

[Shri S. V. Ramaswamy]

furniture, power alcohol, ferro-manganese, ferro-silicon and cast iron spun pipes. Further, in case of certain commodities on which concessions are allowed at present, the same concessions will now apply from any booking station to any port instead of from specified stations to specified ports.

The revised freight tariff on manganese export ore, which for the longer distances is on the basis of the lowest standard rate, will be exempt from the levy of the additional surcharge.

In order to promote exports and to assist export traffic, the Ministry of Railways are continuously having studies made for different commodities in consultation with the Ministry of Commerce and Industry and the representatives of the Trade concerned.

A statement is laid on the Table of the House indicating concessions as now granted. [Placed in Library, see No. LT-862/63.]

12.18 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.”

Shri Muthiah was in possession of the House.

**Shri Muthiah** (Tiruvaveli): **Mr. Speaker,** Sir, I rise to support the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address moved by the hon. Member, Shri Pandey India is fortunate in having a philosopher-statesman at the helm of affairs at this juncture. Plato said in his *Republic* centuries ago that kings should be philosophers and philosophers should be kings. Today in India, we have the greatest philosopher of the age as head of State. Dr. Radhakrishnan is a rajarishi in the line of Janaka, Asoka, Akbar and Marcus Aurelius. He is the greatest interpreter of Indian philosophy and culture to the West and the greatest exponent of western philosophy and culture to India and the East and is thus a cultural bridge between the East and the West. He got the highest tributes from two different types of men—from Marshal Stalin in 1950 and 1952 and from Mahatma Gandhi in December 1917 just a month before his death. This speaks volumes of his greatness.

Now I come to the Address. The Address sums up the objectives and achievements of our Government after independence. The ultimate objective of our Government is the establishment of a democratic and socialist society based on justice, social, economic and political, with liberty of thought and expression, belief and worship, a society which guarantees to all the citizens of the country the basic necessities of life such as food, clothing, shelter, education, medical facilities and employment and which eliminates the concentration of wealth in the hands of a few and reduces to the minimum the differences in income between the different sections of the society. This laudable objective is being pursued by planned economy. The three Five Year Plans were formulated with this end in view.

There has been phenomenal progress in several sectors of the economy in this first two Plan periods and this

progress is being pursued in the Third Plan. But I have to point out here that our march towards our socialist objective is slow. There is imperative need to increase the pace of socialist reconstruction to meet the Chinese communist challenge on the ideological front. There is a likelihood of anti-national and anti-social forces getting strength during the Emergency, and our Government have to be very vigilant and watchful.

Now, let me take up agriculture, which is the most important sector. Agricultural production has increased considerably—From 54 million tons in 1952 it has come to 80 million tons in 1962. Intensive agricultural programmes such as the package programmes have been introduced and they have led to increase in per acre yields. In spite of all these measures, we have not yet obtained self-sufficiency in agricultural production and we are still importing food grains from abroad to the tune of several crores. The pace of agricultural production is slow on the whole. To reach the target of 100 million tons before the end of the Third Plan, positive encouragement has to be given to the farmers. Positive steps have to be taken such as fixing remunerative floor prices for foodgrains and speedy supply of fertilisers and cheap credit in time. Fertiliser factories have to be started in every State. At least one big fertiliser factory must be started in Madras State in the public sector. I would appeal to the Government to start without delay the proposed fertiliser factory in Tuticorin for which a licence was issued years ago. There is urgent need for more positive co-operation and help from the agricultural department to the cultivating farmers. A strong agricultural base, like a strong industrial base, is vital to national defence.

I shall now come to industry. Industrial progress has been rapid since 1951. Industrial production is increasing fast. Steel production is steadily

growing and the steel plants in the public sector are being expanded. Here, I have to express regret that the proposed steel plant at Salem or Neyveli included in the Third Plan has not yet materialised.

Coming to oil resources, oil production in the public sector is on the increase. Oil exploration is being conducted in Punjab, the Gangetic plain, Assam, Gujarat and the Cauvery Basin. I request the Government to start drilling operations at Arantangi in Tanjore district without delay. I also appeal to Government to start an oil refinery in Madras State, preferably in Tuticorin. I learn, the Minister of Mines and Fuel has already seen the place and approved of the site. Therefore, I strongly recommend Tuticorin as the most suitable place for establishing the new oil refinery in Madras State in view of its development into a major harbour.

Coming to education, let me say that enormous progress has been made in the field of education. A large number of schools and colleges have been started, including engineering, medical and technical colleges. Special stress is laid on scientific and technical education. In this connection, I would make a plea on behalf of teachers in schools and colleges. They should be provided with sufficient housing accommodation. Teachers in schools and colleges in Madras State, so far as I know, are suffering very much for want of housing accommodation, and I would request Government to make special grants to schools and colleges in order to relieve them of this great difficulty. We know that the teachers are the backbone of society and it is they that are shaping the future leadership of the country, and they have to be content and happy. Therefore, I request the Government to make special grants to schools and colleges in order to provide the teachers with sufficient housing accommodation.

[Shri Muthiah]

I would urge here that in order to increase the patriotic fervour of the students in schools and colleges, in the Madras State, the national anthem should be sung in every school and college just before the classes begin. I was professor for a long time in a college in Tinnevely, and from my experience, I say that the national anthem is not sung either in the schools or in the colleges; and I would request the Government, particularly the Education Ministry, to issue instructions to the heads of institutions that the national anthem should be sung in every school and college in order to rouse the patriotic spirit of the students. Patriotic songs and films about Bharat Mata should be popularised in every State in the regional language.

With regard to power, a number of schemes have been initiated and I would appeal to the Government to speed up power production in view of the emergency. It is heartening to hear that an atomic power station is to be established very soon at Kalpakam in Madras State.

A word about Panchayati Raj. Panchayati Raj has wrought a real revolution in rural India and it has given good training to millions of villagers in self-government and self-help. It has made possible the full mobilisation of rural India to meet the challenge of national defence.

I find certain omissions in the Address of the President. He has not made any mention about port development and new railway lines. I would make a request to the Government, on this occasion, to speed up Tuticorin harbour development. The construction work of the Tuticorin harbour has not started yet. Actually, the construction work has not begun. Therefore, I would appeal to the Government to speed up the development work of the Tuticorin harbour. The work is extremely slow. Out of Rs. 12½ lakhs sanctioned for 1962-63, only

Rs. 5 lakhs have been disbursed. I request the Government to allot at least Rs. 50 lakhs immediately in order to start and speed up the construction work.

I would also make an appeal to the Government here to open the long-pending Tirunelveli-Kanya Kumari line. This scheme has been there for a long number of years, and yet the Government have not moved to start this new railway line. It is a very vital line. Kanya Kumari, as we all know, is a very important pilgrim and tourist centre, and it is but proper that this new railway line should be started in order to connect Kanya Kumari with the rest of India. The cost of construction, after all, is very cheap.

Next, I like to join all the other Members of the House in urging the Government, to give immediate help and relief to the poor goldsmiths who are now thrown out of employment because of the Gold Control Rules.

With regard to non-alignment, I should say that it is a sound policy. It has stood the test, and it has been appreciated by both the power blocs. It gives a good lead to the newly independent countries of Asia and Africa. By virtue of this policy, we are getting substantial aid from both the power blocs—American and Russian. This irritates China, and one of her motives for invading India is her desire to drive India into the western camp and deprive India of the support of Russia and her allies, and to compel Russia and her allies to join the side of China completely against India.

With regard to relations with Pakistan, the President has rightly stressed the urgent necessity of India living in friendliness with Pakistan. Pakistan is our nearest neighbour.

**Mr. Speaker:** The hon. Member's time is up.

**Shri Muthiah:** Please give me two minutes.

**Mr. Speaker:** He may take just one minutes,

**Shri Muthiah:** With regard to the Chinese aggression, the President has said that it is the over-riding issue before us. The freedom of our country is more dear and precious than anything else. When freedom is lost, everything is lost. The nation's activities, therefore, are being concentrated on the defence of our country. Our armed forces are expanded. Arms and ammunition are produced in large quantities day and night in our ordnance factories. Military aid is being obtained in a large measure from friendly countries. The third Plan is being reoriented to give priority to defence needs.

**श्री रामेश्वरानन्द (करनाल) :**  
शाबाश, चलते चलो ।

**Shri Muthiah:** A vigorous drive has to be urgently launched now to raise the morale and spirit of the people in all the States, since they seem to have fallen into a mood of complacency. The President's heroic declaration that we cannot and will not submit to dictation, backed by military force, is a clarion call to the nation.

**Mr. Speaker:** The hon. Member's time is up. He must close now.

**Shri Muthiah:** One word more, Sir.

**Mr. Speaker:** Order, order. The hon. Member should react and respond at least to the second bell. We are hard-pressed for time.

**Shri Muthiah:** May the sage counsel of our President and the far-sighted statesmanship of our Prime Minister....\*\*\*

**Mr. Speaker:** It will not be recorded. The Press also will not report it. Shri Chandak

**श्री चांडक (छिदवाडा) :** अध्यक्ष महोदय, राष्ट्रपति के अभिषेक पर सदन में पिछले चार दिनों से चल रही बहस के बाद आज मुझे यह मौका मिल रहा है कि मैं भी अपने कुछ विचार प्रकट करूँ और इसके लिए मैं आपको इतना से धन्यवाद देता हूँ . . . .

अध्यक्ष महोदय : जो सदन के कायदे का उल्लंघन करे उसे स्वामी जी कहते हैं कि शाबास इसी तरह चले चलो । मैं माननीय सदस्य को समाप्त करने के लिए कह रहा हूँ और आप उनको मेरी आज्ञा का उल्लंघन करने पर शाबाशी दे रहे हैं और कह रहे हैं कि चलते चलो ।

**श्री रामेश्वरानन्द :** जो आप की बात नहीं मान रहा वह मेरी क्या मानेगा ?

अध्यक्ष महोदय : लेकिन यह तो आप के लिए ठीक नहीं है कि जो मेरी बात न माने उसे आप इस तरह शह दें कि चले चलो ।

**श्री चांडक :** राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने अभिषेक में राष्ट्रीय, अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय नीति, धर्म और उद्देश्यों पर प्रकाश डाला है और सब बातों का ठीक रीति से वर्णन किया है । महामहिम राष्ट्रपति ने जो भाषण दोनों हाउसों की संयुक्त बैठक में १८ फरवरी, को दिया उस से हमारा उत्साह बढ़ता है, हमें प्रेरणा मिलती है और हमें बल भी मिलता है । राष्ट्रपति जी ने जो हमारे पड़ोसी देश चीन ने हमारे ऊपर नग्न आक्रमण किया है उसके सम्बन्ध में उन्होंने काफी जोर दे कर कहा है ।

इस हाउस में हमारे विरोधी पक्ष के लोगों की ओर से कई प्रकार की तकरीरें की गईं और जो यहां अमेडमेंट्स इत्यादि आयें हैं उन से भी उनके इरादों का पता चलता है । यहां विरोधी पक्ष के लोगों की ओर से आपत्तियां उठाई जाती हैं और बारबार यह कहा जाता है कि हमारे युद्ध-प्रयत्नों में ढिलाई हो रही है । उनकी ओर से यह भी कहा जाता

[श्री चांडक]

है कि लीडरशिप को बदल दिया जाये । यह भी कहा जाता है कि इमरजेंसी खत्म की जाये और पश्चिमी राष्ट्र जोकि हमारी मदद करते हैं उन के बारे में भी शक व श्वभहा जाहिर किया जाता है । मैं आप से अर्ज करना चाहता हूं कि राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने भाषण में इस बात के ऊपर काफी प्रकाश डाला है ।

जहां तक चीन के आक्रमण का सवाल है उन्होंने अपने एड्रेस के पैराग्राफ १२ में इस बात को साफ तौर से कहा है :—

“The issue of the Chinese aggression has been and is today, the overriding issue before us and everything else has to be considered in that context. The freedom and honour of a country must be given the first place and, if a country cannot defend them, then other matters lose significance”.

हमारी सरकार और प्रशासन इस दिशा में विलहूल कटिबद्ध है । इस हाउस ने जो संकल्प ता० १४ नवम्बर, को किया है और जो प्रस्ताव पारित किया है उस के द्वारा इस हाउस का ही नहीं बरन् सारे राष्ट्र का चीनी आक्रमणकारियों को भारत भूमि से हटाने का दृढ़ निश्चय प्रकट होता है । उस पर दृढ़ कटिबद्ध हैं और मैं नहीं देखता की शासन की ओर से किस प्रकार डिलाई हो रही है ? राष्ट्रपति जी ने इस बात को साफ कहा है कि शासन की ओर से सब प्रकार के जरूरी मेजर्स लिये जा रहे हैं । युद्ध प्रयत्नो को मजबूत करने के लिए सब संभव कदम उठाये जा रहे हैं । देश को फौजी दृष्टि से मजबूत किया जा रहा है और जहां तक डेवलपमेंट का सवाल है, हर तरह से देश को डेवलप किया जा रहा है । विरोधी पक्ष की ओर से शासन पर डिलाई बर्तने का जो दोषारोपण किया जाता है, यह सब बात इसीलिए कही जाती है । मानों

शासन पक्ष से ज्यादा उन में देशभक्ति की भावना हो और इसीलिए यह महज ऊपरी देशभक्ति दिखलाई जाती है । मैं नहीं समझता कि यह बातें और किस उद्देश्य और नीयत से कही जाती हैं ? लेकिन जहां तक मेरा अपना खयाल है उससे युद्ध के प्रयत्नों में विरोधी डिलाई ही पहुंचा रहे हैं । वे उनको मजबूत नहीं होने देना चाहते हैं । उनका इरादा यह है कि किसी तरह से युद्ध प्रयत्न ढीले पड़ जायें ।

जहां तक नौन एलाइनमेंट का सवाल है इसके ऊपर भी विरोधी पक्ष वालों ने बहुत कुछ कहा है । इंडिपेंडेंट पार्टी के लोग कहते हैं कि भारत को पश्चिमी राष्ट्रों से गठबंधन कर लेना चाहिए । इस नौन एलाइनमेंट की पालिसी जिसके कि जन्मदाता हमारे नेता श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू हैं, पिछले पन्द्रह वर्षों में इस पालिसी पर अमल करने से यह सिद्ध हो गया है कि यह नौन एलाइनमेंट को हमारी वैदेशिक पालिसी ही है जिसने कि हमें भरपूर डिवीडेंट दिया है । इससे मुल्क का फायदा हुआ है । हम नहीं चाहते कि हम किसी से दुश्मनी करें । हम किसी पर आक्रमण नहीं करना चाहते । हम सब से मित्रता रखना चाहते हैं और सब से मित्रता रखने की नीति पर चलते हुए जहां से भी हमें मदद मिले वह सब मदद लेना चाहते हैं । इंडिपेंडेंट पार्टी कहती है कि हमें पश्चिमी राष्ट्रों के साथ फौजी गठबंधन करना चाहिए । लेकिन मेरा कहना है कि वे जब स्वयं आपके साथ गठबंधन करने को तैयार नहीं हैं तो मैं नहीं समझता कि आप ही स्वयं क्यों उन के साथ यह गठबंधन चाहते हैं ? हम किसी के साथ भी फौजी गठबंधन नहीं करना चाहते । हम सब से मैत्रीपूर्ण नीति बर्तना चाहते हैं । जो मदद वे करते हैं, हथियारों के या अन्य तरीकों के, उन में किसी प्रकार का बन्धन वे नहीं लगाना चाहते तो फिर आप ही इसके लिए क्यों इतना आग्रह करते हैं यह बात मेरी समझ में नहीं आती ? हमारा तो सभी के साथ

रोस्तीपूर्ण सम्बन्ध है और जो कोई भी मित्र के नाते हमारी मदद करेगा हम उन सब की मदद लेना चाहते हैं अब चाहे वह रूप हो चाहे अमरीका हो। जब ऐसी बात है और वे स्वयं अपनी इच्छा से हमारी मदद कर रहे हैं तो मैं नहीं देखता कि आप के कहने में या इस तरह की बात करने में कौन सा तथ्य है ?

दूसरी बात यह है कि हमारे राष्ट्रपति जी ने जहां तक हमारे डेवलपमेंट का सवाल है विकास का सवाल है यह बात साफ तौर से कहा है :—

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

“Industry is essential for defence”.

कृषि और उद्योग इन दोनों चीजों पर काफी जोर दिया गया है। इस दिशा में काफी प्रगति हुई है और उस प्रगति का वर्णन भी किया गया है। जहां तक एग्रीकल्चर का सवाल है यह बात मानी हुई है कि बगैर कृषि के आधार के हमारा चाहे कोई भी उद्योग हो और चाहे रक्षा का प्रयत्न हो, कोई भी बलवान और मजबूत नहीं हो सकता। उस तरफ बहुत काफी ध्यान दिया जा रहा है। जहां तक मेरा खयाल है एग्रीकल्चर मिनिस्टरी इस ओर विशेष ध्यान दे रही है। खाद, पानी और बिजली आदि सब बातों का प्रवन्ध किया जा रहा है लेकिन जिस परिमाण में होना चाहिए वह नहीं हो रहा है। खेती के उत्पादन में वृद्धि करने की बातें तो सब लोग करते हैं लेकिन कृषक की ओर किसी का ध्यान नहीं है। जो खेती करते हैं और जिन पर कि देश का अन्न उत्पादन बढ़ाना निर्भर करता है उन की ओर बहुत कम ध्यान दिया जाता है। उन को दिक्कतें और तकलीफें क्या हैं उनको समझने की बहुत कम कोशिश की जाती है। मैं चाहूंगा कि इस ओर एग्रीकल्चर मिनिस्टर विशेष ध्यान दे और किसानों की जो भी दिक्कतें हैं उनको दूर करें

और उनको अधिक उत्पादन करने के लिए सक्रिय प्रोत्साहन दें।

किमानों के लिए खाद, पानी और बिजली की समुचित व्यवस्था मरकार करे, क्योंकि इनके बगैर कृषि उत्पादन बढ़ नहीं सकता है वहां अनाज के भावों का जो सवाल है, कीमतों का जो सवाल है उनको तरफ भी मरकार ध्यान दे। आप जानते हैं कि यह सामान्य बात है और हर एक को पता है कि पांच सालों में दो साल अच्छे आते हैं, दो साल बुरे आते हैं और एक साल सामान्य होता है इसलिए इनका ध्यान रखते हुए कीमतों को निश्चित होना बहुत आवश्यक बात है।

मैं कमास पैदा करने वाले एरिया से आना हूँ। अनी हाल की हो बात है और मैंने देखा है कि इस साल कमास के दोनों भावों में—फ्लोर रेट और सीलिंग रेट जो बांधा गया है उन दोनों भावों में ४००-४५० रुपये का फर्क है।

और इन वर्ष जो भाव निकले थे, उससे सौ रुपये खंडो यानी एक बिंटल पर बास पच्चीस रुपये भाव कम हो गया है। मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि इस प्रकार के भाव बांधो से क्या फायदा होगा। आज निजान बर्बाद हो रहे हैं। मैं चाहूंगा कि भाव इस प्रकार से बांधे जायें कि कम से कम उन्हें मिनिमम रिम्बुनरेशन मिलना चाहिए और फ्लोर और सीलिंग रेट में सौ रुपये से ज्यादा अन्तर नहीं होना चाहिए।

इस सदन में कई मित्रों की तरफ से कहा गया कि स्माल-स्केल इंडस्ट्रीज को ज्यादा मदद दे रहे हैं। यह सही है और हम चाहते हैं कि छोटे-छोटे उद्योग पतों और बड़े, लेकिन स्माल-स्केल इंडस्ट्रीज को दृष्टि से जो कुछ भी मदद की जाती है, वह आखिरकार बड़े-बड़े बिजनेस हाउसिज को मिलती है। जो रुपया इकट्ठा नहीं कर सकता है, उसको रुपया मिलता भी नहीं है। यदि कोई छोटा इंडस्ट्रीज लगाना चाहता है, तो उसके मार्ग में भी बहुत सी अड़चनें रहती

## [श्री चांडक]

हैं। इसलिए छोटी इंडस्ट्रीज पनप नहीं पाती हैं, बढ़ नहीं पाती हैं। इस और शासन को ध्यान देना चाहिए।

हमारे महामहिम राष्ट्रपति जी ने को-ऑपरेशन, को-ऑपरेटिव सोसायटीज, को-ऑपरेटिव मूवमेंट और पंचायत राज इत्यादि की तरफ भी ध्यान दिया है। यह सही है कि पंचायत राज के स्थापित हो जाने से हमारे युद्ध-प्रयत्नों में काफी मदद मिलगी। हम सब चाहते हैं कि हर एक को काम करने और अपनी शक्ति लगाने का मौका मिले। जो श्रम बैंक खोले जा रहे हैं और हर एक गांव में जो विलेज, वालिंटियर फ़ोर्स बनाई जा रही हैं, उससे हर एक को प्रयत्न करने का मौका मिलेगा, इसमें कोई संदेह नहीं है। लेकिन मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि को-ऑपरेटिव सोसायटीज के बारे में जो यह दिखाया जा रहा है कि उनका बड़ा भारी नम्बर हो गया है और बहुत काम हो रहा है, वस्तुस्थिति उसके बिल्कुल विपरीत है। मेरा अपना अनुभव यह है कि कल जो क्रेडिट सोसायटीज थीं, वही सैकड़ों की तादाद में, और नाइट, सर्विस को-ऑपरेटिव सोसायटीज में परिवर्तित कर दी गई हैं। मेरा अनुमान है कि अस्सी सैकड़ों सोसायटीज ऐसी हैं, जो न तो सर्विस को-ऑपरेटिव का काम करती हैं और न कर सकती हैं। उनको ज्यादा मजबूत करने की जरूरत है। आज की सोसायटियां चाहे नम्बर की दृष्टि से बहुत बड़ी दिखाई दें, लेकिन वे निष्क्रम हैं। वे सर्विस को-ऑपरेटिव सोसायटीज का कोई खास काम नहीं कर सकती हैं। मार्केटिंग सोसायटीज भी ठीक तरह से फंक्शन नहीं करती हैं। आज किसान की कपास को कोई नहीं ले रहा है, आज उस की कोई डिमांड नहीं है और मिल वाले मनचाहे भाव पर उस को ले रहे हैं। अगर ये सोसायटीज ठीक तरह से काम करती होतीं, तो यह स्थिति न होती।

महामहिम राष्ट्रपति जी ने विलेज डेवेलपमेंट और कम्युनिटी डेवेलपमेंट के कामों की तरफ भी ध्यान दिया है। मैं अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि जहां तक उन के सिद्धान्तों और विचारों का सवाल है, उन के कार्यक्रमों का सवाल है, वे बिल्कुल ठीक हैं, लेकिन उस में काम बहुत कम हो पाता है। अगर मैं दो शब्दों में कहना चाहूँ, तो मैं कहूँगा कि **कम्युनिटी डेवेलपमेंट इज इम्प्लिकेशन ग्राफ बर्क और वेस्ट ग्राफ मनी**। मैं अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि शासन में जो एग््रीकल्चर डिपार्टमेंट, पी० डब्ल्यू० डी०, हैल्थ, रेलवे डिपार्टमेंट, एजुकेशन डिपार्टमेंट हैं, ये सब पमनिन्ट हैं। तो कम्युनिटी डेवेलपमेंट डिपार्टमेंट उनके बाहर कौन सा काम करता है? ? जहां तक मैं ने देखा है, उसके द्वारा केवल यही काम होता है कि ग्रामों में छोटी छोटी कच्ची सड़कें बन जाती हैं, जो कि धूपकाल, ग्रीष्म, में बनती हैं और बारिशों में खत्म हो जाती हैं। और कुछ स्कूल और दवाखाने आदि बनते हैं तथा तकावी, खाद, बीज आदि बांटा जाता है। यदि वह काम परमानेंट डिपार्टमेंट्स को मजबूत कर के किया जाये, तो ज्यादा अच्छी तरह से हो सकता है और इस के साथ ही साथ एक बहुत बड़ी फौज से छुटकारा मिल सकता है, जिसकी जीप-गाड़ियां रोज दौड़ती रहती हैं। उन जीप-गाड़ियों पर बहुत पेट्रोल भी खर्च होता है, हालांकि उन का उपयोग पिकनिक्स और सिनेमा देखने के लिए होता है। इकानोमी की दृष्टि से उन जीप-गाड़ियों को बचाया जा सकता है। मैं अर्ज करूँगा कि इस बात की ओर भी शासन को ध्यान देना चाहिये।

**Dr. P. S. Deshmukh (Amravati):** Mr. Speaker, as the time is very limited. I must confine my remarks to only a few important matters which I consider it necessary to emphasize. I am very happy that most of the members are deeply concerned with all of them and they have been urging the Government to take some suit-

able steps in those very matters which are causing equal concern.

One of the biggest problems facing the agriculturists in this country is the price that they get for the crops that they have raised. Many hon. Members have referred to this point and the last speaker also emphasized the need for early action in the matter. Government also accept the contentions of the farmers, but, I am afraid, they have not been able to do anything. Only this morning there was an assertion or statement in the papers by Shri Patil that "fair return must be assured to the agriculturists." At the same time, we find that no steps are being taken whenever the prices are falling. The President has also emphasized the importance of agriculture; so does the Prime Minister now and then. One of the effective steps indicated by my friend who just sat down is streamlining the administration, so far as agricultural production is concerned.

Nowhere else in the world is extension, which always refers to agriculture, divided into two separate parts. Unfortunately, in this country there is an extension directorate in the agricultural department as well as a Community Development Department which are supposed to do exactly the same thing. What we have done is to divide one activity into two and then we ask and strive for co-ordination and co-operation. I hope at least the Chinese invasion will bring us to our senses in this matter. This is the almost unanimous demand of anybody who understands agriculture, irrespective of whether he is a member of this House or an expert in agriculture. The Indo-American team appointed by the Government of India to consider the administration of extension in the country has unanimously recommended or stated that the way in which agricultural production is being looked at is haphazard and that that was not the way to do it. I also do not understand how after the establishment of Panchayati Raj Com-

munity Development can have any locus standi or any separate existence. The BDOs and the agricultural department officers have now been transferred to Panchayati Raj and yet the Community Development Department has not shown any signs of even diminishing the personnel under it. The President speaks about economy. We know the way in which Government economises. It always lays down a percentage.

**Mr. Speaker:** It is always better if a reference is made to the address of the President than to the President himself. The reference should be to his speech, instead of naming the President.

**Dr. P. S. Deshmukh:** By my reference to the President I was always meaning his address to the members of the House. He has pointed out in his address that measures of economy are being implemented. It also says that efforts are being made to stop waste. But what generally happens is that at the time of framing the Budget or even in between the Finance Ministry asks the Ministries concerned to cut it down by about 10, 15 or 20 per cent. This is not the way to economise because generally—and it is my experience—only the more beneficial activities are cut down.

**Shri Harish Chandra Mathur (Jalore):** Do you not keep a margin for that while framing your Budget? You already keep a margin that you have to cut it down by 10 per cent.

**Dr. P. S. Deshmukh:** There might be some little margin but it is not there always. Generally this economy descends only upon those things which are of greater importance. I will give you an instance. We had worked out a scheme for training of young farmers for which only about six training centres were to be established in India. There was a provision for that in the current year. Everybody, that is, the Planning Commission, the Community Development Ministry and

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the Agriculture Ministry, had agreed and the expenditure involved was only about Rs. 60,000|. Yet, the emergency descended only on those Rs. 60,000|—though it was admitted that this was important and necessary. This is how the economy is exercised.

The President's Address also refers to the intensive agricultural production programmes. But what is going to be its effect? I think, this programme will not give the results and the farmers will be averse to taking the advice of the Departments to produce more if the present situation continues. Recently I went to Kerala. There in the two package programme district it was claimed that the production of paddy had increased by 25 to 30 per cent. Granting that this has happened, when we see that the price of rice there has come down from Rs. 210| to Rs. 160|, just see, examine and consider the situation of the farmer. In order to produce more, naturally, he must have put in greater labour, he must have bought better seeds, he must have probably taken more loans from the co-operatives and thus produced more. He has added to the availability of food in India, but what is his budget going to be? It is going to be a minus and a deficit budget. He has not only lost all the extra expenditure that he has incurred, but he is going to get on the whole less money than when he produced less. If that sort of thing is going to continue the purchase programmes are bound to fail. I would, therefore, appeal to the Government to come forward and remedy this situation. This refers to the rice growers of Kerala.

Now the turn of the wheat growers is coming very fast. There is a bumper crop all over the country and already the prices are falling. I think, Government has come to the conclusion that Rs. 14| a maund should be the least price which a farmer should get. If it is correct, then, let them announce it. For heaven's sake allow or ask the co-operatives to purchase it. Government has made an illegiti-

mate and illegal profit of crores of rupees on the sale of fertilisers. The Government was not entitled to do that. I hope, some farmer will go to the Supreme Court and get a writ from the Supreme Court that the Government was not right in getting this profit from the sale of fertilisers because they had announced that they were going to sell the fertiliser on no-profit-no-loss basis. Yet, I think, last year a profit of about Rs. 12 crores was made.

But apart from that, I have a constructive suggestion to make. I do not want merely to condemn the Government. Let them pool this profit made out of the sale of fertilisers and set it apart with additional, at least equal amount from their own revenues for the sake of helping the co-operatives to purchase foodgrains so that the farmers' interests do not suffer. If they do that, then alone some incentive for the farmers to produce more will remain.

The last speaker also pointed out the condition of the co-operatives. A very large number of people are going into the co-operatives but there is a large number of co-operative which are not viable. Unfortunately, the hon. Prime Minister himself intervened in it. There was a Survey Committee's Report which was accepted by the Government. One fine morning he got up and said that in accepting those recommendations, they had made a mistake. The mistake has been pointed out by many people including a man like Shri V. L. Mehta. But unfortunately that is not being yet corrected.

Lest my time should be over, I want to refer to a very vital question which, unfortunately, very few hon. Members have touched upon. I refer to the condition of other Backward Classes. During the time of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad a sum of money was set apart for grant of scholarships to backward classes. I am sure, all these other Backward Classes will always

remember Maulana Azad with gratitude. They were given scholarships along with other Backward Classes. At the present time what does the term 'Backward Classes' mean? It means only the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. There is an attempt to obliterate the facilities which were given to the other Backward Classes. This is completely wrong. A lot of praise and publicity is being given to certain decisions of High Courts and so on on the subject. That merely indicates from what castes.....

**Shri Harish Chandra Mathur:** There is a recent circular from the Home Ministry that it has to be not on the basis of caste but of economic standard.

**Dr. P. S. Deshmukh:** That is what I do not want. I want the facilities which were given to people on the basis of caste to continue. You may call me a retrograde man or a reactionary person, but those facilities which had been given once must not be discontinued.

**Shri Harish Chandra Mathur:** Even if he is a Minister's son?

**Dr. P. S. Deshmukh:** No, you can put a financial limit, but the facilities and scholarships which were given ought to continue. Otherwise, it will lead to lot of trouble. I would like to appeal to the Home Ministry that facilities given once ought not to be discontinued.

Unfortunately, what **Shri Datar** had given was also taken away later on. He had issued a circular saying that wherever there are not sufficient number of Tribal or Scheduled Castes boys available for admission in technical institutions, the vacancies should be given to the other Backward Classes. Later on, a circular was issued by the Home Ministry withdrawing that circular. I think, it is wrong. It is all very well to talk about castelessness and so on. I can understand that. But these are all protestations and hypocritical talk. Everyone of us is steeped in caste. There is not a

shadow of doubt about it. Some people succeed in hiding it whereas other people do not.

Who had designated these castes as Backward Classes? It was the State Government who had indicated that these castes are backward. Many of the Scheduled Castes people admit that these castes are more backward than even the Scheduled Castes. Yet, an attempt is being made in the name of castelessness which is nowhere to be seen to deprive these people of these scholarships. They have never asked for reservation in employment. All that they have asked for is the continuance of the scholarships. When you feel that everybody has come to some minimum level, you can discontinue them, but till then this facility should not be taken away. So, I hope the kind Home Minister who is sympathetic and very just will see that he does not force the pace of a very desirable social reform. There is no doubt about that. I for one can speak with great emphasis because I have myself never believed in caste. I had the courage to marry out of my caste 36 years ago. So, I am an opponent of caste; I am an enemy of caste. Yet, I feel for these Backward Classes, for those people who are grouped under that. To deny them these facilities is today a disservice to the country as a whole.

Lastly, I would like to say that I feel rather disappointed with the Address of the President because I agree with the contention even of the Opposition that there is no semblance of an urgency or an emergency indicated in the Address. We have got an opponent whose every citizen works at least eight hours a day. We do not know—we are in such darkness—what roads, what aeroplanes, what preparations are being made across the border. Yet, so far as we are concerned, there is hardly any indication of what threat lies before us. I suggest that there should at least be 100 Sainik Schools started. There should be arrangements for recruitment to the rank and file, not merely by advertising and interview, but

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certain institutions should be established so that property trained and equipped persons with a proper mentality and spirit will be available to us for our Armed Forces.

**Shri S. Kandappan** (Tiruchengode):  
Mr. Speaker, I thank you very much for giving me the opportunity to make my maiden speech.

13 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

We had been listening to many learned speeches on the Motion of Thanks. Though in agreement with the sentiments expressed in the Address in general, I am greatly disappointed, disconcerted, even a little shocked when I find that there is no mention of any steps proposed to improve our lot. There is nothing new or unwarranted by facts in our complaint that the South is neglected.

I got elected to this House on the 13th of August last year. On the 17th of the same month, *The Eastern Economist*, in one of its leading articles, critically analysed "The D.M.K. Victory at Tiruchengode". With your permission, I would like to quote certain relevant passages from that article:

"The announcement on August 13, that Mr. S. Kandappan the D.M.K. candidate Oct., etc . . . must cause the Congress Party furiously to think."

I am afraid that their ferocity resulted in envisaging a blanket ban on our party. But, the editor had something else in mind when he said that the Congress must think furiously. For, further on, he says:

"There is some considerable doubt whether, in fact the South even as represented by the Congress Party is at all satisfied with economic progress being made in all the four States, Madras, Andhra, Mysore and Kerala. In-

deed, the Minister of Finance of Andhra Pradesh, Mr. Brahma-nanda Reddi, writing in the *Financial Express* has quoted critically the Indian Institute of Public Opinion figures to show that the progress in the South has been lower in the Second Plan and is likely to be lower in the Third Plan than comparable areas in the North, West and East. This follows on Mr. Venkataraman's forceful statement nearly a year ago at a meeting of the National Development Council based on the same figures, not yet refuted. It cannot, therefore, be suggested that the D.M.K. accusation that there is discrimination against the South is entirely the slogan of one Party. It is not indeed clear that even if it were a slogan of one party, it would greatly affect the structure of political opinion. The volume of economic discontent in the South is large, much larger than the Central Administration in New Delhi is willing to recognise."

Instead of heeding to this voice of reason, the Government dreams of solving issues by curbing the activities of the D.M.K. Whatever stand we may take in regard to the proposed 16th Amendment of the Indian Constitution, the result will be the same, namely the dethronement of the Party in power in Tamilnad in the 1967 elections, or even before if the people are willing. Removal of regional disparities will go a long way in consolidating the unity of this country about which the present Government seems to be so much interested. I am at a loss to understand why they deliberately miss the track. I do not wish to deliberate more on this except quoting a few more lines from the same article:

"The Congress Party can only ignore this warning at its peril. Even the tremendous figure of Mr. Kamaraj Nadar will not be able to arrest decline, unless

positive measures are taken both to control prices and to accelerate economic development in the State of Madras. It is likely, if the economic discontent can be significantly allayed in the next three years, far less will be heard of secession. In any case, a policy of economic development for the South beyond the Plan must be conceived without delay."

The poverty that afflicts the South is great. Particularly the position of Tamilnad is appalling. There can't be anything more miserable than to be poor. To borrow an expression from our poet Valluvar:

"One may sleep in the midst of fire, but by no means in the midst of poverty."

Especially, I would like to draw your attention and the attention of the House to the shameless beggary that is still predominant in our part of the country. Anybody who visits our place can see innumerable beggars, men, women and children, roaming about, half naked. It is a disgrace to this country. There can't be any excuse for this Government to allow beggary to thrive in this land after sixteen years of Independence. I must say that this Government has failed in discharging one of its constitutional obligations. If it thinks that is answerable only to God and God alone, let me here recall a saying from our sacred Kural:

"If the Creator of the world has decreed even begging as a means of livelihood, may He too go begging and perish."

It is Hegel, I think, who described State as "God walking on the Earth". I am afraid, if this dishonourable state of affairs continues uncorrected, even the most tolerant among us will be tempted to view this Government as "Devil Incarnate".

I hope the Government will take some steps for the sake of retaining their power if not for the betterment

of our people. Much has been said about the failure of the Government to control prices. While the cost of production and cost of living is shooting manifold, making the poor peasants borrow more and more, bartering their all, the Government is allowing the prices of foodgrains to go down. Can anything be more suicidal? Any layman can understand that our economy will be sounder if the fall in prices of foodgrains were preceded by a similar fall in the cost of production. I am apprehensive that this pyramid on its peak, this topsy-turvy economy, trying to move on its head, may topple down at any moment, destroying the security of a peaceful living on both fronts, rural and urban. As has been rightly pointed out in the Presidential Address, we all know that "A strong agricultural base is a pre-requisite of national security". I would ask one pertinent question: is there any scope even at the end of the Third Plan of achieving a strong agricultural base? I think I am correct in stating that as early as 1951, this Government had arrived at a conclusion not to import foodgrains from abroad. Even after twelve years since that conclusion, we are still importing, and what is worse, the import had been steadily increasing, reaching its highest in 1960-61. It is regrettable that, with all its trumpets about Grow More Food campaigns and package schemes, the Government had miserably failed to achieve self-sufficiency in this vital sector. I am told that our Food Minister is now busy with his "Eat more Iddlies" campaign. We will be only too glad to comply with his request. But, let him take care that the supply is adequate to meet the demand of the growing numbers.

I pass on to another acute problem which, if it is not attended to in time, may lead to an increase in the number of beggars. I mean the crisis that is facing the handloom industry. Weaving is an honourable trade and occupies a place next only to agriculture. Let me humbly submit in this House that the Government can afford to be perpetually in search of markets for the export of handloom

[Shri S. Kandppan]

fabrics, whereas the poor weavers cannot afford to be in perpetual starvation. The search for foreign markets, ever changing and un-reliable by its very nature, will not solve the problem. The handloom industry is on the brink of a very grave crisis. The Government will do well to concede the demand of the weavers to reserve certain varieties of cloth exclusively for handloom. I feel it is high time unless something enduring is done to sustain the industry against the unequal competition from the mills, tens of thousands of weavers may have to face an even worse fate than that of the goldsmiths.

As regards the Gold Control policy of the Government, I really feel sorry that this Government, in its jealousy for the rich metal which it did not possess much, debased the metal itself. Instead, they might have enforced a ceiling on holding as some honourable Members were pleased to suggest. The question of Thali is a sentimental one in the South. When Shri Ranga drew the attention of the House to this particular matter, some hon. Lady Members from Andhra Pradesh intervened, saying that they could defend themselves. None doubt their strength to defend themselves. I may tell that it is not a problem for them only. I do not know whether all will be pleased with this 14 ct. gold. I have seen ornaments made of 14 ct. gold. Let me remind this House and our Finance Minister the dictum that all that glitters is not gold.

In the statement laid on the Table by the Finance Minister on the 20th of this month, he says, "not everybody who calls himself a goldsmith is dependent wholly on the making of ornaments". As far as Tamilnad is concerned, I can challenge this statement and the truth is far from it. If there is ever any artisan who is completely ignorant of any other trade except the one in which he is engaged, it is the goldsmith. It is also curious that our Finance Minister has taken so much pains to prove the smallness of their

number. Granting that their number is small, does the Minister mean to say that they can be allowed to rot for the sins of the rich and that of the smugglers? His life is as worthy as that of our Finance Minister's and let me, with your permission, quote a few lines from the immortal Shakespeare:

"The poor beetle that we tread upon

In corporeal sufferance feels a pang as great

As when a giant dies."

No less a person than Shri Sri Prakasa, former Governor of Madras and then of Bombay, in a Republic Day article in the *Indian Express* has got the following to say:

"I do not pretend to understand much economics either of gold ornaments or of paper currency. But, like many others, I have also wondered how the accumulation of gold in Government coffers can fight the war."

And then he asks:

"If it is to lie fallow in the vaults of banks treasuries, it seems that it can fight the war from there as well as it could have done from the necks and hands of our womenfolk."

I am in complete agreement with these words.

As for his aim at social reform, I can only say that it is ill-timed. I insist with all the emphasis I can command that something must be done immediately for the sake of goldsmiths as well as for the sake of gold.

This problem of employment leads me to that of population. While inaugurating the seventh International Congress on Diseases of the Chest at New Delhi on Wednesday last, our Prime Minister is reported to have expressed concern over this, "the most elusive and serious internal problem

in the country today'. He also seems to have stated that 'We have to continually strive to find ways and means to check this menace'. Our Tamilnad Government which is always liked for its good behaviour and obedience, by the Centre, worked itself to its full capacity and checked the population growth considerably. But with what result? Do you think that it goes unrewarded? I regret to state that Tamilnad is going to lose three seats in the Lok Sabha if an election comes. My State could have expected anything but this. I can only wish that our Government in Madras learn some wisdom and arrange their affairs prudently with the Centre.

Before concluding, I would like to draw the attention of the House to a very, very important matter. We feel proud about the slogan that we have given to the world, namely peaceful coexistence. I would like to know from my generous-hearted Hindi-speaking friends who are almost scattering their good-will, if I may say so, for the good of mankind, whether they consider that their own countrymen in the South are at a loss to co-exist peacefully without a compromise on their freedom of expression. It may take days to exhaust all that I want to say on the language problem. I shall confine myself to one or two observations. When I took my affirmation in Tamil before you, Sir, in the august body of this House, I was verily elated and felt proud of my freedom, but when the House proceeded with its business, to my utter dismay, I found myself all of a sudden converted into the position of a deaf and in no way better than a deaf while so many Hindi-speaking friends, advantageously placed by a mere accident of their birth, were indulging in the luxury of speaking in their mother-tongue. How painful, wounding and even humiliating it was to a self-respecting man to be dubbed as an inferior when he was deluding himself that he would partake in all the deliberations of the House like any other sitting along with him.

This country is said to be the seventh largest in the world. Is it too much to ask to provide for a system of simultaneous translation? In 1958, the Government of Madras has drawn the attention of the Central Government to this important matter. In its memorandum on Official Language, at page 12, in paragraph 41, we find the following sentence, which I would quote with your permission:

"While endorsing these views as far as they go, the Government of Madras would invite attention to their suggestion that consideration should be given to the proposal that a system of simultaneous translation should be instituted in the Parliament."

The man who was mainly responsible for this move now occupies a position in the Centre. I wish him well. But it is mortifying for us that he seems to have forgotten his earlier petition. Perhaps, he is busy learning Hindi to please his Hindi-speaking friends or bosses, I know not what.

As long ago as 1952, a well-known scholar of international repute, Dr. A. L. Mudaliar of Tamilnad suggested in a letter to the then Speaker, Shri Mavalankar that a system for simultaneous translation may be installed in the Parliament. In the reply he received, some difficulties in executing his suggestion were pointed out, the main difficulty being that it would retard the development of Hindi. If such is still the motive of the Government, I may bluntly tell them that all their talk about parliamentary democracy is nothing but a myth of megalomaniacs. I am afraid that this Government in its intoxication with the love of Hindi is ignoring the elementary claims of different nationalities.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** The hon. Member should conclude now.

**Shri S. Kandappan:** May I have five minutes more?

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** He should try to conclude now. Still, we have a large number of speakers who are wanting to speak.

**Shri S. Kandappan:** We have got still 20 minutes left for our party, and nobody from our party has spoken so far.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** The hon. Member has already taken 15 minutes. He should try to conclude now.

**Shri S. Kandappan:** There cannot be a more dangerous slogan than 'All in Hindi' or 'All for Hindi'. Slogans can work havoc when they are put forward without adequate consideration of all their implications. Only the other day I happened to look at a Fiat car with its number-plate in Hindi. There is one Khadi Gramodyog Bhavan at 24, Regal Buildings, where a few days ago, I purchased a blanket. I could not make out anything from the cash bill because everything including the numbers had been written in Hindi. The fanatic way with which the spread of Hindi is envisaged is really amazing. My friends are repeatedly telling me to learn Hindi. It is for me to decide. In case they force, as in fact they are doing at present, my answer is that I hate it. To declare Hindi as the national language simply on the numerical strength of its speakers is like declaring the black cock or the crow instead of the peacock as our national bird.

**Shri Elayaperumal (Tirukoilurse):** I rise to support the motion moved by my hon. friend. It is a privilege for me to associate myself with this motion for thanking the President for his gracious Address.

The President's Address contains many vital things. Though it is short, the contents are great. This country owes a deep debt of gratitude to our national leaders for their part in our struggle for Independence, and, thereafter, economic regeneration. They

have spent long years of hardships and suffering. But my hon. friends in the Opposition Benches, without realising the past and the present history are criticising our Government and their policy.

The policy of non-alignment followed by our Government has been a great success. We have completed two great Five Year Plans, and now we are in the middle of the Third Five Year Plan. We have constructed dams, and we have produced power, and we have also made available to our farmers better seeds and fertilisers. But I do not think that we have achieved so much of increase in food production. What is the reason? There is something wrong with our policy in regard to agriculture. Unless we are able to fix a remunerative fair price for the agricultural produce, I do not think that the agriculturists will take interest in producing more. The price of foodgrains and other things is increasing day by day. I request Government that the price level should be maintained.

Now, I want to say something about agricultural labour. Agricultural labourers are suffering very much. The Minimum Wages Act was passed in the year 1948, and the time-limit was also extended three times for bringing it into force, but it has not been implemented in all the States.

We have heard so many speeches during the last four days, and those speeches contained charges against Government. But it is true that the Members spoke from different angles. When the country is in crisis, I cannot understand why our Communist friends are making a huge cry against the UK and USA Governments instead of appreciating their timely help to India. I am reminded on this occasion of what our Prime Minister has often remarked, namely that there are various kinds of superstitions in the country. I believe that superstitions in religion are somewhat less dangerous compared to the superstitions that we are practising in politics and

economics. I am afraid that unless the Communist Party of India is able to free itself from these kinds of superstitions it will lead the masses from bad to worse. I would request the hon. Members from the Communist Benches not to create any confusion among the labourers.

Now, I want to say something about the DMK. My hon. friend Shri S. Kandappan has spoken just now. I do admit, that he can criticise the policy as he has done. But I am sorry to inform the House that my hon. friends from the DMK want to go back and secede. I am not prepared for that, and the people of the south will not accept that. The DMK themselves have no faith at all in regard to their policy. If I go into their old history and the new policy, it will create a bad atmosphere. But I will say this. First, they called their movement the "Self-respect Movement". Then they changed it into 'Dravida Kazhagam'. After their leader's marriage, they came out from Dravida Kazhagam and formed an association called 'Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam'. They have no faith in God. Now my hon. friend is pleading for 'thali'.

**Shri S. Kandappan:** I quoted from Valluvar. It is not my own.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** You had your say.

**Shri Elayaperumal:** They have no faith in religion. They have no faith in God. They have no faith in 'thali' also.

**Shri S. Kandappan:** I quoted from the Poet.

**Shri Elayaperumal:** They have condemned not only our national leaders of the north, but also religion and God. Now they have joined hands with Shri Rajagopalachari, who has faith in God, and the Swatantra Party which is not in favour of the labouring classes. They have no affinity with the poor people; they have no sym-

pathy for the downtrodden. They are creating confusion amongst the youngsters in the backward classes, especially the Scheduled Castes, with the help of some cinema stars in Madras State. I request Government to take note of this and deal with the situation.

There is a verse in Tirukural whose author my DMK friends very much love:

*"Palkuzhuvum pazh seyyum  
utpakaiyum vendalaikkum kolku-  
vumbum sera illadu Nadu".*

It was stated by the great saint, Tamil poet: 'What is a true nation? A true nation should not have too many small 'or petty groups consisting of greedy and unscrupulous people who create internal trouble which jeopardises the smooth running of the Government'.

I wish to say something about the language policy. We have accepted Hindi as our national language. No one in this country should deny it. People in the south are taking keen interest in studying Hindi. But I request hon. Members, and the House and people outside not to press it. If we want to help the nation or the nation's language, I request them not to press it by force. If you press this, it will create and bring about a bad result. I make a plea to hon. Members, especially the Hindi-speaking Members: If you want to unite India, it is better to allow English as an associate language after 1965 for government purposes. Otherwise, it will give room to the anti-social elements in the south to carry on their activities.

I welcome the gold control policy. At the same time, I request Government to put a ceiling on individual gold holdings. Lakhs of goldsmiths are suffering due to this new policy. I request Government to provide alternative jobs to them so that they can earn their daily bread.

I want to say something about the crores of the down-trodden people.

[Shri Elayaperumal]

We are more than six crores in India. We believe in Hinduism. But unfortunately, these people are neglected not only by the illiterate masses but also by the educated, and even politicians. The Father of the Nation, Mahatma Gandhi, was a unique person. We continue to pay homage to him. He considered it as a national problem and was working until his death for the cause of the down-trodden. Nowadays, the political leaders are saying that it is a communal problem. No one is prepared to bring it before this House, when there are not even equal opportunities or equal rights in society.

What would be the fate of these six crores of down-trodden people? Most of them are agricultural labourers. They are semi-starved and half-naked. They get inferior foodgrains for their daily food. According to the Constitution, Untouchability is abolished. But it exists everywhere even today. The Minimum Wages Act was passed in 1948. But it was not implemented. I request Government to instruct all States to implement it. The Untouchability (Offences) Bill was passed by the House, but the executive authority is not implementing it well.

I would ask the Government only two or three questions. How many Scheduled Caste people are appointed in the foreign service or in Embassy service? How many educated Scheduled Castes have been given posts in the foreign service? Have all the Ministries and heads of Departments filled up their quota reserved for Scheduled Castes in appointments from 1947 to 1962? People may think these are silly questions. They may be silly questions, but these are things which have not been implemented by us from 1947 to 1962. I request Government to take all these things into consideration and do the needful for these unfortunate people.

With these words, I support the Motion.

**Shri L. N. Bhanja Deo** (Keonjhar):  
Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I thank the President for his excellent Address in which in very few words he conveyed the sentiments of the entire country. The President has rightly spoken of the need for the unity of the nation in this hour of our trial. It appears from the debate, to which I have listened all these days, that the unity of purpose which was witnessed throughout the length and breadth of the country after the Chinese invasion is gradually vanishing, and some of us have again started thinking in terms of parties and other sectional interests. This is a very undesirable development which should be discouraged by all those who have love of the country above all other things.

The sense of national unity must be strengthened because the Chinese threat is not yet over. As a matter of fact, chances of breaking of the cease-fire are always there. The Chinese have agreed to the Colombo proposals only in principle. We do not know what are actually are their reactions to the details of these proposals. I would like to say that this period of respite should be utilised for strengthening our defences so that even if the Chinese break the cease-fire suddenly, we may not again be caught unprepared. Naturally, for doing all this there is nothing so essential as national unity and the consciousness of common objectives to defend our beloved motherland and to repeal any attack on our sacred soil. It is only in this broader context that I appeal to all the hon. Members of the House not to develop any sense of complacency, because the Chinese may betray us again any day. We should profit from our past mistakes.

In this context, I would like to refer to history. Whenever India was disunited, the opportunity was taken by foreign invaders to come into our country. A similar thing happened in the times of Chandra-

gupta Maurya, but due to the sagacity of his great adviser, Kautilya, he managed to bring Mudra-Rakshasa to his fold, and with a united India we could drive out the Greek aggressors. When Jayachandra, in his feud with Prithvi Raj, invited the Pathans to come to India, Vishakhadutta tried to warn the country of the dangers by writing the drama Mudra-Rakshasa, but unfortunately heed was not paid to it and we had to pay the price. So, I think we have enough lessons in history, and in that context it is national unity that is of the utmost importance in this hour of our crisis.

I say all this because I am inclined to think that the Chinese will not rest until they have achieved their objective, that is taking over the rich oil fields in Assam, over which they have an eye. We know how short of petrol China is. It is also not outside the mark to say that the last two great world wars were fought mainly for oil resources. Kaiser, and his successor Hitler, tried their utmost to get into the Middle East, but they failed.

It is quite common knowledge that the Chinese have no oil resources, and they depend on the Soviet Union for oil supplies. Some people even say that the Chinese were forced to declare a unilateral cease-fire because the Soviet Union refused to supply oil to them if they persisted in their aggressive activities against India. I cannot say how far this belief is well-founded, but this much is certain that the Chinese have an eye on Assam oil, and as such it is very essential that we be vigilant about defending this vulnerable part of our country.

We should learn from our past experience as to how peculiar and unconventional the Chinese are in their methods of war, and how treacherous they can be to achieve their objectives. So, the President has rightly summed up when he said:

“The issue of the Chinese aggression has been and is today the

overriding issue before us, and everything else has to be considered in that context.’

Now, I would like to make a few observations about the Colombo proposals. As I have stated before, they are not very clear in implication. They are merely a means to an end, that is, the vacation of the aggression from our land.

In this connection, I would like to say something about non-alignment and our defence. The Chinese invasion has been very useful to India in one way. It has shown us who our real friends are, on whom we can depend for assistance in our peril. The great Western Powers and the Commonwealth countries that come to our rescue really deserve our sincerest thanks. While the Soviet Union tried to dissuade China from persisting in its mad adventure, the Western Powers gave us military equipment which was most urgently needed to maintain our supply line in Ladakh and NEFA, which could not be reached except by big transport planes. We should make the best use of the goodwill that the Western Powers and the Commonwealth countries have for us as a result of the Chinese invasion, and do whatever we can to make our defences fool-proof against any possible aggressor. Fortunately we are a non-aligned country and so we are quite justified in getting help from the Western Powers as from the Soviet Union. Since the Soviet Union would find it difficult to arm us against their comrades with the same ideology, we should not embarrass them by depending too much on the so-called Sino-Soviet rift. This rift is only a domestic quarrel, and a news item in the *Times of India* of Tuesday quoting from the *Pravda* is a pointer in this direction. I do not want to take the time of the House by quoting it *in toto*, but it is certainly alarming.

Now, a few words about Pakistan. The fourth round of talks between

[Shri Elayaperumal]

India and Pakistan are soon to be held in Calcutta, and I certainly wish it all success. At the same time, I have my apprehensions that the talks may fail. The reason is not that we are not considerate to Pakistan, but because Pakistan has never followed a positive policy in foreign affairs. Its one aim is to humiliate India in any way it can. That is why she is now wooing China, so that we may be blackmailed. Pakistan is also trying to blackmail the United States and is even putting pressure on them not to give us arms aid. But I feel President Kennedy knows global strategy better and so will not be misguided.

The struggle against Chinese expansionism is not an isolated problem to be dealt with by India alone. It is a world problem, and a threat to all those who believe in the good things of life. So, we should not feel any sense of inferiority in our making use of the US arms for defending ourselves against China, nor should the United States feel any sense of superiority that they are helping us. We are fighting for the cause of the freedom of the world, as the Allies did during the last World War.

So, whether Pakistan comes to terms with us or not, it is not our headache alone. It is equally a matter of concern to those who have encouraged it by too much of spoon-feeding in the past.

There are some who think that if we do not come to terms with Pakistan, it may attack us and it would be difficult for us to face two enemies at the same time. But to them I would say that even if you give the entire green valley of Kashmir to Pakistan on a platter, it would not give us any assurance that it would not attack India if it suits its interests. The whole history of the creation of Pakistan is a sad history of the pursuance of a negative policy, and the same tradition still persists so far as the leaders of Pakistan are concerned. They are to-

day playing the role played by Italy when France was attacked by Hitler. The leading article in the *Statesman* of the 26th instant on Mr. Bhutto's statement at Dum Dum Airport on his way to Peking is a pointer to the way the wind is blowing.

Now about the emergency and development. The President has rightly observed, and so also our sagacious Prime Minister, that our industrial base should be enlarged and the Third Plan should be so refashioned that we can develop our defence potentialities.

As the time at my disposal is short, I would end by quoting how the President has concluded his speech with the most appropriate words:

*"Uttisthata jagrate prapya—varan nibodhata"*

These are the words of a great saint who was not content with the spiritual development alone but also that of the material growth of the country so that there would be no poverty and squalor in the country which is our goal in a socialistic pattern of society to which we are committed. This also applies equally to the vacation of aggression from our country. This is most apt when we are celebrating the birth centenary of this great son of India.

**Shri Muhammad Ismail (Manjeri):** Mr. Deputy Speaker, while sincerely joining in the vote of thanks that is being proposed to the President for his kind Address to the joint session of the two Houses, I regret that the Address makes no reference or shows no concern about a matter that we see growing in the country—I mean the imbalance in the economic development of the country under the Five Year Plans. I do not say the Government are following deliberately a policy to that effect but the policy they are following makes certain regions or certain parts of the country which are already rich, richer while allowing certain other parts to remain poor or become poorer still. You can see the

difference or disparity between one part of the country and another part. This is a matter that concerns the real integration of our country. There is emotional integration as we have seen during this Emergency and wherever there is an opportunity that shows itself up in the fullest measure. We have all been witnesses to the fact that this emotional integration is a real and live factor in the country but now this emotional integration alone cannot be sustained; it has to be maintained by economic integration. I regret that this kind of integration is not being deliberately followed by those who are in charge of making and implementing the Plans. We do not find that this principle of economic balance necessary for the integration of the country, for strengthening the integration of the country is not being kept in view by those who formulate the Plans or execute them.

Members belonging to all Parties, whether to the Congress or to the Opposition parties, have pointed out in this House this disparity in the economic development between one part of the country and another to a very large extent. Therefore, any further economic development of that State can only depend upon industrialisation of the country. But the industrialisation so far in Kerala has not been much of a help. In place of a thousand crores of rupees which this report envisages as being indispensable for the proper development of Kerala, the first two Plans gave only about Rs. 79 lakhs worth of industries to Kerala in the public sector. Only one DDT factory was established during the first two Plans and the amount of investment involved is Rs. 79 lakhs. Of course, during the present third Plan period an investment of Rs. 45 crores is being promised to the State but even this does not come near the amount that is required, according to the techno-economic survey. Kerala which I have the honour to represent is, I may say, the greatest sufferer in this respect. It is a rich in certain

classes of agricultural resources. She has to a large extent exploited those resources but yet we find that she is in no way benefited by the economic development that is going on in the country. It has got the densest population in the country. It has got the highest percentage of unemployment and under-employment, though in the matter of literacy it stands the highest in the whole country.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Hon. Member speak louder; he is not audible.

**Shri Muhammad Ismail:** Educated unemployment is the most acute in that problem State.

There has recently been a techno-economic survey of that State by the National Council of Applied Economic Research. That report has been published a few days ago and it has got certain very pertinent things to say about the position of Kerala. It points out the disparity between Kerala and the other States and gives facts and figures so that there could be no doubt about the great disparity that exists.

The report points out that if Kerala has to achieve the *per capita* income of Rs. 410 which comes near the anticipated target of *per capita* income for all India by 1971, an amount of Rs. 1,000 crores has to be invested in the development of Kerala during the present decade, that is, from 1960 to 1970. The present income of Kerala at 1956 prices is only Rs. 240, *per capita*. So, this is one main recommendation of the survey which I referred to. It also points out that the economic development for achieving this target can be only in the industrial field because Kerala, topographically and in the nature of land, suffers from certain handicaps. There are not many wide or large plains. Yet, she abounds in certain agricultural resources and those resources have already been exploited. According to that report, at least a hundred crores of rupees per annum should have been spent on Kerala from 1960 onwards.

[Shri Muhammad Ismail]

Even the much-improved figure so far promised for the Third Five Year Plan period comes only to Rs. 45 crores. I am mentioning all this because Kerala has really got a case and can really feel aggrieved about the way in which she has been treated in the matter of economic development. This must be rectified during the Third Five Year Plan period and also during the Fourth Five Year Plan period. The Techno-Economic Survey puts Rs. 400 crores as the amount that is required during the Third Five Year Plan and about Rs. 600 crores during the Fourth Plan period. Kerala has to come up anywhere near the anticipated level of all-India *per capita* income of 1970—I do not say of all-India level, because it is too much more to be reached—at least Rs. 400 crores plus Rs. 600 crores have to be found for the public sector in Kerala.

The disparity between one State and another is really a very regrettable thing. If India was following a policy of *laissez faire* economic freedom, then we may justify the haphazard development of the country,—one part of the country having advantage over another part of the country, but now, we are following a planned economy, and there is no justification for such a disparity to exist in the country under such an economy in the country. This, I think, is not a matter which could be ignored any further, because it is not only the life of the people of the State that is being affected but it will affect the integration of the whole country. The affected would feel that they being as good citizens as those in any other part of the country, are also entitled to the same standard of living as is being enjoyed by those in other parts of the country.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** The hon. Member's time is up.

**Shri Muhammad Ismail:** So soon? Now, with regard to the Chinese question, there is a misunderstanding and confusion in the minds of some people. Some people feel that when

the Opposition speak of non-alignment and criticise the manner in which that policy of non-alignment is being carried out, they are against it. It is not so. What the bulk of the Opposition want is, or what the bulk of the Opposition opinion is, the mobilisation of all the available resources for strengthening the defence of the country. That is all they want. They are not against non-alignment. But what they want is, we must not only mobilise all the available resources in the country but we must also get hold of the resources that are available to us from abroad. Simply because one country is hesitating or is not keen or does not want really to help us, that is no reason why we should not get the help that is being proffered by other nations and countries of the world. This is what is in the minds of, and what is meant by, the bulk of the Opposition parties. We want the help of all the countries, but if one country, say Russia, desists from helping us, there is no reason why we should forgo the help of the other countries. That is the contention of the Opposition. Leave alone that party or that bloc or that country which does not realise that the danger we are facing in the shape of Chinese aggression is really a danger to the world. We must realise it and we must go and get the assistance from other countries. This will really set the whole world together in one sense. Apart from securing the liquidation of the Chinese aggression, it will help the whole world in another way. It will in a way be an effective cure for the cold war, for the bloc conflict in the world. When one bloc sees that it is the other bloc that is helping us in this important matter, that bloc would not sit quiet. It will also come in, to our aid.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** The hon. Member must conclude now.

**Shri Muhammad Ismail:** By following our non-alignment policy in this manner we shall be helping not only

ourselves but also the world. Can I not have one minute more?

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** No; your time is up. He can take other occasions.

**Shri Muhammad Ismail:** I have got one or two important things to say—about our relations with our neighbours like Pakistan, and one or two other things which are of importance.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Shri Shiv Charan Gupta.

**Shri Shiv Charan Gupta** (Delhi Sadar): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I rise to support the motion of thanks moved by my hon. friend and colleague, Shri Pandey for the inspiring and illuminating address of our respected President. The President's Address gave broadly the achievements and main events of the last year and programme of action of the coming year. This is not the occasion to expect an account of detailed functioning of the Government at this stage, which would of course be available during the discussion on the budget. I think some of my hon. friends like Shri Maurya were misled to offer criticism on this account.

Some Members of the Opposition appear to have confusion in their minds. Out of their anxiety to have a dig on the Government, they have forgotten the circumstances under which the emergency was declared last October. On the one hand, they complain that the Government has created an atmosphere of complacency by accepting the Colombo proposals; on the other hand, some of them demand that the emergency be ended. They want to breathe hot and cold in the same breath. It is not correct that the emergency is on paper as was stated by one of the hon. Members—Shri Dwivedy—nor it is correct that there is no effect of emergency in New Delhi as was alleged by an hon. Member, perhaps Shri Yudhvir Singh. The country stood as one man against Chinese aggression. The people have

so far donated about Rs. 46 crores and more than one lakh tolas of gold to the National Defence Fund. Tens of thousands of workers have worked round the clock in ordnance factories, and in the railways and several other activities of the Government have been speeded up to strengthen the defence effort. Is it not on the call of New Delhi? Does it not show that New Delhi is fully seized of the situation and is taking all possible steps to promote the defence effort?

Some of the hon. Members forget that by their loose utterances they try to run down the efforts of the people, demoralise them and try to weaken the defence effort. In the last five months, the Government had to reorient, reorganise and strengthen the defence and administrative set-up to shoulder the new responsibilities. In the emergency, new needs arose and the Government has taken steps to fulfil them. The requirement of medical and technical personnel for the defence, increased defence production, strengthening of railways, transportation and communication systems of the country, introduction of compulsory NCC training scheme in the universities, expansion of activities of home guards, national rifles and national discipline schemes and many other schemes were attended to by the Government promptly. The attitude of the Government has been very clearly stated in paragraph 9 of the President's Address, which states:

“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.”

It is not understood in what more unequivocal terms the President could summarise the situation which the country is facing.

[Shri Shiv Charan Gupta]

Some of my friends, particularly of the communist party, have alleged that the emergency has been misused. Sir, is it misuse to arrest the pro-Chinese communists in the country? Is it misuse to arrest a few so-called ultra-patriots who, in the name of nationalism and patriotism, tried to dig the roots of the country? Is it misuse to arrest some anti-social elements who indulged in profiteering? If it is misuse, it is commendable and the Government should continue to use these powers in the interest of the defence of the country. The emergency has touched every man and woman in this country. They are now engaged in real work. The emergency powers have been used to the minimum only where necessary.

14 hrs.

There is always room for some mistake in the execution and in detailed functioning. In a democratic life, room for deference of opinion is there. Some of the friends may not agree with the policies of the Government. They are at liberty to criticise the Government and to propagate their view-point, but there should be no difference of opinion as far as the strengthening of defence is concerned. Therefore, under the present circumstances, when we accept this basic requirement of the situation, all our criticism, all our thinking and all our actions should be directed towards strengthening the defence. We should create no confusion on this account and take no steps to demoralise the people. The experience of the last few months has, however, left a different impression. That is, most of the time opposition parties were engaged in making capital out of the situation and the question of defence did not get paramount importance in their speeches and actions. Some of the friends, for reasons better known to them, try to blur or disturb the image of Shri Jawaharlal Nehru in the eyes of the people. There should be no misunderstanding

about the attitude of the Congressmen about this matter. Panditji is not merely an individual. He is the symbol of certain ideals. He is the symbol of the Nation. He is the symbol of democratic socialistic order of society. The policy of peace and non-alignment has withstood rough weather many a time. He represents the urges and aspirations of the people of the country. The country is not going to put up with any nonsense about him from whatever quarter it comes, and the Congressmen will stand as one man to defend his ideals, policies and programmes, on which alone depends the future of this country.

The country has basically to depend upon its own strength, upon its own sacrifice and upon its own will to survive. Others can only help and assist. We should be always thankful to all the countries who help us in our economic development or in our defence effort.

While we consider this problem, there is the basic requirement in the country, namely, whatever provisions are made or whatever physical targets are decided upon, they should be achieved within the time prescribed. In the last two Plans, there has been some thinking on this account, but I am afraid there has been no concerted effort on this score. It is stated that the Plan has to be implemented at many levels—national, State, district, block and village. At each level, in relation to the tasks assigned, there has to be co-operation between different agencies and an understanding of the purpose of the Plan and the means through which they are to be secured. Further, it is stated that for the execution of any programme or project, the primary need is to fix specific responsibility on the agency concerned and, within it, on particular individuals. Within defined limits, each individual should be given full responsibility and, with it, the necessary measure of support and trust. If he fails in the dis-

charge of his responsibility, he should be replaced. But, so long as he holds the office with which he is entrusted, he should accept all its obligations, and, equally he should be placed in a position effectively to discharge them. It is further stated that a necessary condition of placing specific responsibility and providing the means for fulfilling it is that success or failure should be judged by the test of results. This is possible only if in the planning stage care is taken to specify the tasks to be undertaken, the means to be employed, the obligations of the various agencies or individuals concerned and the time sequence in which different operations must flow and dovetail into one another.

While I mention this, I wish to point out that, particularly at this critical juncture, when the Chinese threat is there, it is all the more necessary that from top to bottom in every sphere of the administration, there should be fixation of responsibility and all the targets should be achieved. If we do not do it, all our efforts are likely to be hampered and it might prove to be a very great risk.

I was surprised to hear my friend, Shri Gopalan, saying that he did not approve of the 14 carat gold content provision in Gold Control Order. Some of my other friends also objected to this. But is it not a fact that this gold control order is a revolutionary step in the right direction in the country? Is it not a fact that by this order, a radical change is proposed to be undertaken in the thinking of the country as a whole? If that is so, then other details regarding unemployment of goldsmiths, etc. should be looked into. I hope Government will take all possible steps to ensure means of livelihood for them. But at present, an atmosphere is being created in the country that the gold control order is not a correct order. A situation is being created in which attempts are being made to stultify the various provisions as laid down in this order. This is a very incorrect attitude. If we continue like

this, then many of our revolutionary steps which are proposed to be taken to lead the nation to progress and prosperity will not be successful. Therefore, while we discuss these vital matters, we should understand what are the basic objects behind them and we should try to promote them, rather than stand in their way.

At present, we have to look at everything from the point of view of the defence of our country. At present the ruling clique of the Chinese is our enemy. There is one more enemy, the internal enemy, who is equally important and whom we have to face, namely, the enemy agents, the saboteurs, smugglers, profiteers, hoarders and corrupt officials. We should take strong action against them and should plug all loopholes which enable them to carry on their nefarious activities. It is necessary to put down these elements also in the country to face the external enemy.

In conclusion, I would say, the mind of the Government is sound, the heart of the people is strong and the morale of the jawans is high. The country has full confidence in the leadership of Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, in his ideals of democratic socialistic order and in the policy of peace and non-alignment. Our cause is just, our cause is right. Let us march ahead resolutely. Victory will be ours.

श्री शशिरंजन (पपरी): अपने मित्र पाण्डेय जी द्वारा प्रेषित प्रस्ताव का मैं भी पूर्णतया समर्थन करने के लिये खड़ा हुआ हूँ। राष्ट्रपति जी के लिए यह सम्भव नहीं था कि वह विस्तारपूर्वक सब कार्यों का व्यौरा सदन के सामने प्रस्तुत करते लेकिन उन्होंने सूत्र रूप में सब मसलों पर सरकार की जितनी गतिविधियाँ हैं, उन पर पूरा पूरा प्रकाश डाला है।

श्रीमन्, मेरी जानकारी में हमारे राष्ट्रपति प्रजातांत्रिक देशों के विरले राष्ट्रपति होंगे जो देश की किसी राजनीतिक पार्टी से इतना

## [श्री शशिरंजन]

कुछ सम्बन्धित न रहने पर भी राष्ट्रपति के पद पर सुशोभित हुए हों। इस से यह सिद्ध होता है कि राष्ट्रपति जी का एक अपना व्यक्तित्व है और अपनी एक प्रतिभा है। इसके अलावा हमारे राष्ट्रपति जी में एक और विशेषता है। वह यह है कि तब इनकी प्रसिद्धि का, तब इनकी ख्याति का अभ्युदय हुआ था जब ये काशी विश्वविद्यालय के उपकुलपति के रूप में महर्षि महामना मदन मोहन मालवीय जो के उत्तराधिकारी के रूप में चमके थे। आज जब इनकी ख्याति शिखर पर है तो ये राजर्षि डा० राजेन्द्र प्रसाद के उत्तराधिकारी के रूप में विराजमान हैं। मैं . . .

**श्री यशपाल सिंह (कैराना) :** ब्रह्मर्षि के रूप में हैं।

**श्री शशिरंजन :** जी हां, सुनिये तो।

मालवीय जी और राजेन्द्र प्रसाद जी के समकालीन होते हुए भी इन से हमें दो तरह की प्रेरणायें मिलती हैं। इनका व्यक्तित्व एक तो आध्यात्म की ओर संकेत करता है और दूसरे हमको अपने सामाजिक जीवन, समाज के प्रति और विश्व के प्रति हमारा क्या कर्त्तव्य है, उसकी ओर संकेत करता है। आज हम इस परिस्थिति में हैं कि जब हमें अपने इन पक्षों की ओर, अपने आध्यात्मिक गुणों की ओर तथा अपने मानवीय आदर्शों की ओर अग्रसर होते हुए इस विकास के क्रम को त्वरित करना है। हमारी पार्टी के अन्य मित्रों ने सरकार के तथा राष्ट्रपति जी के भाषण में व्यक्त कार्यों और कार्य-प्रणालियों के ऊपर प्रकाश डाला है। अतः मैं कुछ मूल विषयों पर आपका ध्यान केन्द्रित करना चाहता हूँ।

आज हमारे देश का एक लक्ष्य होते हुए भी, उसकी प्राप्ति के अनेक सैद्धांतिक विरोधात्मक विचार प्रस्तुत किए जाते हैं जिन

की वजह से हम राष्ट्रीयता की दृष्टि से, सुदृढ़ और सुसंगठित नहीं हो पा रहे हैं। कुछ हिंसा और अहिंसा की भी बात की जाती है। मन वचन और कर्म से किसी प्राणी को कष्ट पहुंचाने का नाम हिंसा है। हिंसा में कष्ट पहुंचाने की प्रवृत्ति या उसकी चेष्टा प्रधान रहती है।

**श्री रामेश्वरानन्द :** चाहे बावला कुत्ता ही हो ?

**श्री शशिरंजन :** ज़रा सुनिये तो। घबराइये नहीं।

हमारी कोई भी प्रवृत्ति किसी को कष्ट पहुंचाने की नहीं है। बल्कि हमारा तो उद्देश्य यह है कि मानवता की प्रतिष्ठा की जाए, मानव मूल्यों को अघिष्ठित किया जाए। जो आततायी हैं, अनधिकारी हैं, मानव स्वतंत्रता का अपहरण करने वाले हैं उनका हमें प्रतिकार करना है चाहे वह शास्त्र से हो या शस्त्र से। हमने शास्त्र का आश्रय लिया, पत्राचार किए, सबूत पेश किए और परम्परा और इस्तेमाल का आश्रय लिया पर काम-याब नहीं मिली। अब हम शस्त्र का आश्रय भी लेंगे और

हतो वा प्राप्स्यसि स्वर्गं जित्वा वा  
मोक्षसे महीम्।

के आश्रय पर लड़ेंगे। अतः हम जो भी इस देश की सीमा पर कर रहे हैं और जो करने का विचार है वह अहिंसा ही है और होगा। हमारी प्रवृत्ति मारने की नहीं है बल्कि न्याय और धर्म की प्रतिष्ठा की है। जो भी इस अहिंसा की लड़ाई में किसी न किसी रूप में काम आएगा उसे अग्रदूत की संज्ञा मिलेगी और जो विरोधात्मक विचार प्रस्तुत करेगा उसे मृत्यु-दूत की संज्ञा मिलेगी न कि अग्रदूत की।

शान्ति के बारे में बहुत सी बातें की जाती हैं। शान्ति एक आपेक्षित तत्व है, रेलेटिव

फिनोमिनन है इसका प्रादुर्भाव मनुष्य में या समाज में जो दो विरोधी शक्तियाँ हैं, उन के हो रहे संघर्ष से हुआ है। मनुष्य में या समाज में जिसे हम कह सकते हैं देवासुर संग्राम वह चलता रहता है। जब हमारे अन्दर की देव-शक्तियों की विजय होती है तब हम कह सकते हैं कि सात्विकी शान्ति की स्थापना हुई है और जब मनुष्य के अन्दर या समाज के अन्दर आसुरी शक्तियों की विजय होती है तब तामसिक शान्ति की प्रतिष्ठा होती है। मानवता की विजय के बाद जो परिणाम होता है, जिस शक्ति की प्रतिष्ठा होती है उसका जो प्रभाव होता है उसे सात्विकी शान्ति कहा जायगा। जब आसुरी शक्ति पर मानवीय शक्ति की विजय होगी यानी सात्विकी शक्ति की प्रतिष्ठा होगी तब राष्ट्रीय तथा अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय जीवन में, एक सुन्दर तथा शालीन परिवेश की स्थापना होगी, मानवीय गुणों, तथा प्रतिभाओं का बहुमुखी विकास होगा। तब सभ्यता, साहित्य, संस्कृति और कला का सृजन होगा।

श्रीमन्, भारत ऐसी ही शान्ति, सात्विकी शान्ति की प्रतिष्ठा चाहता है। पर चीन जिस शान्ति की ओर इंगित करता है, उसका मूल आधार है अग्रहरण, जोर-जबर्दस्ती, निर्दोष की हत्या, जिसका परिणाम है तामसिक शान्ति, जिस से त्राण पाने के लिये विज्ञान और दर्शन की अपरिमित देनों के बावजूद भी विश्व के बड़े बड़े राष्ट्र परेशान हैं।

इस में एटम बम और गाइडेड मिसाइल का क्या दोष है। दोष है उन लोगों का जिन में आसुरी शक्ति प्रबल है और जो उसका गलत इस्तेमाल करना चाहते हैं। हम सात्विकी शान्ति की प्रतिष्ठा के लिए शक्ति की साधना करेंगे, मानवोचित शक्ति को, नैतिक शक्ति को, बौद्धिक शक्ति को और साथ साथ जड़ शक्ति को भी मजबूत करेंगे ताकि जब मानवीय आवेदन (ह्यूमन -

एप्रोच) विफल हो जाय, सात सितम्बर वाली रेखा अस्वीकृत हो जाए, यहां तक कि कोलम्बो प्रोजेक्ट भी अमान्य हो जायें तो हम जड़ शक्ति द्वारा सात्विकी शान्ति की प्रतिष्ठा कर सकें। इस सात्विकी शान्ति की प्रतिष्ठा में जो भी व्यक्ति या देश कंधा लगायेगा उसका स्थान सद्विप्रा में होगा। अतः सात्विकी शान्ति को कायम रखने के लिए जड़ शक्ति के साथ सारी मानवोचित शक्तियों को जागृत तथा मजबूत रखना होगा। सिर्फ शान्ति शान्ति चिल्लाने से काम नहीं चलेगा और उसी तरह से लड़ाई लड़ाई चिल्लाने से काम चलने वाला नहीं है। शान्ति के लिए या लड़ाई के लिये हमें शक्ति की साधना करनी पड़ेगी, नैतिक शक्ति, बौद्धिक शक्ति, शारीरिक शक्ति और इन सब को एकत्र कर सामूहिक रूप से आदर्श को उपलब्ध के लिए इन्हें लगाना होगा। जब हम ऐसा करेंगे तभी कामयाबी मिलेगी।

अभी तक जितनी भी बातें सदन में हुई हैं छींटाकशी की हुई हैं या उसके विरोध में हुई हैं। पर दरवाजे पर आक्रमणकारी खड़ा है, हमें पामाल करने के लिये तत्पर है, उसका मुकाबला कैसे करेंगे, इसकी कोई महत्वपूर्ण बातें यहां नहीं हुई हैं या कहिये कम हुई हैं। ये आपसी मतभेद का समय नहीं है। मैं कहूंगा कि संकट का भी समय नहीं है। हां परीक्षा का समय जरूर है। हम इस परीक्षा में कैसे कामयाब होंगे इसको विचारने की जरूरत है। छोटी छोटी बातों तथा व्यक्तिगत आक्षेपों से, खास कर ऐसे समय में सुरक्षा की अहमियत पर आघात पहुंचता है। हम लोग व्यक्तिगत रूप से और सामूहिक रूप से जब अपने को देश की सुरक्षा के लिये जिम्मेवार मानेंगे तभी कामयाबी हो सकती है। पर बिना नैतिक शक्ति और बौद्धिक शक्ति को विकसित किये, भौतिक शक्ति का हम बहुत उपयोग भी नहीं कर सकते हैं। किसी देश का इतिहास इस बात का साक्ष्य है कि जिस देश की नैतिक शक्ति जितनी तेजी से बढ़ी है वह देश उतनी

## [श्री शशिरंजन]

ही तेजी से विकास के क्षेत्र में, विज्ञान के क्षेत्र में तथा हर क्षेत्र में प्रगति कर सका है। शक्ति की करामात का नजरिया हमारे सामने है। रूस क्यूबा से वापिस होने पर प्रतिष्ठा और प्रशंसा पा रहा है, फुटबॉल पावर है।

आज इस सदन में ही नहीं सारे देश में सारे विश्व में जो नजारा देखने को मिल रहा है उससे यह जाहिर होता है कि आज आपसी मतभेद हैं हैज एंड हैव नाट्स में। देश की सुरक्षा के लिये बेचैनियों का नहीं है। टाप रैकिंग लोग भी इस सदन में जब भाषण करने षडे होते हैं तो एक नजर प्रेस गैलरी पर जरूर डाल लेते हैं।

नानअलाइनमेंट की पालिसी के बारे में भी मैं कुछ शब्द कहना चाहता हूँ। हमारी नानअलाइनमेंट की पालिसी पालिसी आफ एस्केपिज्म नहीं है, तटस्थता की पालिसी नहीं है। बल्कि हमारी पालिसी यह है कि जो भी देश सात्विकी शांति की प्रतिष्ठा के लिये काम करेगा, हम उसके साथ हैं, हमारा उसके साथ सहयोग है, और जो देश तामसिक शांति को प्रतिष्ठित करने के लिये काम करेगा, हम उसके साथ नहीं हैं, हम उससे अलग हैं। नानअलाइनमेंट के हमने यही अर्थ समझे हैं।

राष्ट्रपति जी के भाषण में जो कुछ उद्धृत है कुछ शब्द में उस संबंध में भी कहना चाहता हूँ। राष्ट्रपति जी ने शिक्षा एज ए होल पर अपने विचार प्रकट किये हैं। टेकनिकल एजुकेशन पर उन्होंने बहुत कम कहा है। मेरा ऐसा विचार है कि आज देश में जनरल एजुकेशन की जो प्रणाली है उसे वहीं तक रख कर खत्म कर देना चाहिये। और हमारी शिक्षा जो भी प्रगति भविष्य में हो वह टेकनिकल एजुकेशन की ओर हो क्योंकि टेकनिकल

एजुकेशन की हमारे देश में बहुत अधिक आवश्यकता है।

ऐग्रिकल्चर के बारे में भी मेरा यह मुझाव है कि जहाँ तक प्रोडक्शन के माने का संबंध है, उसका सीधा संबंध ऐग्रिकल्चर या खेती से है। दूसरे जो उद्योग हैं, जिनको हम प्रोडक्शन से संबंधित करते हैं, अच्छा होता कि उनको हम प्रोडक्शन न कह कर कंवर्शन कहते क्योंकि खेती ही एक ऐसी चीज है जिस में एक बीज डालने पर सहस्रों फल निकलते हैं। इस लिये ऐग्रिकल्चर पर हमें पूरा पूरा जोर देना है। सही मानों में वही ऐग्रिकल्चर है। सही मानों में ऐग्रिकल्चर ही इस देश का उद्योग है।

हमारे देश में जो एक-दो-एक नैशनल इंटेग्रेसन चाइनीज एग्रेसन के फलस्वरूप आ गया उसके ऊपर भी राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने अभिभाषण में कम ध्यान दिलाया है। एक दार्शनिक के नाते मैं ऐसी अपेक्षा करता था कि हमारे यहां नैशनल इंटेग्रेसन कैसे कायम रहेगा, इसकी ओर भी उनका कुछ मुझाव होता। मुभाषचन्द्र बोस की "नेशन" की क्या परिभाषा है उसको आपके सामने रख कर मैं अपने भाषण को समाप्त कर दूंगा। मुभाषचन्द्र बोस ने कहा था :

"मिट्टी, पत्थर, नदियों, जंगलों और पहाड़ों से देश नहीं बनते हैं धन दौलत कमा लेने या पढ़ लिख लेने और मरने से भी देश नहीं बनते हैं, हजारों लाखों के पैदा होने और मरने से भी देश नहीं बनते हैं—देश बनते हैं वीरों के शौर्य से, वीरांगनाओं के सत्य से और शहीदों के रक्त से। इस भारत देश के निर्माण में हमारे पूर्वजों ने भी इसी प्रकार अपने खून की खाद दी है, माताओं बहनों ने अपने

सिन्दूर चढ़ाये हैं, शस्त्रास्त्रों के लिये ऋषियों ने अपनी हड्डियाँ अर्पित की हैं—आइये, आजादी के इस यज्ञ में हम भी अपनी आहुति दे कर पूर्वजों की परम्परा जारी रखें ।”

इसलिये मैं बहुत विनम्रता से यह आवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि विरोधात्मक विचार प्रस्तुत न करके, विरोधात्मक वृत्तियों को जाग्रत न करके हम एक होकर, एकता से उन आतताइयों का मुकाबला करें जो हमारी सीमाओं पर, हमारे दरवाजे पर खड़े हैं । इस समस्या पर हम सब लोग मिल कर विचार करें और कोई एक रास्ता उसका निकालें ।

**श्री प्रकाशचोर शास्त्री (बिजनौर) :**

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, संसद् का यह अधिवेशन जिन ऐतिहासिक क्षणों में हो रहा है उसका उद्घाटन करते हुये माननीय राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने भाषण में चान्ची आक्रमण की कई स्थानों पर भिन्न भिन्न रूपों में चर्चा की है । स्वभावतः इन परिस्थितियों में ऐसी चर्चा का होना अपेक्षित भी है । परन्तु पिछले १५ वर्षों में अहिंसा के आदर्श में फस कर जब इस देश की युद्धप्रियता लुप्त हो गई । बूढ़ के चक्कर में हम युद्ध के नारों को भूल गये, उसी का यह परिणाम था, जिसके कारण हमारे देश को इस संकट का सामना करना पड़ा और हमारे देश को चोट लगी । परन्तु यदि सुबह का भूला शाम को घर आ जाये तो उसे भूला हुआ नहीं कहा जाता । आज हम अपने पड़ोसों राज्यों को देखें कि उन्होंने किस प्रकार से अपनी सैनिक तैयारियों की हैं । लाल चीन जिस के साथ हमारा युद्ध चल रहा है, उस के पास इस समय लगभग ३२ लाख स्थायी सेना है ।

2779 (A) LSD—5.

14:26 hrs.

[DR. SAROJINI MAHISHI in the Chair].

नगर सेना और जन सेना सहित उन के यहां सेना की संख्या लगभग ३ करोड़ है । इसी प्रकार रूस के पास ३५ लाख स्थायी सेना है तथा १॥ करोड़ के लगभग उन की नगर सेना है । इस के अतिरिक्त जिन नवयुवकों को सैनिक शिक्षण दिया गया है, उन सब को मिला कर उन के पास साढ़े पांच करोड़ है । अमरीका जिस की आवादी १८ करोड़ है, उसके पास इस समय लगभग २५ लाख स्थायी सेना है । दक्षिण कोरिया जो मुट्टुठी भर लोगों का देश है, उस ने भी ६ लाख स्थायी सेना अपने यहां रखी है । चांग पाई शेक के फार्मोसा का आबादी १ करोड़ है, लेकिन उस के पास लगभग ६ लाख स्थायी सेना है । इसी तरह से दक्षिण वियटनाम के पास १॥ लाख स्थायी सेना है, थाईलैंड के पास भी १ लाख स्थायी सेना है । लेकिन उन आंकड़ों को देखने के पश्चात् अगर हम अपने देश के आंकड़ों को देखें तो वर्तमान परिस्थितियों में लज्जा अनुभव होंगे और उस को कहते समय जिद्दा भी लड़खड़ायगी । समय की और परिस्थिति की पुकार यह है कि हम अपने देश की रक्षा के लिये अपनी सैनिक शक्ति बढ़ायें और वर्तमान सीमा की रक्षा करने के लिय अपनी सेना की संख्या इतनी अवश्य बढ़ायें कि वह कम से कम २५ या ३० लाख तक पहुंच जाय ।

दूसरी बात जो विशेष रूप से कहना चाहता हूँ वह यह है कि इस संकट काल का सामना करने के लिये हमारे यहां अनिवार्य सैनिक शिक्षा की भी अब व्यवस्था की गई है और उसके लिये बताया जा रहा है कि आगामी जुलाई से देश का कोई कालेज या विश्वविद्यालय इस प्रकार का नहीं होगा जिस में अनिवार्य सैनिक शिक्षण की व्यवस्था न हो । परन्तु मेरा अपना निवेदन है कि अनिवार्य सैनिक शिक्षण में ते गम्भीरता

### श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री

आनी चाहिये और जिस गम्भीरता से अनिवार्य सैनिक शिक्षण को क्रियान्वित किया जाना चाहिये, वह अभी तक नहीं आ पाई है। केवल उस का प्रदर्शनात्मक रूप देश में अभी चालू है। अच्छा होता कि इस अनिवार्य सैनिक शिक्षण के कार्यक्रम को शिक्षा का एक अभिन्न अंग मान लिया जाय और विद्यार्थी उसी प्रकार उस को आवश्यक मान कर उसका शिक्षण लें जिस से देश के महत्वपूर्ण और संकट के समय में उस का उपयोग हो सके।

एक और बात यह है कि जिस समय नेफा में आक्रमण चल रहा था और सेला का पतन हुआ था उस समय सुना है सेला में अपने सैनिकों ने बहुत बड़ा मोर्चा लगाया था लेकिन जब अकस्मात ही सेला का पतन हुआ तो देशवासी चकित रह गये। आखिर हमें हटना पड़ा क्योंकि चारों ओर से चीनियों ने सेला पहाड़ी को घेर लिया था, और उसी में बिप्रेडियर होशियार सिंह जैसे अपने कुशल योद्धा को हमें खोना पड़ा और न जाने कितने आधुनिक शस्त्रास्त्रों को भी हमें अपने हाथों से खोना पड़ा। उस समय ददंभरी एक ही आवाज थी जो सारे देश में सुनाई पड़ती थी, और वह यह कि हमारी मिलिटरी इंटेलिजेंस अर्थात् सैनिक गुप्तचर विभाग बहुत दुर्बल है। मैं समझता हूँ कि हमें कुछ और सावधान होकर कार्य करना चाहिये और विशेष रूप से सीमावर्ती क्षेत्रों में या पहाड़ी इलाकों में जो हमारी मिलिटरी इंटेलिजेंस है उसमें तो बहुत ही कुशल और अनुभवी व्यक्तियों को नियुक्त किया जाना चाहिये।

इस के पश्चात् मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि भ्राते दिन जो युद्धबन्दियों की सूची समाचारपत्रों में प्रकाशित होती है चीन ने आज १६०० युद्धबन्दियों की सूची भेजी, आज १॥ हजार युद्धबन्दियों की सूची भेजा।

लेकिन जब हम यह सोचते हैं कि हम ने कितने चीनी सैनिक युद्धबन्दी बनाये, तो फिर हमारा सिर लज्जा से झुक जाता है। आज चीन से जो लम्बी सूचियाँ चली आ रही हैं कि उन के पास इतने युद्धबन्दी हैं, उस के लिये हम अपने सैनिकों को ठीकी नहीं ठहरा सकते क्योंकि हमारे सैनिकों को तो जहाँ और जैसे मोर्चे पर लगाया गया, और उन को हटने का आदेश जब तक नहीं दिया गया तब तक उन्होंने मुक्तहस्त हो कर भारतीय स्वाभिमान की रक्षा की। परन्तु मैं यह जरूर कहना चाहूँगा कि आप इन सैनिक युद्धबन्दियों को लम्बी सूचियों का परीक्षण करते समय देखें कहीं उस के पीछे किसी उच्च सैनिक अधिकारी का हाथ तो नहीं है। अगर उस के पीछे किसी उच्च सैनिक अधिकारी का हाथ था तो देश की परिस्थितियों की ओर राष्ट्र की पुकार है कि इस तरह के व्यक्ति को जो बड़े से बड़ा दंड किसी देशद्रोही को दिया जाना चाहिये, वह दिया जाय। क्योंकि उसी के कारण भारतीय स्वाभिमान की हानि हुई।

मैं यहाँ यह भी कहना चाहूँगा कि अभी उत्तर प्रदेश विधान सभा के एक सम्मानित कांग्रेस सदस्य श्री विष्णु ने पिथौरागढ़ के क्षेत्र का उदाहरण देते हुए कहा कि वहाँ की सड़कें बनाने के लिये हमारी सरकार ने जो सामान भेजा था वह चोरी से तिब्बत के इलाकों को पास कर दिया गया, और उस सामान से जहाँ हमारी सड़कें बननी चाहिये थीं, वहाँ उससे आज चीनी क्षेत्र में सड़कें बन रही हैं। मैं चाहता हूँ कि अगर उनके इस कथन में कुछ भी सच्चाई हो तो सरकार इस प्रश्न को भी गम्भीरता से ले। इस प्रकार के व्यक्तियों के बारे में चाणक्य ने तो अपने नीति शास्त्र में यहाँ तक लिखा है कि ऐसे राज द्रोह करने वालों को धरती से घाटा गाड़ कर उन के शरीर पर बर्तानों का थैप कर कुत्तों से उनको टुकड़े-टुकड़े करवाया

जाना चाहिये । अगर इस प्रकार के बॉम्बस् बंड आप नहीं दे सकते तो कम से कम इस प्रकार के राज द्रोह करने वालों को गोली से तो उड़ाया ही जा सकता है । अगर ऐसा किया जाता है तो यह कोई गलत काम नहीं होगा ।

मैं यह भी कहना चाहता हूँ कि अच्छा हो अगर आप सीमावर्ती क्षेत्रों का शासन, इस संकटकालीन स्थिति में केन्द्र अपने हाथों में ले लें । लेकिन अगर सरकार इन सब क्षेत्रों को अपने हाथ में नहीं ले सकती है तो जैसे मैंने इस सदन में पहले भी कहा है, आज फिर अपने अनुभव और जानकारी के आधार पर दुबारा कहना चाहता हूँ कि असम राज्य की स्थिति धीरे धीरे इस प्रकार की बनती जा रही है कि केन्द्रीय सरकार को उसका शासन प्रबन्ध अपने हाथ में ले लेना चाहिये और अगर ऐसा नहीं किया गया तो जो भयंकर घटनाएँ वहाँ घट रही हैं, उनमें और भी वृद्धि हो सकती है । आप जानते हैं कि पंचमहल में क्या घटना वहाँ घटित हुई है ? आठ हज़ार पाकिस्तानी वहाँ आ कर बस गए और एक दिन रात्रि को पाकिस्तानी झंडा वहाँ फहरा दिया गया और घोषणा कर दी गई कि यह क्षेत्र पाकिस्तान का है । हमारे गृह मंत्री जी की जानकारी में ये सब बातें आई होंगी । उधर सीमा पर शत्रु अड़ा हुआ है । ऐसी स्थिति में अगर असम राज्य का शासन केन्द्र ने अपने हाथ में न लिया तो मुझे खतरा है कि किसी भी समय और भी इसी प्रकार की व्यापक दुर्घटनाएँ वहाँ घट सकती हैं ।

जिस समय कोलम्बो सम्मेलन के प्रस्तावों को ले कर श्रीमती भण्डारनायकें यहां आईं और उन प्रस्तावों का समर्थन करने वाले दूसरे व्यक्ति भी यहां आए उसी समय से कुछ और लोगों ने दबी भाषा में एक नया नारा आरम्भ किया है । खद्दाब के सम्बन्ध में उनका कहना है कि कुछ क्षेत्र इस प्रकार का बंधा है जिसकी स्थिति स्पष्ट है । बाङ्गालोपी के सम्बन्ध में वे कहते हैं

कि शीतकाल में वह खाली रहता था, ऐसी स्थिति नहीं रहती है कि सैनिक हमारे बराबर वहां रहें । इसी तरह लांगजू और डोला की चौकियों के सम्बन्ध में भी उनके मन में अस्थिरता है । कोलम्बो प्रस्तावों की भाषा सामने आने के पश्चात् सरकार और सरकारी प्रचार एजेंसियाँ—मेरा इशारा आल इंडिया रेडियो की ओर है—इस प्रकार का कार्य कर रही हैं कि जो देश हित के विपरीत है । मैं चाहता हूँ कि आज यह स्पष्ट भाषा में बताया जाए कि कोलम्बो प्रस्तावों के बाद आप के मन में कुछ अस्थिरता तो पैदा नहीं हो गई है? क्या आज भी आप उसी स्थान पर खड़े हैं जहां पर आप कोलम्बो प्रस्तावों के आने के पहले थे और जिस समय आपने कहा था कि एक एक बूँद अपनी भूमि को चीन से वापिस लिया जाएगा और एक इंच भूमि भी चीन को नहीं सौंपी जा सकती है । यदि उस घोषणा में कुछ परिवर्तन आया तो आज आप स्पष्ट इस सदन को बतायें और देश को भी बतायें, ऐसा न हो कि आकस्मात् ही आप कभी अपना प्रस्ताव इस सदन में लायें और तब फिर देश में विपरीत उसकी प्रतिक्रिया आगे चल कर बने । मैं चाहता हूँ कि जब प्रधान मंत्री जी उतर दें तो इसका स्पष्टीकरण जरूर करें । यह सन्देह बहुतों को है ।

भारत चीन सीमा विवाद जो चल रहा है, उसके सम्बन्ध में जितने भी सरकारी पत्र आया है, उनका स्पष्टीकरण करते हुये भारत के समाचारपत्र भी इस सारे विवाद के सम्बन्ध में लिखते हैं " भारत चीन सीमा विवाद "। लेकिन भारत चीन सीमा विवाद इसको नहीं कहना चाहिये । इसको तो यों कहा जाना चाहिये कि तिब्बत का वह भाग जिस पर चीन का अधिकारित अधिकार है, वह भारत-तिब्बत सीमा विवाद कहा, लेकिन अब यह बात भारत-चीन सीमा विवाद सरकारी पत्रों

## [श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री]

में और सरकारा दस्तावेजों में लिखी हुई है तो इसका सीधा और स्पष्ट अभिप्राय यह है कि आपने उनका प्रभुसत्ता को तिब्बत में स्वीकार कर लिया है। इस प्रकार की स्थिति का भारत में आना अच्छी बात नहीं है।

दूसरी सब से बड़ी बात यह है कि जब बृद्ध विराम की घोषणा हुई तो उसके पश्चात् हमारे देश के अन्दर एक बहुत बड़ा वर्ग जो चीन या साम्यवाद समर्थक है, चाहें वह साम्यवाद; पार्टी में हो या उससे बाहर किसे; दूसरी पार्टी में, जिन के हृदय में साम्यवादी भावना भरी हुई है, वह इस प्रकार का भावना फैला रहा है कि अब कोई आक्रमण का सम्भावना नहीं है। एक ओर तो भूटान और सिक्किम का सीमा पर चीन नई खाइयां खोद रहा है, पिथौरागढ़ के इलाके में जहा आज से कुछ समय पहले उसकी नौ हजार मिलिटरी थी, आज डेढ़ लाख के करीब आ कर बैठ गई है, बोला और लांगजू के पास उनके सैनिक खड़े हैं, लद्दाख के इलाके में अभी तक वह पूरी तरह जमा हुआ है, ऐसी स्थिति में देश में इस प्रकार का भावना भरना कि संकट टल गया है ठीक नहीं है, घातक है। मैं तो समझता हूँ कि ऐसा कहने वाले दूसरे रूप में चाऊ एन लाई और माओ त्से तुंग के हाथ मजबूत करते हैं। अगर एक पार्टी विशेष के लोग इसका ही समर्थन करते तो एक बार देश विचार कर सकता था। लेकिन दुःख की बात तो यह है कि दलित पार्टी के सदस्यों में भी इस प्रकार के सदस्य हैं जो इस प्रकार का भावना का देश में प्रचार कर रहे हैं। मैं कांग्रेसी साधियों और खास कर शासकीय कुर्सियों पर बैठने वालों से बड़ी गम्भीरता से कहना चाहता हूँ कि आप थोड़ा अपने घर से सावधान रहें। साम्यवादी ऊंट ने आपके टैंट में भी अपना मुँह डाल दिया है। हो सकता है कि

धीरे धीरे अपने एक दो पैर बढ़ा कर वह आगे फिर चले और एक दिन ऐसा आये कि आपको उस घर से ही निकलना पड़े और सारे घर पर उस ऊंट का ही अधिकार हो जाए। इसलिये आप अपने घर से भी सावधान रहिये और देखिये की कहीं ऐसी स्थिति तो नहीं है कि समाजवाद की आड़ में साम्यवादी ऊंट आपके घर को ही अपने नियंत्रण में तो नहीं करना चाहता।

पाकिस्तान के साथ समझौते की चर्चा चल रही है। जो प्रतिनिधि मंडल बातचीत में भाग ले रहा है उसके नेता सरदार स्वर्ण सिंह हैं। मुझे पूरा विश्वास है कि भारतीय स्वाभिमान को अनुभव करते हुये ही पाकिस्तान के साथ वह बातचीत करेंगे। लेकिन अब तक का पिछला इतिहास इस बात का साक्षी है कि पाकिस्तान के साथ जब जब भी समझौते की बातचीत हुई है, हमारा अनुभव है, कि हमको बराबर कुछ न कुछ देना ही पड़ा है। छोड़िये उस बात को जब भारत और पाकिस्तान का बटवारा हुआ और किस तरह से हमारी गाड़ी कमाई में से हमको ५५ करोड़ रुपया देना पड़ा। अभी कल की ही यह घटना है कि नहर पानी विवाद पर फिर हमको ८४ करोड़ रुपये देने वाली संधि की दस्तावेजों पर दस्तखत करने पड़े थे। हमने नदियों को मोड़ा, नहरों को मोड़ा और उमको भी उनमें भागीदार बनाया इसी प्रकार जोगेन्द्रनगर की बिजली दी झगिया का कोयला दिया। मैं समझता हूँ कि अब तो जब भी पाकिस्तान भी स.श समझौता हो, वह कुछ वापिस लेने की भावना से होना चाहिये। दुर्भाग्य से अब तक हम देते ही आ रहे हैं, लिया हमने कुछ भी नहीं है। लेकिन अब जब भी कोई समझौता पाकिस्तान के साथ या कोई समझौते की बातचीत चले, उसमें ऐसी कुछ बात नहीं होनी चाहिये। हमारा दिल कांपता है कि कहीं उन्हीं पुरानी षटनाओं की पुनरावृत्ति इस समझौते के द्वारा फिर दुबारा तो नहीं होने जा रही है

इस संकटकाल में स्पष्ट भाषा में मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि भारतीय जनता की मनोभावना को देखते हुये पाकिस्तान के साथ अगर कोई समझौता होता है तो वह तभी हो सकता है जबकि आज़ाद काश्मीर का जो हिस्सा पाकिस्तान के पास है, वह कल और कल नहीं तो परसों हिन्दुस्तान को वापिस दे दिया जाये। इसके अतिरिक्त और कोई समझौता होगा तो भारतीय स्वाभिमान के वह प्रतिकूल होगा और भारतीय जनता उसे कभी नहीं मानेगी।

हमारे जो सैनिक मोर्चों पर लड़ रहे हैं, या सैनिक केन्द्रों में हैं, उनके मनोबल को बनाये रखने के लिये जो समाचार पत्र उन्हें दिये जायें या उनको जो समाचार सुनाये जायें, वह ऐसे हों जिनमें नये वातावरण का निर्माण किया गया हो। राष्ट्र के मनोबल के अनुकूल भावनाओं को बढ़ावा देने वाली बातें हों। लेकिन मुझे इन शब्दों को कहने के लिये आप धमा कीजिये, कि आज भी हमारी भारतीय सेना में इस प्रकार के समाचारपत्र जाते हैं जिन में सरकारी कुर्सियों पर बैठने वाले एक दो मिनिस्ट्रों की तो प्रशंसा होती है, लेकिन बाकी सबकी निन्दा होती है। इस बात को मैं और भी स्पष्ट भाषा में कहना चाहता हूँ कि स्वतंत्र भारत के इतिहास में अब तक कभी के इतिहास में अब तक कभी किसी समाचार पत्र के साथ यह घटना घटित नहीं हुई है जब उसके सम्पादक को संसद में बुलाकर भरे सदन के सामने उसकी भर्त्सना की गई हो। लेकिन उसी समाचारपत्र को फिर सेना में भेजना और सरकार का पैसा उस पर खर्च करना और सरकारी विज्ञापन उस समाचारपत्र को देना, एक तरह से इस पार्लिमेंट का अपमान है। जब पार्लिमेंट उस पत्र के सम्पादक की और उसकी नीति की भी भर्त्सना करती है, तब उसके ऊपर गवर्नमेंट का खपया व्यय करना, कहां तक न्यायोचित है यह सोचने की बात है। मैं कहता हूँ कि सरकार

को इस दिशा में सचेत हो कर निर्णय लेने चाहियें।

एक आखिरी बात जो राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण के समय यहां पर बहिर्गमन हुआ है, उसके संबंध में मैं कहना चाहता हूँ। इसका जिक्र करते हुये मुझे कष्ट होता है। मैंने उस समय भी कहा था जिस समय कि राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण के बाद थोड़ी देर के लिये सदन की कार्रवाई हुई थी कि इस बहिष्कार का जहां तक संबंध है, मैं उसका समर्थक नहीं हूँ। इसका कारण यह है कि राष्ट्रपति का पद सर्वोच्च श्रद्धा का प्रतीक है। उनके भाषण के समय इस प्रकार की अशोभनीय घटनायें नहीं घटनी चाहियें। इनका घटना राज भाषा के लिये भी अच्छा नहीं रहा। और न ही देश के गौरव के अनुरूप था। लेकिन इन शब्दों को कहने की आप मुझे आज्ञा अवश्य दें कि जिस तरह से माननीय डा० जाकिर हुसैन ने फारसी लिपि में लिख कर सारा भाषण हिन्दी का सुना दिया उसी तरह से अगर हमारे राष्ट्रपति भी एक दो पंक्तियां आरम्भ में देवनागरी लिपि में लिखी हिन्दी में सुना देते और कह देते कि मैं हिन्दी भाषा अच्छी तरह से नहीं पढ़ सकता हूँ इसलिये हिन्दी का भाषण उपराष्ट्रपति डा० जाकिर हुसैन आपको सुनायेंगे तो मैं समझता हूँ कि इस अशोभनीय घटना का वातावरण न बनता और देश को भी दुख न होता और राज-भाषा के चाहने वालों को भी दुःख न होता।

इस संबंध में मैं और आगे बढ़ कर प्रासंगिक एक बात कहना चाहता हूँ कि हमारे प्रधान मंत्री ने कांग्रेस पार्लिमेंटरी पार्टी में बड़ी दृढ़ भाषा में अंग्रेजी को सहभाषा बनाने के बिल की चर्चा करते हुये कहा कि अंग्रेजी का विरोध करने वालों का डट कर मुकाबला किया जायेगा। यह बात उन्होंने बड़े क्रोध में कही। मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि क्या आज प्रधान मंत्री जी चीन का डट कर मुकाबला करने के बजाय या पाकिस्तान

## [श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री]

का डट कर मुकाबला करने के बजाय, अंग्रेजी का विरोध वालों का डट कर मुकाबला करेंगे? क्या यह तलवार घर के अन्दर चलेगी? मैं समझता हूँ कि यह बुद्धि-मत्तापूर्ण बात नहीं थी। इस संकटकाल में इस प्रकार की चुनौती देना ठीक नहीं। अगर इस चुनौती का जवाब देश ने भी दे डाला और उसने भी चुनौती देनी शुरू कर दी तो सच मानिये बाहर वालों का मुकाबला करना तो दूर घर के अन्दर उपद्रव शुरू हो जायें।

प्रधान मंत्री जी ने यह भी कहा था कि मेरे घर में जो अखबार आते हैं मेरा बावर्ची उनको देखकर कहता है कि हम इनको नहीं समझ पाते। क्या हिन्दी का मापदण्ड प्रधान मंत्री जी की कोठी पर काम करने वाले बावर्चियों से बनाया जाएगा या श्री हनुमन्तैया के उस वक्तव्य से बनाया जाएगा जिस में उन्होंने कहा था कि दक्षिण भारत में अगर हिन्दी समझी जा सकती है तो वह समझी जा सकती है जिस में ७०-८० प्रतिशत संस्कृत के शब्द हों। इन दोनों में से किस की बात को प्रमाणिक माना जाए? प्रधान मंत्री जी को कोठी पर काम करने वाले नौकरों की बात को या श्री हनुमन्तैया जैसे व्यक्ति की बात को जो इतने बड़े मंसूर राज्य के मुख्य मंत्री रह चुके हैं? लेकिन फिर भी मुझे इतना अवश्य सुख मिला कि चलो प्रधान मंत्री जी की कोठी पर हिन्दी के अखबार जाते तो हैं और उनको कोई पढ़ता भी है। लेकिन जब प्रधान मंत्री जी की कोठी के नौकर और बावर्ची उनको पढ़ सकते हैं तो हमारे इस देश के प्रांतों और केन्द्र में बैठे हुए सर्वोच्च शासक १५-१५ वर्ष के बाद भी इतनी हिन्दी नहीं सीख सके हैं कि दो पंक्तियाँ भी हिन्दी की पढ़ पायें? मैं समझता हूँ कि किसी भी राष्ट्र की राष्ट्र भाषा से अपरिचित होना उस देश के

सर्वोच्च शासक के लिये बड़ी लज्जा और शर्म की बात है। इस के ऊपर भी हमें विचार करना चाहिये। मैं आपके द्वारा सरकार से यह भी निवेदन करना चाहूँगा कि जिस प्रकार से भारतीय सुरक्षा अधिनियम बना कर आप ने कहा है कि राष्ट्रद्रोह करने वाले व्यक्ति पर भारतीय सुरक्षा अधिनियम के द्वारा अंकुश लगाया जायेगा उसी तरह जो दिन रात राष्ट्र भाषा की निन्दात्मक आलोचना करते हैं सरकार को चाहिये कि वह छोटा हो या बड़ा, ऐसे हर व्यक्ति पर अंकुश लगाये जो राष्ट्र भाषा की हर समय निन्दा कर के उस के पद को गिराता है।

मुझे विश्वास है कि इन सारी बातों पर सरकार गम्भीरता से विचार करेगी।

**Shri Basappa (Tiptur):** Mr. Chairman, coming as I do from the State of Mysore from where you hail, I take this opportunity of participating in this debate at this stage when you are in the Chair.

**Shri D. C. Sharma (Gurdaspur):** Provincialism.

**Shri Basappa:** My hon. friend calls it provincialism, but I cannot forget the fact of your sitting in the Chair and my speaking here as a Member coming from that State. If this can be called provincialism, then I do not know how to express even some joy or thanks on seeing you sitting there. If my hon. friend calls it provincialism, God only must help him, not I.

I have listened with great attention to the various speeches in this House as also the President's Address. I wish to join all other hon. friends in welcoming the President's Address and in offering our thanks because the Address has a great significance in the context of things. We are trying to analyse the various aspects of the President's Address these days.

The President has, in an unequivocal manner, laid emphasis on the various aspects; particularly, the Chinese aggression, which is an overriding issue and over which all our minds are exercised is dealt with sufficiently well. He has said that we must meet this Chinese aggression effectively. Of course, some people want to know exactly what this effectiveness would be. The hon. Prime Minister has come forward with a clarification in the other House and said that to meet this challenge of the Chinese aggression effectively means that when the Colombo proposals are not accepted in toto by the Peking Government we are left as we were before and it is upto us to take suitable steps at the proper time to remove them from every inch of our land. So, when this clarificatory statement of the hon. Prime Minister is there, no doubt should be left in the mind of any hon. Member here.

The hon. Prime Minister has also indicated that we are doing our best for the jawans' families. We heard it said in this House some time back that there is no mention of any of the things that we are doing for the families of those jawans whom we should remember at this juncture and always. The hon. Prime Minister also has not forgotten to mention these things in the other House.

Then, certain doubts in the minds of hon. Members as to the aid that we should receive from foreign countries and about the so-called air umbrella about which so many people were thinking are also being cleared. At a time like this what is most necessary is a united front, that is, the unity with which we act and the national integration question. I heard the speech of the hon. friend of the DMK. When I compare that with the speeches made by DMK Members some time back, I find that today he differed widely from them. If this is the attitude that they are going to take on an issue which is facing the country, we have to take a strong note of what he has said.

There are, of course, certain disturbing factors, for example, the question of language. I might raise other small questions, like, the inter-State dispute about rivers of this great country. They have brought some sort of a dispute between one State and another. They should not lead us to rivalries between one State and another and between the Centre and the States. These things can be settled at a conference table. To make much of these things at a time when the emergency is showing its ugly face is not the correct thing to do.

Of course, some people may say that to have this kind of a complacency at the time of an emergency is not good. But to have confidence in our ability to remove the aggressor is one thing and to have complacency is another. Of course, nobody would like to have complacency. But certainly we must have that confidence in us to remove this Chinese aggression which is a permanent menace.

The President's Address gives adequate emphasis on our national progress both in the direction of defence and in the direction of our economic growth. When I see some of the statements made either by the hon. Ministers here or by some of the ex-Ministers, like, Shri Panjabrao Deshmukh. I feel a little sorry. It has been stated by some hon. Ministers themselves that the economic growth of this country is very slow to meet this Chinese aggression. Certain other hon. Ministers are also making these kinds of statements. When I compare these with the President's Address where it is stated that our progress is very considerable and all that kind of thing, I wish that greater care should be exercised in the matter of coinciding these two kinds of thoughts on the part of hon. Ministers.

Even on this question of the air umbrella there is a lot of misunderstanding and some people want to take advantage of it in their own way. There is a very large number

[Shri Basappa:]

of people in this country who are supporting our policy but there are two extreme kinds of thinking also represented by some small number of people, that is, the rightists and the leftists, if I may put it that way. The leftists want to see that we do not receive any more help from our friendly countries and that we should be confident of our negotiations with the Chinese, whereas, on the other hand, the rightists want all help even to the extent of having all kinds of military alliance which is very bad and which may take away the independence of our country in one way or another.

**Shri Ranga (Chittoor):** *Are wah!*

**Shri Basappa:** I have not heard my hon. friend. I leave it at that.

I do agree with some hon. Members that the scope for misuse of this kind of emergency is very great. So, greater care should be exercised during the time of emergency in the matter of economy, efficiency in administration and of dealing strongly with unsocial elements indulging in profiteering, hoarding, corruption and all these kinds of things. Of course, I wish that the hon. Member, Shri S. N. Dwivedy, who spoke from the Opposition Benches, had thrown more light on this aspect of corruption. He had raised certain big issues and I think the Government is seriously looking into these matters. After sufficient enquiry it will punish the people who are involved in it, if that is correct.

The question that is now asked everywhere in the country is, what next after the Colombo proposals have failed. The Chinese Government have not accepted the Colombo proposals *in toto*. What next is the natural question that is asked. As I just said a minute before, we are left in the original position and after consulting the military strategy, that we have to take note of, we can advance and

try to re-occupy the areas which have been vacated by the Chinese which are really ours.

As far as the Kashmir talks are concerned, considerable differences do exist. Looking at the attitude of the Pakistan Government either in the matter of having an agreement with the Chinese at this time or making intrusions into our land and giving provocation now and then or their behaviour in making a lot of propaganda against us in other countries, I think the time has come when we should seriously think whether any purpose will be served by carrying on talks with them.

I very much wish that our relationship with Nepal should improve. Of course, it has been stated here in the Presidential Address that our relationship is very friendly. But, I wish the Government would look into this matter. I understand the Home Minister is going to Nepal very soon. Whether any misunderstanding is left due to the Maha Rana's action or not, we should see that our relations are friendly. Because, the other day, a number of people from Nepal had come here. Our Chief Whip, the hon. Minister of Parliamentary Affairs gave them a party and I was present on that occasion when I saw large number of Nepalese people expressing their sympathy with India and all that. Still, I see now that in the Afro-Asian Solidarity conference, they did not work with us. Now, I read in the papers about their withdrawal from the Kosi Commission. All these things need not happen. There are some difficulties in the matter of supply of petrol. We should not hesitate. We should supply them. Of course, there are chances of petrol being smuggled from Nepal to the other territory. We must take precaution to see that our petrol does not go to China or Tibet.

I do not want to dilate too much on our basic policies like non-align-

ment. This policy of non-alignment has not done us any wrong so far. On the other hand, some people attack the non-alignment policy. I do not know what purpose it will serve for us. On the other hand, it may antagonise a big and powerful country like Russia which has all along been very friendly, which has been giving some aid to us. Hence I would advocate that our basic policy should not be given up.

On this question of internal strength, domestic effort and economy in the country,—of course, it is a very big question—the country's slow growth of economy needs further strengthening. The measures that are being taken to improve our economy, holding the price line and the gold control policy should be geared up to meet the situation.

As regards regional justice, Dr. P. S. Deshmukh was vehement about certain backward areas and backward people. Nothing should be done in the name of caste to harm these people and greater care should be exercised to help the backward people or backward areas.

This question of sharing of water is uppermost in the minds of many people because it concerns various States. This difficult question must be solved at the highest level to give equal justice to all.

With these words, I end my speech.

श्री कछवाय (देवास) : श्रीमन् कोरम नहीं है ।

श्री ना० गो० रंगा : तीन बजे तक इसकी जरूरत नहीं होती है । अभी पांच मिनट बाकी है ।

श्री कछवाय : ढाई बजे तक जरूरत नहीं होती है ।

Shri Ranga: Why do you trouble; let them carry on.

Mr. Chairman: Shri J. Mandal: I think he is absent. Shri Sumat Prasad; Shri Banarsi Prasad Sinha; Shri Brajeshwar Prasad.

Shri Brajeshwar Prasad (Gaya): Madam, we are committing a political blunder in trying to come to terms with Pakistan. To quarrel with China which is a friend of Russia under the terms of the Sino-Soviet pact and to parley with Pakistan which is an enemy of Russia under the terms of the CENTO would lead to disastrous consequences. On our border disputes with China, America has been pleased to advise us not to do anything that may antagonise Russia. But, in our disputes with Pakistan, America, by asking us to come to terms with Pakistan is asking us to antagonise Russia.

14.59 hrs.

[MR. SPEAKER in the Chair]

American foreign policy has become schizophrenic. Pakistan has got no political or military value. The fear of Russia and America may prevent China and Pakistan from attacking India whether India and Pakistan remain on hostile terms or not. But, if a war breaks out between India and China, Russia will attack, swallow and digest Pakistan, if Pakistan attacks either India or China. But, if in the initial stages of the outbreak of a Sino-Indian war, both Russia and America remain neutral, the result would be that both India and China, would be weakened within a period of 5 to 6 years and the ultimate result will be that both India and China, like Germany, would be divided into two spheres of influence, Russian and American.

Dr. M. S. Aney (Nagpur): Balkanised.

Shri Brajeshwar Prasad: Pakistan does not want to take Kashmir if it entails an obligation on her part to fight against China, in the event of the outbreak of a Sino-Indian war.

[Shri Brajeshwar Prasad]

But America and some sections of Indian public opinion want Pakistan to fight against China, if a Sino-Indian war breaks out.

15 hrs.

It is not in the interests of Pakistan to wage war against China. We should never ask Pakistan to become our ally if we do not want West Pakistan to be swallowed up by Russia. Only Russia and America together and not India and Pakistan together can check China.

The transfer of a few divisions of Indian troops from the Indo-Pakistan frontier to Ladakh or NEFA will not tilt the balance against China which has got fifteen divisions in Tibet alone. Nor will the addition of a few divisions of Pakistani troops on our side tilt the balance against China which has got an army of five million soldiers.

The condition precedent to a political settlement between India and Pakistan is either the withdrawal of Pakistan from the SEATO and the CENTO or the transformation of the SEATO and the CENTO into organs of the UNO or the induction of India, China and Russia into the SEATO and the CENTO or the withdrawal of the Western Powers from the SEATO and the CENTO.

The Prime Minister should request Mr. Khrushchev to send at least one division of Russian troops to be stationed in Kashmir. . . .

**Shri Inder J. Malhotra** (Jammu and Kashmir): No, that is not required.

**Shri Brajeshwar Prasad:** . . . . as speedily as possible, if he thinks that both China and Pakistan are going to attack India and that by stationing such troops only can peace be maintained.

India and America neither singly nor jointly can prevent China and Pakistan if they come together from

waging war against India, unless Russia is brought within the framework of an Indo-American *entente*. Singly the USA is not in a position either to state publicly that she will attack China or to attack China if India is attacked again by China.

The outbreak of a war can be prevented if both Russia and America jointly and publicly warn China not to attack India, but this they cannot do, and this they are not in a position to do.

Mr. Bhutto has gone to Peking, to hatch a conspiracy to attack India in alliance with the Chinese comrades. The new show of friendliness exhibited by Mr. Khrushchev towards Comrade Mao is just for the purpose of persuading him not to attack India again.

China is being subjected to pulls by Pakistan and Russia. The Sino-Pak. confabulations remind me of the Russo-German Pact of 1939. Russia is being subjected to pulls by China and America. The forces that stand for the resurrection of the Sino-Soviet Pact have been weakened as a result of the nuclear stalemate. The resurrection of the Sino-Soviet Pact is merely a theoretical possibility for no Sino-Soviet Pact can be resurrected till the nuclear stalemate lasts. The Sino-Soviet Pact may be resurrected if the bipolar world is broken up into a multipolar one, of which there is no possibility in the near future.

The condition precedent to the resurrection of the Sino-Soviet Pact is not merely the break-up of the bipolar world into a multipolar one but the withdrawal of the USA from the Rimland. The common aim of both Russia and America is to prevent the break-up of the bipolar world into a multipolar one.

The question of the withdrawal of the USA from the Rimland does not arise, because the aim of both Russia and America is to combat the yellow

peril. There cannot be any Sino-Soviet alliance against either India or America. There cannot be any Sino-American alliance against either India or Russia. Neither China nor the countries of Western Europe are in a position to create a wedge between Russia and America. We can tilt the balance in favour of America by inviting at least one division of Russian troops into Kashmir.

**Shri Inder J. Malhotra:** What will happen to me then?

**Shri Brajeshwar Prasad:** It is only through the mechanism of stationing Russian troops on the plea of defending India against Pakistan that Russia can be brought within the framework of an Indo-American *entente*.

American troops cannot be sent to prevent China from attacking India, for such a step will disturb the balance achieved between Russia and America.

No punitive measures can be taken by Russia or America against each other's satellites and allies. There is thermonuclear stalemate now.

At his weekly press conference on Thursday last, President Kennedy has assured us that America will help India if China attacks India again. He has not assured us that America would attack China if India is attacked again by China. Even the offer of help has been modified by the statement that help would be limited by capabilities. American capabilities are limited only by the fear of the Soviet Union.

The concept of Afro-Asian solidarity has become obsolete. There is thermo-nuclear stalemate. It can be resolved only on the basis of general and complete disarmament. The Afro-Asian landmass will have to be integrated with the Heartland on a democratic basis if the goal of disarmament eludes our grasp.

China talks of Afro-Asian solidarity in Afro-Asian conferences. But in the happy company of Russia and other

countries of Eastern Europe China talks of Marxism, Leninism, dictatorship, dogmatism, violence and the inevitability of war which run counter to the hopes and aspirations of millions of people living in the Afro-Asian landmass.

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

**Shri Brajeshwar Prasad:** I shall take only two minutes more. I shall not take more time of the House. I do not take time of the House usually.

Russia does not want Pakistan to be turned into a satellite State of China; hence the possibility of Russia agreeing to send troops into Kashmir. Russian troops are going to occupy the whole of West Pakistan, whether Pakistan fights as an ally of either India or China. Pakistan will be saved if she remains neutral in the event of the outbreak of a Sino-Indian war. Pakistan will have to remain neutral if Russian troops are inducted into Kashmir. If Pakistan remains neutral, the stalemate between India and Pakistan will continue till the stalemate between India and China lasts. The stalemate between India and China will last if Russian troops are inducted into Kashmir, till the stalemate between Russia and America lasts.

**Shri Tyagi (Dehra Dun):** I hope it is Pakistan-occupied Kashmir, not our portion.

**Mr. Speaker:** I think that this stalemate should not last any longer.

**Shri Brajeshwar Prasad:** I have got just two more sentences and then I shall finish.

The stalemate between Russia and America will continue till the nuclear stalemate lasts. The nuclear stalemate will continue till the goal of disarmament is reached. As long as Russia is on our side, America will have to remain on our side, whatever the attitude of China and Pakistan may be towards India.

**Mr. Speaker:** Is the whole of it necessary to be delivered?

**Shri Brajeshwar Prasad:** I have almost finished. Let the picture be completed. I will not take more than a minute.

As long as the nuclear stalemate lasts, Russia and America cannot part company. America has to follow Russia in the Rimland. And Russia has to follow America in the New World. The fear that China or Pakistan, either singly or jointly will attack India can be removed only by the induction of Russian troops into Kashmir.

**श्री रामेश्वरानन्द :**

आइम् वेनस्ततपश्यन् निहतं गुहा सद्यत्रं  
विश्वं अवलोक्येक नीडं ।

तस्मिन्नदं संवविचेति सर्वं सा श्रोत : प्रोत  
श्चविभुपजासु ॥

अध्यक्ष महोदय : आपने अंतिम दिन जो मुझे बोलने का अवसर दिया है, उसके लिए मैं आपको बहुत धन्यवाद देता हूँ ।

मैंने राष्ट्रपति महोदय के भाषण को पढ़ा और सुना भी । मैंने राष्ट्रपति महोदय से प्रार्थना की थी कि चूँकि आप देश के सब से बड़े व्यक्ति हैं, इस वास्ते सोलह वर्ष पश्चात भी अंग्रेजी भाषा में इसको पढ़ना आपको शोभा नहीं देता है । मैं समझता हूँ कि उनका यह भाषण निराशा, और पिष्ट पेषण से भरा पड़ा है । मैं समझता हूँ कि अंग्रेजी में भाषण करना हमारे विधान का अपमान है । इस घरातल पर कोई भी ऐसा देश नहीं होगा जिस के राष्ट्रपति आजादी के इतने वर्ष बीत जाने के बाद भी अंग्रेजी भाषा में . . . . .

अध्यक्ष महोदय : स्वामी जी, आपको यह नहीं कहना चाहिये । उनका भाषण अपना भाषण नहीं होता है । गवर्नमेंट का वह लिखा हुआ होता है । गवर्नमेंट

के बारे में जो कुछ आपको कहना है कहिये ।

**श्री रामेश्वरानन्द :** बहुत अच्छा ।

उन्होंने अपने भाषण में यह नहीं बताया कि हम चीन के साथ अब क्या बरताव करेंगे । कोलम्बो प्रस्ताव हमने स्वीकार किए, उसने उनका विरोध किया, इसका मतलब यह है कि इनको स्वीकार करके भी हमारे देश का अपमान हुआ है, महान अपमान हुआ । जब चीन ने उनको ठुकरा दिया तो हमारा उनको स्वीकार करने से कौन सा प्रयोजन सिद्ध हो गया यह मेरी समझ में नहीं आया । परन्तु मैं तो केवल इतना ही इस सम्बन्ध में पूछना चाहता हूँ कि यदि इन प्रस्तावों को चीन नहीं मानता है तो हम उसके साथ क्या बरताव करेंगे ।

सारे सवाल बातचीत से ही नहीं मुलझ जाया करते हैं । अगर बातचीत से सभी समस्याएँ मुलझ जायें तो फिर डंड का जरूरत ही कहां रह जातं है । शासक लोग इसलिए बनाये जाते हैं कि आन्तरिक और बाह्य दोनों प्रकार के जो आक्रमण जनता पर होते हैं, उनका वह मुक्ताबला करे और डंडे से करे . . . . .

**श्री त्यागी (देहरादून) :** डंडे से करे ?

**श्री रामेश्वरानन्द :** डंडे से मतलब है, शस्त्रास्त्रों से करे ।

हाथ जोड़ने से अगर काम चल सकता है तो हमारे जैसे साधू लोग, हमारे जैसे ब्राह्मण लोग हाथ जोड़ कर काम चला सकते हैं । हमारे यहां पर क्षत्रियों की आवश्यकता ही इसलिए महसूस हुई कि :—

प्रजातं राजं दानं भिज्या अध्ययनं संवच  
विषयेष्वप्रशंक्तिश्च क्षत्रियेस्य समास्तः

प्रजा की रक्षा करना, चोरों, डाकुओं, लुटेरे लोगों आदि से, अन्दर और बाहर से रक्षा करने के लिए ही हुई।

मेरा हृदय कांपता है। हमारे कांग्रेसी भाई कहते हैं कि हमारी विदेश नीति बहुत अच्छी है। यदि हमारी विदेश नीति बहुत अच्छी है तो मुझे कोई ऐसे देश का नाम तो आप बता जिये पड़ोस में जो हमारा मित्र हो। पाकिस्तान आपका जैसा मित्र है, चीन आपका जैसा मित्र है, नेपाल आपका जैसा मित्र है, बर्मा आपका जैसा मित्र है, इसको तर्क जानते हैं।

राष्ट्रपति जिनने अपने अभिभाषण में उनका धन्यवाद किया है जिन्होंने हमें सहायता दी है। अध्यक्ष महोदय, मुझे उन से भी भय है। अंग्रेज जब भारत में आए थे, तब व्यापारी बन कर आए थे। अब वे रक्षक बन कर आ रहे हैं। कहीं ऐसा न हो कि कनवे भक्षक बन जायें। मझे उन से भी डर है क्योंकि हमारे देहात में कहा जाता है, एक दिन का महमान, दूसरे दिन का एहमान और तीसरे दिन का बर्दमान।

मैं देखता हूँ कि मेरा देश चारों ओर आक्रमण से घिरा हुआ है। देश की आन्तरिक स्थिति का यह हाल है कि पाकिस्तान के एजेंट मेरे देश में करोड़ों की संख्या में बैठे हुए हैं। चीन के एजेंट हमारे देश में लाखों की तादाद में बैठे हुए हैं। इसके विपरीत पाकिस्तान और चीन में हिन्दुस्तान का एक भाग हमदर्द आपको नहीं मिलेगा, एक भी भारत का हितैषी नहीं मिलेगा। यह वास्तविक स्थिति है। फिर भी हमारे नेता कम्युनिस्टों पर विश्वास करते हैं जिन्होंने हमारे साथ यह सब कुछ किया है। हमारे पंडित जो अर्मां भी डांगे जा का विश्वास करते हैं। उनको उन्होंने

विदेशों में भेजा, कम्युनिस्ट देशों में भेजा और कहा कि वहाँ जा कर भारत का पक्ष रखो। उन्होंने कितना बढ़िया पक्ष वहाँ पर भारत का रखा है। इंग्लैंड में उन से पूछा गया कि भारत ने हमला किया है या चीन ने तो उन्होंने कितना बढ़िया इसका उत्तर दिया। उसको आपने पढ़ा ही होगा। उन्होंने कहा कि मैं नहीं कह सकता हूँ कि चीन ने किया या भारत ने। भारत वाले कहते हैं कि चीन ने किया और चीन वाले कहते हैं कि भारत ने किया। कितना बढ़िया उत्तर दिया उन्होंने और कितने सुन्दर ढंग से उन्होंने हमारा पक्ष रखा।

हमने सब से पहले १९५४ में भूल का: जब चीन के साथ हमने लम्बा दोस्त: का हाथ बढ़ाया और तिब्बत को चीन का एक प्रदेश माना। अपनी फीजे ग्यात्से और यातुंग से बलाई और डाक तार इत्यादि विभाग उनको सौंप दिए। वहाँ से हम शान्तिपूर्ण चले आए। हमने अपनी २६४८ मील लम्बी सीमा पर कोई चौकियां नहीं बनाई। चीन चलता गया। उसने तिब्बत पर अधिकार किया और तिब्बत पर अधिकार करने के बाद उसने भारत की ओर देखा। उन भूखमरे लोगों ने भारत को भाखड़ा जैसे: नदियों को देखा, यहाँ के बाग बगीचों को देखा और कहा कि इससे बढ़िया इलाका और कौन सा हो सकता है। हमारे नेताओं ने यह सब कुछ देखा है। हमने तित शास्त्रों में पढ़ा है कि राज्य की ओ सेना होती: है, उसका ओ शस्त्रागार होता है इन का किसी को पता नहीं होना चाहिये। किन्तु हमने विदेशों को भी सब कुछ दिखाया। हमारे देश के नेता यह समझते थे कि जब हम किसी से नहीं लड़ें तो हम से कौन लड़ेगा। परन्तु लड़ाई लड़ने वाले से कर्म: नहीं होती: है, लड़ाई उससे होती: है जो लड़ना नहीं

## [श्री रामेश्वरानन्द]

जानता है। यह मनोविज्ञान है कि जो बच कर चलते हैं उनको जो बड़े बदमाश होते हैं, सीधे सादे समझ कर गाजर मूली की तरह चबा जाते हैं।

अब कहा जा रहा है कि हम स्वप्नों की दुनिया में रहते थे। हमारी आंखों के समाने से परदा हटा है। मगर मैं तो उमङ्गता हूँ कि अब भी नहीं हटा है। अगर हट जाए तो मैं धन्यवाद आपको दूंगा। परन्तु हटा नहीं है। अभी वह यथापूर्व है। चीन तो यह देख रहा है कि किसी तरह से उन के साथ जिन्होंने हमें सहायता दी है, हमारी अनबन हो जाए और जो हथियार आदि मिले हैं, वे वापिस चले जायें और वह दुबारा हम पर हमला करे।

देश की स्थिति विकट है। पंडित नेहरू ने १४ नवम्बर के भाषण में स्पष्ट कहा था कि हम चीन के साथ लड़ना नहीं चाहते हैं। अगर आप लड़ना नहीं चाहते हैं तो आपने इस एमरजेंसी को क्यों बनाये रखा हुआ है। यह ढोंग क्यों रचा रखा है। यह खत्म होना चाहिये। एक तरफ तो हम कहते हैं कि खतरा है और दूसरी तरफ कहते हैं कि लड़ेंगे नहीं तो मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि क्या आप चीन को चर्खा कात कर बाहर निकालेंगे? किसी तरह से आप चीन को यहां से निकालोगे, यह भी तो बताओ। हम कहते हैं कि चीन ने हमारे साथ विश्वासघात किया है। परन्तु नीति यह नहीं मानती है। नीति कहती है :—

अविश्वस्ते न विश्वसेत् विश्वस्ते  
नातिविश्वसेत् ।

अर्थात् जो बिल्कुल विश्वास के नायक नहीं है, उसका हथियार विश्वासघात मत करो, और

जो थोड़े विश्वास के योग्य है उस का अधिक मत करो। यदि विश्वास करोगे तो उसी के द्वारा मारे जाओगे, वही तुम को मारेगा। सारी मृत्यु इसी कारण से होती है, सारा भन्वेर इसी कारण से होता है। यदि आप बहुत ज्यादा विश्वास न करते तो कोई आप के साथ अन्याय न कर सकता। इस लिये मैं कहना चाहूंगा कि स्वभावतः मेरा किसी से मतभेद नहीं है। सैद्धान्तिक मतभेद होते हुये मैं आप सब का आदर करता हूँ। लेकिन मैं पुनः कहूंगा एक साधू होने के नाते कि कम्युनिस्ट लोग जो हमारे नेताओं को एक प्रकार से सुन्दर सुन्दर बाटिका दिखा रहे हैं वह ढोंग है, उस से हमें सावधान रहना चाहिये। मैं ऐसे ऐसे कांग्रेस सदस्यों को जानता हूँ जो उन को बहुत अच्छा कहते हैं। श्रीमती सुभद्रा जोशी ने उन का बहुत ज्यादा पक्ष लिया और कहा कि कम्युनिस्ट भाई सब से अच्छे हैं।

एक माननीय सदस्य : पत्नी भी तो एक कम्युनिस्ट की हैं।

श्री रामेश्वरानन्द : इस दृष्टि से तो यह बहुत अच्छा है। भारतीय नारियों का यह चरित्र होता है कि वह चाहती हैं कि उन में और उनके पति के मन में किसी तरह का फर्क न रहे। मैं तो यहां तक मानता हूँ कि चीन आदि देशों में जो हमारे यहां की छबरे जाती हैं, कांग्रेस की गुप्त मंत्रणायें जाती हैं, वे इन श्रीमती जी के द्वारा ही जाती हैं। ऐसा मेरा विश्वास है।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : स्वामी जी के लिये यह शब्द कहने उचित नहीं थे। उन्हें चाहिये कि वे यह शब्द वापस ले लें।

श्री रामेश्वरानन्द : अब आप कहते हैं तो वे वापस ले नेता हूँ। आप जो कहेंगे वे उड़े चकर कड़वा। लेकिन मैं कहना

चाहूंगा कि राष्ट्रीय स्वयंसेवक संघ के बारे में जो कुछ उन्होंने कहा उस की ओर आप का ध्यान दिलाया गया पिछली बार, फिर भी आप ने उन से कुछ नहीं कहा। मैं तो आपकी बात शिरोधार्य करता हूँ क्योंकि आप हमारे अध्यक्ष हैं।

**अध्यक्ष महोदय :** यह भी आप ठीक नहीं कह रहे हैं। मैंने उसी दिन उन्हें रोक दिया था।

**श्री रामेश्वरानन्द :** परसों भी यही हुआ था। बहरहाल मैं कहना चाहूंगा कि हम आप के साथी हैं, देश की सुरक्षा के लिये अन्त तक आपके साथ रहेंगे, हमारे रक्त की एक एक बूंद भी देश की सुरक्षा के लिये आप के साथ है। हम को यहां बहुत बुरा समझा जाता है, यहां जन संघ या स्वतन्त्र पार्टी का आप से सैद्धान्तिक मतभेद हो सकता है, परन्तु वैसे कांग्रेस से हमारा विरोध नहीं। वस्तुतः जो विरोधी हैं उन को तो आप देखते भी नहीं हैं।

मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि स्वर्ण पर आज प्रतिबन्ध लगाया गया। लाखों करोड़ों आदमी बेकार बैठे हैं। लेकिन इस पर कोई ध्यान नहीं दिया गया। आप ने नियम बना दिया कि एक तोले सोने में सात माशा सोना हो और पांच माशा पीतल या तांबा हो। इस देश के सुनार तो बहुत से उसे बना भी नहीं सकते, और इस तरह से कौन बनवायेगा? हमें हंसी आती है कि एक ओर तो आप सरकारी कानून बनाते हैं कि कोई दूब में पानी मिलायेगा तो उसे आप गिरफ्तार करेंगे, मसाला में मिलावट करेगा तो उसे आप गिरफ्तार करेंगे दूसरी ओर आपने कानून बनाया कि आज सोने में पीतल मिलाया जाना जायज है, उचित है।

**श्री इयाम लाल सराफ (जम्मू तथा काश्मीर) :** स्वामी जी को सोने की फिन्च क्यों पड़ गई ?

**श्री रामेश्वरानन्द :** मुझे इस लिये फिन्च पड़ो कि हमारा सोना निकाल कर दूसरों को दे दिया गया तो हमारा देश महा निर्वन हो जायेगा। मुझे अपने लिये कोई चिन्ता नहीं है। मैं तो आप क पास से रोटी मांग कर खा सकता हूँ, लेकिन मुझे देश की चिन्ता है। इसलिये मैंने यह बात कही।

आप के सामने जो विदेशी मुद्रा का संकट है उसके सम्बन्ध में भी आप से कहना चाहूंगा कि आप कुछ अनावश्यक चीजें बाहर से मंगाते हैं जैसे मुंह रंगने का सामान, विदेशी शराब और नशे की चीजें या सैकड़ों प्रकार का और सामान भी मंगाते हैं, उन को बन्द कीजिये। यहां से मालदार लोगों को पारपत्र दे कर विदेशों को भेज दिया जाता है। वे वहां से चोरी से ऐसी बेंसी चीजें खरीद लेते हैं। हमारे राष्ट्र की रक्षा के लिये जिस चीज की आवश्यकता हो वह सब दी जाय। परन्तु एक ओर जहां आप सोना लेना चाहते हैं वहां विदेशी मुद्रा को रोकने के लिये जो व्यर्थ की चीजें आप भंगवाते हैं उस पर प्रतिबन्ध होना चाहिये। वह चीज नहीं आनी चाहिये।

**श्री ह० न० सोय (सिंहभूम) :** अध्यक्ष महोदय, माननीय राष्ट्रपति ने अपने अभिभाषण में इस बात पर खुशी जाहिर की कि इस युद्धकालीन स्थिति का मुकाबला करने के लिये अपने देश में जितने मजदूर संगठन हैं और उद्योगों के मालिक लोग हैं उन्होंने सर्वसम्मति से यह निश्चय किया कि यहां औद्योगिक झगड़े न हों ताकि अधिक से अधिक उत्पादन देश में बढ़े और कम से कम खर्च पर इस खुशी में मैं उनके साथ शरीक हूँ, मगर पूरी तरह से नहीं। यह इसलिये कि जहां एक ओर हमारे निचले तबके के लोग, मजदूर वर्ग और कारखानों में काम करने वाले लोग बड़ी खुशी से अपने साधारण समय से ज्यादा काम कर रहे हैं, दुगुने और तिगुने समय तक काम कर रहे हैं और खुशी से अपनी इच्छा

[श्री ह० न० सोय]

में से एक रोज का वेतन हर महीने नेशनल डिफेंस फंड में दे रहे हैं, जो कि बड़ी खुशी की बात है, वहां दूसरी ओर अधिक पैसे वाले वाले लोग, अधिक तन्खाह पाने वाले लोग, हम देखते हैं, उतना जोश नेशनल डिफेंस फंड में देने में नहीं दिखा रहे हैं। वल्कि मैं तो कहूंगा कि ऐसी भी कई मिनारलैं हैं कि जहां बड़े उद्योगपतियों को इस युद्धकालीन स्थिति में जितनी कोशिश अधिक उत्पादन करने में करनी चाहिये थी उतनी उन्होंने नहीं की। मैं तो यहां तक कहने के लिये तैयार हूँ कि उन का जो काम है एक तरह से देशद्रोह भी है। उदाहरण के लिये मैं कहूंगा कि हमारे अपने इलाके में बिहार के झिकपानी चायवासा क्षेत्र में एक ऐसोसिएटेड सीमेंट वर्क्स है। उस कारखाने में हर तीसरे रोज उसका किसी न किसी हिस्से में ब्रेकडाउन हो जाता है। हम लोगों ने अन्दाजा लगाया कि हर तीसरे रोज जो मशीन ब्रेकडाउन होता है उसमें २५ टन की कमी होती है। आप जानते हैं कि सीमेंट कितनी महत्वपूर्ण चीज है इस जमाने में, खास कर युद्धकालीन स्थिति में। जब उस कारखाने के मालिकों से हम बोनास देने की बात कहते हैं तो वे कहते हैं कि डेप्रीसिएशन फंड में उन्हें बहुत ज्यादा देना पड़ता है, इसलिये वे अधिक बोनास नहीं देंगे। और इस कारखाने की स्थिति यह है कि हर तीसरे रोज मशीन का ब्रेकडाउन होता है।

इसी तरह से हमारे अपने इलाके में कुछ कायनाइट की खानें हैं। वहां पर तीन कम्पनियां ऐसी हैं जो इस युद्धकालीन स्थिति में अपने मजदूरों को दूसरी कम्पनियों का विशेषकर, आई० सी० सी० लिमिटेड का माल चोरी करने में लगाये हुये हैं। स्थानीय पुलिस अफसर हैं और जो हमारे माननीय मंत्री जी खनिज पदार्थों के काम के लिये यहां पर हैं, उन सब को हम ने लिखा कि युद्धकालीन स्थिति में हमें कम से कम अपने मजदूरों को

इस तरह के गलत कामों में नहीं लगाना चाहिये। यह कायनाइट जो है वह बहुत अच्छी फारेन एक्सचेंज कमाने वाली चीज है। इन दो कम्पनियों ने तमाम मजदूरों को, जिसमें अधिकतर आदिवासी हैं, दूसरी कम्पनियों की चोरी करने में लगाया हुआ है। हमारे इलाके में रेलवे में काम करने वाले मजदूर लोग भी हैं। हम यह आशा करते थे कि इस युद्धकालीन स्थिति में मजदूरों से जो गलत तरीके से काम लिया जाता है, या जो गलत बरताव उन से किया जाता है, वह बन्द होगा। लेकिन होता यह है कि रेलवे में काम करने वाले जो लोग हैं वे कंस्ट्रक्शन में काम करने वाले मजदूरों को हर महीने बहाल करते हैं और आखीर में उन्हें बर्खास्त कर देते हैं। दूसरे महीने में उन्हें फिर भरती करते हैं और भरती करते समय ५ या १० रु० लेते हैं। यह खुली हुई घूसखोरी चल रही है। मैं एक गम्भीर सवाल सरकार से करना चाहता हूँ और वह यह कि हम ने जो सारे डिफेंस आफ इंडिया रूल्स बनाये हुये हैं आखिर वह कब काम में आयेंगे? जो इस तरह के भ्रष्टाचार में लगे अगर आप उन को इसके मातहत बन्द कर दें तो बहुत अच्छी बात होगी। मगर ये उत्पादन में बाधा डालते हैं और इस तरह से गलत तरीके से मजदूर लोगों को लगाते हैं, घूस लेते हैं, इन लोगों के खिलाफ डिफेंस आफ इंडिया रूल्स का सख्ती से इस्तेमाल किया जाना चाहिये। वयों ऐसा नहीं किया जाता है, मैं हैरान हूँ।

मैं चाहता हूँ कि हमारे देश के उत्पादन में बाधा डालने वाले जितने भी पूंजीपति हैं, जितने भी बड़े बड़े लोग हैं, रेलवे में इस तरह से काम करने वाले बड़े बड़े इंजीनियर हैं, इन सभी लोगों को डिफेंस आफ इंडिया रूल्स के अन्तर्गत तुरन्त जेलों में बन्ध किया जाना चाहिये। अपने इलाके की मैं आपको बात बतलाता हूँ। चक्रधरपुर में कांस्ट्रक्टर लोग हैं उन्होंने रेलवे के क्वार्टर बनाये हैं। उन लोगों ने सैकड़ों की संख्या में मकान बनाये हुये हैं,

साखों रुपये सरकार के बरबाद किये हैं। हमने रेलवे की विजिलेंस कमेटी का इस ओर ध्यान खींचा। उन लोगों ने इनक्वायरी भी की और इन कांटेक्टर्ज और इंजीनियर्ज को दोषी पाया। मगर फिर भी न जाने क्यों इतनी ज्यादा ताकत गवर्नमेंट के हाथ में होते हुये भी, डिफेंस आफ इंडिया रूल्ज होते हुये भी, इनके खिलाफ कोई कार्रवाई नहीं की गई। मैं आशा करता हूँ कि इस संकटकाल में इस तरह के गलत कामों को तुरन्त बन्द कर दिया जाएगा और उत्पादन बढ़ाया जाएगा।

हमारे स्वील साहब ने इशारा किया कि पिछले चौदह पन्द्रह वर्षों में कभी भी राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण में इस तरह का जिक्र नहीं हुआ है कि पिछड़े वर्गों के बारे में, शैड्यूल्ड कास्ट और शैड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्ज के बारे में क्या प्रगति हुई है। मैं आशा करता हूँ कि आगे से इसका भी विशेष जिक्र किया जाया करेगा।

मुहम्मद इस्माइल साहब ने अपने केरल की बात आपके सामने रखी है। केरल की बात को उन्होंने आपके सामने रखा है। उन्होंने दुख जाहिर किया है कि उस इलाके में उद्योग धंधे अधिक नहीं हैं। हमारे यहां बिहार, बंगाल, उड़ीसा और मध्य प्रदेश के औद्योगिक क्षेत्रों में काफी उद्योग धंधे का विस्तार कर रहे हैं, यह ख़शी की बात है। उद्योगों की स्थापना से जो अधिक धन पैदा होता है, जो खुशहाली बढ़ी है, उससे हमें खुशी होनी चाहिए। मगर अफसोस के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि उस इलाके के लोग खुश होने के बजाय बहुत हैरान और परेशान हैं। अब कमिशन ने इस ओर विशेष संकेत किया है। उसने बहुत ही सुन्दर रिपोर्ट प्रकाशित की है। उसने कहा है कि खदानों और कारखानों के लिए बड़ी बड़ी सिंचाई योजनाओं के लिये बहुत बड़े पैमाने पर भूमि तो लेनी जाती है लेकिन हजारों की

ख्या में जिन लोगों को धरदार किया जाता है, जिनको अपनी जमीन से चिद किया जाता है, उनके पुनर्वास का, उनको फिर से बसने का कोई बन्ध नहीं किया जाता है, उनके लिये कोई स्कीम नहीं बनाई जाती है। कमिशन ने कहा है कि उनको रिहैबिलिटेड करने में मिर्क मुद्रावजा ही नहीं दिया जाना चाहिये बल्कि जमीन के बदले जमीन जहाँ तक हो सके दी जानी चाहिये। जितने लोगों को हटाया जाता है, जिन की जमीन ली जाती है, उन में से अधिक से अधिक लोगों को, उनकी योग्यता के अनुसार उन्हीं उद्योग धंधों में, उन्हीं कारखानों में उन्हीं खदानों में नौकरा देने की भी व्यवस्था होनी चाहिये, उनको ट्रेनिंग का प्रबन्ध होना चाहिये। कमिशन ने साफ कहा है कि उनक रिहैबिलिटेशन का, उनकी ट्रेनिंग का और उनके एम्प्लायमेंट का सारा खर्चा उस प्राजैक्ट में से होना चाहिये जिस के लिए जमीन ली जाती है। मैं आशा करता हूँ कि इस ओर अवश्य ध्यान दिया जाएगा।

स अभिभाषण में कुछ संकेत मिले उस के जो परेशानी हमें मनीपुर को लेकर नागालैंड को लेकर उठा पड़ी है। पिछले चौदह पन्द्रह वर्षों से हम जानते हैं कि जो करोड़ों से अधिक जो आदिवासी लोग हैं और उससे भी ज्यादा ताशद में जो शैड्यूल्ड कास्ट के लोग हैं, उनको भलाई के जितने काम होने चाहिये थे, नहीं हुये हैं, उनके लिये जितना काम किया जाना चाहिए था नहीं किया गया है। इस काम में केन्द्र तथा राज्य सरकारें बहनो छे हैं। इस काम में उनकी सफलता नहीं मिल पाई है। हम जानते हैं कि संविधान में खास करके पांचवें और छठे शर्तू में हम प्रतिज्ञा की है कि नको कम से कम समय में इतने ऊँचे स्तर पर लाकर खड़ा कर ताकि उनके लिये विशेष संरक्षणों की आवश्यकता ही न रह पाये। अब कमिशन की रिपोर्ट को पढ़ने से पता चलता है सक्षे में अब तक

[श्री ह० न० सोय]

जितना काम हुआ है वह बहुत ही नाकाफी था है और हम बहुत ही नाकामयाब रहे हैं। मैं समझता हूँ कि यह एक जबर्दस्त इंडिक्टमेंट है। इन सारी विजंज के बावजूद डेबर कमिशन की रिपोर्ट के बावजूद सरकार ने यह दिलचस्पी और यह तत्परता नहीं दिखाई है कि काम आगे बढ़ता। मैं चाहता हूँ कि सरकार अपने आप को संविधान तक ही सीमित न रखे बल्कि सचमुच में जो उनके बैरफेयर के काम हैं, उनको हाथ में ले उनको पूरा करे और जितने भी रूपय उनकी भलाई के लिए रखे जाते हैं, उनको खर्च किया जाये, उनको सरेंडर न किया जाये।

हमारे देश में पिछले चौदह पन्द्रह बरसों में विभिन्न राज्यों के बीच सीमा विवाद उठते रहे हैं। इन विवादों के मूल में भाषा का कारण भी एक प्रमुख कारण रहा है। इन विवादों को हल करने में हम बहुत ज्यादा कामयाबी हासिल नहीं कर पाये हैं। इन सदन में हिन्दी को ले करके लोगों का कुछ परेशानी हो जाती है। मैं खुद हिन्दी का हिमायती हूँ। अपने इल के में हिन्दी का बड़े ज़ोरों से प्रचार भी होता है। यह अच्छी बात है। लेकिन मुझे अफसोस के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि जो दो कराइ आदिवासी हैं, उनके बारे में जब माइनोरिटीज कमिशन का रिपोर्ट पेश होती है तो कह दिया जाता है कि ये आदिवासी हिन्दी भाषा भाषी हैं। यह सरासर गलत रिपोर्ट होती है, गलत बानी होती है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट और स्टेट गवर्नमेंट्स हमारे बारे में इस तरह की गलत रिपोर्ट न दें। हम हिन्दी बेशक पढ़ेंगे। मगर हमारी जो भाषा है, उसको जल्द तरह से मिलनी चाहिये। आश्वासन दे देना ही काफी नहीं है। मैं सोवियत रशिया का एक डैम्पलेट पढ़ रहा था माइनोरिटीज के बारे में। उसमें ऐसी नैशनलिटीज का जिक्र था जिनकी आबादी पचास हजार से भी कम थी। उनकी अपनी कोई भाषा नहीं थी, कोई स्क्रिप्ट नहीं

था। मगर सोवियत रशिया ने उन लोगों का सारा स्क्रिप्ट बनाया और उनकी भाषा की किताबें बनवाई और उनको पढ़ाया। मैं चाहता हूँ कि हमारी सरकार भी लोगों को हिन्दी के साथ साथ उनकी अपनी जो भाषा है, वह भी पढ़ाये, उसकी तरफ भी ध्यान दे उसे केवल कागजी सन्तो ही हमें नहीं देना चाहिये।

**श्री सुमत प्रसाद (मुजफ्फरनगर) :**  
मैं उस प्रस्ताव का जो कि श्री पाण्डेय जी ने राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण के सम्बन्ध में पेश किया है, अनुमोदन करता हूँ।

यहाँ पर कहा गया है कि इमरजेंसी को खत्म कर दिया जाना चाहिये। लेकिन मैं समझता हूँ कि देश को एक घोर संकट का सामना करना है। पिछले तीन महीनों में कोई बात ऐसी नहीं हुई है जिससे यह कहा जा सके कि इमरजेंसी को खत्म किया जाए। चीन ने जब लड़ाई स्वर्गित की तो कुछ शर्तों के साथ की। आज भी वह कोलम्बो प्रस्तावों को मानने के लिये तैयार नहीं है। लद्दाख में उसको आपत्ति इस बात पर है कि वहाँ हिन्दुस्तान को सिविल पोस्ट्स कायम हों। इससे उसकी जो नीयत है उसका पता चलता है। यह जाहिर है कि चीन ने हमारे देश पर आक्रमण किया और वह आसानी से हटने वाला नहीं है। दोनों देशों के अफसरों ने सीमा विवाद के बारे में एक रिपोर्ट तैयार की और वह रिपोर्ट एक अर्थ से चीन के सामने है। उसको पढ़ने के बाद स्पष्ट हो जाता है कि इस मामले में ज्यादाती चीन की तरफ से हुई है और हमारा पक्ष बिल्कुल न्याय पर आधारित है। रिपोर्ट के बावजूद भी उन्होंने आक्रमण किया तो वह किसी दलील से या किसी बहस से मानने वाले नहीं हैं। जब तक हमारे देश की शक्ति नहीं बढ़ेगी

और हमारी डिफेंस फोर्स इस काबिल न हो हम कि उत आक्रमण को हटा सकें उस वक्त तक यह आशा करना कि मुलह की बात से इतना बड़ा मामला मुलझने वाला है, ठीक नहीं है। यह चीज मुझ नजर नहीं आती। हां अपने देश की एक नीति रही है, और वह आज से नहीं, जब अंग्रेजों के साथ आजादी को लड़ाई लड़ी जा रही था; उस वक्त से है। पूज्य गांधी जी ने कभी भी मुलह की बात से इनकार नहीं किया। जब जब मौका आया वह पूरा तौर से समझते थे कि उस वक्त के शासक इस मुद्दे में नहीं थे कि वह मुलह करें, लेकिन अपने पक्ष को सच्चा साबित करने के लिये और यह दिखाने के लिये कि दूसरा पक्ष गलत पर है, गांधी जी ने हमेशा मुलह की बात को स्वकार किया। ठीक उसी रास्ते पर हमारे प्राइम मिनिस्टर इंडियन जवाहरलाल नेहरू ने देश के सामने यह बात रखी कि कोलम्बो प्रपोजेक्ट को मानने से देश की हानि नहीं बल्कि दुनिया के सामने जो चीज ने जो गलत प्रचार किया है कि हिन्दुस्तान ने आक्रमण किया चीन ने नहीं किया और यह कि हिन्दुस्तान विनाश के लिये तैयार नहीं, वह सब धोखा दूर हो जायगा।

इन सम्बन्ध में गवर्नमेंट ने कुछ बदल उठाये, देश को मजबूत करने के लिये, और देश ने पूरा पूरा सहयोग सरकार को दिया। अभी इस डिफेंस से सम्बन्धित बहुत सारी बातें ऐसी हैं जिन पर सरकार के लिये विचार करना जरूरत है। मसल्ल होम गार्ड्स का मसला है, प्रान्तिय रक्षा दल का मसला है। मैं समझता हूँ कि प्रदेशों में जितना काम उन के सम्बन्ध में होता चाहिये था, उतना नहीं हुआ। आज कल के युग में अगर फौज की जादा बहत ज्यादा बढ़ाई जाय तो उस के खर्च का बोझ भी देश के लिये बढ़ाकर करना मुश्किल होगा। इस लिये अगर हमारी होम गार्ड्स की

स्कीम और प्रान्तिय रक्षा दल की स्कीम कामयाब हो सके तो सही आदमियों को तलाश कर के उन को सैनिक ट्रेनिंग दी जाय। यह एक सेकेण्ड लाइन आफ डिफेंस का काम दे सकती है। आज के युग में सांस की ओर टेकनालोजी की बहुत भारी प्रगति हुई है। हम ने प्लैनिंग का विचार रूस से लिया और उस तरफ कदम बढ़ाया। चाइना ने भी प्लैनिंग चाली हमारे। देश में जहां तक प्लैनिंग का ताल्लुक है वहां एक अच्छा काम हुआ, लेकिन प्लांस के इम्प्लिमेंटेशन में अब भी बहुत कमी है। आज इस संकट के समय देश के लिये यह जरूरत है कि अनाज के उत्पादन में हफ्त ज्यादा उद्योग करें। लेकिन देखने में यह आ रहा है कि तैसरी योजना की समाप्ति तक भी शायद देश इस मामले में आत्म निर्भर नहीं हो सकेगा। अगर ऐग्रिकल्चर के बारे में यह बात होता है तो इस का असर इंडस्ट्री पर भी पड़ेगा, देश के आरक के ऊपर भी पड़ेगा और फारेन एक्सचेंज के ऊपर भी पड़ेगा। तो जहां यह प्लैनिंग का काम ठीक हो रहा है वहां इस पर ज्यादा ध्यान देने की जरूरत है कि उसका इम्प्लिमेंटेशन ठीक तौर से हो। यह बहुत इतना नान का बात है कि प्लैनिंग कमिशन और हमारे गवर्नमेंट इस पर ध्यान दे रहे हैं। उन्होंने कुछ टीम बनाई है जो प्रदेशों में जा कर देखें कि किस कारण प्लैनिंग से जो उपलब्धि होनी चाहिये वह नहीं हो रहा है। कहां कहां उस में कमी है।

यह पता चलता है कि सिचाई के साधन काफी मात्रा में देश में बढ़े, लेकिन उन सब का पूरा फायदा नहीं उठाया गया। अगर आप प्रदेशों में देखें तो जितने हमारे ऐग्रिकल्चर सम्बन्ध आफिसर्स है वे ज्यादातर मेज पर बैठ कर काम करने के आदी हैं। इस सदन में काफी चर्चा हुई कि हर गांव के लिये प्लेन बनाई जाय, हर प्रदेश के सिन्वे प्लेन बनाई जाय, लेकिन मैं ने जितने में

## [श्री सुमत प्रसाद]

देखा कि प्लैन सारी उन के दफ्तरों में बनती हैं। मौके पर जा कर ही यह देखा जा सकता है कि किस खेत के लिये किस चीज की जरूरत है, किस काश्तकार को कितनी मदद चाहिये, उस के लिये ठीक समय पर उसे उमलबब करना जितना दो या तीन वर्ष पहले मुश्किल था, उतना ही आज भी मुश्किल है। काश्तकार काफी तरह से खेत के काम से वाकिफ है। हर एक नये ढंग को, जिस से कि उस पर यह जाहिर हो कि उससे उस का फायदा है, वह बिना किसी के बतलाये हुये भी अख्त्यार करने के लिये तैयार है। लेकिन आज सरकार उसे जितनी सहायता देना चाहती है वह सहायता उस तक नहीं पहुंचती।

मैंने कुछ जगहों पर कोआपरेटिव सोसायटीज देखीं। कोआपरेटिव सोसायटीज को सरकार से बहुत मदद मिलती है। लेकिन मेरी जान में ऐसी भी कोआपरेटिव सोसायटीज हैं जो कि बिल्कुल बोगस हैं। होता यह है कि एक खानदान के पांच, छः लोगों ने बोगस पार्टिशन कर लिया और कोआपरेटिव सोसायटी में मिल गये। हालांकि वह एक ही फैमिली की होल्डिंग होता है, उन का रहन सहन भी इक्वटा होता है, लेकिन कागजों में उन्होंने मेम्बरों के नाम इस लिये अलग अलग कर लिये कि उन्हें सरकार से पूरा फायदा हो जाय और इस प्रकार जो गराब आदमों हैं उन को पूरी चांज नहीं पहुंच पाता।

मैं थोड़ा ध्यान शिक्षा की तरफ भी दिलाना चाहता हूं। हमारे देश में शिक्षा की प्रणाली में कोई खास तब्दीवी नहीं हई। आज भी जो मुल्क की जरूरत है उस को शिक्षा पूरी नहीं करती। इस से नेशनल इजर्जी भी वेस्ट होता है और रुपया भी वेस्ट होता है। यूनिवर्सिटी से जब छात्र डिग्री पाकर निकलते हैं, तो वे अपने को इस

काबिल नहीं पाते कि किसी काम घन्च में लग जायें, न उन को शिक्षा की क्वालिटी इतनी ऊंची है कि वे सरकारी नौकरियों में चले जायें या किसी चीज के विशेषज्ञ हो जायें। आज जो साधारण थर्ड या सेकेंड डिविजन के विद्यार्थी हैं उनकी हालत बहुत खराब है। नौकरी हासिल करने के लिये भटकते फिरते हैं। आज उनमें फ्रस्ट्रेशन है। यह हालत भी देश के लिये चिन्ताजनक है। जब तक शिक्षा पद्धति में ऐसी तब्दीली नहीं होती कि उस का सम्बन्ध समाज की जरूरत से हो, जो हमारे लिखे-पढ़े आदमी हों वह समाज की जरूरत को पूरा करे ऊंची टाइप की तालीम हासिल करके, उस वक्त तक इस देश का कल्याण हो सकना मुश्किल है।

मैं आप का आभारी हूं कि आप ने मुझे इस डिबेट पर बोलने का मौका दिया।

श्री शिवमूर्ति स्वामी (कोपल) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं चार दिन से माननीय राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण पर जो बहस हो रही है, उसको सुन रहा हूं। यहां पर उनके भाषण की नुक्ताचीनी भी की गई है और सराहना भी। १४ नवम्बर को इस माननीय सदन ने अपनी सीटों पर खड़े होकर यह प्रण किया था कि जब तक हम चीनियों को अपनी घरती से नहीं हटा लेंगे, तब तक चैन नहीं लेंगे। यही प्रण पूरे भारतवर्ष में २६ जनवरी को लिया गया था। हर एक पंचायत और हर एक गांव में यह प्रण उस वक्त लिया गया था। मुझे अफसोस है कि इसका जिक्र राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण में नहीं है। इसका भी इसमें जिक्र होना चाहिये था। यह चीज भी सारे मुल्क के सामने और दुनिया के सामने आनी चाहिये थी। इसका कारण यह है कि राष्ट्रपति जी हमारी नेशन के सम्बन्ध हैं और उनको इस प्रण का जिक्र करना चाहिये था।

एक विषय में आपके सामने तथा प्रधान मंत्री जी के सामने रखना चाहता हूँ। इसकी चर्चा शायद किसी माननीय सदस्य ने नहीं की है। एमरजेंसी के समय में तथा उस समय में जब किसी मुल्क पर हमला होता है, इतिहास साक्षी है, कि एक ही दल की हुकूमत चलाना बहुत ही नामुनासिब होता है और उस वक्त नेशनल गवर्नमेंट होनी चाहिये और अगर ऐसा नहीं हो सकता है तो निर्दलीय सरकार होनी चाहिये, नान-पार्टी गवर्नमेंट होनी चाहिये। मेरा कहने का यह मतलब नहीं है कि हर एक पार्टी या हर एक दल मुख्य मंत्री की या प्राइम मिनिस्टर की नीति में शरीक न हो। उसको होना चाहिये। हर एक को शरीक करके अगर सरकार बनाई जाए तो बहुत अच्छा होता है। मेरा मुझाव यह है कि जब तक भी आप एमरजेंसी इस देश में कायम रखना चाहें, तब तक के लिये तो कम से कम निर्दली या इंडीपेंडेंट सरकार बन ही जानी चाहिये। उसका होना बहुत जरूरी है। अगर ऐसा नहीं होता है तो चार दिन से जो कुछ हम सुनते आ रहे हैं, वही कुछ आगे भी सुनते रहेंगे। एक पक्ष द्वारा कहा जा रहा है कि जो पावर्स आपने ली हैं उनका बहुत ज्यादा दुरुपयोग हो रहा है और दूसरे पक्ष की ओर से कहा जा रहा है कि उनका दुरुपयोग नहीं हो रहा है। यहां पर यह भी कहा गया है कि इस एमरजेंसी को खत्म किया जाये। मगर मैं समझता हूँ कि जब तक चीनी हमला बना हुआ है तथा जब तक हमें डर है कि चीनी हमला हो सकता है, जब तक वे हमारी भूमि पर बैठे हुये हैं, तब तक आप इस एमरजेंसी को समाप्त न करें। जब तक उनको हम अपनी धरती से हटा नहीं लेते हैं तब तक एमरजेंसी जारी रहनी चाहिये। हां यह अपील मैं जरूर करूंगा कि नान-पार्टी गवर्नमेंट मुल्क में बना दी जानी चाहिये। इस वक्त नेशनल इंटिग्रेशन की सब से ज्यादा जरूरत है। नेशनल इंटिग्रेशन तभी हो सकती है जबकि आज के एमरजेंसी के जमाने में इंडीपेंडेंट और नान-पार्टी गवर्नमेंट अमल में आये। यही विचार

जयप्रकाश नारायण जी ने और यही विचार सर्वोदयी नेता विनोबा भावे जी ने हमारे सामने रखवा है। किस तरह से, किस लाइज, पर यह हो सकता है इसको आप देख सकते हैं। आप तो नेशनल इंटिग्रेशन लाने के लिये कांस्टीट्यूशन में एमेंडमेंट भी करने जा रहे हैं। लेकिन इस परपज को नान-पार्टी गवर्नमेंट बना कर अचीव किया जा सकता है। मैं अधिक कुछ न कह कर गौरा जी जोकि एक सर्वोदयी लीडर हैं और जिन्होंने इस विषय पर एक किताब लिखी है, उसकी चंद लाइनें ही आपके सामने पढ़ कर आपको सुनाना चाहता हूँ। उनका कहना है :—

Parties are suited for dictatorship, movements are suited for democracy. Parties are closed and sectarian in their mind; movements are open-minded and they take the interests of all the people into their consideration. The partisan spirit of parties lands them in party-politics whose principle is "Power first and programme next".

पार्टीज जो हैं वे हमेशा पावर की तरफ दौड़ती हैं। पार्टी में वे काम करती हैं। जिस तरह से कम्युनल काम हम करते हैं, उसी तरीके से पार्टीज भी कम्युनल काम करती हैं जिससे खराबियां पैदा होती हैं। पार्टीज को दबाया जा सकता है लेकिन पूरे तरीके से उनको खत्म नहीं किया जा सकता है। रीयल डेमोक्रेसी अगर आप कायम करना चाहते हैं तो मैं कहूंगा।

Real democracy can be established only if a non-party government is there. When we have got our Prime Minister, the only Leader who has been supported by all sides of the House and also by all sections of the country, it is very necessary to establish real democracy in the country by forming a non-party government, rather than a division.

जिस तरीके से कम्युनलिज्म खतरनाक है, इसी तरीके से पार्टी के तरीके पर सोचना

## [श्री शिवमूर्ति स्वामी]

श्रीर काम करना खतरनाक है। इसका बहुत कुछ अनुभव हमें इस मुल्क में हुआ है। जितना भला लोगों का होना चाहिये, उतना भला पार्टीज नहीं कर रही हैं। सभी बातों पर पार्टी के हित की दृष्टि से ही देखा जाता है। इसका परिणाम यह है कि जितनी खिदमत लोगों की होनी चाहिये, नहीं हो पाती है, जितनी भलाई लोगों की होनी चाहिये नहीं हो पाती है। अगर कांग्रेस दल एक बात करता है तो जो उसके विरोधी हैं, वे उसके खिलाफ बात करते हैं।

अब मैं आर्थिक स्थिति के बारे में कुछ कहना चाहता हूँ। बहुत से माननीय सदस्यों ने कहा है कि कम्युनिटी डिवेलोपमेंट का जो काम है, वह ठीक नहीं हो रहा है। कांग्रेस पार्टी के मैम्बरों ने तथा अपोजीशन के मैम्बरों ने भी इस काम की नुकताचीनी की है। आर्थिक दृष्टि से प्रगति हो रही है, ऐसा वे नहीं मानते हैं। इसके बारे में अपनी तरफ से कुछ ज्यादा न कहते हुये, केवल इनक्वायरी कमिशन की जो एक रिपोर्ट है, उसमें से कुछ पढ़ कर आपको सुनाना चाहता हूँ। उसका कहना है कि एपीकल्चर डिपार्टमेंट तथा कम्युनिटी डिवेलोपमेंट का जो डिपार्टमेंट है, वे मुल्क में काम तो कर रहा है लेकिन जिन एम्ज एंड आब्जेक्ट्स को लेकर उनकी स्थापना की गई थी, वे पूरी नहीं हो पा रहे हैं। ए० डी० गोरवाला की जो रिपोर्ट है, इस बारे में, उसकी चन्द लाइनें मैं पढ़ कर आपको सुनाता हूँ। उनका कहना है :—

Village Development Trends: Opinion in Mysore is almost unanimous about the failure of community Development and Extension projects. Except for these professionally compelled to defend them, it is difficult to find a single person who has anything particularly favourable to say about them. This is so quite as much on the site as in the city. That the scheme has failed is clear

from a consideration of results. Several blocks have passed through the intensive period. In none of them is either economic or moral progress anywhere near what it was thought it would be. Neither has 'Destination Man', the Community Development Training School, been reached nor production increased to cover even a part of the cost of planned activities and services once Government ceases pumping money into the area.

मैं शासन से प्रार्थना करता हूँ कि वह एक इनक्वायरी कमेटी बिठाये जो यह देखे कि मुल्क में जो पैसा खर्च हो रहा है, उसका सदुपयोग हो रहा है या दुरुपयोग हो रहा है।

जहाँ तक उत्पादन का संबंध है, उसको बढ़ावा देने के लिये मुल्क में बहुत सी मल्टीपरपज रिवर स्कीम्ज अमल में आ रही हैं। इनमें बहुत से दरियाओं के पानी के इस्तेमाल के बारे में स्टेटों में झगड़े हैं। इस झगड़ों को मिटाने के लिये एक कमेटी बिठाई गई थी, उसकी रिपोर्ट इस सदन के सामने है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि इन झगड़ों का जल्दी से जल्दी निपटारा किया जाना चाहिये। आज देखने में आता है कि बहुत सी स्टेट्स के साथ अन्याय हो रहा है। कृष्णा और गोदावरी के पानी का तथा इसी तरह से दूसरे बहुत से प्राबलैम्ब आपके सामने मैसूर सरकार ने तथा दूसरे दक्षिण भारत के राज्यों ने रखे हैं। जल्दी से जल्दी इन झगड़ों को मिटाने की कोशिश होनी चाहिये। अगर ऐसा नहीं होता है तो जो अन्याय हो रहा है, वह होता जायेगा। इनसे विभिन्न क्षेत्रों को जो लाभ पहुंचना है, वह जल्दी से जल्दी पहुंचाया जाना चाहिये।

टैक्सेशन तथा रिसोर्सिज बढ़ाने की बात हम कर रहे हैं। लेकिन हमें फिजूलखर्ची बन्द करनी होगी। कम्युनिटी प्राजैक्ट्स पर जो बहुत अधिक फिजूलखर्ची हो रही है, उसको

रोकना होगा, ज्यादा से ज्यादा सेविग्न करनी होगी। हमें चाहिये कि हम ठीक तरीके से काम करें। कुरप्शन जो बढ़ रही है, उसको रोकें। अगर हमने ये सब कुछ किया तो हम काफी बचत कर सकेंगे और उसी हिसाब से कम टैक्सेशन हम कर सकेंगे।

16 hrs.

**The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs and Minister of Atomic Energy (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru):** Mr. Speaker, Sir, during this fairly long debate on the President's Address many matters have been mentioned and a great deal of ground has been covered. Just prior to my getting up, the hon. Member who was speaking said something about community development schemes, something very derogatory to their working—that is, money being wasted upon them. May I take that up, to begin with, and say a few words about it?

I was surprised to hear him say that and to quote from somebody whom I do not know. Anyhow, the community development scheme has developed into something different and much bigger—that is, panchayati raj—and I would venture to say that one of the most hopeful things in India today is panchayati raj and, connected with it, the community development. I do not mean to imply that all its working all over India is perfect or even good. We will have to remember the extent of it, the vastness of the domain covered by it, and there could be little doubt that in many places it has not come up to expectations. It may be that it was the hon. Member's misfortune to visit some of these places where it has not done well. But this panchayati raj or community development scheme touches the very basic problem in India; that is, I should say, to rouse up the hundreds of millions of our people who live in rural areas, to make their minds work differently. It is a terribly difficult thing to change people's minds. Even here, if I may with great respect say so, I find

it very difficult, even in obvious matters, to change the minds of some hon. Members of the Opposition. People have a way of sticking in old ruts. A thing may be past and gone, and yet they do not realise the changes that have taken place. Now, we having lived for—I do not know—thousands of years as people and attached to various habits—the farmer in the way he ploughs and the way he lives and all that, and others too—it is a very difficult task. And yet, that is the basic task in India. Not all the factories we put in India can solve the problem; they will help to the extent the factories will help the farmer to change his mind.

That is the basic task set before community development and panchayati raj, to develop in the people the spirit of self-reliance and a new thinking of the new ways and understanding of the new world. After considering the whole problem as hundred per cent in India, if we succeed 25 or 30 per cent in India, it is an amazing success, because it covers hundreds of millions of people, and it has the seeds in it of greater success to come. Therefore, let us by all means try to find out how to improve these things, but to run them down means running down something that holds the greatest promise in India.

Now, Sir, in this debate many things have been touched upon and referred to, but the major things inevitably have been Chinese aggression and economic development—the two are connected; I think everyone begins to realise more and more.

The hon. Members opposite have harped back to the Colombo proposals. They have not got over their distaste of them—I put it mildly, they have used stronger language. We had a long debate a little over a month ago in this House, and after that debate we took some action. But hon. Members still cannot get out of the rut of thought in which they have got themselves into, and still discuss it as if we were discussing it a month ago. Much

[Shri Jawaharlal Nehru]

has happened in the month. After this debate we accepted them formally and informed the Colombo powers accordingly. Yet, hon. Members go on saying that it was something dishonourable that we did, by which I presume they imply a great majority of this House belonging not only to one party but several parties acted dishonourably or were foolish enough not to distinguish between honour and dishonour or were afraid. I do think, this way of thinking and talking shows the extremely limited outlook of the hon. Members who spoke these. And, that is my difficulty. We stick to something not seeing the consequences that flow from it, not seeing that things have happened and we remain stuck to certain opinions that we formed probably wrongly to begin with and so we confirm ourselves in wrongness. It is unfortunate, because we live at a time when great speed of thought is necessary, great speed of action is necessary, great appreciation of changes made in the world reactions. I do not pretend to say—how can I—that my Government or I do not make mistakes. We make any number of mistakes, but I do venture to say that, partly, not because of any special virtue in us but because we are responsible, we are in positions of responsibility we have to react to events, we have to watch them carefully and try to do the best that lies in our power.

I have often repeated and I repeat again to this House, that we have to realise that we live in an extraordinary age, an extra-ordinary age in the sense of changes. Well, the world has always been changing and no particular generation has been able to stop the process of change. But, at times the changes are much swifter, much faster, a process started not today but some two hundred years ago, which is called the industrial revolution.

That too was a successor of other changes in the mind, but that brought

about great changes, and that has continued at an ever faster pace. And we, after our independence came to the conclusion that it was quite essential for us to catch up with these changes—not every change, some changes may be bad in the world, but the basic change I am saying—and industrialise our country. There was no other way to meet the problems that confronted us—economic problems, social problems and, if you like, military problems. Well, there is no strength in the nation unless it is industrialised, unless it takes advantage of modern science and technology.

That was the basic thing. We have to get out of our ruts. And, of all people—I do not say of all people, I do not know of all people, but, broadly speaking, almost of all people—we in India who have many virtues have also one drawback or failing, and that is we stick to certain ruts of ideas.

Shri Ranga: And dogmas also.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: The result is that sometimes, rather often we become left in history. We know our own history and how we have been left in this changing world and others have advanced beyond us, in spite of the fact that the heritage we had was magnificent, very great. We mixed up that heritage, which was very great, with all manner of things, cobwebs and other things, which are attached to that heritage. So, while we almost forgot the real heritage, we stuck to those additions to it.

Now, we have to realise that we have to consider every problem in the context of today, not go on repeating parrot-like something that may sound very good but which has no relation to the facts of today. We have to live in the modern world, we have to face the modern problems in the modern way, keeping our ancient heritage but in the modern way. Of course, nobody here would suggest that we should go to the frontier and fight the

Chinese with bows and arrows; obviously not. Yet, there are such minds which think along the lines of bows and arrows in the modern world and do not get out of it. Come people, who are disgusted with things as they are today, want to change them. But how to change them? They want to return to some medieval period in history or still more ancient period as if that is possible. Nobody can go back to history. One can learn from the past; one cannot repeat the past.

So, we live today at a moment of extraordinary changes and one would have thought that the great and terrible experiences that all of us have had in the last two months because of the Chinese aggression and invasion would have shaken us up. Some hon. Members accuse our Government of complacency. Well, I am no good judge of it. I cannot speak for this government or for myself, but one thing on which we are certain is that we are not complacent; that is my view. We may make mistakes, any number of them, but how can anyone who has to shoulder responsibilities and take great decisions at a moment of crisis be complacent? He may make mistakes, he may take wrong decisions, but he cannot be complacent. It seems to me that complacency consists in repeating the same thing regardless of events, regardless of factors, regardless of the context in which we do it. That is the grievance I have, to some extent, when these matters are considered in that unchanged way. It really amazes me—to talk about the Colombo proposals, to hear hon. Members wax eloquent about a thing which is over and done with.

**Shri Ranga:** Are they dead? Let us be clear about it. What is the good of saying it over and over again?

**Mr. Speaker:** Order, order.

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** They are not dead.

**Shri Ranga:** There you are.

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** And they cannot die.

**Shri Ranga:** As long as we live.

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** In spite of the hon. Member's speeches or dislikes, things have happened. Since then, we have accepted them, and we have accepted them because a great majority of this House approved of them. A great majority of this House approved of them because a great majority of this House have previously approved of another proposal that we have made about the 8th September position, and it follows naturally. If some hon. Members are left out in the cold and cannot keep pace with others, it is not my fault.

**Shri Ranga:** November 14th is still alive. The resolution that we passed on that day was a unanimous resolution. It is not to be upset.

**Mr. Speaker:** Order, order. The discussion lasted five days. Members of all parties have said what they wanted. They have criticised the Government and said that they do not approve of the policies of the Government. Now the reply is coming. Let us hear it.

**Shri Ranga:** We will always refer to their mistakes.

**Mr. Speaker:** Order, order. He will have patience.

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** I am sorry the hon. Member, whom I respect greatly, although I completely and absolutely disagree with his mental thinking, is somewhat unfortunately lost in the backwoods and he cannot even see the clear light of the sun.

**Shri Ranga:** The only thing is that I am not an ostrich. I know where the ostrich is.

**Mr. Speaker:** Order, order.

**Shri Hem Barua (Gauhati):** The hon. Prime Minister has invited that.

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** I will therefore venture to say that I hope and wish to deal with a few points raised.

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by hon. Members, but I want to carry this argument a little further because we must have clear thinking, above all at this moment of crisis.

We have had this tremendous experience, an experience which shakes up a nation and which did shake us up. It has shaken us up and let us at least profit by it by remaining wide awake. I do not mean to deny that we, as a Government, or if I may say so with all respect, this Parliament or the people as a whole have been rather out of touch sometimes with reality in the past. I ventured to say so three days after the Chinese massive invasion in a broadcast that I delivered. But, nevertheless, we have to think what the problem is, in what context it is specially when we talk about military matters. It is obvious that no victories on the battlefield are won by speeches there or here. Other things have to be prepared for victories in the normal course.

Obviously, the two major things before us are this Chinese invasion and, in a sense connected with it and with our thinking, the economic development of the country. Economic development is intimately connected with it because nothing else can strengthen us. Hon. Members may think that help from other countries will strengthen us. That is correct but only in a measure. It is correct that it does strengthen us, but even to use that help we have to have economic development; and, anyhow, one cannot live in the hopes of continuous streams of help coming to us year after year and decade after decade. At some time or other we have to build our own strength, with the help of others as we are doing, but nevertheless it must be our strength. That strength consists in advancement in science and technology which should be applied to all our processes, agricultural, industrial etc. That is a basic thing. The two are connected—all else are either parts of this or are of secondary importance—that is, firstly, the immediate issue of the Chinese

aggression and how to meet it or repel it and, secondly, development in the country.

We have had this question of development before us ever since we became independent. Everybody has it. Every country has it. Yet, there is a difference. There are many countries round-about us here in Asia or Africa who talk about development and seek help from other developed countries but who have no consciously regulated view of development. Consciously regulated view means roughly a planned approach to it. The planning may be slightly wrong or right, but a planned approach means a logical, reasonable approach, an approach to which, unfortunately, the learned Acharya opposite me does not agree. That is just it. I am glad that we had agreement about this matter at least. But that is the whole basis of my argument, that is, that the one thing that is absolutely essential in an developing country now—it is admitted by almost every intelligent person in this country or maybe in other countries—is that planned approach is essential. The nature of the planning may slightly differ here and there, but the major facts of planning are the same.

When we plan we may consult others. We consult experts from America, from England, from Russia and from countries that are capitalist, socialist or communist we consult them. Apart from certain basic differences, nevertheless, when we come to later things to be done, it is quite extraordinary how they agree, because once they get out of their ideological differences and conflicts, they have to consider it from the scientific point of view of a planned approach. It will surprise hon. Members, we have had all manner of persons coming from dozens of countries in the world, eminent technicians, eminent statisticians and the like, some of them professors in communist countries, in Poland, etc., some of them professors in American Universities and others. And yet, when they have sat down together

with us, they have, broadly, generally speaking, made the same observations and pointed out the same mistakes that we have committed. Because, today, we are slightly, not wholly, getting out of that old habit from which the world has suffered and from which some hon. Members opposite suffer greatly, of thinking that the world is confined to communists and anti-communists and nothing else. The fact is that the world today is a scientific world. There is no such thing—I hope even Prof. Ranga will agree—as communist or capitalist chemistry or a communist or capitalist gun or mortar. There is no such thing. It is a product of science and technology.

**Shri Ranga:** There is the Lysenko system.

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** Today, almost all the things that we use in the world from day to day are products of science and technology which is the same whether the approach is communist or capitalist. There is difference, of course, in other matters between communism and capitalism. Basically, the thing is, the world we live in is a scientific world, resulting in technology and all that. Because it is a scientific world, any approach that you make must be based on science. Otherwise, you lose yourself in the quagmire of illogic and lack of reason. Every country that is considered a strong country today is, normally speaking, a prosperous country, a developed country. That is, a developed country is both a prosperous country and a strong country, relatively strong country from the point of view of military affairs. You cannot be strong unless you are technologically, industrially, scientifically developed. Some may be more strong than others. That is a different matter. That is the basis of it. That development has to take place. It cannot be imposed upon one. You cannot give a gun to me and make me developed. I may use the gun and do some damage with it. But, until I go through the process of manufacturing the gun, and lots of people do that, a gun is not so useful as it might

otherwise be. That we have to develop. That is the whole essence even from the military point of view of our Five Year Plans and the like.

Behind military strength lies a developing nation, lies developing science and technology. That is why the very month or 2 or 3 months after we became independent, we laid stress on the development of science and started a fine magnificent series of national laboratories, national institutes which cover the country today and which have put India in a fairly advanced position in the ranks of scientific and progressive countries. That is the basis. Technology comes from that. You have got technological institutes. It is not putting up a mill here or a mill there. That is not industrialism. That may result in the man who owns it making a lot of money. That is a different matter. That is not industrialism. We have to develop a mentality among our hundreds of millions of people which comes from industrialism, a mentality whereby they will use better ploughs and the rest. We have to have specially trained people in vast numbers. Therefore, it may sound rather odd, to fight the Chinese, we have to encourage this process as much as possible. As I have ventured to say previously, this Chinese menace is not a thing of today or tomorrow or the day after. It is a long-term thing, because I should like hon. Members to remember that this is, historically speaking, a tremendous development; this conflict of China and India is a very big thing for India and for Asia and for the world even. I should like it to be seen in that perspective and we should be prepared for that perspective. That does not mean that we think of what is going to happen five or ten years later and forget our duty today. It is a continuing duty—That is what I am trying to point out,—from today onwards, and, therefore, we must not think of finding some sudden solution of it by some magic wand or some magic help that we may receive to put an end to it. We want all the help, we can and we shall try to get

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it, and we are trying to get it; there is no argument about it. But the fact remains that real strength can only come from inner growth, and we must keep that in mind.

Therefore, this war situation that we have to face is intimately allied to the other problem, that is, of development in the country. The President has been pleased to point out that these are the two major problems; and development, of course, is necessary anyhow, war or no war. We want a prosperous country, but because of this war situation that becomes doubly important. Some people, without thinking, without clearly thinking, seem to think that because there is a war situation, therefore, we must allow the developmental part to be put on the background. They are utterly absolutely wrong, for, that is the real fundamental way of strengthening yourself to meet the situation.

**Shri Ranga:** Nobody has said that. It is only your socialist plan that we object to. You do not want to give up your dogmas even in this crisis.

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** I have often felt inclined that there are many institutions in Delhi or some institutions for the Members of the Opposition to go to and learn what the modern world is. *(Interruptions)*

**Shri Hem Barua:** On a point of order. *(Interruptions)*

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath** (Hoshangabad): He is the Leader of the House, and if he will lead the way, we shall follow him. He is the leader of the biggest party. Let him show the way and we shall follow him.

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** I have always considered myself a student, and I still consider myself a student.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** We are with you in that.

**Shri Ranga:** He does not realise his mistake. He goes on repeating it. He

seems to think that he alone is the sanest person . . .

**Shri Hem Barua:** If he thinks himself a student then we would like to go with him, to these institutions. Why should he isolate us? *(Interruptions)*

**Mr. Speaker:** There are lessons to be learnt here, and let us all try to learn them.

**Shri Hem Barua:** Does he mean institutions like the Udyog Bhavan and the Vigyan Bahavan?

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** Without his company it would be uninteresting.

**Shri Ranga:** I suppose that even there he would be the leader.

**Shri Nath Pal:** Today's performance is more than that of a professor to a student.

**Shri Priya Gupta:** Better a lecturer than a student.

**Shri Hem Barua:** Does he mean the Udyog Bhabhan and the Vigyan Bhavan?

**Mr. Speaker:** Order, order. Again that is being repeated.

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** A grave crisis has overtaken us. That is evident. The question that arises, a very important question, is whether the basic policies that we have pursued have weakened us to face this crisis or strengthened us. I am not referring to all manner of mistakes we may have made or weaknesses that Government or the administration may have shown. I am talking about the basic policies that we have pursued because if they are wrong, if they have weakened us, then obviously we should change them, and change them considerably.

Now, what are these basic policies? In the domestic field, we have followed a course, as I have, said, of planned

development. I have already referred to it and I would beg to say that that planned development has had an objective before it, as stated right in the preamble of our Constitution, of promoting justice, social, economic and political.

**Shri Priya Gupta (Katihar):** And cumulatively falling national income?

**Mr. Speaker:** Can he not contain himself?

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** It is extraordinary how the truth of my words is evidenced so frequently by what hon. Members opposite say.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** He is the Leader of the House. He looks happy.

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** If you analyse social justice, it means justice for all, equal opportunity for all, thereby releasing the pent-up energies of a whole people so that they may take their place as equals with others. Social justice has no place at all in it for feudalism and relics of feudalism. It has no place for many other things that we have to put up with today, the great discrepancies in people's conditions and opportunities. But anyhow, I am for the moment not talking about what we have failed in achieving, but rather about our policies. Our policy of social justice inevitably leads to some structure which should be called socialism.

**Shri Ranga:** No, Sir.

**Shri Surendranath Dwivedy (Kendrapara):** It is a lone voice in the country.

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** I am not, again, speaking of socialism as some fixed, dogmatic, doctrinaire system, but, broadly speaking, of what flows from that concept. Therefore, our objective has been socialism or a socialist structure of society leading to equal opportunities for all, and a measure of affluence for all, a measure

of prosperity for all. Any sensitive man will feel it is scandalous—we may not act up to it—that some of us should be rich and prosperous and others should starve or should lead miserable lives. Any social system which permits that or which encourages that is definitely bad. There is no good looking back to the medieval times or to more ancient times to justify it by some saying or evidence.

Therefore, in the domestic field, our policy has been, first, of course, bettering the lot of our people—a welfare state—but aiming at social justice and socialism so as to give equal opportunities to all. Apart from the justice of it, the rightness of it, there is no other way, because once you give people political democracy, their minds begin to wake up. They do not submit to much that they submitted to previously. They make demands. So social problems arise. They make demands which we cannot fulfil, unless we change the social structure to some extent.

These have been our planned approaches towards socialism. It is true that we have attached great importance to democracy. But that very concept of democracy which we have adhered to or which we will adhere to tell us that democracy is not complete by merely remaining a political democracy. It has to become an economic democracy; only then democracy is complete. Therefore, again we come back to the ideal of a socialist structure of society. And this can only be achieved in the modern world or in any world with the help of science and technology. I do not call it socialism for everybody to be poor and starving, everybody to have the same lack of opportunity. That is not socialism or advance. Therefore, the only way to achieve this is through science and technology and to direct the products of science and technology into right channels so as to benefit the large mass of the people. Therefore, I submit that the policy that we have pur-

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sued of a planned approach to this end, to this desired end, is right in the domestic field.

The foreign field, however much we may discuss it from time to time, is after all secondary to the domestic field. It becomes primary suddenly when there is an attack or aggression on us, or when something happens to work us up—that is a different matter—but generally, the domestic field governs the foreign field. If we are prosperous in this country, if we are strong, our voice is heard everywhere. If we are failures in our own country, nobody listens to us. Therefore, ultimately it is the domestic field that counts. But domestic policy and foreign policy are more or less tied up. It is absurd to have a domestic policy which differs completely from the ends of the foreign policy.

In foreign policy we have ventured to lay stress, considerable stress, on peace, peace in the world. I would submit that that was right, and that is right. That does not become wrong because the Chinese Government believes in war. The Chinese Government believes in many things which are utterly wrong. They have strayed away from every canon of international behaviour, from their own high civilisation which they have pushed away. Therefore, we stood for peace and for co-operation with all nations. That simply means that we cannot co-operate with somebody who will not co-operate with us, but we are prepared to co-operate, to be friends with other countries. If I may respectfully say so, some people, quite a number of people, have said something to the effect that we are isolated in the world. What that means I do not know. I know something of the world, too, and I think the position is quite the reverse. There is hardly a country which is so much honoured as India anywhere. I do not mean to say that we are not criticised—we are criticised, and there is much to criticise in this country as

in any other country—but we are honoured, and we are honoured principally and chiefly, apart from our ancient heritage, because of the memory of Gandhiji, and secondly because, to a small extent, I do not say more than a small extent, we have endeavoured, according to our dim lights, to follow that—not completely, of course, I admit that; we cannot, in the circumstances. But they have seen that we have put noble ideal before ourselves and we work up to them.

We have adhered to the democratic method and yet tried to do things which no democracy, working through democratic methods, has tried to do yet. It is a new, novel example in the world's history that India has been trying to do—i.e., build herself up by planned economy, planned approaches, and yet retain the democratic method.

So, we are by no means friendless in the world. We have plenty of friends, but though we may have many friends, each country decides its foreign policy not on high principle, but on material interests. That is what we see round about India, in the countries surrounding us, how their policies have changed, often unfortunately very wrongly changed, not because of any principle. In fact, the thing that is obvious is that the changes that have taken place are wholly without principle. But one cannot measure one's own policies by the failures of others to adhere to any principle. As a result of the policy pursued in regard to other countries, it was inevitable, both because of our background and practical considerations of today, that we should have a policy of non-alignment which is largely accepted by this House, I believe and even by many hon. Members on the opposite side. I would explain again non-alignment. Simply, put in a different language, it is freedom of action. Non-alignment is not anything else but a measure of independence and freedom of action and

complete friendship with other countries. It does seem to me essentially right. It is odd that when we started talking about this policy of non-alignment many years ago, we were among the very few countries mentioning it. Gradually in the course of these ten or a dozen years a large number of countries have adopted it—chiefly the newly independent countries. Because it seemed to them the right attitude for a newly independent country to adopt and it came naturally to them. But what is more important is this. The people and the countries that looked rather askance at this policy of ours to begin with gradually began to appreciate it and we had arrived at a stage when almost everybody, every country that counts appreciates that policy. I do not mean to say that they appreciate it so far as they are concerned; they may be members of power blocs. But situated as we are, they appreciated it. The only extra-ordinary thing is that some people, some hon. Members, like in other matters, still disagree with us. They disagree with the whole world and they will continue in the rut of thought into which they have got by some peculiar process reasoning or lack of reasoning.

**Shri Ranga:** We remain in isolation and we do not recognise it today.

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** These are the two major domestic policies that we have pursued and I venture to say that they were right and they are right and they will continue to be right in the changing world. Take non-alignment. The mere fact that it gives us freedom of action does not tie us and we can adopt to a changing world. Now, here is a country, our neighbour country, Pakistan which, inspite of being very much aligned is wandering about all over the place without any principle or any adherence to anything worthwhile. It was extra-ordinary.

**Shri Ranga:** Has India freedom of choice?

**Shri Tyagi:** My hon. friend wants to be aligned bothways . . . (*Interruptions.*)

**Shri Ranga:** Yes. She is playing with two; there is no bigamy there.

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** So, I do venture to say that the policies we have pursued in both these important fields are right. Events have shown them to be right. They are right in principle, theoretically but practically they have been shown to be right and therefore, we must adhere to them, both in the domestic and in the foreign field.

Opinions may differ as to the progress made by us in those policies. I venture to say that in both these, progress has been considerable. In the domestic field no doubt many of us would have liked to have gone faster. But we have to work. It is not merely a question of Government's functioning or this Parliament functioning and fine speeches being made and resolutions passed. It is after all dependent on the mass of the people working, mass of the people understanding the position and working in that direction. Of course, we this Parliament and the Government have to give a lead and help the process. But essentially we have to set the whole nation working, whether it is for war or peace or for both. I think that it is easy to say that we have not succeeded in many things, that we have not progressed as we ought to have progressed. But nevertheless, the progress that we have made in these last dozen years has been quite remarkable. It would have been remarkable even if we had made no such progress, compared to— (*Interruption.*)

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** He is speaking in paradoxes.

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** I shall explain myself. The mere fact of our

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continuing as a democratic entity, functioning as a democratic entity, in spite of all the storms and stresses that we have gone through, is itself remarkable. If, in addition to that, we measure the progress of any country roundabout us, in Asia or Africa, one might see the difference. We have had democratic structures being replaced by *coup d'etat*s or revolutionary violence into autocracies, into authoritarianism, into something that we consider very undesirable. This is happening, has happened all over. So, this comparison itself brings to light what we have achieved.

If we agree to these basic principles and policies, what we have to do today is to examine not the principles, because they are proved to be right, but the implementation of those principles; it is in the implementation that we have often failed, and the implementation requires a great deal of capacity to work for millions of people as well as the capacity to lead hundreds of thousands. It is a difficult business. We have to create, if we want to develop industrially, a strong industrial base; that is, not merely odd factories here and there, but a strong, logically-organised industrial base out of which other things come. We have built a good part of the base, not complete by any means, but we are on the way to its completion; probably in another six, seven or eight years we would have made enough progress to stand to a large extent on our own feet. That is the theory behind it, and inevitably that would have made us even from the point of view of military necessities more or less independent; not entirely but more or less. I mention this merely to say that there is no question of being prepared for war except by going through this process. The other process is getting a large number of weapons of war from other countries, buying them or getting them without payment or on easy payment system. When a crisis occurs one does that and we are doing it

today. But it is not strength. We must realise that even ammunition required for these weapons is a crushing burden, continually to get ammunition, unless you manufacture them here. So we have essentially to build up our industrial machine which becomes, when the need arises, a war machine. And meanwhile we have to rely for whatever things we need on what we can get from outside. That is what we are trying to do.

There is one thing I would like to say about the response of our people to the Chinese invasion. We have all described it as a wonderful and spontaneous response. But what lies behind it? Why did they respond in that way? You may say, it is because of the love of the country. That is true; but, even that means that they have got the concept of the country. Why should people near Cape Comorin respond with great fervour to this invasion in the far north-east of India? It is because they have got that concept of India in their minds. It is a very fine thing; you must realise it. Further, it is because the challenge is made to the India of today; that is to say, however much they may criticise the India of today and the Government of today, they appreciate what has happened to India in the last 10 or 12 years, which they are not prepared to lose. It means that. Otherwise, there are only a few intellectuals who get warmed up by some theory. But the common people visualise these things as not merely theoretical, but practical things and they responded in this magnificent way, because, if I may say so, they appreciated what had been done in India since independence and they did not want to lose it.

**Shri Hem Barua (Gauhati):** It is all self-praise.

**Shri Ranga:** In spite of you, they have united.

**Shri Nath Pai (Rajapur):** You are demeaning that magnificent response by claiming partisan credit for it.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** It is not a party affair at all.

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** I did not venture to say it is a party affair.

**Shri Nath Pai:** You are giving it that colour.

**Shri Ranga:** Before we became free, when we were getting united, there was no Jawaharlal Nehru as Prime Minister. He was only one of the fighters for freedom. We all rallied round you as well as Mahatma Gandhi. But now you are only a Prime Minister and we know the result.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** He is still a fighter, I hope. (*Interruption*).

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** We have to face a military problem. But if we consider it as a purely military problem, we shall make a grave mistake. It is a political problem also in the larger context and therefore, from both these points of view, military and political, we have to prepare our people and make them a nation armed militarily and with clear ideas politically. Lack of political appreciation of the world we live in and of our country will weaken the military effort. Our people must feel that we and they are labouring for a better future for them, where every Indian can have a chance and we have rid ourselves of our terrible poverty. A socialistic ideal is essential to create that feeling among our people, apart from its desirability otherwise. We have made progress, but even now there are reactionary elements in the country, which confuse the issue and make it more difficult to progress.

Hon. Members have asked, what are we doing now about all this? I cannot easily go into the lists of what we are doing in the military field, what we are trying to build ourselves, what factories we are putting up,

what we are trying to get from others, etc., partly because it would not be a right thing for me to do so and partly because I do not know what ultimately we will get. We are getting many things. There are many other things we want, and we are trying our best to get them. The main things that we want are machines to build things ourselves—aircraft, training for special aircraft, etc. All those things we want.

I need not say much about the question of air umbrella. The other day I made a statement. So, I think it should have made the position quite clear. As it was thought—this business of air umbrella—it seemed to me quite a wrong thing, because it really meant, if you analyse it in that way, that we do not build anything important ourselves, anything worthwhile ourselves and we rely on others to do that job for us. That is a bad thing both psychologically and actually, because at the end of the period, whatever they might have done, we remain as weak as we were. Secondly, this impression in our people that other people are going to do our job is a bad impression. It weakens them and creates a mentality which might be called the Maginot-line mentality—something like a protecting cover, they are standing like chowkidars with lathis ahead, we are free of thieves or scoundrels coming in and we can live happily. It is not a right mentality to create, in any country, in the people. Psychologically it is bad. But, as I have said enough, we are trying our utmost to get the assistance of other friendly countries to give us what we require, whether it is in the air or in the field.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** May I submit that the word "umbrella" itself with some of its former political associations is an unhappy word?

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** I agree with the hon. Member completely in this matter.

**Shri Ranga:** The word "umbrella" has gone and "armada" has come.

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** The hon. Member opposite, I think, in his speech asked me, what he calls, some particular questions for which he wanted clear answers I do not know how far I can give clear answers to all his questions at present moment. He asked me: "Are we at war with China or not?". Well, obviously, in the technical sense we are not. That is obvious. But behind that technical sense lie many other things. That is a different matter, and I might say that we have entered into a period of conflict with China which is going to be a lengthy period which may occasionally sometimes be actual war and at other times not a war. But the conflict continues and we live on the brink of it all the time. Therefore, we have to be prepared for it all the time—I do not know if that is an adequate answer—and, we can never be sure of what developments may take place in the near future.

**Shri Priya Gupta:** Are we preparing for a war or for a conflict?

**Shri Ranga:** We are living in an emergency.

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** Whether it is war or conflict the preparation is the same.

**Shri Priya Gupta:** I see.

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** The preparation is identical and, if I may add, if it is negotiation, even then the preparation is the same, because no negotiation can take place, it has no value, unless it has the strength behind it.

**Shri Priya Gupta:** In respect of war it is the same?

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** At the present moment, so far as the present position in these border areas is concerned, we consider ourselves completely free to do what we like, to send our forces where we like, but we

do consider ourselves bound down to some extent by the so-called Colombo proposals—that is, having accepted them we do not want to go beyond them—not that the question arises at all . . .

**Shri Ranga:** That means they are not dead.

**Shri Hem Barua:** But there was a gap between the Chinese cease-fire and the Colombo proposals. What did you do during that gap?

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** I may venture to say that we consider ourselves completely free to go into and implement the Colombo proposals as accepted by us. That is not quite the same as the Chinese view of the Colombo proposals. Anyhow, these questions do not actually arise at the present moment. As I am telling you, our army is free to do so. They have to decide when to go where to go and how to go. That is for them to decide.

**Shri Nath Pai:** That is not very convincing. Basically, it is a political decision. You are avoiding your responsibilities. Basically, the decision is political. If you do not like to face it, that is different. We cannot accept the position that it is a military decision. We fail to understand how to move to the border is a military decision.

17 hrs.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** The Defence Minister has not a free hand, I believe.

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** The political decision has been made by us; I am talking of the present moment; day after tomorrow it may be different. That is to say, in terms of the Colombo proposals we can send our troops or our forces anywhere. That is the political decision. Whether in those terms the army sends them immediately, tomorrow or the day after is a military decision.

**Shri Nath Pai:** That is implementation.

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** Its implementation is up to the army.

**Shri Ranga:** May we seek a clarification? He said that it is up to the Army. Army is also a department of this Government and there is a Cabinet Minister in charge of that. Are we to understand that the army and the Cabinet Minister are free to take any decision and then go ahead? What did the Prime Minister say when he went to Ceylon?—"I have asked our troops to march". Was it a military decision, or political decision, or the Prime Minister's decision?

**Shri Tyagi:** Should we inform the enemy what we are going to do?

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** Hon. Members will appreciate the little fact that something has happened since the middle of September.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** Very much.

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** What I said then was not my decision alone; it was the viewpoint of the military people too. They wanted to do it. Otherwise, I would not have dared to say anything like that. It is obvious.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** The then Defence Minister also.

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** Now, for instance, there are two places, Thagla Ridge area and Longju which, under the Colombo proposals, as accepted by us, were sought to be left out of the other proposals and were to be discussed by us, that is by our emissaries, with the Chinese Government in the course of implementation. Now, because of that, for the present we are not sending any of our armed forces to the Thagla Ridge area and Longju. Apart from that in the whole of NEFA we can go anywhere, we can send our armed forces anywhere, subject only to the decision of our military people as to when to send, what to send and

how to send. In the same way, in Ladakh too, we are free to send our forces where we like within the limits of our agreement, according to the Colombo proposals.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** What agreement? There is no agreement.

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** Within the limits of our acceptance of the Colombo proposals; I am talking of the present—a different situation may arise tomorrow—I am talking of the position as it is now.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** Sir, on a point of clarification. The Prime Minister himself says that the Chinese have not accepted the Colombo proposals. So, we are not bound by them when they have not agreed to them.

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** They have not accepted them. As a matter of fact, that need not come in our way at all, because we have not implemented that part too. Because, practically speaking, there are difficulties.

**Shri Hem Barua:** It depends upon the acceptance by the Chinese also, for its implementation.

**Shri Ranga:** Drop the word "agreement" then.

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** I am sorry, there is no "agreement" in that sense. What I have said in regard to the Colombo proposals is that it is no doubt a limit which we have not reached yet, which our army has not reached yet. That is what I said. This is a matter which is a continually changing matter. It will depend upon what the position is. It is an obvious thing for me to say that here it is not a question of advancing, waving a flag: It is a question of advancing with strength enough to face any odds and the Army has to think of that. We cannot tell them to go here or to go there. They have to decide whether they can go there. They can go within a certain range.

[Shri Jawaharlal Nehru]

I would repeat one thing. Whenever we think of war a large number of amateur strategists arise who are constantly advising us as to what to do and how to carry on a war or our preparation for a war. All of us have some views about it, but if it really comes to any warlike operations, one has necessarily to depend upon the experts who are there to advise us and who have to carry it out.

Broadly, I would remind this House, although we are taking every step to prepare ourselves, even so, we do not rule out any possible settlement by negotiation. It may be unlikely—probably, it is—but to rule it out would be wrong. That has not been our practice at any time. I have previously referred to a reference of this matter to the International Court of Justice at the Hague or even to a proper arbitration by a number of countries. It may be unlikely that China accepts it. That is a different matter, but I think it is a right course for us—right in itself and right from the point of view that the world is appreciating it.

**Dr. M. S. Aney:** I hope, you will do that after consulting this House.

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** Obviously, I cannot commit the country to such a step without coming to this House, but I have already stated it in my letters to the Chinese Prime Minister about two months ago or a month ago—I forget when—and made this suggestion. Suppose—it is an unlikely supposition, but suppose—he accepts them; then it becomes rather awkward for me to back out of that.

**Shri Nath Pai:** Accept what?

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** The reference to the Hague Court or something like that.

**Shri Nath Pai:** He dare not.

**Shri Hem Barua:** He has made that clear.

**Shri Nath Pai:** He dare not face an international tribunal; rest assured.

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** Then, may I refer to some other matters? Some people have suggested that we should put an end to the state of emergency. At the same time they have also criticized the Government and the administration for not keeping up the mind of emergency, if I may say so, among the people. Is it not obvious, apart from other reasons, that if we put an end to the state of emergency, everybody will lose all thought of an emergency?

**Shri Ranga:** No, Sir; they have a greater sense of patriotism.

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** I must confess that what is obvious to me finds difficulty in appreciating by Professor Ranga. But one thing is certain—I do not say that that is the sole test of that—that once we did that the whole country will feel that the danger is past or that something has happened and they need not be taut and ready for any crisis. That is one reason. The fact is—I want this House to appreciate it—that the danger is not past. I do not know what may happen in the next two, three or four weeks in the month of March or April; I have no notion at all. I know that we have been preparing for everything and we have to go on strengthening ourselves. This process of strengthening will go on not only for a few weeks or few months but, maybe, for a year or two. That is so. Because, we want to be prepared for every contingency. To imagine that there is no possibility of any new crisis suddenly arising, will be completely wrong for us.

**Shri Ranga:** Should you keep it on taking away civil liberties, and giving all the freedom to the Congress party to carry on as they please all over the country, treating the rest of us who differ from them as traitors?

**Mr. Speaker:** Order, order; it is not a speech.

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** So far as Defence of India Rules are concerned, there have been some arrests and some objection has been taken to preventive detention, etc. Nearly all these arrests have taken place at the instance of the State Governments, certainly with the general approval of the Government of India, not individual approval of individuals. But, the fact that they took some such action. . . .

**Shri Vasudevan Nair:** Are we to understand that the Central Government did not send any directive to the State Governments?

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** I just ventured to say with the general approval of the Government of India, not in regard to any individuals. Where they considered any persons dangerous from the point of view of war effort, etc., they might take action: that is our general direction to them. But, the choice lay with them how to do it. Since then, we have repeatedly asked them to re-examine these cases and where they did not consider it necessary, to release them. In fact, about 200 or so persons, who were originally arrested, have been released. This process of re-examination is continuously going on.

About Kashmir, I would like to say a word, though not much. Because, I feel, having decided to talk with the Pakistan Government, it will not be proper for me to discuss this matter in the House or in public although I must say, the recent new development, which has induced the Foreign Minister of Pakistan to go to Peking to sign a treaty with them about their border. . . .

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** Our border.

**Shri Nath Pal:** Which is their border? We claim Kashmir as part of India.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** They have usurped our border

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** Yes. . . has come as a shock. It has come as a shock not only because of the basic facts of the situation. But, the extraordinary thing is the timing of these events. The House will remember that when first my colleague Shri Swaran Singh went to Rawalpindi for the first series of talks, the day before the talks were going to begin, an announcement was made that an agreement in principle had been arrived at between China and Pakistan about the border. It was an extraordinary timing: just the day before. Now again, when he is going in a short time, they go. The least that it shows is. . . .

**Shri U. M. Trivedi:** We knew all the while that they were being invited. Peking was inviting. Mohammed Ali was invited. This gentleman was invited.

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** Nevertheless, the timing is significant. I think one is justified in thinking that this timing cannot be fortuitous or accidental. It is deliberate. Therefore, it does not indicate any strong desire on the Pakistan Government's part to arrive at any agreement. That is a matter. We gave some consideration to this as to whether we should continue these talks in spite of this visit of Pakistan Foreign Minister to Peking at this moment. We came to the conclusion that we should adhere to our previous resolve and not back out of these talks because of this, although, naturally, the talks will be affected by it. So, probably, I say probably, I do not know what might happen in the next week or 10 or 12 days, probably, subject to that, I shall request Shri Swaran Singh again to journey to Calcutta to continue these talks.

**Shri Hem Barua:** This is going to be the last.

**Shri U. M. Trivedi:** We should re-orientate our policy.

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** Because, one has to balance various considerations. We thought that it would be desirable for us to break on this issue. Hon. Members here know all the background. But, for the world at large, the fact that will stand out is that we have broken these talks, not that they have gone to Peking. That will be very much before them.

Then, there are one or two other matters that I should like to refer to. One is that many Members have referred to corruption and maladministration. It is a favourite subject and a right subject to refer to, though perhaps, very often, the reference gives an exaggerated picture. Anyhow, it is a vitally important thing on which there cannot be any two opinions. And I can assure the House that we have been doing our utmost, and I do not know if Members see these things or these papers get enough publicity, but every month, I think, I receive a long list of persons in the Government service, who, after due inquiry, have been either proceeded with in the law courts or departmentally and punished.

Recently, there was the Vivian Bose Enquiry Report, which I hope, every Member has got now, for, it is a document worth reading, not only because of the particular things mentioned in it, but even more so because of the background in which such things can happen. It is true that the background is somewhat different now, because many of these things happened in the early days of our Independence, when some new laws that we have passed were not functioning. Nevertheless, it is important to consider what action should be taken not only to punish the guilty but to prevent such things from happening again as far as possible.

May I mention also another matter? Some Members drew my attention to. . . .

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** Will Parliament have an opportunity of discussing that report?

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** Undoubtedly, but we have not put it up. . . .

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** An opportunity of discussing it early?

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru.** Discussing it early? That is difficult, because the Finance Bill will take up most of the time. But there is another thing. We have referred that report to some eminent lawyers and asked them not only to go into the individual cases—that, of course, is a matter of detailed examination—but we have also asked their advice as to what else we can do apart from proceeding individually. So, I think that we should wait for their report and then bring it up before the House.

There is another matter that I should like to refer to. Some hon. Members have drawn my attention to some reports in the Calcutta newspapers, apparently about some papers, account-books and other things being attached by the police, and it is said that in these account-books occurred the names of some Ministers, Central Ministers, State Ministers etc. I heard of this for the first time two days ago—or perhaps three days ago, I am not sure; immediately, I enquired and I wanted to know something more about it, and I have asked for a report about this, so that we might find out what it is and we shall, after finding it out take necessary action.

About the National Defence Fund, various people have drawn attention to the fact. . . .

**Shri Priya Gupta:** In regard to the anti-corruption drive, let there be a forum for the Ministers also to be tried in case of complaint. That is my submission. The Home Minister has said that Ministers are not Government servants as such, and so, there must be some forum to look into complaints of corruption against the Ministers.

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** I cannot talk about forums.

**Mr. Speaker:** Not the public forum.

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** About the National Defence Fund, some charge is made that coercion and compulsion is being exercised in these collections.

**Shri Priya Gupta:** What about my submission?

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** If that is so, I am very much distressed, because we have made it very clear, repeatedly clear, publicly clear as well as privately clear, that there must be not an atom of compulsion or pressure exercised. For, it spoils something that has been magnificent. The way the public have contributed to this Fund has been truly very heartening, and to have that record spoiled by an odd case of compulsion etc. is not good. I can assure the House that the Finance Minister, I and others have tried our utmost, and we will go on trying, to prevent that.

One or two words more, about gold policy. I would not say much about it. I take it that almost all, if not all—I dare not say 'all' lest Acharya Ranga might....

**Shri Nath Pai:** No, no. It is Comrade Dange who has opposed that—your progressive friend. (*Interruptions*).

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** He has not heard the end of my sentence. What I was saying was this, that so far as the general policy underlying it is concerned, I hope that if not all, nearly all persons, all Members, will agree to the implementation of it. There may be difference of opinion and some suggestions made. That is a matter which should continuously be under the consideration of the Finance Minister. But I am not going into that matter because I understand there is going to be a full debate on it very soon....

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** Monday next.

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:**...on the 5th. The matter might be discussed then.

There is just one other thing—I have taken so much time of the House—a proposal made by some hon. Members about NEFA, Nagaland, Tripura and Manipur, all being made into a homogeneous province with Assam. I think that on paper it would sound very nice but it would create great difficulties and will not be liked by the people concerned. That is a very important consideration. We cannot take a step today which goes against the will of the people concerned there.

Another criticism has been made about NEFA being treated as a kind of reserved area where people are not allowed to go easily. To some extent, that is true. That has been so. But the House will remember that NEFA has been the special responsibility of the Government of India in the External Affairs Ministry, with the result that it has had more attention paid to it than most other areas. It is not a question of keeping it apart from India, but certain changes should take place in a manner that they may fit in instead of creating difficulties and irritation among the people who live there. We have to go on with the process of integration, but without gaining the goodwill of the people, the integration would be superficial. Therefore, for the moment—specially at this stage from the point of view of border troubles—it will not be desirable to make any major change in the constitutional arrangements there.

**Shri Hem Barua:** How do you propose to bring about a comprehensive Indian mind so far as these people are concerned?

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** It is coming slowly.

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** They won't get a comprehensive Indian mind if they get the idea that the average Indian goes there to exploit them.

**Shri Hem Barua:** I know that. That must be stopped, from whatever source it comes. But the policy of segregation, with the rest of the Indians not being allowed to go into that place, must not be persisted in.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** The Chinese are exploiting them all right.

**Shri Hem Barua:** On the other side of the line, the Chinese are coming in and going out, and fraternising with the people there.

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** What I ventured to say was that the process should go on, as the hon. Member suggests. It has to be gradual to fit in. If you upset them, it is difficult to soothe them down again.

I am sorry I have taken so much time. May I now say a few words about prices? Much has been said about prices. Oddly enough, some Members have complained of rising prices and some have complained of declining prices.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** There has been a debate already.

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** I know. The fact that Members have complained of two entirely opposite tendencies indicates that prices have, on the whole, been stable.

**Shri Hem Barua:** That is the easier solution!

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** One must judge of wholesale prices, and wholesale prices have, on the whole, been stable. In fact, there was a slight declining tendency up to December. Since then, there has been some rise, but of a marginal character only. As for retail prices, it is very difficult to have even very correct information about the whole of India, but we are

trying to get as much information as possible. But on the whole even retail prices have not changed very much. Nor has there been any market fluctuation in the price of manufactured articles. In regard to cloth, the supply position is good, and prices have been at a relatively satisfactory level. The fact remains that the question of prices is a very important one and I believe is very much in the mind of the Planning Commission and other Ministries that deal with it.

Thank you.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** By your leave, may I put one question, arising out of this?

**Mr. Speaker:** No questions now.

Am I required to put any particular amendment separately?

**Shri Surendranath Dwivedy:** The first part of my amendment covers what Shri Ranga's amendment contains. You may therefore put Nos. 7 and 8 together.

**Shri U. M. Trivedi:** I would like my amendment, No. 6, to be put separately.

**Mr. Speaker:** Then I put amendment Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 and 9 to the House.

(The amendments were put and negatived).

**Mr. Speaker:** The question is:

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

“but regret—

- (a) that in spite of continued occupation of India's territory by the Chinese communists and the need of emergent action to combat it, the emphasis laid in the Address on peaceful methods is calculated to undermine the morale of the people and to rob the national crisis of its content of urgency and the proclama-

tion of Emergency is being continued mainly to strengthen the Party in power; and

whole-hearted and effective flow of military aid from all friendly countries".

(b) the failure of Government to step-up effort to ensure

The Lok Sabha divided: Ayes 16, Noes 179.

### AYES

[Division No. 1]

[17.32 hrs.]

Bade, Shri  
Berwa Kotcha, Shri  
Buta Singh, Shri  
Deo, Shri P. K.  
Gayatri Devi, Shrimati  
Ghosh, Shri P. K.

Himmatsinhji, Shri  
Ismail, Shri M.  
Kachhavaiya, Shri  
Mandal, Shri B. N.  
Ranga, Shri

Reddy, Shri Narasimha  
Singh, Shri Y. D.  
Trivedi, Shri U. M.  
Utiya, Shri  
Yashpal Singh, Shri

### NOES

Achal Singh, Shri  
Akkamma Devi, Shrimati  
Aleghsan, Shri  
Alva, Shri A. S.  
Aney, Dr. M. S.  
runachalam, Shri  
Azad, Shri Bhagwat Jha  
Babunath Singh, Shri  
Banerjee, Dr. R.  
Barupal, Shri P. L.  
Basappa, Shri  
Basumatari, Shri  
Baswant, Shri  
Bera, Shri  
Bhaga, Shri B. R.  
Bhakt Darshan, Shri  
Bhanja Deo, Shri L. N.  
Bhattacharya, Shri Dinem  
Birendra Bahadur Singh, Shri  
Brahm Prakash, Shri  
Brajeshwar Prasad, Shri  
Brij Basi Lal, Shri  
Brij Raj Singh-Kotah, Shri  
Chakraverti, Shri P. R.  
Chandak, Shri  
Chandriki, Shri  
Chatterjee, Shri H. P.  
Chaturvedi, Shri S. N.  
Chaudhuri, Shrimati Kam  
Chavan, Shri D. R.  
Chavda, Shrimati  
Chettiar, Shri Ramanathan  
Daljit Singh, Shri  
Das, Shri B. K.  
Das, Shri Sudhansu  
Dasappa, Shri  
Dasa, Shri  
Deo Bhanj, Shri P. C.  
Desai, Shri Morari

Dinesh Singh, Shri  
Dubey, Shri R. G.  
Dwivedi, Shri M.L.  
Elayaperumal, Shri  
Ering, Shri D.  
Gaitonde, Dr.  
Gandhi, Shri V. B.  
Gopalan, Shri A. K.  
Gupta, Shri Shiv Charan  
Hansda, Shri Subodh  
Hem Raj, Shri  
Himatsingka, Shri  
Jagjivan Ram, Shri  
Jana, Shri A. P.  
Jamir, Shri S. G.  
Jamunadevi, Shrimati  
Jedhe, Shri  
Joshi, Shri A. C.  
Joshi, Shrimati Subhadra  
Jyotishi, Shri J. P.  
Kanakasabai, Shri  
Kar, Shri Prabhat  
Kedaria, Shri C. M.  
Khadilkar, Shri  
Khanna, Shri Mehr Chand  
Kindar Lal, Shri  
Koroki, Shri Liladhar  
Kripa Shankar, Shri  
Krishnamachari, Shri T. T.  
Lakhan Das, Shri  
Lalit Sen, Shri  
Laskar, Shri N. R.  
Mahadeva Prasad, Dr.  
Mahtab, Shri  
Mahishi, Shrimati Sarojini  
Malaichami, Shri  
Malhotra, Shri Inder J.  
Mandal, Dr. P.  
Maniyangadan, Shri  
Mantri, Shri

Marubiah, Shri  
Mathur, Shri Harish Chandra  
Mehdi, Shri S. A.  
Mehrotra, Shri Braj Bihari  
Mirza, Shri Bakar Ali  
Mishra, Shri Bibhuti  
Mishra, Shri Ribudhendra  
Mohanty, Shri G.  
Mohiuddin, Shri  
Morarka, Shri  
More, Shri K. L.  
More, Shri S. S.  
Mukerjee, Shri H. N.  
Mukerjee, Shrimati Sharda  
Murmu, Shri Sarkar  
Musafir, Shri G. S.  
Muthiah, Shri  
Naidu, Shri V. G.  
Naik, Shri D. J.  
Naik, Shri Maheswar  
Nair, Shri Vasudevan  
Nanda, Shri  
Naskar, Shri P. S.  
Nehru, Shri Jawaharla  
Niranjan Lal, Shri  
Paliwal, Shri  
Pandey, Shri R. S.  
Pansey, Shri Vishwa Nath  
Pant, Shri K. C.  
Paramasivan, Shri  
Patel, Shri N. N.  
Patil, Shri D. S.  
Patil, Shri Vasantao  
Prabhakar, Shri Naval  
Pratap Singh, Shri  
Raghunath Singh, Shri  
Raghubarish, Shri  
Raj Bahadur, Shri  
Raju, Dr. D. S.

Raju, Shri D. B.  
 Ram, Shri T.  
 Ramaswamy, Shri V. K.  
 Rane, Shri  
 Ranga, Shri  
 Rao, Dr. K. L.  
 Rao, Shri Jaganatha  
 Rao, Shri Krishnamoorthy  
 Rao, Shri Muthyal  
 Rao, Shri Ramapathi  
 Ray, Shrimati Renuka  
 Reddi, Dr. B. Gopala  
 Reddiar, Shri  
 Reddy, Shri Fwara  
 Roy, Dr. Saradish  
 Roy, Shri Bishwanath  
 Sadhu Ram, Shri  
 Saha, Dr. S. K.  
 Sanku, Shri Rameshwar  
 Samanta, Shri S. C.  
 Samnani, Shri  
 Saraf, Shri Sham Lal

Sarma, Shri A. T.  
 Satyabhama Devi, Shrimati  
 Sen, Dr. Ranen  
 Shankaraiya, Shri  
 Sharma, Shri D. C.  
 Sharma, Shri K. C.  
 Shashi Ranjan, Shri  
 Shastri, Shri Lal Bahadur  
 Sheo Narain, Shri  
 Srinde, Shri  
 Shrimali, Dr. K. L.  
 Sidhehwar Prasad, Shri  
 Singh, Shri R. P.  
 Singha, Shri G. K.  
 Sinha, Shri Satya Narayan  
 Sinha, Shrimati Ramdulari  
 Sonavane, Shri  
 Subbaraman, Shri C.  
 Subramaniam, Shri C.  
 Subramanyam, Shri T.

Sumat Prasad, Shri  
 Surendra Pal Singh, Shri  
 Surya Prasad, Shri  
 Swamy, Shri M. P.  
 Tanti, Shri Rameshwar  
 Thomas, Shri A. M.  
 Tiwary, Shri D. N.  
 Tiwary, Shri K. N.  
 Tula Ram, Shri  
 Tyagi, Shri  
 Uikey, Shri  
 Valvi, Shri  
 Varma, Shri Ravindra  
 Veerabasappa, Shri  
 Venkatasubbaiah, Shri P.  
 Vidyalankar, Shri A. N.  
 Virbhadra Singh, Shri  
 Vyas, Shri Radhulal  
 Wadiwa, Shri  
 Yadava, Shri B. P.

*The amendment was negative*

**Mr. Speaker:** Now, I shall now put amendment No. 7 to the vote of the House.

**Shri Surendranath Dwivedy:** 7 and 8 may be put together.

**Mr. Speaker:** But if they are to be pressed to a division, I shall have to put them separately.

**Shri Surendranath Dwivedy:** Then they may be put separately.

**Mr. Speaker:** The question is:

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

“but regret that the Address fails to—

(a) reiterate the nation's firm

resolve, as solemnly and un-animously expressed by Parliament on November 14, 1962 to drive out the aggressor from the sacred soil of India, however long and hard the struggle may be; and

(b) indicate concrete plans or measures to vigorously prosecute the war for the liberation of Indian territory from Communist China's occupation and for the restoration of India's territorial integrity”. (7)

**Lok Sabha divided: Ayes 20; Noes 180**

**AYES**

[Division No. 2]

[17:35 hrs.]

Bade, Shri  
 Barua, Shri Hem  
 Bitta Singh, Shri  
 Deo, Shri P. K.  
 Dwivedy, Shri Surendranath  
 Ghosh, Shri P. K.  
 Himmsteinhji, Shri

Kacchavaia, Shri  
 Kamath, Shri Hari Vishnu  
 Karni Singhji, Shri  
 Mandal, Shri B. N.  
 Nath Pei, Shri  
 Onkar Lal, Shri  
 Ranga, Shri  
 Reddy, Shri Narasimha

Singh, Shri Y. D.  
 Swamy, Shri Sivamurthi  
 Trivedi, Shri U. M.  
 Utiya, Shri  
 Yashpal, Singh, Shri

## NOES

Achal Singh, Shri  
 Akkamma Devi, Shrimati  
 Alageaan, Shri  
 Alva, Shri A. S.  
 Alva, Shri Joachim  
 Aney, Dr. M. S.  
 Arunachalam, Shri  
 Asa I, Shri Bhagwat Jha  
 Babunath Singh, Shri  
 Banerjee, Dr. R. R.  
 Barupal, Shri P. L.  
 Basappa, Shri  
 Basumatari, Shri  
 Baswant, Shri  
 Besra, Shri  
 Bhagat, Shri B. R.  
 Bhakt Darshan, Shri  
 Bhanja Deo, Shri L. N.  
 Bhattacharya, Shri Dinesh  
 Biren Ira Bahadur Singh, Shri  
 Behram Prakash, Shri  
 Brajeshwar Prasad, Shri  
 Brij Basu Lal, Shri  
 Brij Raj Singh-Kotah, Shri  
 Chakraverti, Shri P. R.  
 Chandak, Shri  
 Chandriki, Shri  
 Chatterjee, Shri H. P.  
 Chaturvedi, Shri S. N.  
 Chatterji, Shrimati Kamala  
 Chavan, Shri D. R.  
 Chavda, Shrimati  
 Chatterji, Shri Ramnathan  
 Daljit Singh, Shri  
 Das, Shri B. K.  
 Das, Shri Sudhanu  
 Dasappa, Shri  
 Dass, Shri G.  
 Deo Bhanj, Shri P. C.  
 Desai, Shri Morarji  
 Dinesh Singh, Shri  
 Dubey, Shri R. G.  
 Elayaperumal, Shri  
 Ering, Shri D.  
 Gatironde, Dr.  
 Gaudhi, Shri V. B.  
 Ganga Devi Shrimati  
 Gopalan, Shri A. K.  
 Gupta, Shri Shiv Charan  
 Hazra, Shri Subodh  
 Hem Raj, Shri  
 Himatsingka Shri  
 Jagjivan Ram, Shri  
 Jain, Shri A. P.  
 Jamir, Shri S. G.  
 Jambhavi, Shrimati  
 Jedha, Shri  
 Joshi, Shri A. C.  
 Joshi, Shrimati Subhadra  
 Jyotishi, Shri J. P.

Kanakasabai, Shri  
 Kar, Shri Prabhat  
 Kedaria, Shri C. M.  
 Khadiilkar, Shri  
 Khanna, Shri Mehr Chand  
 Kindar Lal, Shri  
 Kotoki, Shri Liladhar  
 Kripa Shankar, Shri  
 Krishnamachari, Shri T. T.  
 Lakhan Das, Shri  
 Lalit Sen, Shri  
 Laskar, Shri N. R.  
 Mahadeva Prasad, Dr.  
 Mahtab, Shri  
 Mahishi, Shrimati Sarojini  
 Malaichami, Shri  
 Malhotra, Shri Inder J.  
 Mandal, Dr. P.  
 Maniyangadan, Shri  
 Mantri, Shri  
 Maruthiah, Shri  
 Matbur, Shri Hariah Chandra  
 Mehdi, Shri S. A.  
 Mehrotra, Shri Braj Bihari  
 Mirza, Shri Bakar Ali  
 Mishra, Shri Bibhuti  
 Mishra, Shri Bibudhendra  
 Mohanty, Shri G.  
 Mohiuddin, Shri  
 Morarka, Shri  
 More, Shri K. L.  
 More, Shri S. S.  
 Mukerjee, Shri H. N.  
 Mukerjee, Shrimati Sharda  
 Murmu, Shri Sarkar  
 Musafir, Shri G. S.  
 Mudiah, Shri  
 Naidu, Shri V. G.  
 Naik, Shri D. J.  
 Naik, Shri Maheswar  
 Nair, Shri Vasudevan  
 Nanda, Shri  
 Naikar, Shri P. S.  
 Nehru, Shri Jawaharlal  
 Niranjana Lal, Shri  
 Paliwal, Shri  
 Pandey, Shri R. S.  
 Pandey, Shri Vishwa Nath  
 Pant, Shri K. C.  
 Paramasivan, Shri  
 Patel, Shri N. N.  
 Patil, Shri D. S.  
 Patil, Shri Vasant Rao  
 Prabhakar, Shri Naval  
 Pratap Singh, Shri  
 Raghunath Singh, Shri  
 Raghuramaiah, Shri  
 Raj Bahadur, Shri  
 Raju, Dr. D. S.  
 Raju, Shri D. B.

Ram Shri, T.  
 Ramaswamy, Shri V. K.  
 Rane, Shri  
 Rao, Dr. K. L.  
 Rao, Shri Jagannatha  
 Rao, Shri Krishnamoorthy  
 Rao, Shri Muthyal  
 Rao, Shri Ramapathi  
 Ray, Shrimati Renuka  
 Reddi, Dr. B. Gopala  
 Reddiar, Shri  
 Reddy, Shri Eswara  
 Roy, Dr. Saradish  
 Roy, Shri Bishwanath  
 Sachu Ram, Shri  
 Saha, Dr. S. K.  
 Sahu, Shri Rameshwar  
 Samanta, Shri S. C.  
 Samnani, Shri  
 Saraf, Shri Sham Lal  
 Sarma, Shri A. T.  
 Satyabhama Devi, Shrimati  
 Sen, Dr. Ranen  
 Shankaraiya Shri  
 Sharma, Shri D. C.  
 Sharma, Shri K. C.  
 Shashi Ranjan, Shri  
 Shastri, Shri Lal Bahadur  
 Shoo Narain, Shri  
 Shinde, Shri  
 Shirmali, Dr. K. L.  
 Sidheshwar Prasad, Shri  
 Singh, Shri R. P.  
 Singha, Shri G. K.  
 Sinha, Shri Satya Narayan  
 Sinha, Shrimati Ramdulari  
 Sonavane, Shri  
 Subbaraman, Shri C.  
 Subramaniam, Shri C.  
 Subramanyam, Shri T.  
 Sumat Prasad, Shri  
 Surendra Pal Singh, Shri  
 Surya Prasad Shri  
 Swamy, Shri M. P.  
 Tanna, Shri Rameshwar  
 Thomas, Shri A. M.  
 Tiwary, Shri D. N.  
 Tiwary, Shri K. N.  
 Tula Ram, Shri  
 Tyagi, Shri  
 Ukey, Shri  
 Valvi, Shri  
 Varma, Shri Ravindra  
 Veerasasappa, Shri  
 Venkatasubbaiah, Shri P.  
 Vidyalankar, Shri A. N.  
 Virbhadra Singh, Shri  
 Vyas, Shri Radhelal  
 Wadiwa, Shri  
 Yadava, Shri B. P.

The amendment was negatived.

**Shri Tyagi:** Sir, before you call for the next division, at least a minute should be given to us.

**Mr. Speaker:** Why does he want it?

**Shri Tyagi:** So that we can adjust ourselves.

**Mr. Speaker:** He may now prepare himself for action. Is he ready now? The question is:

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

“but regret that the Address fails to—

- (a) reiterate the nation's solemn resolve, embodied in the Resolution unanimously adopted by Parliament on November 14, 1962, ‘to drive out the aggressor from the sacred soil of India, however long and hard the struggle may be’, and further, to indicate concrete measures for vigorous prosecution of the war to libe-

rate Indian territory from Communist China's occupation, and for the restoration of our territorial integrity;

- (b) take note of the anaemic stagnation that has overtaken the national economy, and to formulate effective measures with a view to gearing it up for the urgent requirements of Defence and Development; and
- (c) utilise the state of Emergency for the maximum mobilisation of the people's energies as reflected in the patriotic upsurge in the wake of the massive invasion of our country by Communist China”. (8)

*Lok Sabha divided.*

**Shri M. L. Dwivedi:** Sir, I wanted to vote for Noes. My vote has not been recorded . . . (*Interruptions.*)

**Mr. Speaker:** The result of the division is: Ayes 19; Noes 181.

### AYES

[Division No. 3]

[17.39 hrs.]

Bade, Shri  
Barua, Shri Hem  
Dwivedy, Shri Surendrnath  
Gayatri Devi, Shrimati  
Ghosh, Shri P. K.  
Himmatsinhji, Shri  
Jha, Shri Yogendra

Kamath, Shri H. V.  
Karni Singhji, Shri  
Mandal, Shri B. N.  
Nath Pai, Shri  
Onkar Lal, Shri  
Ranga, Shri

Reddy, Shri Naresimha  
Singh, Shri Y. D.  
Swamy, Shri Sivamurthi  
Trivedi, Shri U. M.  
Utiya, Shri  
Yashpal Singh, Shri

### NOES

Achal Singh, Shri  
Akkamma Devi, Shrimati  
Alagesan, Shri  
Alva, Shri A. S.  
Alva, Shri Joachim  
Aney, Dr. M. S.  
Arunachalam, Shri  
Azad, Shri Bhagwat Jha  
Babunath Singh, Shri  
Banerjee, Dr. R.  
Barual, Shri P. L.  
Basappa, Shri  
Basumatari, Shri

Baswant, Shri  
Besra, Shri  
Bhagat, Shri B. R.  
Bhakt Darshan, Shri  
Bhanja Deo, Shri L. N.  
Bhattacharya, Shri Dinen  
Birendra Bahadur Singh, Shri  
Brahm Prakash, Shri  
Brajeshwar Prasad, Shri  
Brij Basi Lal, Shri  
Brij Raj Singh-Kotah, Shri  
Chakraverti, Shri P. R.  
Chandak, Shri

Chandriki, Shri  
Chatterjee, Shri H. P.  
Chaturvedi, Shri S. N.  
Chaudhuri, Shrimati Kamala  
Chavan, Shri D. R.  
Chavda, Shrimati  
Chettiar, Shri Ramanathan  
Daljit Singh, Shri  
Das, Shri B. K.  
Das, Shri Sudhanu  
Dasappa, Shri  
Dass, Shri G.  
Deo Bhanj, Shri P. C.

Desai, Shri Morarji	Mishra, Shri Bibudhendra	Roy, Shri Bishwanath
Dinesh Singh, Shri	Mohanty, Shri G.	Sadhu Ram, Shri
Dubey, Shri R. G.	Mohiuddin, Shri	Saha, Dr. S. K.
Dwivedi, Shri M. L.	Morarka, Shri	Sahu, Shri Rameshwar
Elayaperumal, Shri	More, Shri K. L.	Samanta, Shri S. C.
Ering, Shri D.	More, Shri S. S.	Samnani, Shri
Gaitonde, Dr.	Mukerjee, Shri H. N.	Saraf, Shri Sham Lal
Gandhi, Shri V. B.	Mukerjee, Shrimati Sharda	Sarma, Shri A. T.
Ganga Devi, Shrimati	Murmu, Shri Sarkar	Satyabhama Devi, Shrimati
Gopalan, Shri A. K.	Musafir, Shri G. S.	Sen, Dr. Ranen
Gupta, Shri Shiv Charan	Muthiah, Shri	Shankaraiya, Shri
Hanada, Shri Subodh	Naidu, Shri V. G.	Sharma, Shri D.C.
Hem Raj, Shri	Naik, Shri D. J.	Sharma, Shri K. C.
Himatsingka, Shri	Naik, Shri Maheswar	Shashi Ranjan, Shri
Jagjivan Ram, Shri	Nair, Shri Vasudevan	Shastri, Shri Lal Bahadur
Jain, Shri A.	Nanda, Shri	Sheo Narain, Shri
Jamir, Shri S.G.	Naskar, Shri P. S.	Shinde, Shri
Jamunadevi, Shrimati	Nehru, Shri Jawaharlal	Shrimali, Dr. K. L.
Jedhe, Shri	Niranjan, Lal Shri	Sidheshwar Prasad, Shri
Joshi, Abai A. C.	Paliwal, Shri	Singh, Shri R. P.
Joshi, Shrimati Subhadra	Pandey, Shri R. S.	Jingha, Shri G. K.
Jyotiabi, Shri J. P.	Pandey, Shri Vishwa Nath	Sinha, Shri Satya Narayan
Kanakasabai, Shri	Pant, Shri K. C.	Sinha, Shrimati Ramdulari
Kar, Shri Prabhat	Paramasivan, Shri	Sonavane, Shri
Kedaria, Shri C. M.	Patel, Shri N. N.	Subbaraman, Shri C.
Khadilkar, Shri	Patil, Shri D. S.	Subramaniam, Shri C.
Khanna, Shri Mohr Chand	Patil, Shri Vasantrao	Subramanyam, Shri T.
Kindar Lal, Shri	Prabhakar, Shri Naval	Sumat Prasad, Shri
Kotoki, Shri Liladhar	Pratap Singh, Shri	Surenra Pal Singh, Shri
Kripa Shankar, Shri	Raghunath Singh, Shri	Surya Prasad, Shri
Krishnamachari, Shri T.T.]	Raghubaraiiah, Shri	Swamy, Shri M. P.
Lakha Das, Shri	Raj Bahadur, Shri	Tantia, Shri Rameshwar
Lalit Sen, Shri	Raju, Dr. D.S.	Thomas, Shri A. M.
Laskar, Shri N. R.	Raju, Shri D.B.	Tiwary, Shri D. N.
Mahadeva Prasad, Dr.	Ram, Shri T.	Tiwary, Shri K. N.
Mahatab, Shri	Ramaswamy, Shri V.K.	Tula Ram, Shri
Mahishi, Shrimati Sarojini	Rane, Shri	Tyagi, Shri
Malsichami, Shri	Rao, Dr. K. L.	Uikey, Shri
Malhotra, Shri Inder J.	Rao, Shri Jaganatha	Valvi, Shri
Mandal, Dr. P.	Rao, Shri Krishnamoorthy	Varma, Shri Ravindra
Maniyangaden, Shri	Rao, Shri Muthyal	Veerabasappa, Shri
Mantri, Shri	Rao, Shri Ramapathi	Venkatasubbaiah, Shri P.
Maruthiah, Shri	Ray, Shrimati Renuka	Vidyalankar, Shri A.N.
Mathur, Shri Hariak Chandra]	Reddi, Dr. B. Gopala	Virbhadra Singh, Shri
Mehdi, Shri S. A.	Reddiar, Shri	Vyas, Shri Radhelal
Mehrotra, Shri Brij Bihari	Reddy, Shri Eswara	Wadiwa, Shri
Mirza, Shri Bakar Ali	Roy, Dr. Saradiak	Yadava, Shri B.P.
Mishra, Shri Bibhuti		

*The amendment was negatived.*

**Mr. Speaker:** I shall now put the main motion to the vote of the House.

The question is:

"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."

*The motion was adopted.*

17.41 hrs.

*The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Thursday, February 28, 1963/Phalgun 8, 1884 (Saka).*