐं बर नहीं है। हो सकता है कि वह किसी अच्छे वक्त के इन्तजार में हो और फिर हिन्दुस्तान पर हमला कर दे। हमारे देश में इस समय कुछ ऐसी चर्चा चल गई है कि चीन का यह झगड़ा खत्म हुआ और जो हमारी लड़ाई की बातें हैं वह खत्म हो गई हैं। इस तरफ से हमारा ध्यान कुछ हट गया है और जो खतरा हमारे सिर पर है और जो लड़ाई की तैयारी है उस के सिलसिले में लोगों के दिलों में भी और दूसरी तरफ भी कुछ कमी आने लगी है। यह हमारे लिये बड़ी खतरनाक बात है। इसलिये हमें याद रखना होगा कि हमें खाली अपना बचाव ही नहीं करना है बल्कि अगर हमें अपनी आजादी का बचाव करना है तो हमें यकीनन यह सोचना चाहिये कि मौका मिलने पर हम को जवाबी हमला भी करना है और जो अपनी एक एक एंच जमीन है उस को बचाना है। यहां भी मुझे एक देहाती औरत की मसाला याद आती है। उस का पति भट्टी पहलवान था। तो भट्टी पहलवान और जीवन पहलवान की कुस्ती हुई। जीवन ने गलत तरीका अख्यार कर लिया। उस न अपने सारे शरीर में तेल मल लिया। जब वह भट्टी पहलवान के साथ लड़ने लगा तो भट्टी का हाथ उस की जकड़ से आसंग हो गया और भट्टी गिर गया। जीवन पहलवान ने भट्टी पहलवान की पीठ जमीन से लगा दी। अब सारे लोगों ने जीवन के लिये कहना शुरू कर दिया कि उस ने धोखा किया है भट्टी पहलवान के साथ। उस ने जो कुस्ती

के उसूल है उन को तोड़ा है। लोगों ने उस को बड़ा बुरा भला कहा। तो इस का असर भट्टी पर भी हुआ। उस ने भी समझा कि मुझे शोबे से गिराया गया है। उसके जो चीटें लगीं थीं वे उस के शिल तक पहुंच गयी थीं। लोगों ने उसे समझाया कि तुझे जीवन से समझौता कर लेना चाहिए लेकिन उस को और ने कहा कि जहां कोई गिरता है वहां से उठने पर उस की साख जाती है। उस ने कहा कि अगर भट्टी अगर जीवन को एक बार गिराए हुए उस के साथ समझौता कर लेगा तो उस के लिए यह बड़े तुच्छान की बात होगी। उस ने कहा कि तू चाहे सारी दुनिया के पहलवानों को गिरा दे लेकिन जब तक तू जीवन को नहीं गिरायेगा तब तक तेरी साख नहीं बनेगी। मगर जीवन उस से लड़ने को टालता था। वह इधर उधर के लोगों के बीच में छल कर समझौते की बातें करना चाहता था, वह लड़ना नहीं चाहता था। मगर भट्टी की औरत भट्टी से कहती थी कि जब तक दे बरा लड़ाई नहीं होगी तब तक तेरी साख नहीं बन सकती। मैं वाक्या बता रहा हूँ कोई कहानी नहीं सुना रहा। तो भट्टी पहलवानों का जलूस ले कर जीवन के घर पर गया और उस को बहर आने को कहा। जीवन भी पहलवान था, आखिर बाहर आया और उस वक्त भी उस ने अपने जिस्म पर तेल मला हुआ था। लोगों ने उसे पकड़ लिया और उस के जिस्म से तेल साफ कर दिया और फिर कहा कि लड़ो तो भट्टी ने उस को गिरा दिया, जो उन्होंने ने कहा कि अब हमारी बात सफल हो गयी।

तो मेरे कहने का मतलब यह है कि जो हमारे जवान लड़े है उन्होंने ने सीने पर और माथे पर गोलियां खाई है। कोई मिसाल आप को नहीं मिलेगी कि हमारे किसी जवान ने पीठ में गोली खाई हो। मगर अब हमारी तैयारी इतनी होनी चाहिये कि चीन वाले

आगे आगे हों और हमारे जवान उन के पीछे हों और उन की पीठों में गोलियां मारें। हम चाहते हैं कि उन को हम भागते देखें। यह होगा तभी हमारी साख बन सकेगी लोगों और दुनिया में। यह मेरी इच्छा है और इस वक्त मैं अपनी इच्छा का इजहार कर रहा हूँ। और है भी यही बात ठीक। इस वक्त हम चाहें और किसी से बात कर लें और दोस्ती बना लें, मगर जिय ने हम को दोस्त बन कर धोखा दिया है उस से जल्दी से जल्दी दोस्ती की बात कर लेना गलत होगा और यह खाम खाली होगी।

तो मैं जो भट्टी और जीवन की मिसाल दे रहा था। उसी सिलसिले में आगे कहना चाहता हूँ कि उस के बाद में जीवन और भट्टी में जिनदगी भर दोस्ती रही और वे पक्के दोस्त बन गए लेकिन यह दोस्ती तभी पक्की हुई जब भट्टी ने जीवन को गिरा दिया। तो मैं चाहता हूँ कि हम भी एक दफा चीन को नीचा दिखा दें जिसने हमें ह्यूमिलिएट किया, हमें बदनाम किया और हमारे साथ अच्छा सलूक नहीं किया। मैं चाहता हूँ कि एक दफा वैसा ही सलूक उसके साथ करने की हमारी सामर्थ्य हो जाए और हम ऐसा करें, तो फिर उसके बाद हम दोस्ती की बात कर सकते हैं, इससे पहले उसके साथ दोस्ती करने का सवाल उदा नहीं होता।

एक माननीय सदस्य : क्या इस गवर्नमेंट से यह उम्मीद है।

श्री शु० सि० मुसाफिर : एक बात मैं और कहना चाहता हूँ। राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने बयान के बारहवें पैराग्राफ में साफ कहा है :

“हमारे सामने आज चीन के हमले की समस्या सबसे बड़ी है और इस को सामने रख कर ही हमें बाकी सब बातों पर विचार करना है। किसी भी देश की आजादी और इज्जत सबसे बड़ी चीज है और अगर कोई देश इन्हें नहीं बचा सकता तो दूसरे मामलों की अहमीयत

[श्री गु० सि० मुसाफिर]

नहीं रह जाती ? इस तरह राष्ट्र के सभी काम इसी बुनियादी मसले पर केन्द्रित हैं।”

ये जो राष्ट्रपति जी के भाषण की सतरें हैं ये गौर करने के काबिल हैं। उन्होंने कहा कि यह हमारी बुनियादी बात है कि हमको अपनी इज्जत और अहमियत को कायम रखना है। तो इस सिलसिले में मैं दो बातें आपके सामने रखना चाहता हूँ। पहली बात तो यह है कि यह जो चर्चा चल रही है कि हम हार गए हैं यह गलत है। हम तो हार और जीत का असल मतलब समझना चाहिए। हार यह नहीं होती कि कोई गिर गया या पड़े हट गया। हारा उसको समझा जाता है जिसका दिल हार गया हो। गुरू गोविन्द सिंह ने शाहे बक्त को लिखा था कि तुम समझते हो कि गोविन्द सिंह हार गया। शायद तुम इससे अन्दाजा लगाते हो कि उसके पास कुछ नहीं रहा, उसकी जो फीज थी वह मारी गयी, उसके बच्चे मारे गए उसके जाँ बाज सिपाहों नारे गए। मगर मेरा हार का यह मयार नहीं है क्योंकि मैं गिनती और विनती में कभी नहीं पड़ा। उन्होंने शाहे बक्त को लिखा :

“गुरसना चिकारे कुनद चहल नर के
दा लखं वरायद बरो बेखबर।”

गुरसना फारस में भूखे को कहते हैं। उन्होंने लिखा था कि मेरे चारों ओर भूखे जवानों पर दूसरी तरफ से दस लाख आदमी आ पड़े और वे चारों ओर आदमी मारें गए, मगर यह हार नहीं है। आगे चल कर गुरु जी ने कहा :

“चिहासुद कि चूं ब बज्जान कुशता धार।”
क्या हो गया जो मेरे चार बच्चे मारे गए।

“कि बार्की बिगाद अरत पेचीदा मार”

भाव यह कि मेरा उसूल मेरे अन्दर कायम है।

“चि मरदी कि अखगर खनोशां कु”
शोलों को बुलाने से क्या फायदा।

“कि आतिश दमारा फिरोगां कुनग”

क्योंकि जो चिनगारी मुलग रही है वह कभी भी भड़क कर आग बन सकती है।

तो मेरा कहना यह है कि हार यह नहीं है कि कोई मारा गया या किसी को थोड़ा देर के लिए थोड़ा हटना पड़ा। इसको हमने हार मान लिया है। असल में यह हार नहीं है। अगर हमारा मोराल कायम है, जो कि राष्ट्रपति जी के शब्दों में हमारी बुनियादी चीज है, तो हमारी हार नहीं हुई है। बुनिया में बहार भी आती है और खिजां भी। जिस दरख्त की खिजां में जड़ उखड़ जाती है वह फिर कभी हरा भरा नहीं हो सकता, मगर जिसकी जड़ कायम है, उसको चाहे पत्तियां सूख जाएं, चाहे उसकी डालें सूख जाएं, लेकिन बारिश आते ही वह हरा भरा हो जाएगा। जिसकी जड़ उखड़ गयी है उस पर चाहे कितनी भी बारिश आवे वह हरा नहीं हो सकता। तो मोराल बुनियादी चीज है। अगर हमारा मोराल कायम है तो ये छोटी मोटी हारें या शिकस्तें कोई चीज नहीं हैं। इस लिए हमारे लिए मोराल का कायम रखना सबसे जरूरी है और इसका कोई न कोई वनोवस्त करना चाहिए। अगर हमारा मोराल कायम न रहा तो जो छोटे छोटे मुल्क आज हिन्दुस्तान की तरफ भरोसे से आंख लगाए हुए हैं वे नाउम्मीद हो जायेंगे। एशिया में चीन और हिन्दुस्तान दो ही बड़े मुल्क हैं। इन दोनों का लड़ाई में छोटे मुल्क देखते हैं कि किस का मोराल कायम रहता है। आज भूटान वाले, सिक्किम वाले और नेपाल वाले हमारे बारे में सोचते हैं। अभी हाल में अफ्रीका में भीतों में एक कानफरेंस हुई थी। इसमें हमारे पक्ष से भी डेनोटेट गए हुए थे। वे बताते हैं कि जो छोटे छोटे मुल्कों के डेनोटेट पक्ष आए हुए थे वे चीन का तरफ देखते थे, वे हिन्दुस्तान की

तरफ नहीं देखते थे। मैं यह नहीं कहता कि उनकी सरकारों का क्या ख्याल है लेकिन जो उनके डे नांगेट वहाँ गए थे वे चान कों तरफ देखते थे। वे देखते हैं कि हिन्दुस्तान सम्भल सकेगा या नहीं। वह लड़ाई के लिए तैयार है या नहीं, हिन्दुस्तान में हिम्मत है या नहीं। जब वे देखेंगे कि हिन्दुस्तान में हिम्मत है तो वे हमारा तरफ देखेंगे। हर एक को अपनी अपनी फ़िक्र है। हर एक को अपनी अपनी जान कों, अपनी-अपनी हिफाजत की, अपनी-अपनी इज्जत का फ़िक्र है, वह किसी नक़्सी ढग से अपनी इज्जत को बचाने की कोशिश करता है।

इस वक़्त हमें यह बात याद रखनी चाहिए कि मरना जो है वह कोई शिकस्त कों बात नहीं होता है। त्रिगेडियर होशियारसिंह को कौन भूलेगा ? भगत सिंह को कौन भूला है ?

“हयाते जावेदां आई है जांदा तों के हिस्से में, हमेशा जने वाले हैं यह जितने मरने वाले हैं !” मरने वाले लोगों को जिन्दगी हमेशा के लिए है। उनका नाम हमेशा जिन्दा रहता है। हमें देश का रक्षा के लिए अपनी जानों तक को बाजों लगा देने का जो शख़रोश कायम रखना चाहिए। उसको कमजोर नहीं होने देना चाहिए।

हम राष्ट्रपति जी के मशकूर हैं कि उन्होंने देश का ध्यान इस तरफ़ दिलाया है। उनके भाग से चन्द सतरों जो मैंने पढ़ कर सुनाई, उनमें इस बात को माना है कि हमारी इज्जा और अहमियत हमारा केन्द्र है, वह हमारा बिन्याद है। अपनी इज्जत, अहमियत, ख़ुददारी और सैफ़ रिस्पैक्ट के लिए हम हर वक़्त तैयार हैं और कोई भी बात हम ऐसी करने के लिए तैयार नहीं है जिससे कि हमारे सैफ़ रिस्पैक्ट में फर्क आये।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय : माननीय सदस्य का समय समाप्त हो गया है।

श्री गु० सि० मुसाफ़िर : बस मैं ख़त्म किये देता हूँ।

हमें सदा इस बड़ी बात और उसूल को अपने सामने रखना है बाकी बातें ठीक उसी तरह से हैं जैसे कि मुहाबिरा है कि हार्थः के पांव में सब के पांव। कहने का मतलब यह है कि एक बड़े उसूल में सब बातें आ जाती हैं। हमारा बँसा ही तरीका होना चाहिए। हमें महाभारत के अर्जुन कों तरह जो अपना तैर चलाना है वह उस परिन्दे के माथे पर जो बिन्दः है उसको ध्यान में रख कर चलाना है। माथे पर कों बिन्दः के अलावा हमें कुछ भी देखना नहीं है और अगर हमने ऐसा किया तो अर्जुन कों तरह हमें भी कामयाब होसिल होगी।

माननीय सदस्यों को मालूम होगा कि महाभारत काल में जब गुरु द्रोणाचार्य ने पांचों पाण्डव राजकुमारों को अस्त्र शस्त्र परीक्षा लेना चाही और उसके लिए उन्होंने यह इम्तिहान रक्खा कि जो भी उस परिन्दे के माथे पर लगे बिन्दः में तैर का ठीक निशाना लगायेगा वह इम्तिहान में कामयाब हुआ समझा जायेगा। जब राजकुमार लोगों ने इम्तिहान देना शुरू किया तो गुरु द्रोणाचार्य ने हर एक से पहले एक सवाल किया कि क्या उन्हें इस वक़्त वह दरख़ा नज़र आ रहा है। राजकुमारों ने जवाब दिया कि हाँ महाराज भेड़ नज़र आ रहा है। उन्होंने सवाल किया कि क्या उन्हें वह पंछी नज़र आ रहा है तो इसका भी उन्होंने जवाब दिया कि हाँ महाराज पंछी नज़र आ रहा है। इस पर गुरु द्रोणाचार्य ने उन राजकुमारों से जिन्होंने कि यह जवाब दिया था कहा कि उन्हें तैर चलाने की ज़रूरत नहीं है और उन्हें बाहर निकाल दिया। जब अर्जुन की बारी आई और द्रोणाचार्य ने उससे भी वहाँ सवाल पूछा कि क्या उसे वह दरख़त और वह पंछी नज़र आ रहा है तो अर्जुन ने कहा कि महाराज मुझे तो इस वक़्त बस एक बिन्दो जो कि उसके माथे में है दिखाई दे रही

[श्री गु० सि० मुसाफिर]

है। इस समय मझे केवल बिन्दी हों; दिखाई दे रही है और मुझे कुछ नजर नहीं आ रहा है। इस पर गुरु जी ने कहा कि अर्जुन तुम तार चलाओ। बाकू राजकुमारों ने कहा कि उन्हें बंगर इम्तिहान लिये ही क्यों फेल कर दिया गया। इस पर गुरु ढोणाचार्य ने उनसे कहा कि तुम लोगों ने क्या इम्तिहान देना था जिनका कि तबज्जह हां; कायम नहीं है। जिनका रादा ही कायम नहीं है, जिनका निशाने की तरफ ध्यान हां; नहीं है उन्हें तो फेल होना ही था और सल्लि मैंने तुम्हें शरमिदगी से बचाने के लिए तीर चलाने की इजाजत नहीं दी। अर्जुन ने निशाने को सामने रख कर तीर चलाया और वह उममें कामयाब हो गया। मेरे कहने का भाव यह है कि इस वक्त हमारा सारा ध्यान हमारी सारंगे तबज्जह जो है वह सिर्फ़ डम बात के ऊपर होना चाहिए कि हमने अपने देश की रक्षा करना है। अपने देश की सारंगे रक्षा नहीं करनी है बल्कि हमारी जो थोड़ी सी बदनामी हुई है, उसको धोने के लिए हम अपने में जरूर ताकत वा करे ताकि अगर बात का बंजा और नामनासिब हरकतों के कारण उमसे दो चार होने का मौक़ा आ जाय तो संसार में यह साबित हो जाय कि हमारे जवान और वहादुर सिपाही किसी तरह भी पीछे नहने वाले नहीं हैं।

Shrimati Gayatri Devi: Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I wish to thank the President for his Address. It is almost a year ago since Dr. Rajendra Prasad Addressed the new Parliament. Since then many catastrophic things have happened to our country. For the first time, independent India has faced an invasion. The mistakes that our leaders made are too innumerable to be enumerated. The people of India have lost faith in the way in which our Ministry has handled the three most important aspects of Government, namely, defence, economy and foreign policy. It is the primary duty of any Government to protect its frontiers. In this

our Government has utterly failed. They were also wrong in their estimate of Chinese intentions. In any true democracy they would have had to resign. But fortunately for the ruling party in the face of Chinese aggression the whole country rose as one. Members of the Opposition resolved to help the ruling party in this crisis. We passed unanimously the Defence of India Act. We felt sure that the Government would now rectify its mistakes and that they would act correctly and bravely and get for India the support of all friendly countries who share our ideals. But now the shooting war is over and a cold war has begun. When the Chinese withdrew, the Government was left bewildered but I must say that they were very quick to take advantage of the situation. All our hopes that they would remedy their mistakes were dashed to the ground for as soon as the Chinese withdrew and we were not threatened by immediate invasion the ruling party who had suffered a great loss of prestige for having accepted the Chinese dictation started rushing around all over the country making speeches to cover up their mistakes. They tried to silence us under the Defence of India Act. The All India Congress Committee even issued a directive which said that anybody speaking against the Prime Minister would be looked upon as a traitor. I think this directive has now also been extended to his daughter. Recently, in a magazine in a column where the editor writes some questions and answers, the question was: "Why was Mrs. Indira Gandhi Chairman of so many committees?" and the answer was given: "Because she was clever in choosing her father". This editor has now been warned. I ask you: is this the way the Government should use these emergency powers?

Their audacity to take advantage of the near invasion and humiliation of our country has no parallel in history. If this is the way they are going to utilise the emergency then

the sooner it ends the better for the people of our country.

It is not only the Congress who are taking advantage of this Emergency but undue pressure has been brought by the officials all over the country, especially in the rural areas. I am not talking from hearsay. I know; I have seen these things myself and I am sure that my colleagues in this House on both sides will bear me out in this statement. Recently, I read in the papers that our Home Minister Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri made a statement in the Press that he was shocked by the way the officials were oppressing the poor people in our rural areas. Let me assure you, Sir, that this is not an isolated case. It is happening all over the country.

Take for instance, the Defence Fund. I believe one of my colleagues in the Communist Party happened to mention... (*Interruptions.*) One of the hon. Members mentioned something about a mass meeting that took place in Jaipur and he said something which was written about the mass meeting in Jaipur in which it was said the Maharaja of Jaipur had given only Rs. 2 lakhs to the Defence Fund. I should like to state that this is not quite correct. The meeting was not held to collect moneys for the national defence fund. It was just a mass meeting at the time of the emergency in which all parties took part. There were members of the Congress Party, Jan Sangh and also the Ram Rajya Parishad and the purpose was not to raise funds. Secondly, the Maharaja of Jaipur has given far more than Rs. 2 lakhs to the Defence Fund and he did not wish to publicise it. At that meeting somebody happened to mention this. In any case I would like to say that my husband has contributed about forty per cent of his privy purse from the current year to the National Defence Fund in different ways. I would like to know how this would compare with the communist funds that they have got not only from this country but from

secret sources abroad. (*Interruptions.*) However, I agree with him that the percentage that the poor people have to pay to the Defence Fund is far more than the rich have paid. That is why I have brought up this question. Even though the Prime Minister says that contributions to the Defence Fund should be voluntary, people are being forced to pay into this Fund.

1a.30 hrs.

[SHRI KHADILKAR in the Chair]

The Prime Minister wrote to all the Chief Ministers of States telling them that on no account should the contributions to the Defence Fund be made compulsory. But it is shocking to find that this order has not been carried out. The Government have ordered their officials to extract money forcibly from the people whenever they go to transact any business with the Government. Unless they do this, the Government business is not transacted and they have to go away disappointed. Therefore, I feel that if there is one Central Defence Fund it will be good. That Central Defence Fund should be in the President's name. In that case, it would eliminate the sense of competition that is going on in the different States and districts. The absence of this is one of the main reasons why the people have been forced to pay. If, on the other hand, there is a Central Fund, preferably in the President's name, under Central control, the people would be sure that their money would go to the right place and they would make their contribution voluntarily.

At the same time, I would like to suggest that this money for the Defence Fund should be handed over immediately to the Defence Ministry, for, the people who contribute to the Fund fondly believe that they are giving something to the jawans who are fighting or for the purchase of equipment or for some comfort to the troops whereas in actual fact it is completely misused. When we asked a

[Shrimati Gayatri Devi]

question about the Defence Fund, the reply was that Rs. 27 lakhs are being used for the comfort of the troops and that Rs. 12 lakhs have been given to each Chief Minister to keep up the propaganda in the country to collect more funds! Do we give all this money for that reason? That is absolutely rubbish. If the Citizen's Councils cannot be run without the money from this Fund, then I suggest that they should be scrapped. Few people on these committees know anything about defence, and they could be easily dispensed with. I do not know at whose instance these committees were formed—certainly not on the advice of the Members, either of Parliament or of the State Assemblies. These committees are certainly not representative of all the patriotic forces in this country and they cannot help us in the war against China. All they are doing at present is party propaganda and self-propaganda. It is high time now that our leaders stopped thinking on party terms. If they would only give India the priority, and their party the second place, they would go a long way in rectifying their mistakes. But they would rather keep on amending India's sacred Constitution to suit themselves and to serve themselves than to change their election manifesto and their Five Year Plans.

I would like to say a few words about the gold control order which has been proclaimed by the Government in an autocratic manner, without taking into account the repercussion which it is likely to have on the economic structure of our country and the sentiments of our people. For centuries the people of India have put their savings in gold and it has stood them and the country in good stead. Now, they have been deprived of this right and the people have been asked to invest in small savings which, in the present day inflation in our country, is equivalent to asking them to put their savings or earnings in a scrap of paper. May I ask, is this

practicable? Is this fair on the poor people of this country and particularly for the poor women in rural areas? Are they to go and invest their savings in this scrap of paper? Through centuries, through invasions, the people of India have kept their gold and that economically has been the saving grace of our country.

The Finance Minister seems to have underestimated the sufferings of the Sunhars, Meenakars and other workers in the gold trade. I know because I have seen them in my constituency. The least the Government could do, would be to extend the time limit to enable these people to get rid of their stocks. Anyhow, I am glad that the Speaker has allowed us to have a discussion on this matter. When the Finance Minister says that they can carry on their trade in 14 carat gold and that the gold ornaments will then be cheaper, does he not realise that a very few percentage of women in this country can afford to wear gold as a form of ornament? They make gold ornaments only for investment. They do not want just to make them for wearing them. In one stroke of the pen, the Finance Minister has wiped out our age-old tradition of Lakshmi worship, both in the houses of the rich and the poor.

The President, in his Address, said:

"At present no actual fighting is taking place. But the experience of the last few months has warned and steeled us and made us resolve to protect ourselves from this menace and to strengthen our defences and economic structure to the utmost. Our Government is devoting itself to this urgent and vital task."

But is our Government really doing that? While China is building roads and aerodromes, what have we done to strengthen the defence of our country? Our armed forces have suffered a tremendous humiliation and have had to retreat in the face of the

enemy. They were once among the finest fighting forces in the world. They are anxious to recover their lost laurels, and if the time comes they will fight again. Therefore, we must see to it that they have the right sort of equipment this time. So, we must act quickly and equip them with modern weapons and other necessities. We must not forget the lesson of being militarily unprepared. We must not forget where the dogma of *Panchsheel* has landed us. By all means negotiate. But until and unless we are as strong as our enemy we cannot negotiate on an equal basis,— (*interruption*) and we shall have to give in.

We must be realistic. We must give top priority to production of arms, vehicles and other necessities for making war. Night and day our ordnance factories should work to produce these necessities. We all know that we have not got enough finances in this country to produce all that we desire, but then we must get them from abroad. We must get them from those countries which are friendly to us. There is no humiliation in this.

Sir, in the last few days a most extraordinary thing has happened in our country. I am quoting from the *Indian Express*:

“It was two weeks after the cease fire that India formally requested the study of her air-defence needs with a view to possible intervention by American and Commonwealth interceptor squadrons to defend the Indian cities in the event of a fresh Chinese invasion.”

When, on such a request from India, the joint study team proposed an air-umbrella, a delegation of the communists party of India and some of their fellow-travellers met the Prime Minister who, strangely enough, was said to have told them that the Government had not discussed any proposal for an air-umbrella with the
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visiting mission, nor have the Government itself considered any such proposal. But immediately came a contradiction again in the *Indian Express* from which I quote :

“Mr. Galbraith is stated to have asked the Government of India to take steps to tell the people that the mission's arrival was in response to India's urgent request to consider the air-umbrella plan.”

In the light of these facts, would it be that the Prime Minister would rather placate the communists of India and abroad and, in doing so, embarrass the Government and the people of the United States and India? Surely, the Prime Minister must realise that the communists in India have a vested interest in this matter because they saw in this air-umbrella a potential risk to their ultimate goal in this country. Therefore, I appeal to the Prime Minister not to feel humiliated in receiving the wholehearted aid from countries which have a common cause with us.

In these days, when it is essential for us to step up our production, specially in agriculture, I feel it would be a good thing if the Government would be kinder to the peasants who are the backbone of our country and from whose families 90 per cent. of our patriotic and brave jawans come. I am sorry to say that these people are being unnecessarily harassed. They are being taxed beyond their means. I feel they should be given every encouragement to produce more. The agricultural production of our country would, I am sure, increase if our peasants could be assured of their land proprietorship and if they were given some concessions in land revenue. I earnestly implore the Government to examine this question.

Mr. Chairman: The hon. Member's time is up.

Shrimati Gayatri Devi: In conclusion, I would implore the Government

[Shrimati Gayatri Devi]

to be realistic and not put their party policies before the interest of the country. They have succeeded in humiliating us in the eyes of the world, and what is even worse, they have humiliated, as I have said before, our armed forces of India which were amongst the finest in the world. If they cannot redeem the shame and humiliation they have brought to this country, then, I would appeal to their patriotic sentiments and ask them to consider whether the time has not come for a radical change in the leadership of our country.

I would remind the leaders that India comes first—service before self—and that no one is indispensable.

Shri Balkrishna Wasnik (Gondia): Sir, just now we have heard the sweet Maharani's gallant speech in a melodious voice. The contents of the speech were just the same as those of her leader, the hon. Member, Mr. Ranga. She had said something about Mrs. Indira Gandhi. I am not here to reply on behalf of Mrs. Gandhi. But I would like to remind the Maharani, she is not here, so through her leader and other Members of her party that whatever gold Mrs. Gandhi had even the small ornaments for her dolls—she has given for the defence of India. But the great contribution the Maharani and her gallant husband, the Maharaja, have given for the defence fund is 14 per cent of the privy purse. (Interruptions). Look at the contribution that has been made by even the common workers, the farmers, whose average income per month is not even Rs. 100. They have contributed one month's salary towards the defence of India fund. But the Maharaja and the Maharani have given only 14 per cent of the privy purse.

Shri Koya: What about the Congress Maharaja?

Shri Balkrishna Wasnik: The Maharaja and the Maharani have given only 14 per cent of the privy purse that is given to them by the Government of India. This privy purse

is nothing but the contribution that is collected from the people of this country through taxes. The Maharani has said about the change of leadership. Much has been said about that and I need not repeat anything.

This House is grateful to the President for his candid analysis of the situation and the frank admission on his part as the Head of the State when he says:

"During our plan period, we have made substantial progress in many sectors of our economy, even though we have not always been satisfied with the progress that we have made."

What are the reasons why the desired progress has not been achieved in the plan period? We have to see whether any lack of effort on the part of the people of India was responsible for our failure or whether the sabotage done by the vested interests in and outside the country has led to our failure. The Swatantra leader, Mr. Ranga, has made a great speech that his party is opposed to the plan. They oppose the plan which is based on Government's socialist ideals. He is opposed to the nationalisation of industries, socialising rural trade and collectivising agriculture. When Mr. Ranga does not want nationalisation of industries, I would advise him to read the Vivian Bose Commission's report on the Dalmia-Jain affairs. It has been supplied to him by the Government. If he has not collected it from the publications counter, I would advise him to do so. He may go through it and decide as to whether he would like to keep the trade and industry in such corrupt hands. The President has rightly said that we have to strengthen our economy and I have no doubt in my mind that it is the socialist economy that will deliver the goods.

The President has referred to the Citizens Defence Council. Most of the parties are represented there, except the communists. Mr. Gopalan was

critical of the arrest of Communist. Even today the Communists are not one in their voice against the Chinese aggression. There are still people in their fold who believe that a socialist country cannot commit aggression. Their love for communist China, I think, is more than their love for their own soil. Their activities, after China committed aggression, were anti-social in certain parts of this country. Mr. Gopalan wants them not to be arrested and to be set at large. Their activities have been such that it will not be in the interests of the country to let them out even on parole. I have a complaint that the Government have been too lenient in dealing with them. Let Mr. Gopalan tell us to what is the penalty for anti-national activities in the communist countries and whether the Government of India's action in the matter has been adequate in bringing to book the anti-nationals in the state of emergency in which we are today. It is the democratic Constitution of this country that is responsible for this leniency. Otherwise for the activities of sabotage by communists, communalists and capitalists the punishment would have been entirely different.

Again, look at the role of the Press in India. They are by and large against the Government and their policies. I do not blame the staff and the correspondents, but the master mind that controls the Press. Vicious propaganda, which has no basis, is carried on continuously. It leads to bringing down the morale of the people. It is the greatest crime in the state of emergency. They publish all sorts of news. Just now the Maharani has mentioned about the air umbrella. They have published a news like that. We are against any aid which will undermine our sovereignty. The control, etc. of the so-called air cover will be in the hands of the powers that will provide that air cover. I am rather sorry that the opposition people believe the words of the foreign people, but they do not believe the words of our beloved Prime Minister. He has emphatically said that this question

did not arise and that such a discussion never took place and no mention of any sort was there, even though that mission came here. But our great opposition people do not believe our Prime minister; they choose to believe the foreign people. I do not know the reason. The news about the air umbrella, I believe, has not been given by any Government agency. Who gave the news and how did it come in the press? Who are the people that briefed the opposition parties and the newspapers of India for publishing such news?

This is a sorry state of affairs, I must say. The President has expressed our resolve to strengthen our defence. Help from all countries is welcome. We will take it, but not with strings. We should be strong militarily and otherwise. We will not submit to dictation backed by military force, whatever may happen. This is what the President said.

It is the other political parties in the Citizen's Defence Councils that who made use of the common platform to criticise the Government and to criticise the Congress Party. One could do nothing but feel sorry for this. Certain people have said that the Congress have utilised this emergency for their ends, Shri Gopalan, Shri Trivedi, the Maharani and others were conspicuous to mention this. I deny this charge. But I would like to ask them as to whether the Opposition has not tried to make much for their own ends seeing the country in a crisis. All their speeches were only to denounce the Congress and the Government. Is this conducive to boost up the morale of the country, I have to ask.

About Gold Control Order I must say a word or two. The Gold Control Order is also the talk of the day. In my opinion, this order will be written in the history of the country in golden letters. But these letters, I am afraid, will be made in 14 carat gold. The President has said that in order to put an end to the strain on our foreign exchange resources through smuggling of gold into India, certain rules have

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been framed to bring gold under control. As the Gold Control Order was broadcast the prices of gold came down and the poor sold away their gold. The money-lenders confiscated the gold ornaments of the poor as they could not pay back the money within a short time when the prices of gold were falling. But, soon after, the prices of gold again went high. How did this happen? The ornaments have been excluded from the Gold Control Order and the prices of pure gold ornaments went up like anything. 14 carat gold ornaments are not suitable, in my opinion, to Indian conditions. Even with pure gold ornaments the poor illiterate masses were being deceived, and with 14 carat gold ornaments they will still more be deceived to the advantage of the business class. It is better to have a ceiling on the possession of gold than have this 14 carat business. If that is not possible, let there be no gold ornaments at all. Let there be no gold with the people. Gold in the form of ornaments or otherwise was a savings-bank for the poor. If the 14 carat gold cannot serve that purpose, let us stop people having gold and let Government be the only party which can be in possession of gold. Sir, gold from hoarders and big moneyed people has not come forward. If that is to come out, let the Government declare that possession of gold in any form will be illegal.

Sir, I thank you for giving me this opportunity, and I once again thank the President for his masterly Address.

Shrimati Renuka Barkataki (Bartepa): Mr. Chairman, while thanking the President for his kind and valued Address to both the Houses of Parliament, I would like to stress the need of taking proper steps to make Assam, NEFA, Nagaland, Manipur and Tripura a strong base for defence operations, and in the context of defence of India I would request the Government not to treat it as a local or State issue, but as a national issue.

The events of the past few months have proved the need and urgency of

taking transport and communications in Assam on a war footing. The Chinese aggression has laid bare the extreme vulnerability of this strategic area arising out of poor economic development and inadequate transport. In a war where mobility of troops and supplies played a significant part, I must say, so far as Assam front is concerned India was caught napping. The country cannot afford to repeat the same mistake. At the time of crisis it was demonstrated that to depend upon metre gauge and Pakistani steamer service is very dangerous. The metre-gauge, of course, did a very heroic job, when for 50 days the Pakistani Steamer Service badly let down India at the crucial moment, but it was potently unequal to the demands of the emergency. Even on the limited considerations of railway economics the metre-gauge is uneconomic its operating cost being about 35 per cent higher than that of broad-gauge. The NEF Railway's record of persistent and mounting losses is attributed to the metre-gauge. Mr. Tarlok Singh, a member of the Planning Commission, said the other day that it will cost only Rs. 40 crores to have a broad-gauge railway line from Siliguri to Gauhati. In the context of defence, Sir, I would request the Government to spend this amount from the common pool and have this line, so that there might be a permanent transport line to Assam from outside Assam.

Sir, you know well how the economy of Assam is affected. Besides the natural catastrophies like flood, draught, earthquake etc., Assam had to face language disturbance, communal disturbance, Naga disturbance, Pakistani infiltration and lately the Chinese aggression. All these calamities one after another hamper the developmental activities and affect the economy of the State. While the per capita income is increasing in other States of India, in Assam it is decreasing very disappointedly. While the cost of living is going down in other States of India, it is going up and up

in the State of Assam. You will be surprised to hear, Sir, that the cost of living in Assam is the highest in India.

In regard to power, Assam feels that she has been neglected in the Plan allocations by the Centre. Although Assam has vast potentialities in hydro-electric development which might rise to 20 million kilowatts, the installed capacity at the end of the Second Plan was only 26,318 kilowatts. The *per capita* consumption of electricity is the lowest in the State, only 2.45 kilowatts as against the all-India average of 31.62 kw. By the end of the Third Plan, while the all-India average would grow to 80 kw. Assam's *per capita* consumption would hardly reach 15 kw. The Government of Assam and its people felt extremely unhappy over this matter. Though the Planning Commission has accepted the physical target set by the State, the Commission refused to make the required allocation in the Plan. Assam has now demanded an additional grant of Rs. 14 crores to develop two major projects, one hydro-electric and one thermal, without which the industrial development of the State would be impeded. Similarly, the oil policy of the Government of India, I regret to mention, has yet to accord a place of honour for oil refining that Assam deserves. What the people of Assam feel is that they are not only neglected in the normal peace time but they are neglected even at the time of war by the Central Government. Only recently, the hon. Minister of Mines and Fuel refused to give Assam one or two rupees more as royalty for the oil extracted from her soil. It was only when the Prime Minister intervened that the issue of royalty was settled and Assam was given its due share. These show that though our demands are generally turned down, they are quite reasonable. Had some of these demands made by the State for years past been met, we would not have had to face such a helpless situation as at present in the Assam border.

Only those who had been to Assam recently can realise what difficult

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times the people of Assam are passing through. I must extend my gratefulness and appreciation to some of my friends of this House and some of our leaders, including our President, who rushed to Assam to give us encouragement and to express sympathy. We are particularly thankful to Shrimati Indira Gandhi, Chairman of the Central Citizens Committee, who has gone to Assam several times since the crisis started. I am sure, all of them will agree with me in his matter.

At the height of the crisis, normal life in Assam became almost paralysed. At one stage, civil supplies and water transport collapsed but, thanks to the businessmen of Assam, they controlled the price line immediately. At one stage the business in Assam was so dull that nobody was there to purchase jute and paddy from the cultivators. Bankers refused to give credit facilities to the businessmen. The State Government had to ask the State Trading Corporation to help the cultivators by purchasing their products. There was a time when most of the tea gardens were deserted by their proprietors and managers, leaving the labourers to their own fate. Nobody was there to make payment to the labourers; nobody was there to give their weekly rations. In the face of all these odds, they formed themselves into small administrative units and controlled the gardens in the absence of their masters and, thus averted a major crisis. So, I must congratulate the labourer and their unions for this excellent work when we were facing a crisis.

We, the Assamese people are unhappy. But, in spite of our unhappiness, please come and see what the Assamese people, men women and children, young and old, are doing in the face of such a catastrophe. Thousands of school children and college

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students left their studies, making accomodation for the illfated evacuees of NEFA hills and Tezpur in their schools and colleges, preparing and cooking food for them, looking after their comforts and collecting public donations in cash and kind for these evacuees. Thousands of jawans were passing through our villages and towns of Assam. Everywhere, the Assamese people offered them, tea, oranges, banana and other fruits, showing the utmost courtesy to our jawans.

I have a lot to speak against the Border Road Directorate, i.e., the Tusker Project but, as there is an inquiry pending, I withhold all my complaints against this organisation. All the same, I must say a few words about the Central Defence and State Intelligence Services. The unexpected fall of She-la pass and Bomdila showed that everything was not well in the Intelligence Department. There is a big spy ring working across the border. Our Intelligence must be geared up according to our requirements, because quite a large number of anti-social elements are working in the border to undermine the confidence of our people in the Central Government Civil administration and national leaders. So, we must ever be vigilant and we must gear up our Intelligence Departments to the needs of the situation.

In this context, I must say a few words of appreciation to the men of Assam Rifles who had sacrificed a lot during the period of actual war with China in the NEFA front. These are the men who are actually guarding our frontier. But, I am sorry to say, the men of the Assam Rifles are not getting the same facilities which are enjoyed by the Central Reserve Police or our men in the army. They are getting only Rs. 47 per month with four increments of Rs. 1-8- each after every two years of service. After serving for fifteen years they get Rs. 10 to 12 as pension. They do

not get any other allowance as children's allowance or children's study allowance in the Assam Rifles. So, I would like to request the Home Minister to see whether the service conditions of the men of the Assam Rifles can be improved.

Last but not least, I would like to speak a few words about the NEFA administration. Plainly speaking, it is the Chinese aggression that has induced the need for a closer look at the NEFA policy. Up till now NEFA was kept isolated from the rest of India. It was done by the Britishers previously and now it is done by the Indian Government. Whatever the aims or motives behind it might be, the fact remains that this isolated policy of ours proved to be a failure. Only recently, in the month of December last I had visited some areas of NEFA and met the local tribal people. What I found there was that while the Indian border of NEFA is restricted by inner line system, a peculiar system by which no Indian can enter NEFA without a valid passport from the authorities, whereas our border with the Chinese is kept open so that the Communist spies can mix up with our NEFA brothers. Anybody can cross the McMahon line at any time I had been to the nearest outpost to McMahon line and I met the villagers who had a good time with Chinese friends during the last aggression. The isolated pockets of the tribal people are more likely to fall a prey to the continuous Chinese psychological propaganda to woo them. Social development and welfare of the people and constant intermixing of the peoples of the plains with them with a spirit of genuine affection, identification and understanding will encourage a strong and contented people to support our defence forces all along the border. The roads and communication in this area of difficult terrain should obviously be improved. NEFA should also be developed as a permanent defence base with a network of roads and

bridges, with a vast reserve of defence personnel well acclimatized to the rigours of the region and experts in mountain warfare.

I would like to emphasize that steps should be taken to integrate the whole of eastern India, but, in the name of integration one should not disturb the religious and social customs of the tribal people. Care should be taken to see that these simple folks are not economically and commercially exploited by the outsiders. The land and forest right of the tribal people should be safeguarded. Sir, may I ask you whether there is any sense in erecting artificial barriers between the people of the hills and the people of the plains? So far as Assam, NEFA, Manipur, Tripura and Nagaland are concerned, the social and political integration will take time. But for defence and economic integration the Government of India can take immediate steps. Let there be one strong army headquarters for the whole of Assam, NEFA, Manipur, Thipura and Nagaland. Let there be one common banking organisation, Apex credit society, Apex marketing society and other economic organisations for the whole area. Once it has come under one economic system, it will not be very difficult to bring them together for the same social and political aim and set up.

There is no doubt that the people of Assam and NEFA to a man are facing the unprecedented calamities before them with courage, confidence and good heart. It must not be forgotten that it is we, the people of Assam and NEFA, who are bearing the brunt of the massive Chinese onslaught practically unaided. There was hardly any arrangement for civil defence worth the name and military help took time in coming.

The hon. Minister of Economic and Defence Co-ordination, Shri T. T. Krishnamachari, has rightly pointed out the other day in Assam that the Chinese onslaught has exposed the

weakness in our national economical planning and strategic efforts. We hope that at least from now on Assam, the core of this strategic region, would be regarded by the Government of India as well as by the Planning Commission, not as just one among other States of India but as the bastion of security of our nation. I think, by strengthening Assam economically and militarily the Government of India would not be conferring any special favour upon Assam but it would rather do the minimum to ensure the country's security as well as our independence.

With these few words I again offer my hearty thanks to our President and to you also.

Shri Rajaram (Krishnagiri): Sir, I thank you for giving me this opportunity to say a few words on the Address that has been delivered to us by the President. The President has rightly pointed out about the Chinese aggression and advised us to protect ourselves from this menace and to strengthen our defences and economic structure. Now there is a lull in the front. The Government of India has accepted the Colombo proposals but still there is no reply from the Chinese side. So, the danger has not come to an end. We must be very careful at this hour. The Cambodian Head of State, Prince Norodom Sihanouk, after visiting Peking, sees some new hope. Anyhow, we must be ready to face any situation. We must strengthen our Army and increase our production. This is a critical hour and we must not be complacent at this moment. We must accept all the help from foreign countries without any strings.

Sir, I regret that in the Address we find that some major problems that face the people today have been skirted and no reference have been made to them. There is a big problem now in the country because of the proclamation of the Gold Control Order by the Government. It will affect drastically the occupation and status of goldsmiths who are in so many lakhs

[Shri Rajaram]

throughout India. The goldsmiths have already been affected in their profession and occupation owing to fluctuations in the price of gold. Many lakhs of goldsmiths, specially in Madras State, are very poor in status depending solely on their goldsmithy. In our parts there are a lot of fine artisans working in jewellery. They say that it is not possible for them to stud stones or to stretch 14-carat gold. Especially *thali*, a sentimental one, is usually made of pure gold. At least for these things the Government of India must allow 22-carat gold to be used as before.

Due to this Order all the jewellery available in the market has disappeared. So, no jeweller is interested in giving work to the goldsmiths. Further, gold is also not easily available in the market. There is a licence problem before them. So many of them have not obtained the licence still. The hard-hit is not anybody but the poor goldsmiths. They have no work for the past two months. They are ready to sacrifice their lives for the sake of the country, but they do not like to die out of poverty. They must be given subsidies and work. Their memoranda must not be thrown into the waste paper basket. The Government must act quickly for their rescue.

Then, I want to say a few words about the handloom weavers. During the last few weeks, the handloom industry, more especially in the south, has been passing through a severe crisis. The slump in demand for handloom fabrics has led to accumulation of stocks all over the south. The malady which the handloom suffers from is not just a passing phase, but it is so deep-rooted that every year, as it advances, sees the recurrent crisis increasing in dimension. The production of handloom cloth remained almost stationary during the last few years. In spite of the rebate that is given on the sale of handloom cotton

cloth, the trade has by no means been freed from anxiety caused by accumulation. The plight of the weavers who once had a proud place among the artisans of the south, now calls for pity and tears. The difficulties of the handloom trade are not been sufficiently understood. It is a painful fact that the handloom industry cannot compete with mill goods. On that plea, we cannot plead for the philosophy that the survival is the fittest. The duty of the Government is to protect the industry which needs encouragement either through money or through avoidance of competition. With this in mind, Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar, the then Chief Minister of Madras, rightly proposed a scheme stating the right to produce bordered dhoties and sarees should be given exclusively to the handloom industry. Unfortunately, that encouraging suggestion has fallen on deaf ears. Very recently, in the Madras Legislative Assembly, my party, that is D.M.K. moved a Resolution to that effect. Congress party in the Madras Legislative Assembly was very happy in defeating our Resolution and again proclaiming to the world that they are the good friends of the handloom industry. Now, that industry is in a crucial stage. Like an orphan, this major industry has crossed through hardles and fiery ordeals, tossed aside by storms, political or otherwise. It needs immediate protection. If the Government of India is convinced that the industry cannot withstand the oddities of time, then, it is better for the Government to provide alternative employment to the people who depend on this industry. Doing neither is not an intelligent solution. We are elated when we are informed that our handloom goods are steadily attracting the international markets and the popularisation of handloom sarees and dhoties and lungis in countries abroad are points exhilarating and creating confidence in our minds that handloom goods will deliver the goods. I hope that the Government of

India will step up facilities for the handloom goods and also try to find markets as far as possible.

I was disappointed while I found that the Address did not take note of the problem of power shortage in our State. Every year, there is power cut in the Madras State. Of course, the President has mentioned about the atomic power station at Kalappakkam. It will take many years to come. There is emergency prevailing in the country. Each and every industry is busily engaged in production. At the same time, we are worried about the power shortage. To solve this problem immediately, the State Electricity Board of Madras suggests a fine idea, that is, to construct a project over the Cauvery near Hoggainakal in Salem district. The project may be constructed in three years. Water is not wasted. The usual running water is being utilised for producing power. There is no necessity for acquisition of lands or any such thing, because all the land around the project area belongs to the Forest Departments of Madras and Mysore States. The Madras Government is ready to implement the project quickly. The expenditure for the project is also very low. It is not necessary for me to say anything about the ability of the State Electricity Board. The Central Ministers know their achievements better than I. So, I request the Government of India to allot all the necessary aid to construct this project at Hogenekkal very quickly. By doing this, we can get nearly 800,000 k.w. of power which can be used in various industries.

With these words, I conclude.

Shri Maheswar Naik (Mayurbhanj): I fully associate myself with my hon. friends who have preceded me in offering thanks and gratitude to the President who has been kind enough to deliver this enlightening message and this enlightening Address to the Members of Parliament in the joint session.

The Address has outlined various achievements in the course of the last year and has indicated the lines that we are going to adopt in the course of the next year. It is a great thing that the President has instilled in us a spirit of inspiration with which we have to shoulder the responsibility that is lying ahead of us.

It is but natural that the President should have dealt at length with the calamity that has befallen this country in the course of the last year, that is, the Chinese invasion which has taken place unprovoked, against a friendly country which has all along been pleading and sponsoring the cause of China in the councils of the world's nations. We are a peace-loving country, and we are always willing to go in for peaceful negotiations in matters of dispute not only in our internal affairs, but in respect of international affairs as well. The President has rightly asserted that we shall go in for peaceful negotiations provided these negotiations are consistent with our self-respect, dignity and honour.

We know that we are dealing with an enemy who has all along been professing that he is friendly towards India and who will always settle the disputes regarding the borders etc. by peaceful negotiations, but ever since China has started grabbing portions of our territory on the northern borders, she has never been found to be amenable to any reason whatsoever. China has dubbed India as a bourgeois country, a pseudo-socialist country and also as a wholly reactionary country. Whatever be the motives of China, she does not want that India should grow in strength economically and also emerge as a powerful nation in the East or in Asia. She wants India to accept revolutionary progress which she thinks to be progress so far as her own economic growth is concerned. After her aggression, China declared a unilateral cease-fire. Later

[Shri Maheswar Naik]

on, the Little Summit headed by Colombo put forward certain proposals before India and China to settle our disputes across the table. We have accepted them. China, while accepting the principle, has reserved the right to have her own interpretations of the proposals. We are certainly peace-loving and will accept peaceful negotiations. But to me it appears that all these years China has not been found amenable to any reason. I do not think she is going to see reason in negotiations. My apprehension is that all these talks that China is proposing on her own terms might as well lead to the grabbing and annexing of further territory from our side of the border.

The President has rightly said that even if the talks do materialise, we must not forget that we are facing a situation of emergency, that to face this state of emergency we will have to build up our defence and economic strength to defend the country. In this connection, I would like to remind the House that during all these years, we have not been able to build up our defence strength very much, so much so that during the Chinese aggression we had to face a situation which could have been averted if we had rightly built up our defence strength. We must do that now. We must re-orient our defence-industrial production. If necessary, we must gear up the civilian industry also to augment the defence production to meet the needs of the country. Criticism has been made that if the private sector industry is brought into this sphere of production of defence materials, it might as well assume a monopolistic tendency. We are facing a situation where all our resources, whether in the public sector or private sector, must be attuned to the emergency needs to build up the defence strength of the country. It is a good thing that we are not scrapping or curtailing the programmes and projects envisaged in the Plan. It is very good thing, but

all projects and plans which are to be implemented on the defence front must also be in conformity with the maintenance of the integrity of our State. So, there is not much strength in the criticism that the private sector industry must not be entrusted with the production of defence materials.

Criticism has also been made that in our defence efforts, not all sections of the people are being associated. This is far from the truth. As far as my knowledge goes, at least in the area from which I come you will find all sections of public opinion, of political affiliations, have been associated in the district defence council and the State defence council which have been formed. I must remind the authorities here that political suspects who have extra-territorial allegiance must of necessity be kept away from our defence efforts. Otherwise, it is through them that our efforts might be undermined and subverted.

It has also been said that the Congress Party and its members are making political capital of the emergency provisions. There was also criticism that all sections of the people were not contributing equitably to the defence efforts and defence funds. I feel this is an attempt to subvert our defence efforts. They are merely trying to create troubled waters in which they would like to fish. This element must be kept in check.

There is also a section of the press, and a minor section among the people, which has criticised friendly countries that have spontaneously come to our help in the hour of our greatest need. They want to create a rift between us and our friends so that our weakness may continue and we may not be able to defend our country against Chinese aggression, or, for the matter of that, any aggression that might come from that part of the world.

For the defence of our country and its integrity we need help. If sufficient help is not forthcoming from within the country, we will have to look abroad for friendly help that might be forthcoming from elsewhere. The joint military missions are exploring the possibilities as to how best we can develop our defence potential. Even that is being criticised. This is just to create a charm between the helping country and the country helped. These are elements which the Government must guard against and must correct in good time.

श्रीमती रामदुलारी सिन्हा (पटना) :

सभापति महोदय, मैं राष्ट्रपति जी का बहुत शुक्रिया अदा करना चाहती हूँ कि उन्होंने अपने संक्षिप्त किन्तु महत्वपूर्ण और सारगर्भित भाषण के माध्यम से देश और लोक सभा के समक्ष मुख्य मुख्य समस्याओं और जिम्मेदारियों का तर्किकता किया है। इसमें हमें सरकार की नीतियों और उसके ठोस इरादों की झलक मिलती है। यह कितना मौजू है कि राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने भाषण के आरम्भ में ही लोकतंत्र के बुनियादी उद्देश्यों की तरफ इशारा किया है। मुझे और हमारे देश को आज इस बात का धमण्ड है कि दुनिया के तमाम देशों में हमारे यहाँ राजेन्द्र बाबू तथा डा० राधाकृष्णन् सरीखे मनस्वी, फकीर, तपस्वी और दार्शनिक राष्ट्रपति के पद को सुशोभित कर रहे हैं मानों प्लाटो के फिलोसोफर किंग का स्वप्न चरितार्थ हो रहा है।

[MR. SPEAKER in the Chair]

16.36 hrs.

आज भारतीय इतिहास की एक नाजूक घड़ी में हम यहाँ पर इकट्ठा हुए हैं। आज हमें देश का नेतृत्व अधिकाधिक जिम्मेवारी तथा दूरदर्शिता के नाथ करना है। यह सही है कि चीनी आक्रमण के कारण हमारे देश के आर्थिक ढांचे पर तनाव आ गया है क्योंकि आज हम आर्थिक और सामाजिक विकास को तरजीह

दे करके सैनिक तैयारियों से नज़रअंदाज नहीं हो सकते हैं। आज हमें आधुनिक सतह पर अपनी सैनिक शक्ति को लाने के लिए मूलतः तृतीय पंचवर्षीय योजना को किसी भी तरह कार्यान्वित करना होगा। हमारा इम में विश्वास है कि सैनिक शक्ति को आधुनिक सतह पर लाने के लिए उसकी ऊंचाई कायम रखने के लिए हर क्षेत्र में हमें अपने उत्पादन को बढ़ाना होगा। इस दुहरी जिम्मेवारी को निभाने के लिए आज हमारे और सरकार के लिए इस बात की आवश्यकता हो जाती है कि प्राइस लाइन को हम पकड़ कर रखें। मनुष्य की आवश्यकता की जो चीज़ें हैं उस में कमी न की जाये और हर क्षेत्र में, हर फील्ड में इकोनोमी बरती जाये, फिजूलखर्चों को बन्द किया जाये। इसके साथ ही साथ कृषि और उद्योग के क्षेत्र में हर तरिके से उत्पादन को भी बढ़ाया जाना चाहिये। यहाँ पर कृषि मंत्री जी मौजूद हैं। मैं उन से कहना चाहती हूँ कि केवल सोशल एकारैरीमेंट के आधार पर ही नहीं बल्कि सिचाई और खाद इत्यादि के आधार पर भी प्रति-एकड़ जमीन में पैदावार बढ़ाना आज हमारे लिए लाजिमी है।

इस मौके पर योजना के सम्बन्ध में मैं यह भी कहना चाहती हूँ कि देश की मेटेरीयल प्रास्पैरिटी के लिए, देश की सुरक्षा के लिए, देश के सर्वांगीण विकास के लिए योजना का बहुत बड़ा महत्व है, इससे कोई इन्कार नहीं करता है। हमारे सामने आर्थिक ढांचे की कमजोरी आज नहीं है, बल्कि योजनाओं का इम्प्लेमेंटेशन है। हम हर क्षेत्र में और खास कर कुछ विशेष क्षेत्रों में देखते हैं कि लाखों रुपये बरबाद हो जाते हैं हमारे योजना में। लेकिन क्षेत्र में जा करके उनके टारगेट्स का कार्यान्वयन नहीं हो पाता है। बहुत से टारगेट्स योजनाओं के ऐसे हैं जो क्षेत्र में न जा करके केवल दिमागों में या फाइलों में ही मौजूद रह जाते हैं। उनका क्षेत्र में वजद नहीं हो पाता है।

मुझ एक बात याद आती है। हिटलर के बम गारों ने जब लन्दन के विशाल शहर

[श्रीमती राम दुलारी सिन्हा]

को पिछले महायुद्ध के मौके पर ध्वस्त और त्रस्त करना शुरू किया था तो उस समय वहां पर वर्कऑफ एजुकेशन के लिए कानून बनाया जा रहा था। मैं सरकार का ध्यान इधर आकर्षित करना चाहती हूँ कि आज वर्कऑफ एजुकेशन का कानून हमारे यहां भी है लेकिन जहां कुछ त्यागी, ईमानदार और तपस्वी समाजसेवी और ट्रेड-यूनियनिस्ट इस स्कीम को कामयाबी के साथ बड़ी कठिनाइयों के आलम में भी चला रहे हैं वहां पर सरकारी नौकरों की टोलियां वर्कऑफ एजुकेशन की स्कीम का सिर्फ कागजों पर वजूद कर रही हैं, और उसके टारगेट्स पूरे नहीं हो रहे हैं।

आज हमारे सामने विलेज होम गार्ड्स की तैयारियां चल रही हैं। चीनी आक्रमण के दौरान भारत में देशभक्ति का एक बहुत बड़ा सैलाब आया। इस मौके पर यह कहना मौजू होता कि उस देशभक्ति के सैलाब में मजदूरों ने अपना बहुत बड़ा हिस्सा पूरा किया, हर तरीके से। मैं तो यह चाहती थी कि उस की चर्चा की जाती। विलेज होम गार्ड्स कृषि के उत्पादन में बहुत हद तक सफलीभूत हो सकेंगे, ऐसी उम्मीद है। आज हमारे देश के अन्दर जो सिविल डिफेंस कमेटियां हैं उन में यूथ फ्रंट है, महिला फ्रंट है, लेकिन लेबर फ्रंट का वहां पर कहीं जिक्र नहीं है। लेबर हमारे आर्थिक ढांचे की नींव है। उसी पर हमारी आर्थिक व्यवस्था और सामाजिक व्यवस्था निर्भर करती है। उसे मौके पर राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण में कुछ इस प्रकार का तजकिरा होता तो अच्छा होता जिस से कि देश की आवादी के इतने बड़े भाग को एक ऐसा कार्यक्रम दिया जाता जो उस की बाकी एनर्जी को देश के लिये सही रास्ते में चैनेलाइज कर सकता। इस मौके पर मैं एक और उदाहरण रखना चाहती हूँ। पिछले महायुद्ध में अमरीका और बर्तानिया दोनों में एक नेशनल वार लेबर बोर्ड की स्थापना हुई थी। उस में मालिक, मजदूरों और सरकार के नुमाइन्दे थे और उन लोगों ने

बड़ी बड़ी उत्पादन की समस्याओं को हल किया था। हमारे यहां भी प्रोडक्शन कमेटियां हैं लेकिन उन के साथ साथ अगर इस तरह का कोई काम यहां किया जाता तो ठीक होता और आज संकट की स्थिति में हमारे देश का बड़ा कल्याण होता।

हमारे देश की वैदेशिक नीति शांति, अहिंसा, पंचशील और नानग्रलाइनमेंट की धृतियों पर आज तक चलती रही है, लेकिन आज हमें आश्चर्य और दुःख होता है जब साम्राज्यवादी कहलाने वाले राष्ट्रों की ओर से नहीं बल्कि विश्व शान्ति के नाम पर कबूतर उड़ाने वाले चीनियों की तरफ से हमारे देश पर आक्रमण हुआ है। आज हमारे सामने नेफा और लद्दाख का प्रश्न नहीं है। हमारे सामने प्रश्न है एशिया में प्रजातंत्र की मीनार को खड़ा करने का। मैं तो इस मौके पर यह कहना चाहूंगी कि आज भारत विश्व के रंगमंच पर जघन्य तानाशाही और बर्बर चंगेजी दुश्मन से लोकतंत्र की लड़ाई लड़ रहा है।

मैं राष्ट्रपति जी को इस बात के लिये भी धन्यवाद देना चाहूंगी कि उन्होंने इस के लिये भी धन्यवाद का ज्ञापन किया है कि देश को आज सब से अधिक प्रसन्नता इस बात की हुई है कि भारतवर्ष को समयानुकूल अमरीका और बर्तानिया से मदद मिल सकी है। आज सदन के समक्ष बहुत से माननीय सदस्यों ने इस बात की चर्चा की थी कि हवाई कमिशन जो बर्तानिया और अमरीका से भारत में आया है उस का तजकिरा राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण में नहीं किया गया। मैं समझती हूँ कि यह मौजू होता कि यह जो हवाई कमिशन हमारी हवाई रक्षा के सिलसिले में यहां पर पहुंचा है उस के सम्बन्ध में भी कुछ हमारी नीति स्पष्ट होती।

मैं इस मौके पर इस का भी जिक्र करना चाहती हूँ कि अभी हाल में क्यूबा में जब संकट आया था उस में रूस और अमरीका

ने बड़ी समझदारी और दूरदर्शिता के साथ उस संकट को टाका था और युद्ध की कान्ची घातकों के अन्दर से एक विश्वास और शान्ति का रोशनी दुनिया के सामने आई थी। वेदों पूर्व इराक़ों में वरखर खूरेजी और चात्रों अण्डासाही की बुनीतियां पुकार रही हैं, नती पुरा विश्वास है कि भारत के लोक-तान्त्रिक नागरिक अपनी आजादी की रक्षा के लिए, अपने लोकतन्त्र की रक्षा के लिये और अपने कर्तव्य को खोने के लिये अपने प्राणों की आहुति चढ़ा कर ही रहेंगे।

भादनाथ सदस्या श्रीमती गावत्री देवी ने यहां पर लीडरशिप बदलने की बात कही। लेकिन मैं तो यहां पर यह कहूंगी कि राष्ट्रपति जी ने अभिभावक के अन्त में देश का आह्वान किया है और कहा है कि "जागो, उठो"। इस संकेत पर मैं यहां एक शब्द यह कहना चाहूंगी कि यहां पर लीडरशिप अथवा नेतृत्व को बदलने का बात कोई उठ ही नहीं सकती है। इन तरह का सुझाव बिल्कुल बेतुका है। जहां पर दृष्टि सरीखे योगीराज राधाकृष्णन् हैं और अर्जुन सरीखे हमारे जवाहरलाल जी मौजूद हैं और देशवासी उन के पंखे हैं जो हमारी आजादी पर किसी तरह की उंगली नहीं उठ सकती है। हमारी अखंडता, हमारी राष्ट्रीयता और नान-अलाइनमेंट की नीति की विजय हो कर रहेगी।

"यत्र योगेश्वरः कृष्णो यत्र पार्थो धनुर्धरः।
तत्र श्रीविजयो भूतिर्ध्रुवा नीतिर्मतिर्मम ॥"

Shri P. C. Borooah (Sibasagar): Mr. Speaker, Sir, although there is no fighting going on just at the moment, the country is in a state of national emergency. Never before since independence had our President occasion to address the joint session of Parliament in an identical situation. To deliver a policy statement is a difficult task and it is all the more difficult when the country is under a state of emergency. We are grateful to our

President for having taken the pains to make a masterly exposition of the situation and also how the future of the country is to be shaped in the context of the Chinese aggression.

The Chinese commenced their surreptitious aggression several years ago. There were border incidents and our Government thought that it would be possible to settle those disputes in an amicable manner. But gradually that aggression spread out to the eastern border and then came the massive attacks in October and November last on the eastern frontier. This has been described by our President as a gross betrayal on the part of the Chinese. The Chinese succeeded in making deep incursions into the NEFA region and it appeared easy on their part to enter the plains and over-run Assam. But surprisingly enough they made a cease-fire proposal unilaterally and began withdrawing from the captured areas. Then came the Colombo proposals. The Chinese announced their acceptance of the same in principle; but when India accepted the same *in toto*, the Chinese backed out. All these go to prove that Chinese intentions and actions are unpredictable.

The rich oil-fields of Assam are contiguous to NEFA border. They are within one hundred miles from Walong, a place which fell to the Chinese in the November attacks. The news of existence of oil in NEFA region itself is also in the air. In such circumstances, it is not unlikely that the oil-hungry Chinese may create another surprise by suddenly invading Assam and capture the oil-fields there. Unpredictable as the Chinese intentions are, it should be our duty to keep ourselves ready to meet any exigencies and at the same time, we must not rest content until our defence preparations are cent per cent consolidated. The President and also our Prime Minister have been repeatedly warning that the dispute with China may be a long-drawn affair. Therefore, on all fronts, military, economic and diplomatic, India must devote her best

[Shri P. C. Borooah]

energies and exercise the utmost vigilance. The address reveals the determination on the part of the Government to go ahead with the third Plan with such modifications of course, as necessitated by the new circumstances. A strong industrial and agricultural base is an essential prerequisite for national defence. For instance, transport, power, coal mining engineering, food production and warding off of inflation are such vital defence needs that they can hardly be cut down. Again, there is need for increasing the output of export commodities, such as tea and jute, which are vitally necessary to earn the much-needed foreign exchange.

As regards agriculture, the President has stated that it has increased considerably. No doubt, agricultural production advanced over the period between 1950 and 1961 at the rate of 3.8 per cent per annum, but there was no overall advance in agricultural production in the first year of the Third Plan, and, as it is, it is doubtful whether in the second year also we will be able to achieve that target. If this state of affairs is allowed to continue, the target of 6 per cent per annum increase in agricultural production in the Third Plan will be difficult to be achieved.

Apart this, there is yet another consideration for stepping up our industrial and agricultural output and that, of course, is a political one. By fostering industrial and agricultural developments through democratic means, despite the new burden placed on our economy by the Chinese invasion, India has to show to the newly independent nations of Asia and Africa that our ways of economic development are in no way less effective than, if not superior to, the communist instruments of development through regimentation and dictatorship.

The President's speech, I would have wished, contained some reference

to our deteriorating foreign exchange situation. On the one hand, while our imports have been cut down to the bone, our exports, on the other hand, show no sign of improvement and remain more or less stationary. The share of India in the world export trade has gone down from 2.3 per cent in 1950 to about 1.2 per cent in 1962. One of the reasons attributed for this shortfall is the rising cost of Indian goods, brought about by the fiscal levies, growing labour costs, low productivity, paucity of raw materials and the like. There is therefore, imperative need for an all out effort to solve our export problem in a concerted and urgent manner.

I would like to stress that more attention is to be given to the development of border areas and solution of border problems and the difficulties suffered by the people in the frontiers; for, a contented people is the best safeguard against foreign invasion.

Having said so, I would like to deal with a few problems specifically concerning the North-eastern region. Partition of the country has made this region practically isolated from the rest of the country, except for a narrow corridor of about 35 miles width, it is surrounded by foreign states like China, Pakistan and Burma. As such the region stands vulnerable to foreign invasion.

Secondly, by setting up different administrative units run directly by the Centre the region has been divided into five parts—Assam, NEFA, Nagaland, Manipur and Tripura. The latter two units—Manipur and Tripura—are not happy and are agitating for a democratic set up of administration. Nagaland, though made a full fledged separate State, the hostile elements are still active there. NEFA administration has raised a Chinese wall in between NEFA and Assam. In the name of safeguarding their culture, the unsophisticated people there have been

preserved as museum pieces. Hard-earned tax payers' money given for development purposes is not only not fully spent, but in many instances mispent and brings no direct benefit to the people of the region. My colleague has already given the example of the Border Road Development Works. What earthly reason can there be of taking the NEFA boys all the way to far off Shilling for studies when there are good educational institutions nearby in the plains? We do not understand this. Is it to keep the NEFA people separated from the people in the plains for all time to come? Is this the manner in which the integration of the people living in various parts is to be achieved? These are problems which should be thought over seriously.

Thirdly, the introduction of the Sixth Schedule in the Constitution of India has created five hill districts autonomous with a district council in each. This has torn the State administration to pieces and as a result the demand for a separate Hill State is there to further disintegrate the region.

Fourthly, there is wide-spread Pakistani infiltration in Assam and Tripura and all efforts of the Government to tackle the problem have so far resulted only in failure.

Fifthly, the region has a high record of rainfall which has made the area vulnerable to heavy recurrence of floods. No defence preparations on a permanent basis will be possible if floods are not effectively controlled in that border region. It is a gigantic task much beyond the capacity of the State Government to tackle. It may need foreign technical advice and financial assistance.

Sixthly, so far as production of power in this frontier region is concerned, it is dangerously at a low level. The per capita consumption of electricity in Assam in 1961 was only 2.46 kw as against an all India ave-

rage of 31.62 kw and Delhi average of 148.90 kw. As a result, not only all development projects there are at a standstill but also the working ones are starving for power. The Government of Assam and the Members of Parliament from Assam have made repeated representations for inclusion of the Kopili Valley project in the Third Plan but the Centre has paid no heed to it up till now.

It is unfortunate that I am forced to say on this occasion that unless there is some compulsion or agitation, or aggression forthcoming from foreign countries, no developmental work is taken up in Assam. That is why the people of Assam tell so often that if the Chinese had not attacked Assam, Assam would not have received the attention which it is receiving today. The people of Assam feel that they are not treated like the rest of India, so far as developmental works are concerned. Though the object of our industrial policy is to have rapid development of the whole country it looks as if they want to develop the country minus Assam or minus eastern region consisting of Assam, NEFA, Manipur, Tripura and Nagaland. So, I want to stress that Government must realise that if they want a balanced development of the country the eastern region should also be included for the purpose. By excluding the eastern region there will be no balanced development. That is what I want to impress here in this speech.

17 hrs.

The difficulties of transport I need not mention because they have been mentioned many a time here. Also, the other day, when our hon. Railway Minister presented the Railway Budget, he also said something about Assam. Although very sweet words were coming from him and many times Assam was mentioned in his speech, the proposal of a broad gauge line between Siliguri and Jogighopa which was supported by hon. Minister for Defence Coordination,

[Shri P. C. Borooah]

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari and also by the Planning Commission Member, Shri Tarlok Singh could not find a place in the budget proposals. Today I have got a letter saying that the Government expresses regret in not being able to accept that proposals of broad gauge line to be extended beyond Siliguri to Jogighopa. This is the position. Yesterday we were jubilant thinking that perhaps it has been accepted, but today after receipt of the letter our jubilation vanished. These make us feel as though Assam is really separated from the rest of India.

However, on this occasion I have to express my gratitude to the great Son of India I mean the President of India, for the Address that he has been pleased to deliver to us in this hour of national emergency and I wholeheartedly support this motion. I also thank you very much for giving me this opportunity.

17.02 hrs.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Friday, February 22, 1963|Phalgun 3, 1884 (Saka).
