

Rules, 1963 published in Notification No. G.S.R. 1514 dated the 21st September, 1963.

- (ii) The Cinematograph (censorship) Third Amendment Rules, 1963 published in Notification No. G.S.R., 1728 dated the 30th October, 1963.

[Placed in Library. See No. LT-1908/63].

#### WHITE PAPER NO. X

**The Minister of State in the Ministry of External Affairs (Shrimati Lakshmi Menon):** Sir, I beg to lay on the Table a copy of White Paper No. X containing Notes, Memoranda and Letters exchanged between the Governments of India and China between July, 1963 and January, 1964. [Placed in Library. See No. LT-2296/64].

#### CORRIGENDA TO ANNUAL REPORT OF THE CENTRAL MINES RESCUE STATIONS COMMITTEE

**The Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Labour and Employment (Shri R. K. Malviya):** Sir, I beg to lay on the Table a Corrigenda to the Annual Report of the Central Coal Mines Rescue Stations Committee, Dhanbad for the year 1962-63 laid on the Table on the 26th August, 1963. [Placed in Library. See No. LT-2297/64].

12.06 hrs.

#### MOTION ON ADDRESS BY THE VICE-PRESIDENT DISCHARGING THE FUNCTIONS OF THE PRESIDENT—Contd.

**Shrimati Renu Chakravartty (Barrackpore):** Mr. Speaker, Sir, at a time when momentous happenings have stirred the people of India to their depths, happenings that would have called for a courageous break from the sloth and weaknesses of the past, at such a time the Address needed the vibrating spirit of saying that the nation must overcome all these weaknesses to solve these problems and chalk out before the nation a path which it will have to tread. But as one reads the Address, unfortunately one is filled with disappointment. It is a bald recounting of facts but it

has nothing of the quality of the broad visionary who while he flinches not to say what our shortcomings have been, frankly states what are the dark sides of the things and also has the courage to outline the path to be tread, not with temerity but with boldness of action and with wisdom and not with confusion of thought. The address, unfortunately, fails miserably on this account when so much was expected. One would have expected that the Address to have outlined the defining line for the nation after the Bhubaneswar session of the Congress. It also failed to grasp the gravity of all the machinations of Pakistan and its imperialist friends, the Britain and the United States which had already been hatched to humiliate us and to harass us not only within our nation but also at the highest forums of the world. There is a serious lack of understanding as to the depths of sufferings of the minorities in Pakistan. In India too, the minorities have suffered terribly—I would be the last to deny it. I am sorry sometimes in this House we have tried to underplay it—I do not want to underplay it at all. There have been serious things happening in Calcutta and also in villages. Unfortunately, many of my colleagues have not seen them. But the basic fact is that there has been no communal riot in West Bengal after 1950. Yet in the United Nations, Pakistan is able to state, in the highest international forum, that there have been communal riots 550 times, something like that, in India. Why is it that we have not been able to raise this point earlier and even now to raise the whole history of the background of what has been happening in Pakistan? Since 1950, we did not take any notice, the House did not take any notice, of what has been happening in East Pakistan. What happened in Gopalganj and Rajshahi? What happened in Malda? Have we told the world about all these things I would say—I will be forgiven by many Members in this House—that we have felt that the attitude even often of this House was to a

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certain extent heartless. When the question of the tribals coming over from Malda was placed in this House, I remember I myself asked a question as to what will happen to the refugees, the adivasis, that were coming over from Malda and I was told that the rehabilitation rules will not be relaxed in their cases. When the Rajshahi's 'rajbansis', also tribals, came across without migration certificates, even at that time the same heartless attitude was taken. About the Berubari transferred villages, when we asked what will happen to those villages, even then we got the same reply. And we did not see this House react to the sufferings of those people.

Again, what about the position of those who have suffered so tremendously just now? Actually, the other day, we heard the Home Minister telling us that migration rules would be relaxed for some categories? But why only for some categories? Only two days ago, I received a letter from the daughter of a very dear friend of mine; it is not the father who has written but it is the daughter who has written. It is not from Dacca or from Narayananj that she has written, but it is from Barisal that she has written 'It is impossible for me to go to school. Can I come over to you?'. Sir, this is the position. Why should they not be given the chance to come over? Why should these young girls not be permitted to come over? Their parents cannot feel safe in keeping them there. The mothers can stay, the brothers can stay, but the young girl has to come across. But are they covered by the categories about which the Home Minister spoke the other day? Sir, I submit that migration should be permitted in the case of all those who want to come across, because the situation is very grave there.

Then, there is the question of their reception here. We have been told that when they come across to our country, even if they come without

migration certificates, they will be accepted. But in Gedde, which is our border station, even today, we find that for the last seven days there have been people who have come across and who are lying there in the mango-grove, and who have not yet been given the benefits. Just one press statement came in the name of Shri Atulya Ghosh. It took five days for him to say anything on the riots when the riots were taking place in Calcutta. But, anyway, he said something I would like to repeat: 'They ask not for pity, but they ask for treatment as human beings'. I would ask: What has been the fate of the refugees who have come across up till now? I am glad that my hon. friend Shri Mehr Chand Khanna is here. Even when I have spoken in this House on their behalf, I find that many people have not understood the situation there. We have not received any compensation for all the properties which we have left across the border. We have always been told by Shri Mehr Chand Khanna that in the West, they were given compensation because Muslim property was left here. And we had kept quiet because we knew that if we pursued that line of thinking, it would go against our secularism and we would be throwing out the Muslims, and we would be encouraging people to raise this point. But it was our Minister who had always been pointing out this particular thing. Why did he not have the courage to say 'All right, if the west has been given compensation, the east will not have the burden of the loans which has been heaped on them.' We have been burdened with loans upon loans, and even today, there is no categorical statement from the hon. Minister saying that 'If we have not given them compensation, we shall at least erase the loans.'

I would just like to recall the Darjeeling conference in 1956, and I must ask my hon. friends from the Congress to realise what they did at that time. The Congress MLA's decided that the problem was finished and, therefore,

the Rehabilitation Department would be closed. They closed the festering wound, but the fester went on, and today, you see that it is poisoning the entire body politic. There was a last date of refugees coming to India beyond which you had refused to offer rehabilitation. I say that this has got to be changed by this House.

If this House is honest and it really and sincerely wants, and I believe that it sincerely wants, to help the refugees, whom, I would say, we should help not as refugees but as those who have been forced to come away from Pakistan, then I would say, let us finish with this business of the last date, and let us finish with that wrong decision taken at the Darjeeling Conference, and let us again take up this whole question of the rehabilitation of those who have come across. Otherwise, the situation can never improve.

If you go to the colonies and see the condition of the people living there, you find that they are not regularised, and they live in hell as it were. We talk of secularism and we talk of progress, but there are still Muslim houses in which refugees are there, and there are Hindu houses in which refugees are there, and we have not given them alternative accommodation. So far as the question of loans is concerned, you will find that they are still trying to recover the loans. If you go to the women's camps, you will hang down your head in shame. These are lone women who have lost their everything, who have lost their husbands and who have lost their children and who are living in something worse than cattle-sheds; they are still living in those small tents in wind and rain and heat.

It is a heartless decision which was taken at that time, and I want this House to consider this whole question again and end their sufferings and come to their help. Even in this House, sometimes people have been made to feel that we do not understand the depth of feeling on their part. Today, we say that non-violent

freedom has been won, but it has been on the violence suffered by the minorities in East Pakistan. Politically and diplomatically, what has India done?

One of the reasons, I have felt, why this tragedy of the communal violence has come about in India is the helplessness which people have felt about our Government, the feeling that Government has not acted quickly. We are against the transfer of population. Let me make it very clear. We are against this theory of 'living space' which even some of the Congress friends have spoken about. All we say is we have got to give the best chance that they can have in India as our brethren. But while Pakistan used every international forum to sow hatred against India, we have pinned our hopes on appeasing Britain and America thinking that they will help us out. We have always been told, 'Do not say anything against them'. Our Ambassador in America, Shri B. K. Nehru, and some of our Ministers like Shri T. T. Krishnamachari, say 'Do not say anything against them. We shall not get our aid'. Then we have heard our friends in the Swatantra Party say, 'Oh, it is because Krishna Menon is sent to the Security Council. He always irritates people. That is why they are not helping us. You send somebody else. Then everything will be fine'.

Sir, this aid, aid, aid, foreign investment—let us be very careful about it now.

**Shri Ranga (Chittoor):** Ha, ha!

**Shrimati Renu Chakravartty:** My hon. friend, Prof. Ranga, says 'ha, ha'. I am afraid he has not understood anything yet.

**Shri Ranga:** What is it that we have to understand?

**Shrimati Renu Chakravartty:** It is better that he understands before it is too late.

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What happened at Bhubaneswar? I was in Calcutta during that time. Everyday we were expecting that the Indian National Congress would adopt a resolution on this matter. We do not ask you to go to war. We know that with respect to what happens in another country, we cannot do very much. But at least a strongly-worded resolution from Bhubaneswar was what was needed. Everyday trainloads of people were coming. We were hearing stories about what was happening in Pakistan. Yet we kept quiet. Our people kept quiet. But from the 3rd till the 10th or 11th, January, when the foreign affairs resolution came at the Congress Session even there you did not allow an amendment saying that the state of the minorities in Pakistan is very bad and we protest against it. Even that amendment was not permitted. I tell you it is on this frustration that communal elements can breed.

Our job now is to see how we can treat our minorities. In the last few days, I have seen what has happened to our minorities in India. We were ashamed of it. We shall stand by them to the best of our ability. At the same time, the Government's weaknesses have to be known and this House has to change it. But we see nothing of it in the President's Address.

We found ourselves entirely unprepared for the events that have developed in the Security Council. Our mentality regarding Britain and our concern with the reaction of the United States, because it is the main source of our foreign aid, has never allowed us to assess the real role of these former masters of ours. As a matter of fact, if we recall what happened earlier, in 1947—my hon. friend, Acharya Kripalani is here—what do we see? Who pressurised us to accept partition? To what extent did Mountbatten use his influence in preventing troops to be sent to Kashmir? Was it not that the Cabinet at the last moment forced him to accept the decision to send troops? who

insisted on making accession temporary and attendant on plebiscite? When the Cabinet insisted on accession, Mountbatten insisted on appending the 'Mountbatten letter' about a plebiscite. Who persuaded us to cease fire when our armies were marching ahead freeing our soil from aggression? Who took us to the UN? And the story is continued.

**Shri J. B. Kripalani** (Amroha): Why blame poor Mountbatten? It was our own people who consented to it.

**Shrimati Renu Chakravartty**: Finally, it was our weakness. But we know what role they played.

Now, let us look at the statement which has been given in the official text of Sir Patrick Dean's speech, circulated by the British Information Services. He says:

"We consider it unrealistic to consider the status of Kashmir purely in terms of the legal effect of the Maharajah's Instrument of Accession".

It is unrealistic! Why? Has it no legal validity? This question has been put to one of the highest of the British interpreters of their policy here. He told us, 'The British Government has never accepted either the legality or the illegality of the position'. We asked him, 'Why? Was not the Instrument of Accession passed by Westminster? When the Maharajah acceded, and signed the Instrument, was it not a fully legal document?'. He said, 'Well, we have neither accepted nor rejected'. The cat is out of the bag. This is a quibbling which has come out now. All these years even I had believed that at least the legality of the accession was clear. But now it is quite clear it is not. As a matter of fact, I came across a very interesting letter in Mr. Kaliquzzaman's book. Today we are told the same thing, that Mountbatten signed not as a representative of the British Government, that he represented himself as the last Governor-General of

India, and he did not represent the British. If that is so, Sir Francis Mudie's letter to Kaliquzzaman is very interesting. He said in 1948 as Governor of the Punjab:

"As long as the relations between Pakistan and Britain are good, and Pakistan remains in the Commonwealth, an attack by Russia—and also I am inclined to believe an attack by India—on Pakistan brings U.K. and U.S.A. on Pakistan's side. If these conditions do not hold, then Pakistan stands alone, and sooner or later will be swallowed up by Russia or India, or more probably partitioned. . . . I can assure you that the feeling in Britain is strongly pro-Pakistan . . . and that it is growingly so."

If this is the position that even Mountbatten does not represent the British Government, I presume this is what represents the British Government. The question has arisen and we must refuse to be used as a pawn to upset our peace, economy and secularism. We have to take a firm stand on Kashmir, and we are glad that this is the first time that our representative has refused to go to the reception of Gt. Britain. Let us save ourselves from some of our civil service bureaucrats like our Ambassador in America, and some of our Ministers who always try to pull us back, saying "Do not do anything, do not say anything which will be misinterpreted, then our aid will come to an end."

Do we forget the role of Duncan Sanys only a little while ago? On the plea that we were to get a few small arms, must we barter away our national dignity? We were told this very thing that after all they gave us arms in the first instance when China attacked us. True, certainly we are grateful, but are we to barter away our sovereignty?

On the eve of the Security Council meeting, an inspired report came from the External Affairs Ministry to the effect that we were not depending on

the veto of the Soviet Union, that we were getting the help of Gt. Britain and America. Our Government have tried to delude themselves as well as the people. Let us realise the new colonial strategy and tactics of Britain. Let them know that the entire people, irrespective of parties, are determined to end this week-kneed policy in Kashmir. We will not allow the constant reopening of this dead issue by the imperialist friends of Pakistan. If they do, can we not say that we shall not attend that session, that we shall quit the Commonwealth? With regard to the mediation proposed by the United States, what mediation, to do what? The situation has changed as our representative has explained. We have been constantly reassured by Gt. Britain that they were trying to get Pakistan to agree. What has been the result? We cannot believe they are any more sincere on this question of mediation?

Let me now come to the question of the internal situation in Kashmir. There is no doubt that Kashmir is part of India and integrated with it. I do not like this question which comes up again and again in which House; is it integrated or is it not? To my mind, it is integrated. The special powers and the autonomy which has been given to a particular State, whether it is Nagaland or Assam under the Six Schedule of the Constitution or whether it is Kashmir under articles 370 and 371, these things are our internal concern, and they have to be amended or changed in consultation with the people of that area, and it will be done with the sole idea as to whether or not it helps the growth of democracy and socialism and the security and integrity of India.

We know quite well about the corruption of the Bakshi regime. Whoever has gone to Kashmir has seen the unpopularity of the Bakshi regime with the people. When we see the connection between the dastardly crime of removing the relic from the Hazratbal shrine and the East

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Pakistan communal trouble, we have some doubts in our minds, and it is surprising that statements have also come in the press saying that Bakshi Gulam Mohammed has asked for a plebiscite and the people of Kashmir want plebiscite, though this has been denied. Anyway, these things have raised certain doubts in our minds. A Government which has the people's confidence, that is minus the Bakshi family, has to be set up.

Naturally, when we speak of such things, our mind goes back to Sheikh Abdulla. It will be wrong if it were not so. It was said he wanted to carve out an independent Kashmir. Others say he was fed up with the wavering of our Government, especially after B. N. Rau's speech in the United Nations. Whatever it be, a political approach to Sheikh Abdulla is necessary. How can we keep a man in detention eternally? Surely it is time this is ended and he is released. It is not only a question of his release. My point is that a political solution has to be sought. Fortunately, we of all thaa we have stood for, our midst, whose comrade-in-arms was Sheikh Abdulla. A bold approach, a break-through for a settlement must be made. Kashmir is the touchstone of all that we have stood for, our secularism and our refusal to be involved in military pacts. An end of the Bakshi-Shamsuddin regime of corruption, a bold political settlement and the setting up of a Government which will reflect the will of the people, is the real answer to the imperialist-Pakistan game in Kashmir. If we can achieve this, all the lives lost, the sufferings and travails of the minorities in both countries will not have been in vain. It will be a fitting and effective end to their insecurity. When one thinks of what is happening today, one has to realise that we have to carefully watch the strategy and tactics which imperialism is developing.

The second point which I want to make is this question of foreign col-

laboration which is coming up. As long as it was a question of Government-to-Government aid we had no objection, though I must say that when we were told that under P.L. 480, actually by the end of of the Third Plan the United States rupee-funded loans would be of the value of Rs. 900 crores, almost one-fifth of our total money supply, that worried us. Many people, irrespective of parties, questioned this point. We have been given some answers, but it has not totally satisfied us. We are worried on this account, because after all, it is not so easy to obliterate the past. The entire history of the East India Co. may not be repeated in the same form, but with big business and these collaborations coming up, I am afraid we will have to watch this even more carefully. We are a little perturbed that now-a-days no licenses are given by the Commerce and Industry and Finance Ministries unless there is foreign collaboration. This is done on the excuse that we have not got any foreign exchange. But, as a matter of fact, we find that even a person like Shri G. L. Mehta, the President of the India Investment Centre, has this to say—about technical collaboration:

“Technical collaboration agreements could not be a long-term solution. We have come across agreements where attempts have been made by collaborators to sell an obsolete process or outdated machinery, include items of unnecessary equipment in the essential machinery list and make exaggerated claims regarding the potentialities of the plant... Agreements that do not provide for association of Indian technologists for the designing of plants... This is a distinct loss to the national economy. Our industrialists and even the Government in respect of Government-sector projects have been content with receiving ready-made designs and plans from foreign collaborators.”

As a matter of fact, the House will have to take up the question of Bokaro and what is happening there

behind the scenes. Although we have a full Indian consultant who can do the entire job of both, consultancy and technical services, all sorts of behind the scenes things are going on. We are told Indian firms will be given the contract, but what Indian firms—those which have foreign collaborators? Do they or do they not depend for their technical know-how, design etc., on foreign engineers? All these things have to be gone into, and I am afraid that we have to be very careful on this dependence on foreign capital which is increasing. As a matter of fact, even the question of profits, and attracting foreign capital and the need to give incentives have often been heard from Shri Masani, I am afraid he is not here. There was also a statement just a little while ago by Mr. J. R. D. Tata who went to America to attend the opening of a new terminal of Air India, a public sector corporation. He said:

“these controls also curtailed the flow of much-needed foreign investment and capital into India.”

He says that it has actually led to a decrease in the expansion of private industry and that the growth of private enterprise was stifled. We are always told: When you go abroad you are damning your Government. Now, what is Mr. Tata doing, as Chairman of Air India, a public sector project? The returns on private U.S. investments in India have gone up from 8.8 per cent in 1960 to 13.2 per cent in 1962 while it has actually decreased in Western Europe. The U.S. department of Commerce has pointed out that the returns after foreign taxes on American investments in the manufacturing enterprises in India was among the highest of any country in the world. The return in 1962 was computed as 20.6 per cent compared with 19.2 per cent in 1961. The rate of returns mentioned by U.S. Government is substantially higher than official Indian statistical version. That is why we say we have to be very careful about the foreign capital. New colonialism will not come in the

old form; it will take on new forms we have to be warned about it well in time.

**Shri P. K. Deo** (Kalahandi): It will come from China.

**Shrimati Renu Chakravartty**: China is backward industrially. Why should we always think in those lines? You can see the profits of Hindustan Lever, Dunlop Rubber, Metal Box, etc. We can take foreign aid on Government to Government basis. Should we ask private foreign investors and allow them take away profits? The World Bank has made its effect felt. Shri TTK has done some good things but I am constrained to say that there are certain directions in which our Finance Minister is taking the country about which we have to sound a warning. After becoming Finance Minister he announced that past hesitations about foreign investment in 'vital areas' were no longer justified because the public sector had established its 'vigilant presence' in most of them. The first vital sector is in oil. The *London Economist* says; that if Mr. TTK can do this, "the major oil companies will on their part be only too willing to expand operations in India." This assumption is warranted from their eventual readiness to accommodate the Government over the pricing of crude drawn from their own resources. We find in many areas, not only in Kerala, but also Shell, Esso and Caltex—foreign companies have been allowed to expand their refining capacities. They are going to permit a new foreign private company. They are inviting world oil companies to tender for setting up new oil refinery at Haldia. After all the public sector oil refineries have been completed, it will be 8.75 million tons the public sector will refine while private sector will refine 7.5 million tons. Is this not a reversal of policy?

In respect of steel also, the same thing has happened; TISCO and IISCO have been permitted to expand their capacity. The public sector is thus corroded and the industrial policy re-

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solution is thus revised. Iron ore is one of our foreign exchange earners. In Goa a whole new project has gone to Americans; they will have forty per cent shares. Their representative is Mr. C. C. Desai! He was till recently in the ICS, then with Birlas and now he has shifted to the Americans. Irrespective of parties, I want this House to take cognisance of this dangerous trend and stop before it is too late.

About prices, in Bhubaneswar, they said that rice mills should be nationalised and that until the co-operative sector can take over, Government must take it over, thus assuring proper price to consumers and peasants. It is harvest time now and rice is selling at Rs. 37 or 38 in West Bengal; I had to pay Rs. 40 for rice during the riots. The price level was sought to be maintained at Rs. 26 and Rs. 25, but it is not available at that price. In West Bengal-Orissa discussions, the Orissa Government said that they would not give on State account but on private account and after that the West Bengal Chief Minister announced the prices would be Rs. 22, Rs. 23 and then Rs. 26. But today people are to pay Rs. 38. They said at Bhubaneswar that middlemen are making enormous profits should be eliminated. But there is not one line in this Address about some machinery to control prices. When people ask for dearness allowance, they say: you are unpatriotic. People will ask for dearness allowance. Not a single factory in our State, which has 300 labourers, has a fair price shop. Even in the face of this situation, state trading in food grains or nationalisation of the rice mills has not been given effect to.

The less said about corruption, the better. I cannot but mention just one interesting point made by Mr. Bharat Ram, FICCI President. He says:

"Corruption has grown because of the plethora of laws, rules,

regulations and directives which result in concentrating power in the hands of the administration at all levels."

But Mr. Bharat Ram is the owner of a big engineering concern, Jay Engineering Works, which manufactures Usha Fan and Usha sewing machine. Last month, the offices of the Jay Engineering Works were raided by the Customs. More than 15 files were seized from different departments. The Customs have now discovered that the Company has been running a branch office in London without caring to seek the permission of the Reserve Bank. The Customs in fact had started suspecting when the remittances from London on the Jay Engineering account were declining. It was found that the firm was meeting the expenses of its London office, out of the sale proceeds abroad, without repatriating the full amount to India. This amounts to a serious violation of the Foreign Exchange Regulations. That is what this report here says. When we say that people in position, Ministers, etc. should disclose their assets, TTK decries it and says that public opinion must assert itself against corruption. At Bhubaneswar, a section of the Congress asserted itself and wanted definite, programmatic changes in the basic policies of the Congress. Unless that is done, though you may tell people much about socialism, it will not be socialism but the worse form of corruption and capitalism leading to monopolies and impoverishment of the people.

श्री रा० गि० दुबे (बीजापुर उत्तर) : उत्तर अध्यक्ष महोदय, सदन में उपराष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण पर जो चर्चा चल रही है उस में काफी चीजों का जिक्र हुआ है। मैं मनुसिंह समझता हूँ कि उस में चन्द बातों की तरफ हाजिर का ध्यान दिलाऊँ।

सत्रभावतः पूर्वी पाकिस्तान में जो घटनायें हुई हैं उन से देश के अन्तःकरण को बड़ा सदमा पहुँचा है। मैं इस बात से सहमत



हूँ कि ईस्ट पाकिस्तान के जो हिन्दू अल्प-संख्यक भाई और दहने हैं वे शहर ब्लड आफ अर ब्लड एंड प्लेश आफ अर पनेश। उन के रास्ते में माइग्रेशन सर्टिफिकेट के बारे में कोई टेकनिकल दिक्कत नहीं रहनी चाहिये। लेकिन विरोधी दलों के नेताओं के भाषणों को सुनने के बाद कहना पड़ता है कि इस मामले में हिन्दुस्तान सरकार की जो नीति रही है वह बिल्कुल सही है। बुनियादी तौर से वहाँ जो हिन्दू हैं वे उस देश के नागरिक हैं जिस तरह से कि हिन्दुस्तान में रहने वाले मुसलमान इस देश के नागरिक हैं। ज़े सरकार ने बहुत सोचने के बाद यह तै किया है कि ऐसा वातावरण पैदा किया जाए ताकि हिन्दू लोग पाकिस्तान में शांति से रह सकें और सरकार इस के लिये प्रयत्न करती आ रही है। इस बुनियादी चीज को लोग भूल जाते हैं। जैसा कि गृह मंत्री, श्री नन्दा जी ने कहा वहाँ पर जो माइनारिटीज के साथ जुल्म होता, उनका कत्ल होता है, वह हम से नहीं देखा जाता। हमारी सरकार ने वहाँ के लोगों के माइग्रेशन के लिये काफी लिवर-लाइजेशन कर दिया है और अपने दरवाजे उन के लिये खुले रखे हैं, जैसा कि हम को रखना चाहिये। लेकिन यह सवाल सिर्फ इमोशन की दृष्टि से देखने का नहीं है। हमको यह सोचना है कि इस को हमारी नेशनल इकानमी कहां तक बरदाश्त कर सकेगी। इस के लिये कोई रास्ता निकालना चाहिये।

लोहिया साहब और अन्य सदस्यों ने कहा कि सरकार को मजबूत रवैया अपनाना चाहिये। लेकिन मुझे लगता है कि विरोधी पक्षों के स्टैंड में इंकानसिस्टेंसी है। एक तरफ तो वह कहते हैं कि सरकार को मजबूत रवैया अपनाना चाहिये, और साथ ही यह भी कहते हैं कि शेख अब्दुल्ला को रिहा कर देना चाहिये और इस तरह काश्मीर का सवाल हल करना चाहिये। मैं समझ सकता हूँ कि डिमन्क्सेसि में किसी आदमी को ज्यादा समय तक डिटेंशन में नहीं रखना चाहिये,

लेकिन विरोधी पक्षों की यह मांग उचित नहीं मालूम पड़ती कि शेख अब्दुल्ला को रिहा कर दिया जाए।

डा० लोहिया ने कहा कि क्योंकि प्रधान मंत्री श्री नेहरू हैं इसलिये उन के दिमाग में काश्मीर का सवाल रहता है अगर श्री टी० टी० कृष्णमाचारी प्रधान मंत्री होते तो उनके दिमाग में सीलोन का सवाल रहता। इसका मतलब यह है कि वह चाहते हैं कि काश्मीर का मसला किसी तरह से हल किया जाय।

आपने परसों श्री कृष्ण मेनन साहब की तकरीर सुनी। मैं नहीं समझता कि कोई उस तकरीर को इम्प्रूव कर सकता है। उन्होंने बुनियादी तौर से बताया कि काश्मीर का एक्सेशन फूल, कम्पलीट, फाइनल और इरि-वोकेबिल है। उन्होंने एक नया प्वाइंट हाउस के सामने रखा है कि अपने संविधान में डि-एक्सेशन के लिये कोई स्कोप नहीं है। न पार्लियामेंट को और न सरकार को यह करने का कोई मौका हो सकता है। लेकिन फिर भी सिक्योरिटी काउंसिल में जो डिबेट चल रही है, और अंग्रेजों और अमरीका के प्रतिनिधियों ने जो रवैया अख्तियार किया है और सोवियत रूस तथा चैकोस्लोवैकिया की जो राय है, उसको ध्यान में रखते हुए इस मसले पर हमें नए ढंग से गौर करना चाहिये। लेकिन एक तरफ यह कहें कि सरकार मजबूत रवैया अपनाय और दूसरी तरफ यह कहें कि शेख अब्दुल्ला को रिहा कर के काश्मीर का सवाल हल कर लिया जाय, यह कैसे ठीक हो सकता है। अगर आपको इस तरह काश्मीर का मसला हल करना है, तब तो आप ऐसा करके वही करेंगे जो कि एंग्लो अमरीकन गुट चाहता है, यानी कि ऐसा हल निकाला जाय जिससे पाकिस्तान की तपत्ति हो सके। अगर आप वैसा करना चाहते हैं तो फिर यह क्यों कहते हैं हम लद्दाख की एक इंच भूमि भी नहीं जाने देंगे। मैं

[श्रं रा० गि० दुबे]

नहीं समझता कि किस तरह सदस्य एक तरफ यह मांग करते हैं कि हम लद्दाख की एक एक इंच जमीन ले लेंगे और दूसरी तरफ यह चाहते हैं कि शेख अब्दुल्ला को रिहा करके काश्मीर का मसला हल कर लिया जाए। मैं अबदब से कहना चाहता हूँ कि इस ऐंटी-ट्यूड में कानसिसटेंसी नहीं है।

अब आप देखें कि हजरत बल में जो वाकया हुआ, उसकी वजह से ईस्ट पाकिस्तान में घटनायें हुईं। यह सही है कि उनके कारण कलकत्ते में भी कुछ घटनायें हुईं लेकिन हम उन से सहमत नहीं हैं। अगर ईस्ट पाकिस्तान में कुछ लोगों के साथ जुल्म हो तो यह बुनियादी तौर से गलत है कि यहां भी माइना-रिट्रीज के साथ-जुल्म किया जाए। लेकिन मेरा ख्याल है कि इस सवाल को और भी वालों के साथ ले कर सोचना चाहिये। एक तरफ काश्मीर का सवाल है, दूसरी तरफ हम देखते हैं कि असम में पाकिस्तानियों का इनफिल्ट्रेशन हो रहा है। सरकार के अनुसार तीन लाख पाकिस्तानी असम में आये हैं, लेकिन प्राइवेट सोर्सिज का कहना है कि दस पन्द्रह लाख लोग आये हैं।

एक माननीय सदस्य : तीस लाख।

श्री रा० गि० दुबे : आप देखें कि वेस्ट पाकिस्तान में कोई हिन्दू नहीं रहा, और अगर यही चीज जारी रही तो आप देखेंगे कि अगले दस पन्द्रह सालों में ईस्ट पाकिस्तान में भी एक हिन्दू नहीं रहेगा। पाकिस्तान के नेता चाहते हैं कि काश्मीर को ले लें, ईस्ट पाकिस्तान के हिन्दुओं को निकाल दें और असम में इनफिल्ट्रेशन करके वहां अपनी संख्या बढ़ायें जिससे कि आगे चल कर प्लेबिसाइट की बात कर सकें। इन बातों की तरफ सरकार को गौर से सोचना चाहिये।

जैसा कि कुछ अपोजीशन के सदस्यों ने भी कहा है, यह ठीक है कि हम कृष्णमेनन साहब की भूमिका को काश्मीर के बारे में

मानें, लेकिन जैसा कि रेणु जी ने भी कहा है, हमें नैगोशिएटिंग टेबिल पर इस के साथ ईस्ट पाकिस्तान और असम के सवाल को भी लाना चाहिये। हमको यह चीज दुनिया के सामने रखनी चाहिये, हमने अभी तक इस मामले पर काफी रोशनी नहीं डाली है। हमको इस चीज को दुनिया के सामने लाना है। जो वहां पर जुल्म हो रहा है उस को हम बरदाश्त नहीं कर सकते। जब हम अफ्रीका में होने वाले अत्याचार को बरदाश्त नहीं कर सकते तो ईस्ट पाकिस्तान में होने वाले अत्याचार को कैसे बरदाश्त कर सकते हैं। अगर हमने ईस्ट पाकिस्तान में हो रहे अत्याचार के खिलाफ जल्द कदम न उठाए तो उसका नतीजा यह हो सकता है कि देश में जो कम्यूनल फोसबल हैं वे यह सोचने लगे कि सरकार कुछ नहीं करती तो हम ही कुछ करें। लेकिन हम इस चीज को नहीं होने दे सकते क्योंकि हम ने अपनी एक बुनियादी नीति बनायी है। हमको असम में एक स्पेशल सेंसस आर्डर करनी चाहिये और सही तौर पर मालूम करना चाहिये कि कितनी संख्या में इनफिल्ट्रेशन हुआ है।

विदेश नीति के बारे में काफ़ी चर्चा हुई। किसी साहब ने कहा कि १५ साल से भारत की नाव ठीक हाथों में नहीं रही है। हो सकता है कि इस बारे में प्रधान मंत्री से किसी का मतभेद रहा हो लेकिन यह कहना कि १५ बरस से इस देश की नाव गलत हाथों में रही है उचितन नहीं, ऐसा कहना बेइसाफी है। अगर पंडित जी के हाथों में इस देश की नाव न होती तो मैं समझता हूँ कि न तो यह पार्लियामेंट होती और न डिमार्केटिक अपोजीशन हो सकता था। यहां भी पाकिस्तान और बरमा की सी हालत होती। मैं यह नहीं कहता कि एक इंडोचीनजुअल को बहुत बढ़ाया जाए, लेकिन इतिहास में इसके उदाहरण रहे हैं जैसे कि महात्मा गांधी का, और सरदार पटेल का।

विदेश नीति के बारे में बहुत सी बातें कही गयीं। मुझे लगता है कि कभी कभी

जिस प्रकार एक व्यक्ति के लिये बुरा जमाना आता है उसी तरह देश के लिये भी बुरा जमाना आता है। हिन्दुस्तान के बारे में सीक्योरिटी काउंसिल की डिबेट को देखने से ऐसा लगता है। आज पाकिस्तान के सामने कोई आदर्श नहीं है, लेकिन हम अपने आदर्श को नहीं छोड़ सकते।

उपराष्ट्रपति जी ने इस बात की ओर अपने अभिभाषण में विशेष तौर से ध्यान दिलाया कि देश में खेती की पैदावार घटी है। उन्होंने कहा कि इंडस्ट्रियल प्रोडक्शन बढ़ा है लेकिन उस के बावजूद देश की आर्थिक परिस्थिति कुछ अच्छी नहीं है, इस लिये कि खेती की पैदावार ३-३ प्रतिशत घटी है। इस सदन में इस चीज की चर्चा हर साल होती है लेकिन कुछ ज्यादा नतीजा नहीं निकलता। मुझे अपोजीशन की यह बात ठीक लगती है कि हमको इकानॉमिक प्रोडक्शन और प्राइसेस पर खास तौर से ध्यान देना चाहिये।

हम दस पन्द्रह साल से खेती की उपज बढ़ाने की कोशिश कर रहे हैं, हमने एक्सपर्ट भी बुलाए और दो तीन सालों में इसके लिये काफी पैसा भी खर्च किया है। फरटीलाइजर आदि का भी प्रबन्ध किया है लेकिन तरक्की नहीं होती। इसका क्या कारण है। आप एक एक तहसील में चले जाएं, एक एक जिले में चले जायें, आप देखेंगे कि इस काम में सिसेरिटी नहीं है। अफसर लोग और मंत्री लोग जाते हैं, भाषण करते हैं और चले आते हैं। इसी लिये तरक्की नहीं होती। केवल भाषणों से तरक्की नहीं होगी।

जब श्री पाटिल खाद्य मंत्री थे तो उन से हमको बड़ी आशा थी। उन्होंने कहा था :

"I am not here to distribute food but to see that food production increases."

लेकिन उनके समय में भी इस काम में प्रगति नहीं हुई। इसका कारण यही है कि काम करने वालों में सिसेरिटी नहीं है। अफसर लोग प्लान को ठीक तौर से लागू नहीं करते। उनमें इस काम के प्रति डाइनेमिक फेथ नहीं है। जैसे फेथ गांधी जी ने पैदा की थी आज उस चीज की जरूरत है। यह समझा गया था कि कम्युनिटी मूवमेंट से इस काम में प्रगति होगी, लेकिन नहीं हुई। यह ठीक है कि इससे लोगों में एसपिरेशन्स बढ़ रहे हैं, डिमाण्ड बढ़ रही है, लेकिन अफसर ठीक से काम नहीं करते इससे प्रगति नहीं होती। अफसर लोकल प्रोबलम्स को हल करने का प्रयास नहीं करते। केवल फरटीलाइजर बांट देने से काम नहीं हो सकता। अफसर लोग रिपोर्ट दे देते हैं कि इतना फरटीलाइजर बांटा गया, इतने कुबे खोदे गए। लेकिन जो लोकल प्रोबलम्स हैं, जैसे सोलिनटी का या वाटर लॉगिंग का, इन की तरफ ध्यान नहीं देते। मेरा ऐसा ख्याल है कि अब समय आ गया है जब देश के बड़े नेता लोग, विरोधी दलों और कांग्रेस दल, सभी के सोशल वर्क्स को इस चीज को अपने हाथ में लेना चाहिए और उन को लड रिक्लेमेशन को इम्प्रूव करना चाहिए। इस काम को करने के लिए एक मास कैरेक्टर का मूवमेंट बनाना चाहिए। मैं चाहता हूँ कि मिनिस्टर्स और जो दूसरे उड़े आदमी हैं और जो कि देहातों में फंक्शन में उद्घाटन आदि के सम्बन्ध में जाया करते हैं वे इस ओर विशेष ध्यान दें और उनको मामूली चीजों पर ध्यान नहीं देना चाहिए। उन को लैड रिक्लेमेशन का इम्प्रूवमेंट करने के लिए हर एक देहात में एक लैड आर्मी संगठित करवानी चाहिए। हमारी तरफ मैसूर में मंडे को छुट्टी का रोज हुआ करता है उस दिन का इस्तैमाल श्रमदान के रूप में किया जाय और मैं समझता हूँ कि अगर इसके लिए एक वातावरण और प्रोग्राम बनाया जाय तो उत्तम रहेगा।

इसके अलावा जहाँ भी जाइये लोगों में ट्रेक्टर्स के लिए डिमाण्ड है। मेरे जिले बीजापुर,

[श्री रा० गि० दुवे]

जहाँ से कि मैं जाता हूँ वहाँ केवल ४ ट्रैक्टरस और एक बुलडोजर है। अब हालत यह है कि ४ ट्रैक्टरस में से दो ट्रैक्टरस तो बीमार रहते हैं और बुलडोजर के स्पेयर पार्ट्स मंगाते हैं तो मिलते नहीं हैं। मेरी समझ में नहीं आता कि क्यों आप फौरेन एक्सचेंज की बात करते हैं? आप फौरेन एक्सचेंज बहुत सी चीजों के लिए देते हैं तो फिर इसके लिए क्यों नहीं देते हैं? इसके अभाव में ट्रैक्टरस के लिए लोगों को परेशानी रहती है। अधिक अन्न उगाने के लिए जहाँ लोगों को ट्रैक्टरस चाहिए वे उन्हें मिलते नहीं हैं।

जरूरत इस बात की है कि देश में खाद्यान्न का उत्पादन बढ़ाने के लिए और उसको आत्मनिर्भर बनाने के लिए किसानों को यथासम्भव प्रोत्साहन व सहायता दी जाय। आप उनके लिए इरीगेशन टैक्स वगैरह की स्कीम बनायें। लैंड रिकलेमेशन की कोई योजना नहीं है और किसान ट्रैक्टरस के लिए परेशान हैं। अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं खुद शरमिन्दा हूँ कि दो साल से मैंने कोशिश की कि एक देहात को ट्रैक्टर और बुलडोजर मिल जाय लेकिन मैं उनको दे नहीं सकता हूँ। इसलिए मैं अपने आहार मन्त्री महोदय से निवेदन करूँगा कि जहाँ पर प्रतिवर्ष १०० या १५० करोड़ रुपया फूड इम्पोर्ट पर खर्च करते हैं तो उसके बजाय मैं चाहूँगा कि आप ५० करोड़ रुपयों से आधुनिक ढंग से मशीन द्वारा खेती करने के लिए जरूरी ऐलाइड मशीनरी मंगाइये ताकि हम स्वयं देश में अपने अन्न का उत्पादन अधिक बढ़ा सकें। जो ऐलाइड मशीनरी या पार्ट्स आप अपने देश में नहीं ला सकते उनको इम्पोर्ट करिए।

जहाँ तक फूड इम्पोर्ट का सम्बन्ध है मैं चाहूँगा कि इसके लिए देश में स्वयं परिश्रम किया जाय और आधुनिक तरीके अपना कर कृषि की पैदावार को हम बढ़ायें। काफ़ी विदेशी मुद्रा इसके लिए हमें देनी पड़ती है। हमें सतत् इस बात का प्रयत्न करना चाहिए

कि फूड इम्पोर्टस को यथासम्भव कम करते जायें और अधिकाधिक देश को इस मामले में आत्म निर्भर बनाते जायें और अगर इससे लिए हमें कुछ कठिनाइयाँ भी झेलनी पड़ें तो परवाह नहीं करनी चाहिए। यदि हम ने पिछले साल १०० करोड़ रुपये का खाद्यान्न विदेशों से मंगाया तो इस साल ७५ करोड़ का ही मंगायाँ और आगे आने वाले साल में उससे भी कम मंगायाँ। यह दृष्टिकोण हमारा रहना चाहिए। मशीनी खेती करने के लिए उससे सम्बन्धित मशीनरी और स्पेयर पार्ट्स हम अपने देश में स्वयं बनायें और जो नहीं बन सकते हैं सिर्फ उन्हीं को हम विदेशों से मंगाये। इस तरह से गम्भीरता से सोच कर हमें कदम उठाना चाहिए। मैं इन चन्द शब्दों के साथ अपना भाषण समाप्त करता हूँ और आपका अनुगृहीत हूँ जो आपने मुझे अपने विचार प्रकट करने का अवसर दिया।

**Shri Brahm Prakash (Outer Delhi):**  
Mr. Speaker, Sir, we are grateful to the Vice-President for delivering us this Address. The Address is very short, sweet and concise. We must congratulate him, but it lacks some content. Some facts have been given—facts about development and improvement—and they are very good. We are very proud of those developments. But we are not in the fifties. We are in the sixties. This decade of sixties is very important not only in the history of India, but of the world. We have to take some concrete steps about some of the important problems.

The most important problem is what the Vice-President himself has mentioned in the Address about a democratic and socialist society. Mention of it has been made here. We have decided about our objective long time back. That objective is very well put out in many ways in our Plans. But unfortunately we are not marching towards that objective as quickly as we should. There are achievements to our credit, but they are not sufficient to take our country to the socialist goal. Particularly after the

Bhuvanewar Congress, we would have expected Government to take some concrete steps. But those concrete steps are not mentioned here.

We have no doubt said about the growth of the economy and we have accepted that the growth in the agricultural sector is very poor. The growth is poor because we have neglected that sector. We have tried, no doubt, in our words, speeches and many formulations that the agricultural sector is our prime sector and we must give it all the necessary finance and other means to develop. But we have not taken sufficient steps. So, the agricultural economy is very low. We have not been able to entice the agriculturists. For that, some concrete steps are very necessary. The Government has to provide the necessary finance, the necessary organisation and the necessary atmosphere. That atmosphere is very necessary and that particularly pertains to the price given to the agriculturists. We have been toying with the idea of fixing the price, with the result that we have not been able to settle that question. So, the agriculturists as well as the consumers have suffered in this developing economy.

In a very halting way, we have said that we are going to do something about prices. But the time has come when we should fix the prices of essential agricultural produce as early as possible. That is not enough. Concrete step about State-trading will have to be taken. My submission is that while we may continue building up our economy on the basis of a mixed economy in the agricultural field as well as in the industrial field, it is important to control the produce. The State as a whole should cater and take over completely the distribution of the commodities essential to the community produced in the agricultural and industrial fields. The State should also take over the essential commodities which are needed for the development. Then, they should take over the distribution of those commodities.

There should be a limit to profits. In the case of many commodities, the profits today are 20, 50, 100, 500 or even 1000 per cent. Such fabulous profits are being charged at the cost of the community in many ways. If we want to build up a socialist society, such a limit on profits is very necessary. The profits realised as a result of investment made at great sacrifice are going into the pockets of a few people, who are becoming richer and richer, with the result that the poor are becoming poorer. So, these steps are very necessary.

We talk of cooperative sector and we think it is an important factor in the building of a socialist society. But what is the position? The money provided for the cooperative sector is being diverted to other sectors. We are trying to divert attention from the cooperatives to other types of organisations. Sometime the State is being brought in to compete with the cooperative organisation. So the poor cooperatives have to compete with the private sector as well as the State sector. I can understand their competing with the State Sector. I want that the State sector should grow. But there must be a bifurcation, there must be clear-cut limits of these sectors in any particular field. Now the State Sector, the private sector and the co-operative sector are competing with one another with the result that there is a lot of confusion and difficulties for the people. Therefore, we have to take a strong policy decision in this respect and work for a strong socialist economy to which we are committed.

### 13.00 hrs.

We have been told about corruption and about the Vigilance Commission. It is very good. Corruption should be ended and there should be more and more vigilance about it. We sometimes accuse the people at the lower level, but we forget that there is corruption at the higher level also. No doubt, it is of a different character,

**President discharging  
the functions of the  
President**

[Shri Brahma Prakash]

but that is also corruption. I would urge upon the Home Minister, I would urge upon the Government, to take at least two steps besides what they have themselves suggested. Firstly, the important public men including all ministers and important people belonging to all parties, should refuse the hospitality of the private business. They should take a vow that they would not take the hospitality of this class. Secondly, they should pass an order that no official of the Government of India will be allowed to join a private firm. A substantial amount of corruption is flowing from this source. Important people who are in charge of taking policy decisions and discharging heavy responsibilities at the highest place of the Government enjoy without any compunction the hospitality of the big business. These very officers after retirement go and join big firms on fat salaries. This is a major source of corruption and that is corrupting the whole structure of our society. Go and see what is happening in big cities. See what is happening in the hotels and big restaurants of Delhi.

**Shri Bade (Kharagone):** They say: "Physician,! Heal thyself". Even in co-operatives there is profiteering.

**Shri Brahm Prakash:** You must know that a co-operative is not a place for profiteering but a place to give service.

Another important question is the question of Kashmir. Kashmir is a very important factor in our life. We have I think, delayed very much the question of its complete accession. Kashmir should be on a par with the other States in India. That position should be brought about as early as possible. After that, the necessary administrative and other steps should be taken so that confidence is restored in the minds of the people. Now there is a doubt in all quarters, in all circles—we may not speak about it—that there is something wrong in the administration. The question of

Sheikh Abdullah was raised. He is charged with certain crimes. I would submit that he should be tried not in Kashmir but in any other State in India. That will give a sort of confidence to all concerned.

Now I come to another important aspect—in a way that is somewhat personal—and that is about Delhi. I am sorry to note that in the President's Address nothing has been said about Delhi. What the Government of India is going to do about this unfortunate part of India which happens to be the capital of India. About 2.6 million people live here and they are going to be 5 million in the next 20 years. The problems of Delhi are growing and the Government is giving no attention to them. It is a matter of congratulation, no doubt, that the Government of India courageously came forward and corrected some of the mistakes committed either in the States Reorganisation Commission Report or were a result of the States Reorganisation Commission. One of the mistakes corrected was that they restored the status of Part C States to the Union Territories. But Delhi has been neglected. The Prime Minister and the Home Minister, when the Bill about the Union Territories was under discussion, promised here that the administration of Delhi is under the consideration of the Government of India and it will receive a special treatment. What special treatment is it receiving? There is no conscience in the Delhi Administration. There is no soul in the public life of the Delhi. There is no one who can answer about the Delhi Affairs, whether it be the corporation or whether it be the Delhi Administration. We talk of shortages of power, break-down of water supply and all that. All these departments, throughout themselves, have been with the Government of India. I may tell you another fact. Between 1952 and 1955 when Delhi was having a responsible government, we brought to the notice of the Government of India about these essential supplies. The State Government sent proposals for

increased supply of water and electricity. They did not listen. The State Government warned the Government of India at that time that if they did not listen they will have to face a crisis. The Government of India only woke up when the crisis actually came and they did not hear the advice given by the popular representatives of Delhi.

What is the offer today? It is neither here nor there. The corporation has failed in its objective, in its work. There is no one responsible. The Mayor is a decorative figure. The Chairmen of the Standing Committees are there only to tender advice and they have no authority to question. There is no co-ordination between the corporation and the Delhi Administration. There is no co-ordination between the corporation, the Delhi Administration and the Government of India. The state of affairs is very bad. The Government of India should as early as possible decide about the political future of this unfortunate Delhi. Whatever proposals have been given by the Government of India to the representatives of Delhi, they are such as would clearly show that they are not prepared to part with power. They are not prepared to part with higher secondary education; they are not prepared to part with health. The milk scheme on a bigger scale than what is done in Delhi is controlled by a co-operative society in Ahmedabad. The people of Delhi are considered incompetent to shoulder the responsibility of the Delhi Milk Scheme. The New Delhi Municipal Committee is a nominated body. All these things have led to a great state of confusion. I thought that the President would mention this fact of Delhi in his Address. I hope the Government of India will do something about it, because it is pending for a very long time. There is a limit to our patience. We have been waiting for the last eight years and we have not been honoured with even a small mercy from the Government of India. We are being treated or neglected like

*Pariyas* or down-trodden people. With these words, I thank you, Sir, for giving me an opportunity to participate in this discussion.

**डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया (फर्रुखाबाद) :**  
हिन्दुस्तान की गाड़ी बेतहाशा बढ़ती जा रही है किसी गड़बड़े की तरफ या किसी चट्टान के चकनाचूर होने। इस गाड़ी को चलाने की जिन पर ज़िम्मेदारी है उन्होंने इसे चलाना छोड़ दिया है, गाड़ी अपने आप जहाँ तहाँ बढ़ती चली जा रही है। मैं भी इसी गाड़ी में बैठा हूँ। यह जो बेतहाशा बढ़ती चली जा रही है, इसके बारे में मैं सिर्फ एक ही काम कर सकता हूँ कि चिल्लाऊँ और कहूँ कि रोको। अगर मेरी आवाज़ और ज्यादा तेज़ नहीं होती तो कम से कम माननीय सदस्य इस बात को मेरे दिल की, मेरी आत्मा की पुकार समझें कि मैं चिल्लाना चाहता हूँ और कहना चाहता हूँ कि इस गाड़ी को रोको, रोको इसको, यह चकनाचूर होने जा रही है।

अभी दुबे जी जो करनाटक से आते हैं और जिनकी मैं तारीफ करना चाहता हूँ कि वह यहाँ अंग्रेजी में नहीं बोले, उन्होंने कहा कि मैं इस सरकार को मजबूत बनाना चाहता हूँ किसी मामले में। मैंने कभी ऐसा अरमान नहीं रखा। मैं इस सरकार को हटाना चाहता हूँ क्योंकि मैं जानता हूँ कि यह सरकार कभी किसी मामले में मजबूत हो ही नहीं सकती है। उन्होंने यह भी कहा कि मैं काश्मीर किसी को दे देना चाहता हूँ। इसके बारे में सफाई हो जानी चाहिये। अगर हिन्दुस्तान और पाकिस्तान का मामला ऐसा ही चलता रहा जैसा आज है तो काश्मीर क्या हिन्दुस्तान की एक इंच ज़मीन भी मैं किसी को नहीं देना चाहता, न पाकिस्तान को और न ही चीन को। लेकिन अगर हिन्दुस्तान और पाकिस्तान का महासंघ बन सकता है तो फिर काश्मीर क्या किसी भी मामले पर मैं बातचीत करने के लिए तैयार हो जाऊँगा। इसका कारण यह है कि मैं पाकिस्तान और चीन में फर्क करता हूँ, पाकिस्तान की सरकार और चीन की सरकार में नहीं। कभी कभी तबीयत

[डॉ० राम मनोहर लोहिया]

आती है कि हिन्दुस्तान की सरकार को भी उसी मण्डली में जोड़ दूँ। लेकिन मैं पाकिस्तान के लोगों में और चीन के लोगों में फर्क करता हूँ। पाकिस्तान के लोग और हिन्दुस्तान के लोग अभी दस पन्द्रह बरस पहले तक एक देश में थे और मेरा अरमान है कि जल्दी ही वे फिर से एक देश में नहीं तो कम से कम एक महासंघ में हो जायें। इसलिए दोनों के बारे में मैं कुछ थोड़ा बहुत अलग ढंग से जरूर सोचूँगा।

अब मैं इन बातों को अलग रख देता हूँ। वैसे तबीयत आती है कि दुबे जी के बारे में और कुछ भी कहूँ। लेकिन इस भाषण ने साबित किया है कि यह गाड़ी चकनाचूर होने के लिए आगे बढ़ती चली जा रही है और खास तौर से बढ़ते दामों को ले कर के। क्या कहते हैं राष्ट्रपति जी इन बढ़ते हुए दामों के बारे में। उन्होंने एक बात तो यह कही कि जब तक पैदावार खपत के अनुरूप नहीं होगी तब तक बढ़ते दामों की दवा नहीं निकल सकती। इस वाक्य को जरा गौर करके देखें इस का क्या मतलब होता है। प्रधान मंत्री ने खुद कहा है कि हिन्दुस्तान की पैदावार अगले पन्द्रह बरस तक इस लायक नहीं हो सकती कि हमारी खपत की उससे तुष्टि हो और जब वह पन्द्रह बरस कहते हैं तो समझ लेना चाहिए कि कम से कम पांच सौ बरस क्योंकि जिस तेजी से वह अभी तक आगे बढ़े हैं उससे कहाँ जायेंगे, इसका हम अन्दाजा लगा सकते हैं। लेकिन इस भाषण ने अपने आप यह माना है कि अगले पन्द्रह बरस तक हिन्दुस्तान में बढ़ते दामों का कोई इलाज नहीं निकल सकता क्योंकि इसमें कहा गया है कि पैदावार जब खपत के उपयुक्त होगी तभी जा कर दाम का असली और मुकम्मिल इलाज निकल सकेगा।

जो वक्ती इलाज बताया है, वह क्या है? एक तो बताया है कि हम अनाज की ससों दूकानें खोलें। कितना बड़ा रोग और कितना

छोटा इलाज, जैसे ऊंट के मुँह में जीरा या यूँ कहिये कि हाथी को बुखार चढ़ा हुआ है या उसके पेट में दर्द है और हम एक छोटी सी एस्परीन की गोली दे देना चाहते हैं...

श्री रघुनाथ सिंह (वाराणसी) :  
होम्योपैथी इलाज।

डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया : रघुनाथ सिंह जी ने ठीक बात बताई है। ये ऐसे आयुर्वेद हैं जो होम्योपैथी कर रहे हैं और ऐसे एलोपैथी हैं जो जाकर कहीं हिकमत करने लग जायें जैसे हकीम लोग जाकर करते हैं क्योंकि आप किसी भी पद्धति को साथ जोड़ने को तैयार नहीं हैं और इसीलिए आप इस देश को बरबाद करते चले जा रहे हैं।

आप मेरे इस तर्क को समझें कि आपको इस भाषण ने इस बात को कबूल किया है कि हिन्दुस्तान में अगले पन्द्रह बरस तक बढ़ते दामों का कोई इलाज नहीं और हम सस्ती दूकानें खोलेंगे। जानते हो, दाम का मामला क्या है? अनाज के बारे में मैं आपको दिल्ली के आज के जो दाम हैं, उहाँ को बताये देता हूँ। जिस वक्त फर्रुख कटी थी गेहूँ की और और दूसरी चीजों की और जिसको आज छः महीने से ऊपर हो गए हैं, उनके मुकाबले में दाम आज पचास सैंकड़ा बढ़ गए हैं। यह कोई दो, तीन या चार सैंकड़ा की बात नहीं है पचास सैंकड़ा की बात है। जब तक नई फसल आएगी तब तक दाम सौ सैंकड़ा बढ़ जायेंगे, यह भी मैं आपसे कह देना चाहता हूँ। कौन शिकार होते हैं? एक तरफ आप किसान को लूटते हैं और दूसरी तरफ आप उपभोक्ता को लूटते हैं, दोनों की लूट जारी है। किस के लिए जारी है? कहीं मूझ को कम्युनिस्ट न समझ लें कि मैं कह दूँ कि व्यापारियों के लिए लूट जारी है। रघुनाथ सिंह जी आपकी पार्टी के लिए और व्यापारी के लिए दोनों के लिए, कम्पनी और सरकार दोनों लूट चला रहे हैं और यह दाम से बिल्कुल साफ जाहिर होता है। इसका इलाज क्या है, इसको आप ढूँढने



की कोशिश करें। जो कुछ फसल के वस्तु अनाज का दाम हो अगली फसल आने तक एक आना सेर से ज्यादा दाम बढ़ने न पायें। मैं किसान के बारे में कुछ नहीं कहता। मैं उप-भोक्ता के बारे में कुछ नहीं कहता। मैं खाली एक नियम बताना चाहता हूँ जिससे किसान भी बचेगा, उपभोक्ता भी बचेगा और साथ ही साथ पैदावार भी बढ़ेगी कि दो फसलों के बीच में अनाज के दाम में एक आना सेर से ज्यादा उतार चढ़ाव नहीं होना चाहिये। जैसा आजकल है इसको आप देखें, तमाम साढ़े सोलह सैंकड़ा होते हैं।

अब मैं कारखाने की चीजों के दामों के बारे में एक बात कह दूँ। आज कारखाने की किसी जरूरी चीज को बाजार में आप खरीदने जायें जिसे आप सौ पैसे की खरीदते हैं, उसमें से चालीस पैसा तो लागत खर्चा है, तीस पैसा सरकारी कर है, बीस पैसा कम्पनी का मुनाफा है और दस पैसा फिजूल है। यह औसत दाम मैं बता रहा हूँ, नियन्त्रण वाले दाम। लेकिन खुले दामों में पैंतीस पैसा लागत है, पच्चीस पैसा सरकारी कर है पन्द्रह पैसा करोड़पति का मुनाफा है और पन्द्रह पैसा . . . .

**श्री बड़े :** चन्दा है।

**डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया :** एक नई बात आप ने जोड़ी। चोरबाजारी और चन्दा है। इन दोनों का चोली दामन का संबंध है। और दस पैसा फिजूल है। इस का इलाज आप ढूँढ़ें कि किस तरह से कारखानों में बनी जरूरी चीजों के करों के ऊपर और मुनाफे के ऊपर लगाम लगेगी, नियंत्रण लगेगा। मैं ने कहा है जूट के मुंह में जीरा डाल दिया या हाथी को एस्परीन दे दी इस से काम चलने वाला नहीं है। अनाज की सस्ती दुकाने खोल दी इस से काम नहीं चलेगा। आखिर सब होता क्यों है, इस को मैं ने बहुत सोचने की कोशिश की है। कि इस

तरह की बड़ी गलतियाँ इस सरकार से होती क्यों हैं। इस का सब से बड़ा कारण यह है कि नेता हैं लेकिन नेतागिरी इस सरकार ने पिछले पन्द्रह बरसों में बिल्कुल नहीं की है। और उच्च का सब से बड़ा कारण यह रहा है कि इस सरकार के दिमाग में जो समाज के पुनर्निर्माण का सिद्धान्त रहा है, उस को एक शब्द में मैं कहता हूँ। वह बधिया किया हुआ खस्ती मार्क्सवाद है। मार्क्सवाद में क्रान्ति की आग थी, वह नहीं कहता है कि मशीन लगाओ, उद्योगीकरण करो, लेकिन पहले पूँजीपन्थ को खत्म कर के समाज की सम्पत्ति में ला कर फिर उद्योगीकरण करो, यह उस में क्रान्ति की आग थी। यह न समझ लिया जाये कि मैं मार्क्सवाद को पसन्द करता हूँ। लेकिन उस में क्रान्ति की आग थी। लेकिन वर्तमान सरकार ने मार्क्सवाद को बधिया कर के, उस की आग को बुझा कर के खाली रास्ता अपनाया कि कारखाने लगा लो, उद्योगीकरण कर दो, हिन्दुस्तान में सब क्रान्ति हो जाएगी। जो भी मसले थे सब के सब आज भी उसी तरह से मौजूद हैं जिस तरह से पन्द्रह बरस पहले थे। किसी चीज के ऊपर नेताई नहीं, भाषा के मसले पर नहीं, जात के मसले पर नहीं।

मैं आगाह करता हूँ कि जात के सम्बन्ध में भी दंगे होने लग गए हैं जिस तरह से भाषा और धर्म के सम्बन्ध में होते थे। लोगों की जानें जाने लगी हैं, दो दो और तीन तीन आदमी मर चुके हैं। शायद हम लोगों का ध्यान उच्च और तब जाएगा जब दो सौ या चार सौ या पांच सौ आदमी जात को ले कर जान से हाब धो बैठेंगे। अकाल के लिए कोई नेताई नहीं है, गरीबी के लिए नहीं है। बढ़ते दामों के लिए नहीं है, चीन के लिये नहीं, काश्मीर के लिए नहीं है। कहीं कोई नेताई नहीं है क्योंकि सोचा यह था कि उद्योगीकरण कर लो। केवल एक चीज में नेताई रही, मशीनों बनाने में, कारखाने लगाने में, उद्योगीकरण देश का करने में और सोचा यह था कि एक बार अगर देश का उद्योगीकरण हो जाए तो फिर सब चीजें हल हो

[डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया]

जायेंगी। उद्योगीकरण हो गया तो देश की दौलत बढ़ेगी, लोगों को खाने पीने को मिलेगा तो भाषा का सवाल भी हल हो जाएगा, अपने आप जात का सवाल भी हल हो जाएगा क्योंकि कुछ किताबों में लिखा हुआ है कि जब लोगों को खाने पीने को हो जाता है, तो वर्ग मिटेंगे और तब जात भी मिट जायेंगी। इस तरह की कुछ चीजें पढ़ली उस से नतीजा निकला कि हिन्दुस्तान के जितने प्रश्न हैं, इन सब को टाल दो, खाली उद्योगीकरण कर लो, एक बार उद्योगीकरण हो जाएगा तो सारे प्रश्न अपने आप हल हो जायेंगे। यह बुनियादी गलती रही है। औद्योगीकरण भी नहीं हुआ क्योंकि जब तक आप हिन्दुस्तान में भाषा जाति, भुखमरी, अकाल, गैर बराबरी वगैरह के सवाल अलग अलग हल करने की कोशिश नहीं करते हैं तब तक हिन्दुस्तान में किसी भी तरह पूरे माने में उद्योगीकरण नहीं कर सकते हैं। तो यह विशुद्ध नेतागिरी का सवाल है। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ रघुनाथ सिंह जी से, जो वह सरकार में शामिल नहीं हैं, कि उन की पार्टी नीति विहीन है, नेतृत्व विहीन है, दिशा विहीन है। मैं श्री दुवे से फिर अर्ज करूंगा कि मैं ने यह नहीं कहा कि हिन्दुस्तान की नाव बुरे हाथों में है, उन का नेतृत्व बुरा। श्री प्रधान मंत्री जी के हाथ में हिन्दुस्तान की नाव है ही नहीं। वह बैठे हुए हैं लेकिन पतवार ह, न नेताई है और न कोई नीति है। यह नाव हर हवा के झोंके के साथ अपने आप बहती चली जा रही है। इस लिये हो क्या।

**एक माननीय सदस्य :** आप के दिमाग में है।

**डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया :** मेरे ही दिमाग में है। आपके दिमाग से बोलता होता तो यहां आकर न बैठता, शायद आपके सिर पर बैठा होता। इस लिये मेरे दिमाग में मान लो। इस लिये एक नतीजा क्या हुआ है। इस देश में पिछले पन्द्रह वर्षों में सवाल

इकट्ठे होते चले आ रहे हैं, जवाब किसी चीज का नहीं मिल रहा है। मुझे माननीय सदस्य लोग एक सवाल केवल बतला दें जिसको इस सरकार ने पिछले पन्द्रह वर्षों में हल किया हो। मैं एक दो मिनट के लिये रुक जाता हूँ। है कोई ऐसा सवाल जिसको आपने हल किया है।

**एक माननीय सदस्य :** आपका समय बेकार जायेगा।

**डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया :** मेरा समय बेकार जायेगा क्योंकि आपके पास जवाब नहीं है। यह सरकार सवाल पूछने की कलाकार है, जवाब देना उसको नहीं आता। यह सरकार मसले उठाना जानती है, उनको हल करना नहीं जानती। इस सरकार के पास जितने भी मसले पन्द्रह वर्ष से पहले थे, सब के सब ठीक उसी तरह से मौजूद हैं। एक मसला भी हल नहीं हो पाया है।

**श्री रामेश्वरानन्द (करनाल) :** बढ़े हैं।

**डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया :** बढ़े हैं। बिल्कुल ठीक कह रहे हैं स्वामी जी। वे बढ़े हैं और जो पन्द्रह वर्ष पहले थे वे ज्यों के त्यों मौजूद हैं, कोई हल नहीं हो पाये हैं। आप जब यहां से बाहर निकलियेगा तो और और दंग से बोलियेगा। मुझे सब मालूम है। बधिया किये हुये मार्क्सवाद और खर्सी मार्क्सवाद का मैं एक बड़ा शर्मनाक नमूना आपको बतला देता हूँ। वह सेना के बारे में है। सेना। हिन्दुस्तान के राष्ट्रपति साहब कहते हैं कि साल भर में बहुत से कदम उठाये गये जिससे कि हिन्दुस्तान की जमीन की सेना और हवाई जहाज की सेना सुधरी। कौन से कदम उठाये हैं। आगे चल कर वे कहते हैं कि नौकरियों की जो शर्तें हैं वे सुधारी गई हैं, फिर आगे चल कर कहते हैं कि पेंशनों की शर्तें सुधारी गई हैं। अगर मैं हिन्दुस्तान की सेना में सिपाही या अफसर होता तो आज हिन्दुस्तान की सरकार को लिखता कि

*President discharging  
the functions of the  
President*

यह सही है कि हिन्दुस्तान, और किसी भी देश, की सेना पेट पर चलती है, लेकिन सिर्फ पेट पर नहीं चलती। वह मन पर और आत्मा पर भी चला करती है। उस भाषण में बतलाते हैं कि खाली हमने पेन्शन सुधार दी हैं इसलिये सेना सुधर गई। कितना बधिया और खस्सी किया हुआ मार्क्सवाद यह है। मार्क्सवाद के यह माने नहीं हो जाते हैं कि आप बिल्कुल निरर्थक, निस्सार, अर्थवाद को लेकर चलें कि जरा पेन्शन सुधार दी तो सेना सुधर जायेगी। मैं आपसे अर्ज करना चाहता हूं कि इस दृष्टि ने हिन्दुस्तान की सेना को इतना बिगाड़ा है जिस का ठिकाना नहीं है। जरा इस पर आप गौर करें।

पिछली उर्वसीग्रम की हार में जो घटनाक्रम हुआ था वह खाली मैं आपको सुनाये देता हूं जिससे साबित हो कि हिन्दुस्तान की सेना सुधारने के लिये क्या क्या कदम उठाने जरूरी हैं। बड़ा रहस्य था इस हार में। एक साजिस सी मालूम पड़ती है। १२ अक्टूबर को प्रधान मंत्री ने बयान दिया था कि चीनियों को बाहर खदेड़ो। १८, १९ अक्टूबर को हिन्दुस्तान की सेना की तरफ से मामूली नोक झोंक, छेड़छाड़ हुई, और चीनियों की तरफ से उलटी थपेड़ पड़ी। फिर २४ अक्टूबर को उस वक्त के जो रक्षा मंत्री थे, श्री कृष्ण मेनन, उन्होंने अखबार वालों से कहा कि चीनी लोग कहां तक बढ़ेंगे, इस की कोई सीमा नहीं है। उसके साथ और कुछ नहीं जोड़ा कि हमारा इरादा है कि उनसे आखिर तक लड़ेंगे, क्योंकि मैं समझ सकता हूं कि कोई भी मंत्री सच्चाई बोले, अपने देश को आगाह करे कि दुश्मन बड़ा मजबूत है, आगे बढ़ता चला जा रहा है, लेकिन अपना संकल्प भी बतलाये कि वह चाहे जितना आगे बढ़े, हम आखिर तक उससे लड़ेंगे। ऐसा कुछ नहीं हुआ। उसमें सिर्फ एक बयान था कि चीनी कहां तक बढ़ते चले जायेंगे, इस का कोई अन्दाज नहीं। फिर एक परिपत्र भेजा गया इस सरकार की

तरफ से, उर्वसीग्रम के सर सेनापति जनरल कौल को कि जब कोई जगह गिरने वाली हो तो उसे खाली कर दो। उस परिपत्र का मैंने यहां दो बार जिक्र किया। एक बार किया तो जवाब गोल, दूसरी बार रक्षा मंत्री ने कहा कि मुझे पता नहीं कि ऐसा परिपत्र कौन सा भेजा गया था। यह हालत है इस सरकार की। रक्षा मंत्री को पता नहीं कि कौन सा परिपत्र गया। आसन्न पतन। खाली कर दो उस जगह को जो गिरने वाली हो। इसका नतीजा क्या हुआ। १५ से १८ अक्टूबर तक उल्टी भगदड़ मची थी। हिन्दुस्तान की सेना ने कहीं पर भी कोई असली लड़ाई नहीं की। सिर्फ वालांग में डेढ़ दिन लड़ाई की। यह मैंने साबित घटना क्रम बतलाया।

जो नाटक उर्वसीग्रम में हुआ उसके तीन पात्र थे। प्रधान मंत्री नेहरू, उस वक्त के रक्षा मंत्री कृष्ण मेनन और सर सेनापति जनरल कौल। मैं आज बड़ी गम्भीरता के साथ यहां कहना चाहता हूं कि इस घटनाक्रम ने साबित किया है कि इन तीनों में से, तीनों नायकों में से कोई एक, या कोई भी दोनों या सब तीनों देशद्रोही हैं, इस बारे में अब मेरे दिमाग में कोई शक नहीं रह गया है। कौन है, इसकी जांच होनी चाहिये। अभी जो हैन्डर्सन ब्रक्स द्वारा इसकी जांच हुई थी, जिसकी पूरी पूरी रिपोर्ट भी नहीं दी गई, उससे यह सेना सुधारने वाली नहीं है। पूरी जांच करो। सन् १९४७ से लेकर अब तक हिन्दुस्तान की सेना के साथ किस तरह का खिलवाड़ किया गया है इसकी जांच करो।

मैं सन् १९४७ की भी एक घटना बताना चाहता हूं। इस प्रधान मंत्री ने उस वक्त के हिन्दुस्तान के सर सेनापतियों से, जो बाद में कोई जनरल राजेन्द्र सिंह रहे या जनरल करिअप्पा रहे या जनरल नाथू सिंह रहे, सब से गुप्त मुलाकात करनी चाही। उस वक्त यहां अंग्रेज लोग राजा थे।

[डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया]

किसके जरिये उन्होंने यह सच मुलाकातें करवाईं। मैं नाम बतल दूंगा, इससे आप समझ जायेंगे कि हिन्दुस्तान कितना सड़ा हुआ है। अब वह साहब कर्नल थे। कर्नल कौल। गलत मत समझना। यह मत समझना कि मैं नेहरू साहब को खाली गन्दा कह रहा हूँ। कोई भी आदमी वहाँ बैठा होता उसको कहा जाता। हिन्दुस्तान की सड़ी हुई हालत को देखिये। पन्द्रह सौ वर्ष का रोग है। इस गद्दी पर एक मजबूत आदमी होना चाहिये, जो अपनी जानि, अपने कुटुम्ब, अपनी बिरादरी की अवहेलना करके हिन्दुस्तान के हित में जो जरूरी हो, उस काम को करे। जो कुछ मैंने कहा वह इस लिये नहीं कहा कि मैं नेहरू साहब की कोई गलती निकालना चाहता हूँ। हिन्दुस्तान और पाकिस्तान के मामले में कश्मीर घुरी बनना है, या बंगाल घुरी बनना है, या लंका में जो तमिल लोग हैं वे घुरी बनने हैं, इसका फैसला इससे नहीं होना चाहिये कि कौन किस जगह से आया है, लेकिन ऐसा होता रह है। आज हम हिन्दुस्तान के नहीं हैं। मैं अपने दिल की यह चाह बतलाना चाहता हूँ कि हम अपने प्रदेश के न हो कर हिन्दुस्तान के हों।

**उपाध्यक्ष महोदय :** अब आपका समय समाप्त हो गया है।

**डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया :** मैं आपसे अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि वैसे भी आपने एक दिन की बहस में मुबह को आध घंटा दिया था हालांकि मुझे कुछ कम मिला था, और यह चार दिन की बहस है। चार दिन की बहस में मुझे कुछ बातें तो कहने दीजिये। अभी मैं अपनी बात अभी भी नहीं कह पाया हूँ।

**उपाध्यक्ष महोदय :** आपकी बातों के लिये २० मिनट का समय था। आप पांच मिनट और ले लीजिये और समाप्त कीजिये।

**श्री रामसेवक यादव (बाराबंकी) :**  
अभी कुल १७ या १८ मिनट हुए हैं।

**उपाध्यक्ष महोदय :** सब पार्टियों का समय बांट दिया गया है।

**डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया :** लेकिन जरा इस बात पर ध्यान दीजिये कि अभी वक्त पूरा नहीं हुआ।

**उपाध्यक्ष महोदय :** आप पांच मिनट ले लीजिये।

**डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया :** मैं वैसे तो देशद्रोही को इतना खतरनाक नहीं मानता। जयचन्द भी देशद्रोही था और मेरी भी देशद्रोही थी। एक ने परदेशी गजनी को बुलाया था और दूसरे ने परदेशी फिलिप को बुलाया था। फर्क था जनता में। हिन्दुस्तान की जनता ने जयचन्द का कुछ भी नहीं बिगाड़ा, लेकिन मेरी की जनता ने मेरी को गिरफ्तार कर लिया। मैं बुनियादी बात कहना चाहता हूँ कि हिन्दुस्तान की जनता उदासीन है, इसलिये सारी दिक्कतें हमारे सामने आती हैं।

और कहीं कोई चीज इस अभिभाषण में नजर नहीं आती। मैं सरकारी लोगों से इतना नहीं कहना चाहूंगा, मैं अपने ही लोगों से कहना चाहूंगा जो विरोधी हैं। हिन्दुस्तान के मर्ज को हम समझने की कोशिश करें। गड़बड़ नहीं हो रही है, विद्रोह नहीं हो रहा है, बलवा नहीं हो रहा है। जब तक साढ़े ४३ करोड़ लोग बलवा करके नहीं जाग पायेंगे तब तक हम अपनी सेना को नहीं सुधार सकते, दुश्मन का मुकाबला नहीं कर सकते, क्योंकि जो जनता अपने अन्दरूनी जालिम से लड़ना नहीं जानती वह विदेशी हमलावर के सामने टिक नहीं सकती यह एक बुनियादी बात है। पिछले १५०० बरस का हिन्दुस्तान का इतिहास यह बतलाता

है कि हम ने अपने अन्दरूनी जालिम से लड़ना नहीं सीखा ।

अस्थिरता की बात होती है, तो कह दिया जाता है कि इस सरकार ने देश को स्थिरता दी, और सब देश तो बदलते जा रहे हैं, वहां तो बड़ी तोड़ फोड़ होती है । कभी बरमा, कभी तुर्की और कभी जापान वगैरह के नाम ले दिए जाते हैं । मैं तो यह अस्थिरता और यह गड़बड़ पसन्द करता हूं क्योंकि इस गड़बड़ में अर्घं मुर्दों में जान आया करती है । लेकिन मैं तो एक और गड़बड़ की तरफ आपका ध्यान खींचना चाहता हूं ।

आज दिल्ली की सरकार में स्थिरता नहीं है, हालांकि उस बात को अब मैं कहना नहीं चाहता, बड़ी भारी अस्थिरता आ गयी है, इसी तरह से जैसेकि पुराने जमाने में जब कोई पुराना मुगल बीमार पड़ता था और उसके अन्तिम दिन आ जाया करते थे तो उसके सूबेदार लोग जगह के लिए आपस में लड़ने लगते थे । लेकिन मान लो कि दिल्ली सरकार में स्थिरता है । लेकिन बाकी प्रदेशीय सरकारों को देखिए । एक अस्थिरता तब होती है जब एक और सरकार और दूसरी और विरोधी लोग सम शक्ति के होते हैं और गड़बड़ रहती है । वह अच्छी है । उसमें सरकार तनती है, अच्छा काम करती है, नीति और सुधार करती है । लेकिन जब सरकारी दल इतना बड़ा हो जाता है, मोटा हो जाता है, कि उसके लोग आपस में लड़ने लगते हैं, गट बन जाते हैं, एक गुट दूसरे गुट की टांग खींचने की कोशिश करता है जैसाकि आज बिहार में हो रहा है, उत्तर प्रदेश में हो रहा है, केरल में हो रहा है, और जैसा कि कभी बंगाल में और दूसरी जगहों पर हो रहा था, तो उसका नतीजा होता है कि सरकार अस्थिर बन जाती है, और फिर लोग देश का भला करने के बजाय कोशिश करते रहते हैं अपने सदस्यों को, अपने एम० एल० ए० और और एम० पी० को

खुश करने की, और वह खुश रहते हैं खाली लालच से, खाली आतंक से, एक दूसरे की भलाई कर के कोटा और परमिट दे कर । तो मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि प्रदेशीय सरकारों में एक विस्फोटक अस्थिरता आ गयी है ।

और इसी बात को आगे बढ़ाया जाए, तो यहां केन्द्रीय निगरानी कमीशन की चर्चा हुई है जिसके जरिए कहा जाता है कि भ्रष्टाचार को खत्म कर दिया जायगा । यहां इस समय बिन मंत्री नहीं हैं, गृह मंत्री हैं, लेकिन अभी मैं उनकी बात को छोड़ता हूं । मैं सिर्फ प्रधान मंत्री की बात कहूंगा । मैं केन्द्रीय निगरानी कमीशन से चाहता हूं कि वह प्रधान मंत्री के अनदान, उनके कोष और उनके ट्रस्ट या निधि, इन की जांच करे । अगर वह ऐसा करती है तो मैं समझूंगा कि केन्द्रीय निगरानी कमीशन देश के भ्रष्टाचार को खत्म करने का इरादा रखती है, वरना मैं कहूंगा कि छोटे लोगों को इधर उधर पकड़ कर मुकदमा चलायगी, और वह भी नहीं चला पाती और उसमें भी मामला बिगड़ जाता है ।

मैं यहां एक दृष्टांत आप के सामने रखना चाहता हूं । कुछ दिन पहले प्रधान मंत्री को पंजाब में सोने से तोला गया । यह समाचार अखबारों में निकला था कि यह पैसा जनता ने चन्दे से दिया था । लेकिन अब पंजाब के सरकारी नौकरों के हलफनामों से पता चलता है कि यह पैसा चन्दे से इकट्ठा नहीं हुआ । करीब ७० सेर सोना दिया गया था, मुझे ठीक नहीं मालूम, लेकिन जो भी दिया गया उसमें एक दो सेर को छोड़ कर बाकी उस युद्ध कोष में से दिया गया था जोकि जनता ने दिया था । उसमें से ले कर हजरत को सोने से तोल दिया गया और जनता को इस फरेब में डाला गया कि जनता ने मुहब्बत की वजह से प्रधान मंत्री को सोने से तोला, लेकिन सरकारी खजाने से सोना निकाल कर उन को उससे तोल दिया जाता है ।

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[डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया]

कई बार लोग कहते हैं कि मैं उनकी बीमारी में ऐसी बातें करता हूँ। यहाँ बहुत सी चर्चा की गयी। यह भी कहा गया कि उन को नेताइ बड़ी अच्छी चलती है। मैं खाली आप को याद दिलाऊँ। जब मैंने चीनी नेताओं की उड़ान का सवाल उठाया था और कई रास्ते बताए थे उस वक्त प्रधान मंत्री बीमार नहीं थे, यह मान के चलना चाहिए कि उनका दिमाग सही था। तब उन्होंने क्या जवाब दिया? आप उसे पढ़ सकते हैं, वह लिखा हुआ है। उन्होंने कहा, "नक्शे पर कोई दूसरा रास्ता सीधा हो सकता है"। फिर कहा, "मगर उस रास्ते में चक्कर होगा"। फिर कहा, "हो सकता है चक्कर सीधा हो"। तो यह उनका जवाब था दो तीन महीने पहले। और अब जब कि उन की बीमारी की हालत है, शरीर की और मन की तो क्या हम उम्मीद करें कि इस दिशाहीन, नेतत्व विहीन सरकार को एक बीमार प्रधान मंत्री के रहते हुए कोई दिशा मिल सकती है।

और बीमारी की हालत में होता क्या है? हमने यह भी सुना है कि महामृत्युंजय का जाप करवाया जाता है, ज्योतिषी लोगों से सलाह ली जाती है। क्योंकि अब तो यह सवाल आ गया है कि आगे प्रधान मंत्री कौन बनेगा। हर एक के अपने अलग अलग ज्योतिषी हैं जो उन को सलाह दिया करते हैं। मैं इस से एक नतीजा निकालना चाहता हूँ। यह अन्ध विश्वास है। यह धर्म को बिल्कुल बिगाड़ देने की कोशिश है। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि इस महामृत्युंजय के फ्लाट आदि का नतीजा यह है कि धर्म बिल्कुल बिगड़ जायेगा और उसका सत्यानाश हो जायगा। क्या ऐसे देश में विज्ञान बढ़ सकता है? विज्ञान का यहाँ जिक्र किया गया, एटॉमिक प्लांट का जिक्र किया गया। क्या हुआ?

**एक माननीय सदस्य :** आप भी तो ज्योतिषी हैं।

**डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया :** मैं ज्योतिषी हूँ लेकिन मैं आप लोगों की तरह पंचांग के नक्षत्र नहीं देखता, मैं तो आपके चरित्र के नक्षत्र देखता हूँ।

**उपाध्यक्ष महोदय :** अब आप खत्म कीजिए।

**डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया :** मैं विज्ञान के बारे में कहना चाहता हूँ। इस अभिभाषण में विज्ञान का जिक्र किया गया है। मुझे कोई बताए कि पिछले १५ बरस में हिन्दुस्तान में वैज्ञानिकों ने कोई भी बड़ी बात की है, कोई नई चीज निकाली है, कोई आविष्कार किया है? किसी सिद्धान्त को बनाया है? इतना ज्यादा खर्च हुआ है। तो पहले इसमें एक गलती हुई। वैज्ञानिक तभी खोज करता है जब उसके पास सोच हो। लेकिन जब एक तरफ महामृत्युंजय का जाप होता हो तो वैज्ञानिक को क्या सोच हो सकता है। ये दोनों चीजें साथ साथ नहीं चल सकतीं। या तो पंचांग को देख लो, या फिर दुनिया का अध्ययन करो, तारों का अध्ययन करो, फिर कुछ सिद्धान्त निकालो, कुछ नियम निकालो, दुनिया को देखो। यह अलग है, इस का ईश्वर से कोई मतलब नहीं।

**उपाध्यक्ष महोदय :** डाक्टर साहब, आपने आधा घंटा ले लिया है, अब खत्म कीजिए।

**डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया :** मैं पांच मिनट में खत्म करता हूँ, अगर न करूँ तो आप मुझ रोक दीजिए गा।

मैं वैज्ञानिकों के बारे में एक और चीज कहना चाहता हूँ। दूसरे देशों में जो क्रम रहा है उसको यहाँ उलट दिया गया है। दुनिया के दूसरे देशों में, यूरोप में और

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अमरीका में, जहां विज्ञान की उन्नति हुई है, वहां पहले वैज्ञानिक, फिर औजार और फिर इमारत रही है। हमारे देश में पहले इमारत, फिर औजार और फिर वैज्ञानिक। वैज्ञानिक के दिमाग में क्या सोच रहे, उस का दिमाग तो कूड़े से भरा हुआ है। फिर वह खोज क्या पायेगा। और खोज ? आज कल के जितने वैज्ञानिक हैं आप जानते हैं उन की क्या इच्छा रहती है ? अपने बाप को तो वह चुन नहीं सकते, कोई नहीं चुन सकता, लेकिन कम से कम अपने ससुर को तो चुन सकता है। अगर ऐसा बढ़िया ससुर चुन लिया जाय जिस का सरकार पर असर हो तो फिर विज्ञान की वैसे ही तरक्की हो जायगी, खोज करने की जरूरत नहीं, सारा मामला ठीक हो जायगा।

मैं तो आप का ध्यान इस तरफ खींचना चाहूंगा कि हमारे यहां कर्म नहीं रह गया है, किस्मत रह गयी है। मैं कर्म वाला आदमी हूं, किस्मत वाला नहीं हूं। इसीलिए हिन्दुस्तान के आर्थिक जीवन में और विदेश नीति के जीवन में कर्म सिद्धान्त को चालू देखना चाहता हूं। आज कर्म की कोई स्वाधीनता नहीं रह गई है।

जैसा मैंने पहले कहा था, हिन्दुस्तान के घर में सौ डेढ़ सौ बड़े बड़े सांप अपने बिलों में हैं। बीन बजाने वाले ने समझा था कि सांपों को वश में कर लेगा। लेकिन सांप तो तब मरते हैं जब प्रश्न हल होते हैं, लेकिन प्रश्न हल नहीं हुए और १५ बरस से ज्यों के त्यों पड़े हैं। आज हमारे देश में कर्म स्वाधीनता नहीं रह गई है, सारे देश में किस्मत चल रही है।

और मैं एक और बात बतला दूँ। यहां नेपाल का जिक्र किया गया है। नेपाल के बारे में आप इस बात पर ध्यान रखें कि जो वहां की जन शक्ति के अच्छे लोग थे वे आज भी जेलों में पड़े हैं।

भूटान और सिक्किम के बारे में अर्ज करना चाहता हूं कि उन को इस ढंग से न लिखा करें कि जैसे वह परदेश हों। वे एक मानी में हिन्दुस्तान के अंग हैं, चाहे दूसरे मानी में न हों। तो मेरा कहना है कि आप भूटान और सिक्किम को विदेश नीति के मामले में परदेश की तरह न लिखा करें।

इसी तरीके से मुझे एक चीज कहनी है। इस भाषण में कहा गया कि हम आगे बढ़ रहे हैं समाजवाद की तरफ। समाजवाद की तरफ और काहे की तरफ ? अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय सम्बन्ध में शांति की तरफ। कहा तो यह गया है कि हम शांति की तरफ बढ़ रहे हैं लेकिन सारा भाषण अशान्ति से भरा हुआ है, पाकिस्तान से भरा हुआ है और चीन से भरा हुआ है। कहीं कोई मसला हल नहीं हुआ। शब्द जो कहे जायें आखिर उनका कोई मतलब तो होना चाहिए। सारहीन गलत शब्दों के इस्तेमाल करने से झूठ, घोखा और भ्रष्टाचार फैला करता है। आप कहां बढ़ रहे हैं ? कहां और कौन सी शांति को आपने पाया ? अगर आप कहते हैं कि रूस और अमरीका के बीच में अणु बम को लेकर शांति समझौता हो गया है तो इस से कोई मतलब नहीं निकलेगा। आप ने पाकिस्तान, काश्मीर, बंगाल और चीन, इन सब के मामले में कौन सी शांति हासिल की है ?

कहा गया कि हम ने समाजवाद हासिल किया है। उस का तो नमूना मैं ने बढ़ते हुए दामों के बारे में दे ही दिया है। आखिर में जब आप शान्ति का जिक्र करें तो इस बात को न भूलें। आज सुबह श्री मुजफ्फर हुसैन के बारे में तार मिला कि वह गिरफ्तार कर लिये गये हैं। अब खाली यह कह देना कि यह तो प्रान्तीय सरकारों का मामला है, सही नहीं होगा। मुझे याद है श्री

[डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया]

मजफ्फर हुसैन ने इसी सदन में कहा था, गलत कहा था, मैं उन की उस बात की निन्दा करता हूँ। उन्होंने यह कहा था कि जब कभी पाकिस्तान के हिन्दुओं पर होने वाले अत्याचार की बातें करो तो हिन्दुस्तान में मुसलमानों पर जो होने वाला अत्याचार है, उस की भी बात करो। यह उन की बात मलत है। मैं उन की निन्दा करता हूँ। लेकिन मैं एक बात पूछना चाहता हूँ कि क्या आजादी, स्वाधीनता, जम्हूरियत और गणतंत्र का यह मतलब नहीं है कि गलत बात ही चाहे क्यों न हो लेकिन उसके कहने का लोगों को अधिकार हो। अगर सही बात ही कही जा सके और गलत बात कही ही न जा सके तो फिर गणतंत्र कहां है? गलत बात कहने का भी अधिकार तो होना ही चाहिए।

लेकिन उस के साथ साथ मैं एक बात और भी कहना चाहता हूँ, पहले सोचा था कि उस को नहीं कहूंगा क्योंकि लोग उसे सुन कर भड़क सकते हैं लेकिन अब मैं उसे दबाना नहीं चाहता हूँ। पूर्वी पाकिस्तान से मेरे पास खबरें आ रही हैं, लोग आ रहे हैं और वह कह रहे हैं कि करीब ३०,००० आदमी वहां पर मार डाले गये हैं और करीब २००० गांव जलाये गये हैं। जब मैं कहता हूँ कि यह सरकार कुछ करे, यह मैं ने नहीं कहा, क्योंकि यह सरकार तो कभी कुछ कर नहीं सकती। लेकिन मैं एक नीति आप के सामने और रखना चाहता हूँ और वह नीति यह है कि पाकिस्तान के २००० गांव अगर जल जाते हैं और ३०,००० हिन्दुओं पर आक्रमण होता है तो उस का मतलब यह है कि हमें उस के बारे में कोई न कोई इलाज निकालना चाहिए। दुबे जी महाराज, आप यह

मत कहो कि वह पाकिस्तान के नागरिक हैं क्योंकि अगर सिर्फ यह बात कह देते हों तो हिन्दुस्तान के मुसलमानों पर लाजिमी तौर पर अत्याचार और जुल्म हो कर रहे हैं। इसलिए पाकिस्तान के हिन्दुओं के बारे में कोई न कोई नीति निकालो तभी हमारे देश का कल्याण हो सकता है।

**Shri Rishang Keishing** (Outer Manipur): The Address of the Vice-President is specially significant for the minority communities. This is probably the first time that a person belonging to the minority community has to officiate as, and discharge the functions of, the President of this country, and thereby attain the highest position and has the honour and privilege to address this august Parliament. This is indeed something for which the country and the people of India, specially the minority communities, should be proud. The majority community deserves the heartiest gratitude of the minority communities on conferring this highest position on a member of the minority community and the Vice-President deserves the congratulations of the country and the minority communities on having attained this highest position.

Whatever things are being done in this country for the minorities are a big contrast to what are being done to the minority communities in other countries, specially Pakistan. By this, I do not mean that we have not to do anything more for the minorities in this country. There are so many things to be done for the protection and welfare of the minority communities. Nonetheless, whatever has been done for them is quite spectacular and laudable. They are certainly the manifestation of the belief of the people of India in the creed of secularism. The establishment of Nagaland, the grant of legislatures to Himachal Pradesh, Manipur, Tripura and Goa are big administrative measures generally refused to minorities in other



parts of the world. This, I consider, as a big protective measure for the development of the minorities, for the protection of their culture, languages and customs.

I understand the Government of India is actively considering meeting the demand of the Assam hill tribes and the people of NEFA. I am confident that the Government will soon take a decision which will satisfy the political aspiration of the Hill tribes of Assam and NEFA in full measure. The country, I believe, will show to the world that we do not only talk of big principles like secularism, equality and democracy, but we honestly mean them and act upon them.

Regarding the influx of refugees into the country, much has been discussed. Government are fully aware of the problems of these unfortunate people. In this connection, I would like to make only one point. Many of the tribals belonging to the hill areas of East Pakistan have walked over to Assam. I would plead with Government that they should be rehabilitated in areas where the environmental and climatic conditions are not hostile to them.

The situation in the border areas—NEFA, Nagaland, Manipur, Assam, Tripura and Kashmir—is quite complex. It is national as well as international. We have border problems with China which was made more acute by the invasion. We have also similar problems with Pakistan. A large portion of our territory is yet to be freed from the occupation of these foreign countries.

As mentioned in the Address, the serious threat from China has continued throughout the year, though actual fighting has not taken place. The House is well aware that there has been a heavy infiltration into Assam of Pakistanis. Apart from that, occasionally there are clashes between the Pakistani army and our border police. As both Pakistan and China are determined to destroy this

country, the situation is very grave. The country must be prepared for any eventuality so as to protect and reoccupy the occupied territories. I am glad that the political problems in Nagaland, Manipur Tripura had been at last settled. I would like to suggest that the the problems of the hill tribes of Assam and NEFA should also be amicably settled. Delay in settlement of the political problems in the borders is often exploited by the anti-national and anti-social elements and foreign agents. Quite often we read in the papers, and those living in that area know, that the anti-social and anti-national elements in that area are sometimes acting as agents of foreign Powers, and they are also frequently visiting foreign countries and smuggling arms in order to carry on their anti-national activities. The House is perhaps aware that on the National Highway, the Imphal-Dimapur Road, many bridges have been dynamited recently, in January and February, and the lives of prominent local citizens and their properties are often the targets of these anti-national elements. Therefore, I would like to suggest the following that the political problems of Assam, NEFA and the border area should be immediately settled.

The strength of the security forces and the security outposts in this area, especially adjoining the disturbed border areas should be increased and strengthened, and the security forces should be made very effective. I do not say that they never act or never try to curtail the movements of hostiles or anti-nationals, but the people in that area know that they have not been functioning effectively or up to their expectations. The armed police in the border areas like the Manipur Rifles, the Nagaland Village Guards and other like forces should be strengthened, because these forces are especially composed of the local people and they know the terrain, the area and the people. So, they can act and function more effectively than the

[Shri Rishang Keishing]

security forces or the army. So, this should be encouraged.

The formation of Home Guards in important areas adjoining the disturbed areas should be immediately taken up. I do not mean to say that every village should have Home Guards, because there are loyal and disloyal villages. Only in loyal villages such Home Guards should be established, and they can very effectively help the army and the armed police in that area. If the security forces, armed police and Home Guards are effective enough and sufficiently strong, the anti-national elements and foreign agents can never move about inside and outside the border areas, and the smuggling of arms from foreign countries attacking loyal people and destroying national properties etc. can be put to a stop. Loyal citizens in these areas should be given full protection, and they should be provided with all facilities of development. At present in the frontier areas it is well known that loyal citizens are not receiving the proper attention of the Government, or at least as much attention as the Government is giving to the disloyal or anti-national elements. This should be stopped immediately, and full protection of the loyal citizens should be backed by development activities.

Education is a very important subject. Everybody, especially the tribals in the area are interested in and enthusiastic about education and want schools in the villages. There is often an argument that the introduction of compulsory primary education in that area is not welcomed by the tribal people, but this is only wishful imagination. I can assure the House that cent per cent of the people and particularly the hill people want schools. I believe that this is an opportune time to introduce compulsory primary education in that area.

Higher education should also receive the attention of Government. I would

suggest that every block should have a full-fledged Government higher secondary school. Further, I would like to suggest that every district in that area must have a full-fledged or first grade Government college. There is already a move for starting a university of Nagaland, Manipur, NEFA and Assam hill tribes. I believe that this is a right move and quite timely also. I hope Government will take a favourable decision very soon on this proposal and it will go a long way in the educational advancement of the people of the area.

I would also request Government to consider that the medium of instruction in this area and in the university should be Hindi and English. Provincial languages which are followed in the different parts of the country should not be introduced in schools and colleges or university in this area.

There is, unfortunately, a persistent demand from some sections of the people and some political parties that the emergency should be ended immediately. Under the situation prevailing in the border areas, I do not see any justification in this demand. If the emergency cannot continue in the entire country, I would plead that it should continue in the border area. In the border areas, the anti-national elements are very active. As I have pointed out earlier, they are bringing arms from outside, automatic guns, mortars and even dynamiting materials, all kinds of things, and even our armed police like the Manipur and Assam Rifles cannot cope with these anti-national elements, because they are using many automatic weapons, whereas our forces cannot use automatic weapons. Perhaps in a section they will have one bren gun which is a semi-automatic gun. So, it is sometimes quite demoralising. Therefore, I would suggest that in the border areas the emergency should continue. Otherwise, the ending of the emergency in the country, and especially in this area, would be very harmful to the security of the country.

Lastly, I would like to say a few words about corruption. It is no use arguing that there is not much corruption in the country. I think everybody in the country knows that there is widespread and deep-rooted corruption in the country especially in the administrative departments. I would venture to say that at least in our part of the country, 25 per cent or more of the development funds are going into the pockets of the corrupt officers and agents. Today, if the Plan fails and development schemes cannot be implemented, the main reason is corruption. Therefore, every step must be taken to end corruption.

In this connection, I welcome the constitution of the Central Vigilance Commission, but I am very doubtful if this will be effective enough. Government should evolve a machinery which will fight corruption at all levels, country, State, district and village. Otherwise, this monstrous disease can never be rooted out. The Home Minister said sometimes ago that he was interested in starting immediately anti-corruption committees in the Union Territories. That should be immediately done. This will relieve the people from the evil effect of corruption and it will ultimately be rooted out. With these few words, I whole-heartedly support the motion before the House.

14.00 hrs.

**Shri T. Subramanyam** (Bellary): Sir, the Vice-President's Address to the joint session of Parliament is a brief and factual statement of our main achievements in the past year and it invites us to the tasks that face us, while assuring us that Government would uphold the dignity and independence of our country and promote unity and well being and build socialist democratic structure peacefully with people's consent. Now, democracy to work successfully requires some basic postulates: the sanctity of the ballot, the sovereignty

of Parliament and the inviolability of law. The political parties must arrive at a convention with regard to these if parliamentary democracy has to be successful. Sometime back we heard that law would be made in the streets. They would organise *satyagraha* and direct action of their opinions find no favour in Parliament. Unless we arrive at a convention to uphold the rule of law, democracy will be in jeopardy. Laws must be made by discussion, reason and logic and persuasion and not in the streets by violence and terrorism and goondaism. Otherwise there will be the rule of goondaism and not the rule of law in the country.

There has been some comment about socialism. Gandhiji was the greatest practising socialist of our land; he wanted socialism by peaceful and non-violent means. Some opposition members want the basic institutions that have come from the Moghuls and the British to be perpetuated and stabilised. In a dynamic society like ours, socio-economic structure is bound to change from time to time while spiritual values are permanent. We have passed laws on inheritance, the Hindu Code, and on abolition of zamindaris, princes etc. These are perfectly consistent with Gandhiji's teachings. We are trying to introduce socialism within the framework of democracy.

Recently we had an appraisal of the Third Plan. The Plan wanted to achieve self-sufficiency in food production by the end of the plan period—100 million tons. I am afraid we cannot achieve this. I do not see any possibility of this achievement as in 1961-62 our production was 79 million tons and in 1962-63, 77 million tons. The single major factor to increase the yield per acre is irrigation. Wherever possible, we must have it. We must also utilise the potential thus created. The provision in Mysore in the Plan was 40.7 crores

*President discharging  
the functions of the  
President*

[Shri T. Subramanyam]  
for major irrigation, while the utilisation so far has been 20 crores. Next year provision will be about Rs. 5 crores; the total expenditure thus comes to Rs. 25 crores out of Rs. 40 crores. Two projects are nearing completion—the Badra and Tungabhadra projects—in Mysore. If full utilisation of the benefits has to be there, a larger provision has to be made. It is just like building the nine spans of a ten-span bridge and failing to complete the one last span: it is a waste because the bridge could not be utilised. So, field channels and distributaries are of crucial importance, but they are not constructed in time, usually. The State Government should be helped to attend to this. Then there is also the Alamatti project in Bijapur district. It is an insurance in those famine affected areas. There is also the Narayanpura project. They must be taken up now. It is not possible to have major irrigation project in every area. In other areas, minor irrigation schemes could be taken up. The expenditure in Mysore on minor irrigation schemes comes to about Rs. 8 crores per annum. Mysore has done very well in minor irrigation schemes. The next year provision is Rs. 4 crores and I am afraid this amount is not adequate and should be increased to Rs. 8 crores.

If we create irrigation potential, and do not distribute fertilisers in time, the yield will not increase. Central Government had planned for one fertiliser plant for each State but it has not been fulfilled. We are far from the Third Plan target of one million tons of nitrogenous fertilisers; we may be able to produce only 500,000 tons of nitrogenous fertilisers by the end of the Third Plan. I urge Government to take all possible steps to see that these plants are started according to schedule. If private sector does not utilise the licence, the public sector must take it up. In this

connection, I may also say that in regard to sugar production, the period of surplus was followed by a period of severe scarcity. We have also to export and then meet the requirements of our country. Some more sugar factory licences should be provided and wherever the co-operative sector takes it up, facilities must be given to them. For instance, the Kamalapur area of Bellary district of Mysore State has quite good acreage with regard to sugarcane production and they have been attempting for a long time to meet the shortage. They should be enabled to start this factory as early as possible.

With regard to industries, in our third Plan, we wanted to build up or lay the foundations for our reaching a self-sustaining and self-generating economy and for this purpose, a heavy engineering plant and a heavy electrical plant and the steel plants—all these big plants—were to play a role. Recently, we heard that there was an accident in the Heavy Engineering Plant. I hope it is not a serious thing, and the Minister of Steel, Mines and Heavy Engineering was saying that our production there would go according to schedule. The Vice-President's Address also states that we have maintained the production in the steel plants and that they are reaching their near-capacity. In this context, I may point out that in South India there are some places where a steel plant could be started. I am not stating it in a light-hearted manner. I am making this remark with all the earnestness and in all seriousness. The Hospet-Bellary area has got, as is well known, an abundant quantity of the richest variety of iron ore, and it is nearly 2,000 million tons. There is a broad gauge line which is now being laid from Guntakka] to Hospet, so that the export of iron ore from this area may be had to the tune of nearly five million tons per annum. The

wagons that come to the port, taking iron ore from this area. may bring back coal, either indigenous or imported. Japan is importing raw materials and producing steel and selling steel cheaper in other countries, while we have the most precious iron ore in abundant quantities and we are using the transport facilities also. I submit, and I urge the Government to consider in all seriousness this aspect of the matter. Just now they are considering a plant that should be included in the fourth Plan. They should start a steel plant in the Bellary-Hospet area, and they should also start an aluminium factory in Mysore State. There will be plenty of power there; in the course of a few months. three or four months, perhaps by the end of April or May, the two units of the Sharavati project are likely to go into production, and power will be available. Therefore, an aluminium plant could be started. It is a must. I urge the Government to enable this Plant to be started in the public sector.

I shall refer to two factors in the international situation. Recently, the British representative at the Security Council almost rated and equated India with Pakistan in the matter of our behaviour and treatment of our minorities. what has taken place actually during the last 15 years? It is a sad state. The only solution that Pakistan seems to have is to eliminate the minorities and drive them out, and to add insult to injury, they are saying that it is the Indian people and the Indian Government who are inviting the minorities to come out from East Pakistan and that they are responsible for the exodus and for these people to leave East Pakistan. It is adding insult to injury. And then the British representative at the United Nations supports the position that has been taken up by Pakistan. He wants to reopen all the questions that have been settled, the question of accession of Kashmir, which is complete. We should make it absolutely plain to

the British people that we will not tolerate this state of things; they are working on the old balance of power principle, trying to put one power against the other, to support the weaker against the strong, so that in the ultimate analysis their position as power-holders may be secure.

There is only one more matter to which I should like to refer, and that is the test ban treaty, the banning of the test of atomic explosions. There was agreement between Russia and the USA, and it was approved by the United Nations. In the outer space, the use of nuclear weapons has been banned, and that is a great contribution. It has also been approved by the United Nations. It is a significant contribution to the cause of peace and disarmament, and for achieving this, I must say that the one single personality who has been greatly responsible for achieving this easing of tension is our Prime Minister. Whatever other people may say with regard to him personally in derogatory terms, history will record that he has played the greatest and noblest part in easing the tension of the world at present.

**Dr. L. M. Singhvi (Jodhpur):** Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, at the outset, I wish to express my anxiety regarding the health of our President and that of the Prime Minister. Our President's profound wisdom and seasoned counsel is as invaluable to the Republic as the Prime Minister's leadership is to the miscellaneous entourage which comprises the Congress party which rules us, because his leadership gives unity and cohesion to the Government and the party in power. His health is of profound national concern as my hon. friend Shri Chatterjee had occasion to observe. We wish both the President and the Prime Minister speedy recovery and continued health.

I agree with my friends who have pleaded that the Prime Minister's burden and strain of departmental res-

[Dr. L. M. Singhvi]

possibilities and duties should cease forthwith to undermine his health, although I think those who insisted on the appointment of a Deputy Prime Minister, in the context of succession—I repeat and underline that expression “in the context of succession”—are unwitting victims of an undemocratic approach. A Cabinet Government is a Government by equals among whom the Prime Minister is only *primus inter pares*. To countenance a *secundus inter pares* or a third among equals in order to solve the problem of succession, as it is currently described, is actually to discountenance the true nature of Cabinet Government. In my opinion, it would undermine our parliamentary institutions. The very word succession, as it is being currently used, and bandied about, in my submission, is a retrograde anathema to democratic principles. The desire to designate a successor to the Prime Minister evinced in certain sections of the Congress party, as indeed even among the Opposition quarters, is born of an undue attachment to the concept of political certainty, a phenomenon which is very rare in democratic politics. I think that it is almost an infantile wish. Do we not remember that Sir Anthony Eden who was groomed for occupying the distinguished position of Prime Ministership in Great Britain proved unequal to the task when the crisis came in that country? Therefore, to try to designate a successor to the Prime Minister and to seek to solve this problem in advance is really to try an impractical proposition in democratic politics. What is really needed is the emergency of a strong and capable, resilient and responsive collective leadership at once practical and dedicated, and to facilitate this and work for the emergence of such a leadership should be the supreme task of the Prime Minister at this stage in the country's history.

The Prime Minister has a stature which would enable him to be a deci-

sive human factor in this situation in promoting this possibility I feel that even under the collective Troika which has come to rule us, the concept of collective responsibility and collective working has suffered substantial setback. It continues to be relegated to the background. Inter-ministerial co-ordination today is at a very low ebb. I would like the Government to tell us why, for example, jute and textile departments were taken away virtually wrested from the Ministry of International Trade, if what we read in the papers is correct, and how it would foster a more efficient and more co-ordinated implementation of policies particularly for the promotion of international trade. Jute is an export commodity, and normally we would have thought that its continuance with the Ministry of International Trade would have been more conducive to efficient functioning. The rumour is at large that this change was a consequence of some wire-pulling and if this is so we would certainly like to know whether this is only one of the many instances of deliberate attempt to undermine co-ordination in the Government. I would also like, for example, to question the Government in respect of the scrapping of the working-time agreement with the Indian Jute Mills Association. The decision may be sound but I should like to know how it came to be announced without consultation, I hear that is so with the Minister of International Trade. I should like to know whether it is not a fact that just preceding the announcement of the scrapping of the working-time agreement this actually led to a very large volume of speculative business in the country and if so, why this extraordinary volume of speculative business could not have been anticipated by the Government before it announced the scrapping of the working-time agreement.

The other day when I initiated a discussion on rural water supply, the

Union Health Minister came forward with the plea that she is answerable only in respect of the Rs. 16 crores out of Rs. 67 crores allocated for the purpose in the third Plan, and that there were various other departments and Ministries which will have to answer in order to complete the picture. This is not a very happy situation, because it leads to a chaotic, pervasive confusion all round in the machinery of the Government. I should also like to know what has happened to the working of the Economic and Defence Coordination Ministry which was entrusted to Mr. Krishnamachari and in which field he had begun to make a sizeable and path-breaking impact and whether that work is being carried out with the same gusto or it is being abandoned because the work of coordination beginning to step on many departmental toes and ministerial shoes.

The mid-term appraisal of the third Plan has revealed a sordid state of affairs on the economic front. On the admission of the Government and the planning machinery itself, we have failed to achieve the physical targets and we have failed to arrive any nearer in a significant measure to a self-generating state of our economy. It appears to me that the annual growth rate of national income has declined from 7.1 per cent in 1960-61 to 2.2 per cent in 1961-62 in real terms and 2 per cent in 1962-63. The performance in the field of agriculture is still worse. I should like that the Government to tell this House, when some of the Ministers rise to reply to the debate on behalf of the Government, as to why it is that the Plan continues to be embedded in unrealistic assumptions and why it is that we are told one thing and when it comes to implementation, we are told that the Government could not make it. I would like in this respect to recommend to Government very strongly that they must henceforward undertake an annual review of the performance of the plan, an annual appraisal, so that the country is kept properly informed about

the one thing that matters most to all of us.

In this connection, I would like to draw attention to the spectre of famine which looms large in my State of Rajasthan as indeed also in parts of Gujarat and Punjab in a lesser measure. It is true that monies have been allocated; it is true that the Union Agriculture Minister told me the other day that he has done everything that is possible and that he has agreed to give all that is asked for by the Government of Rajasthan. But my personal contacts and my extensive tours in the constituency which is famine-stricken and the area to which I belong have convinced me that there is a very small measure of governmental assistance which has actually reached the villager. There is very little done to alleviate the lot of the villagers.

Agriculture in Rajasthan and some parts of Gujarat and Punjab continues to be bedevilled by natural calamities and factors, the effect of which we have not been able to mitigate even after 16 years of planned effort. It is to the lasting discredit of the administration which has failed to implement policies, to redeem pledges given by the Government. I will give you an instance to illustrate the State Government's indifference to the sufferings of the people of the famine-stricken areas. The Government announced through its collector in the district to which I belong that they would provide work to the famine-stricken people on the Ganga Canal area and that they would give a wage of Rs. 2.50 per day to every worker who is sent under the *parvana* from the collectorate, presumably under the authority of the State Government. When these workers reached the Ganga Canal area for work, they not only did not find any living accommodation for themselves, they not only did not find any grain shops for them, but they also found that the promised wage of Rs. 2.50 was overnight reduced to either Re 1 or merely 75 nP in different cases. Is this the

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state of affairs which obtains in this country and yet, the Government can proclaim its adherence to democratic principles? Is this the kind of indifference which can be allowed to prevail in a democratic set-up? I submit that unless the Government is prepared to make a massive effort to ameliorate the situation in places like West Rajasthan where there is dire poverty and pathetic suffering, the problems will find no solution.

I have suggested several times on the floor of this House that for the problems of the western region of Rajasthan, the Government must establish an authority like the Desert Development Authority, which would be able to coordinate the various schemes for the development of those areas. The areas of western Rajasthan are almost as backward and long-suffering as some of the eastern districts of U.P. I think these problems have to be tackled on an emergency basis.

In a similar way, the Government have failed to redeem their pledges in the field of rural water-supply, rural electrification, slum-clearance and providing medical and health care in the villages. The other day the Health Minister said that they were not willing to consider setting up more medical colleges because of the non-availability of sufficient trained personnel for teaching. This gives the lie to the proclamations contained in the Plan. If we are not going to have more medical colleges, how is the Health Minister going to provide the country with the necessary medical personnel to look after our rural population? Is it only to show us a picture of a mirage which we will never attain? Is it only to deceive the people that the Plan proclaims that all the problems will be solved by the end of the fourth Plan and each time the target advanced to the next Five Year Plan?

Bureaucracy is eating into the vitals of our democracy. Red-tape is getting

larger and longer. Corruption breeds in the fertile soil of bureaucratic delays and inertia. The Vigilance Commission is certainly a welcome move. But I would like to ask the Home Minister as to why he is not willing to have a regular Ombudsman with the requirement of laying its reports on the Table of this House each year on a statutory basis. I should like to know how Mr. Nanda hopes to redeem his bold pledge that he has given to eradicate corruption in the country within a period of 2 years. I want to know whether he stands by that pledge and whether he would think that he has failed to redeem this pledge and therefore to fulfil the duties of his office, in case he is not able to fulfil this promise.

This year is the year of Kamaraj Plan, also known as Yamaraj Plan. In celebrating this new innovation or rather the newly acquired ideological baggage, the leaders of the country have regaled us with a great deal of pious platitudes and resounding rhetoric. I should like to know whether they do not realise that the malady is much deeper than such superficial innovations and if that is so, merely laundering old clothing or even acquiring new baggage would not necessarily solve our national problem.

I should like to know whether it is not realised by our leadership that the Kamaraj Plan has already begun to disintegrate and to disappoint.

**Shri Tyagi (Dehra Dun):** I thought it was not a Government Plan.

**Dr. L. M. Singhvi:** Since it has affected the Government, I am sure Mr. Tyagi would concede me the right of discussing it. At one time it did shake up the very foundation of the Government in the country and it may yet be the source of that shake-up in the future.

At any rate, I would like to know, Sir, whether this controversy between democracy and socialism again ignores



*President discharging  
the functions of the  
President*

the facts, the realities of the deeper maladies that afflict our body politic. You cannot improve your son's grammar by giving him a new fountain-pen! And any number of "fountain-pens" that the Congress leadership might buy and give to this organisation would not improve its functioning. What the country wants is that the Government should deliver the goods, and it is an earnest of its dedication to really deliver the goods that we are anxious to have. To hope that this will usher in a new era, which has been promised to us for long, is in my humble opinion to teether on the brink of hallucination. What we want is something better than hallucination to which, I think, we have by now become quite allergic.

In respect of the continuance of the emergency I would like to say only this much that it has ceased to satisfy the basic test of a clear and present threat of external aggression, and therefore it has ceased to have a rationale for its continuance. I think it is high time that the Government considered either lending a sense of urgency to this state of emergency or scrapping the emergency itself.

I would like to end by saying that in the present state of international tension where we find ourselves somewhat friendless, as in the Security Council debate recently on Kashmir, we must strengthen our defences and show a somewhat greater security-consciousness. This year had been a year of discovering many an espionage apparatus. And if the Government fails to make a real, a substantial effort to show itself as a security-conscious government, it would have failed the country. I hope, Sir, that this Government would show an adequate measure of security-consciousness and that they would see to it that our western borders, particularly in view of our increasing differences with Pakistan, would be better guarded. I may say that at present they are not as well

guarded as they should be. I wish to say here that the areas in the border region should be looked after better, they should be visited by our leaders more often.

And I end, Sir, by expressing the hope that Government would show a somewhat greater willingness to listen to constructive thinking and suggestions in the country rather than displaying a closed mind to every new idea that happens to emanate from their own rank and file but from others. It is in this that they can perhaps give a promise to the country of delivering the goods, or at least a part of the goods which they have been promising us for a long time.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Shrimati Jyotsna Chanda.

**Shri Priya Gupta (Katihar):** I want to make just one submission.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Order, order. No submission now.

Shrimati Jyotsna Chanda.

**Shri Priya Gupta: \*\*\***

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Order, order. These remarks will not form part of the record.

Shrimati Jyotsna Chanda.

**Shrimati Jyotsna Chanda (Cachar):** Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, the Vice-President in his thoughtful address has referred to the problem of the large influx of Hindu refugees from East Pakistan, and the Central Government has made it clear that the problem of Hindu refugees from East Pakistan is a national problem and a national responsibility. But in our preoccupation with the problem of Hindu refugees, we should not underestimate the problem of Muslim infiltration from East Pakistan into Assam, Tripura and West Bengal. This too is a national problem threatening India's security and the solution of this problem is also a national responsibility.

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\*\*\*Not recorded.

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[Shrimati Jyotsna Chanda]

On the basis of the figures released by the 1961 census of Pakistan and India, it has been estimated by the 1961 Census Commissioner of India that the migration of Muslims into Assam, West Bengal, Tripura and Purnea District of Bihar has been of the order of 10,33,000 during the decade 1951-1961. The Government must do everything in its power to put a stop to the Muslim infiltration from East Pakistan. This is not a new problem, but it is time some new measures are adopted in this regard.

I wish to submit two specific proposals for dealing with this problem for the consideration of the House and the Government.

First, a border security zone should be created in the States bordering East Pakistan, namely, West Bengal, Tripura and Assam, extending twenty miles from the border in these States and all along the border; and all the Muslim population in these areas should be resettled in other parts of India. I must make it absolutely clear that I am not pleading for an exchange of population. All I am saying is that the Muslim population within twenty miles of the East Pakistan border should be settled at least twenty miles away from the border. Wherever necessary, proper compensation should be paid to those who cannot be suitably resettled. This resettlement of whole villages was done when the DVC dams were built. There are several other instances of such resettlement. For example, when a new airport or a refinery is built, whole villages are displaced. So in the interest of national security, if there is resettlement of part of the border population, such a step should not be regarded as abnormal. There is reason to believe that the Pakistan Government actively helps the Muslim infiltration into India.

Secondly, in the areas where there are large Muslim pockets in the cities, towns and villages of Assam, Tripura and West Bengal, there should be compulsory registration of all Muslim

households and there should be frequent police checks to detect infiltration. Those guilty of infiltration should be rounded up and sent to Dandakaranya or to any other project for road construction work for a minimum period of two years after which they should be deported to East Pakistan. Again, I must point out that there is nothing very rash in regard to such compulsory registration. During each census enumeration there is a complete house-listing which is compulsory. And such registration will also be in the interests of Muslim security, as the police will be in a position to take effective steps if they are posted with all the relevant information.

Before I conclude, I wish to refer briefly to the problem of Hindu refugee migration from East Pakistan. It is an agonising reality which we must face that the Hindus cannot live any more in East Pakistan. It is not humanly possible for them to live any more there, as there is no security of life, property, honour and respect. Nearly one crore of Hindus are still there. We cannot wait for periodic outbursts of violence in East Pakistan to think of the Hindu minority there. Our Planning Commission, while preparing the Fourth Five Year Plan must make adequate provision for the phased migration and resettlement of all the Hindus from East Pakistan. Top priority should be given to the Dandakaranya Development Project, the Rajasthan Canal projects and so on. The refugee problem is not merely a political problem. If lakhs of refugees pour in the States of Assam and West Bengal, their economy will be completely disrupted. So, instead of depending on the prevailing political climate which will determine the magnitude of the influx of refugees from East Pakistan, it will be more realistic if the Planning Commission draws its Fourth Plan on the assumption that almost all the Hindus in East Pakistan will migrate to India in the near future.

Speaking for Assam, I cannot have a sense of optimism about the pros-

pects of improving the economic condition of the masses unless the twin problems of Muslim infiltration and Hindu refugees, both national problems, are tackled effectively. We must also not forget that a large number of refugees who have been coming to Assam, Tripura and West Bengal ever since the partition of India in 1947 and in particular after 1950, have only been partially rehabilitated. Muslim infiltration on a large scale is a threat to national security, and massive Hindu migration disrupts our national economy.

I may remind this House in this connection that Sardar Patel had even demanded land from Pakistan to take care of the large influx of Hindu refugees from Pakistan. The Government of India should demand adequate compensation from the Government of Pakistan for the loss of property of the migrants from East Pakistan, as was done in the case of refugees from West Pakistan.

I hope, the Government will rise to the occasion and find out ways and means to solve this problem for ever, and I know the country will support the Government unhesitatingly.

**Shri Maniyangadan** (Kottayam): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I stand here to support the motion of thanks moved here. Sir, the Address of the Vice-President gives in a nutshell the various aspects of the national activities towards achieving our objective, namely democratic and socialist order at home and peace and co-operation in international affairs.

The Vice-President has referred to the difficulties and distractions that we are facing and we have to face. We are at the cross-roads of history, and only earnest and united efforts by all will lead us to success.

The mid-term appraisal of the Third Plan was referred to by the Vice-President. We had occasion to discuss it once. It is true that we are not able to achieve our targets fully in all respects. But there is no meaning in de-

cries everything. The Vice-President has referred to the agricultural sector and pointed out the shortfalls. The only solution for us is to increase production. Unless production is increased there is no possibility of getting over the difficulties. Increased price is also referred to. When there is a scarcity of commodities the prices are bound to go up. This is the fundamental law of economics. So the only possibility is by increasing the production. State trading was referred to by some hon. Members. I am afraid, State trading by itself, or the State taking over the monopoly over trade, will not solve the problem. I am not against controls. I am of the view that profiteering out of scarcity should be curbed with a strong hand. But the trade being taken over completely by the State may not solve the problem. It will only create further problems. Therefore, according to me, the only method is to increase production in various ways. The co-operative system must also be encouraged.

For increasing the production of agricultural commodities the agriculturists must have some incentives. They must be assured of a reasonable price. I may, in this connection, refer to a place in Kerala called Kuttanad which is the rice bowl of Kerala. The cultivation there is a peculiar one. It is backwaters and water is pumped out from the fields. Big bunds are to be put up. It is a very costly affair. But the price of the rice that is produced there does not give a reasonable margin of profit. I would suggest that the agriculturists there must be assured of a reasonable price. They must be given help in various other ways. Other agricultural products like pepper, turmeric, cardamom and other things are grown there. These commodities earn foreign exchange. If the production of these commodities is to be increased, I would suggest that a floor price should be fixed for them. Unless that is done there is no meaning in saying that we are thinking of increasing our production and all that.

[Shri Maniyangadan]

In this connection, I may refer to the position of electricity in our State. I am glad that the Minister for Irrigation and Power is here. Every year it has become almost a custom to cut down the supply of electricity in the State. This year there was a cut to the tune of 40 per cent. If the industries are to function properly electricity is a vital necessity. Of course, certain power projects are coming up there, but however big the projects may be when the question of electricity comes we have completely to depend on the rains. If there is shortage of rains, there is no electricity. That is what is happening. So the suggestion was made that certain thermal stations may be established in Kerala. I would request the Minister to look into this question and see that thermal stations are established there.

I may also refer to certain statements made by the leader of the Communist Group, Shri A. K. Gopalan. He was saying that democracy is not functioning in this country, that law and order has completely broken down in certain States. He made a special mention of Kerala. It is a funny thing to hear this from Shri A. K. Gopalan, the leader of the Communist Group. There was a government in that State, some years back, led by the Communist Party. I do not want to refer to the details of those times. Anyhow, I only want to say that it comes with ill grace from Shri Gopalan when he says that democracy is not functioning there. He was referring to the editorials of a few papers which said that one of the ministers there should go out of office. I do not minimise the importance of newspapers in a democratic set up. But I will remind him of the period when the Communist regime was there, when all the newspapers there except those run by the Communist Party un-animously demanded the resignation of the Ministry. I do not know when the idea of public opinion being put forth by editorials of one or two papers dawned on him. I have only to say that there was no time before the Com-

munist regime was functioning there when public opinion was expressed so unequivocally against the State Government. Judicial enquiries had given verdicts against that Government. Instances of interference with the judiciary by the Government were not few and judicial pronouncements were made condemning the Government. But they stuck to power. Law and order completely broke down and the President had to dismiss the Government. That is what happened there. What is he referring to here? The Home Minister of the State while driving a car met with an accident, two or three people were injured, and the police registered a case against the Home Minister himself and it was decided that the Home Minister should give up charge of the portfolio that he was holding. That was done so that the police may investigate the case properly and further proceedings may be taken. I do not know what further is needed in a democratic set up. A car accident is only a minor offence and it does not attach to it any moral turpitude. I do not understand the justification for demanding the resignation of a Minister merely because a case for an offence under the Motor Vehicles Act is registered against him. Then it is said that the Minister has failed to stop the car and take the injured persons to the hospital. Well, the law does not provide for that. He has done what he has to do strictly under the law. So, there is no sense in bringing that allegation against him.

The second allegation was regarding an incident in the MLAs' quarters at Trivandrum. When the Congress President visited Trivandrum, certain people from various parts of the State gathered there to give him a fitting reception. It seems that some of the people went to the MLA's quarters and staged a demonstration against an MLA. No untoward incident took place there. I do not want to go into the question whether this demonstration was justified or not. That is not the question at issue. The only question is whether the machinery of law

and order did function properly or not. The police, on hearing of this demonstration, arrived on the spot immediately. The Speaker of the Assembly also took notice of this and made arrangements for the security of the persons inside the quarters. So, the law and order position was entirely and wholly satisfactory and there was absolutely no incident at all except the fact of the demonstration.

These are the two instances quoted by Shri A. K. Gopalan to show or prove that law and order has broken down in Kerala. This in my opinion, only shows that a drowning man will catch even a straw to save himself. The party which he represents may have several troubles within the party. He referred to the fact that there were bickerings within the Congress Party. I do not want to go into those things. In every party there are certain occasions on which there may be differences of opinion. Does he not remember that the leader of his group in Parliament was censured by his own party and still he continues to be the leader of that group? Are there no differences of opinion between the various sections of his own party? I do not know why all those matters should be brought into Parliament. There may be differences of opinion between various sections in a party, between individual members of a party, but those matters are not the concern of Parliament.

It may be the game of that party to take political capital out of these minor incidents or differences between two sections of a party. If so, I do not want to ask him to deviate from that policy. But let him not forget the fact that he himself was censured by his own party and yet he continues to be the leader of that party. Perhaps, if he were not in a democratic set up as in India he might not have been here and he might not have been even alive. Therefore, it is wrong to say that under the Congress regime in India democracy is not at all functioning.

Then he referred to the Land Reforms Act of Kerala. That matter was discussed here in detail when we were considering the Constitution Seventeenth Amendment Bill. He said that the rights of tenants are being taken away under that Act. All that was done was to make certain amendments to the former Act. A new Bill was introduced in the State Legislature, passed by the Legislature and the President has given his assent to that. His complaint was that while the Communist regime was in power there it passed a similar Bill and the President took two years for giving his assent whereas in the case of this Act the President took only a month or so. But he forgets that when the Communist regime passed a Bill into law and sent to the President for his assent, he pointed out certain defects in the Bill and sent it back to the Legislature. It had to be considered by the Legislature again and so it took a long time. In this case, there was no such necessity. Moreover, there was an interim legislation which was to expire on the 31st December last. So, it was absolutely necessary that the new Act should come into force before that date. Therefore, the President gave his assent without delay. That is all what happened. So, I do not know why he attributes motives even to the President of India in giving his assent to these two Bills. He should not forget the circumstances in which it was done.

Then he was speaking of corruption. Well, it has been taken note of and various steps are being taken. But, then, this character assassination and allegations merely based on political backgrounds or personal animosity is a very serious kind of corruption. Unless our morality is improved, we cannot get rid of corruption. Character assassination of people, making wild allegations against them without any basis, especially against persons who are holding high positions, that must be curbed and put an end to at an early date.

**Shri N. C. Chatterjee** (Burdwan): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, after the very unfortunate speech of the British representative at the Security Council, the whole of India is perturbed and distressed. If the Prime Minister of India had been here I would have pressed him with all the earnestness that I can command that it is high time that he as Prime Minister on behalf of his Government and this country should make a categorical and firm declaration to the Anglo-American world "hands off Kashmir". Sir, it is high time that we realise what danger we are facing. The Prime Minister, unfortunately, is not here but I would urge the Home Minister immediately to make that categorical, firm and unequivocal declaration.

Sir Patrick Dean's speech at the Security Council has given us a rude shock. But I am still more distressed by the special pleadings which had been resorted to by some British diplomats in India. Sir, you do not possibly know and the House does not possibly know that Mr. Baxter, the Regional Information Officer of the British Information Services stationed in Calcutta has issued a statement, trying to condone or make a special pleading justifying the speech of Sir Patrick Dean. He says:

"Neither Britain nor the Security Council have made any pronouncement on the legality of the accession of Kashmir to India."

This is a very serious thing. We want to make it perfectly clear that the Accession is no longer a live issue, that Kashmir is an integral part of India and that it shall continue to be so. What has Sir Patrick Dean been saying? What is the attitude of the British Prime Minister? Are they saying that there can be any mediation on the issue of accession? Who went to the Security Council? India went to the Security Council with the complaint that there has been aggression on Indian territory. Is our sovereignty over our own territory going to

be the subject matter of negotiation? We must repudiate that whole-heartedly. Look at the speech of Sir Patrick Dean. I am reading it. Sir Patrick Dean said:

"We consider it unrealistic to consider the status of Kashmir purely in terms of the legal effect of Maharaja's instrument of accession. It is impossible to leave out of consideration 15 years of discussion in this Council and the decisions taken by it."

**An Hon. Member:** Shame, shame.

**Shri N. C. Chatterjee:** Does it mean that the Accession, which was ratified, entered into by the head of the State according to the British statute and international obligations is still open for discussion?

15.00 hrs.

Sir, as a matter of fact, Mr. Krishna Menon's forthright speech set me thinking. I have deeply considered the matter and I think the graver danger that is now facing India is this that they are thinking of some kind of a consensus. This consensus is a bigger danger. It is really a trap. This consensus is a clever move. It is a delusion and a snare. Why? It has been deliberately manoeuvred to make India and her supporters change their basic stand. You have got to have consensus regarding what? We have got to make consensus in regard to the vital point that Kashmir is a part of India? Even on that point we shall have consensus for the purpose of negotiation? As a matter of fact, we can understand Pakistan. We know what is happening. Why do they bring up this Kashmir issue periodically? Why do they resort to this periodical insanity and madness in East Bengal and go on with communal flare up and this communal carnage. They are deliberately doing it with a set purpose. There is a strong democratic movement in East Bengal. There is a strong urge that the military dictatorship should end. Among the Muslim youth also, in East Pakistan, there is

a strong urge that the totalitarian regime should go and some kind of a democratic set-up should be installed. Now this Kashmir issue is trotted out conveniently and periodically for the purpose of killing and scotching this democratic movement. I am happy to announce that there are East Bengal leaders, Muslim leaders and important Muslim papers which are conducted by East Bengal Muslims of some prominence, like, *Ittefaq* and other papers which deliberately and repeatedly warned President Ayub Khan, "Do not indulge in this game of raising communal passion over this temporary loss of the Holy Relic at Hazratbal." All these are deliberately and repeatedly done for the purpose of diverting attention and scotching and killing the democratic movement which was brewing in Pakistan for the purpose of continuing the military dictatorship, for the purpose of negating all urge towards self-realisation and self-fulfilment of the people who wanted a better set-up. That was the position.

Then, Sir, the British representative, Mr. Baxter has also said:

"Britain did not take up a hostile stand in the Security Council."

Only a British diplomat can talk like that. We have had enough of British diplomacy in India. His next sentence is:

"Indeed Sir Patrick Dean said much that coincided with the Indian view."

Then he quotes Mr. Chagla. I must pay a tribute to Mr. Chagla for his emphatic exposure of the Pakistan game and I think all sections of our people should stand by what Mr. Chagla has said. We are proud of his performance. But is it right to say that Sir Patrick Dean has said exactly the same thing in the Security

Council what Mr. Chagla had said? What was Mr. Chagla saying? Mr. Chagla was not thinking of any kind of consensus on the vital issue of accession. Nothing of the kind. He was appealing for sanity; he was appealing for a rational approach; he was appealing on humanitarian grounds that this communal carnage must stop in East Bengal and any consequential repercussions which we all deeply deplore and condemn in West Bengal should not happen and he said we can never build up India and we can never build up India or Pakistan if this kind of continuous communal carnage and its repercussions are repeated from time to time. All planning would be finished; all talk of democracy would be moonshine and all ideals of socialism will go down the drain if this kind of thing happens and India is confronted with another 9 millions of refugees who have got to be accepted as proper Indian citizens. You must respect them. That is what he was saying. He was saying that there should be a joint meeting of Ministers of the two countries. To do what? To have communal amity for the effective protection of the minorities in both the countries and this gentlemen has got the impertinence to suggest that Sir Patrick Dean was only echoing the sentiments of the Indian representative. This is a type of hypocrisy which we must repudiate and we must resent.

Thirdly, he says:

"The British delegation at the U. N. did hold discussions with their Indian colleagues. But there there was no reason to 'warn' the Indians as the speech was not a hostile one."

It was really a hostile speech. What we want to say is this. If there is a corrupt regime in Kashmir, if there is an inefficient administration in Kashmir, if the people are genuinely thinking of a closer integration, then it is India's duty and we will perform

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[Shri N. C. Chatterjee]  
our duty, but we will not allow any other country to interfere in that affair. The immortal soul of one of the greatest sons of India is watching this Parliament and watching India today, the great Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukerjee. You remember he started the Kashmir agitation over this question of total integration of Kashmir with India and he underwent the supreme sacrifice of laying down his life on this issue. I was one of the 10,000 men who were arrested and imprisoned in that movement. I am happy and proud that that movement was timely and stopped the possible betrayal by one leader whom the Prime Minister loved and admired but now we know what he was. But, Sir, whatever is due to the people of Kashmir we shall do it. I do not think that this Parliament should today declare that there should be President's rule and there should be no democratic set-up. We want a broad-based democratic Government properly installed and functioning there. We want that the corrupt regime which has disgraced Kashmir and which has been fooling with India's millions of rupees of tax-payers money should completely be eliminated from that field. We are not going to allow anybody else to interfere. Our Minister should stand up in this Parliament and boldly and courageously declare that Accession is not a live issue. We shall not allow that issue to be discussed and there is no question of consensus on that issue, no question of negotiation, and we will not have any mediator to discuss whether there should be accession or there should be plebiscite. We know what is this plebiscite. Unfortunately, in Sylhet, there was some kind of plebiscite. Unfortunately, in the North West Frontier Province there was some kind of plebiscite. When communal passions are inflamed and when you demand that Kashmir should be a part of Pakistan simply on the two-nation theory

Maulana are sent running about, you know there cannot be honest democratic voting or real ballot or any proper appraisal with regard to the political issues. It will be a complete-nasco. But why? Repeatedly, there have been democratic elections and repeatedly the Kashmir Assembly has adopted the attitude that this integration is final and conclusive and even today we are demanding that Article 370 should be scrapped from the Constitution. This is one of the mistakes we made by making temporary provisions with respect to the State of Jammu and Kashmir. I am not going to say what I said in the First Lok Sabha when I was a Member that we committed three bungles and one of the bungles was this reference to U. N., another bungle was the offer of some kind of plebiscite and the third bungle was the cease-fire. But whatever was done, after that 16 years have passed and during these 16 years you have had democratic elections and in every election there has been a unanimous declaration by the people of Kashmir that they shall continue to be within India and as a part of India. Therefore, remove this article 370 and make it completely integrated part of India on the same footing, on the same level, on the same constitutional, legal and juridical level as any other part of India. Mr. Adlai Stevenson's speech has sugar-coated the British stand. We can see through it and we can also tell Mr. Adlai Stevenson that we are not going to be trapped by that kind of speech. As a matter of fact, it is a clever manoeuvre to do two things, one to dislodge Soviet Russia from its firm stand she had taken. Supposing Soviet Russia today walks into this so-called consensus, then it will have to shift its ground, and it will have to resile from its own stand. Secondly, it is being utilised for getting the African votes for the purpose of blackguarding India. We must refuse to submit to any kind of blackmail and slander, and we must make



shall be neither any negotiation nor any mediation nor any kind of this consensus on this issue. That issue is closed. The only issue is the issue on which we went to the UNO. And what is that issue? It is 'Vacate the aggression'. Now, the wonderful thing in international politics is that the complainant is being made the accused and the aggressor assumes the role of being the victim of aggression. We are not going to tolerate this kind of perfidy. India repudiates it. If the Government make the position clear, I am sure that all parties in this House, all people in this country, and all sections of citizens will stand by the Government and there will be complete unanimity.

**श्री समनानी (जम्मू तथा काश्मीर) :**  
जनाब डिप्टी स्पीकर साहब, आनरेबल मेम्बर, मि० चटर्जी, और दूसरे दोस्तों ने बर्तानिया के स्टैंड के मुताल्लिक अपने खयालात का इजहार किया है। वाकई यह एक ऐसी बात है, जिस ने तमाम हिन्दुस्तान और हर एक हिन्दुस्तानी को इन्तहाई सदमा पहुंचाया है। लेकिन मैं समझता हूं कि ज्यों-ज्यों वाक्यात गुजरते जाते हैं, उनका कुछ हिस्सा भूलता जाता है। बर्तानिया का यह एटीट्यूड कोई नया एटीट्यूड नहीं है और अगर किसी वक्त भी हम इस मुगालते में रहे कि बर्तानिया सिक्योरिटी कौंसिल में हमें सपोर्ट करने जा रहा है, तो हमारा वह खयाल गलत था और वह गलत साबित हुआ है। इस मौके पर उस ने जिस तरह हमें स्टैंड किया है, उस पर जितना भी गमो-गुस्से का इजहार किया जाय, वह कम है।

लेकिन जहां हम काश्मीर के मुताल्लिक बर्तानिया के एटीट्यूड की बात करते हैं, दूसरी बातें करते हैं, वहां हम यह भी देखें कि इस साविरेन हाउस में किस किस की बातें कही जाती हैं। मैं इस साविरेन हाउस के अख्यारत को चैलज नहीं करता हूं। इस साविरेन हाउस में मल्क के हर एक

मसले, हर एक अमर और हर एक वाक्ये पर बहस हो सकती है। लेकिन इस दफा जनाब सदर के खतबे पर बहस के दौरान और उसके अलावा भी कुछ दोस्तों ने पार्लियामेंट की सतह से उतर कर इस को जम्मू-काश्मीर रियासत की एसेम्बली समझ कर और अपने आप को जम्मू काश्मीर रियासत की आपोज़ेशन पार्टीज समझ कर बातें कीं।

**श्री राम सेवक यादव :** क्या काश्मीर एसेम्बली के कोई हकीकत नहीं है ?

**श्री समनानी :** आनरेबल मेम्बर मुन लें। हकीकत मेरे सामने है। उन के सामने नहीं है, जो कि एक सांस में एक बात करते हैं और दूसरे सांस में दूसरी बात करते हैं।

यहां पर जो कुछ बात होती रही, उन से हिन्दुस्तान को, काश्मीर को, काश्मीर के रहने वालों को या बिहार या मद्रास के रहने वालों को कोई फायदा पहुंचने वाला नहीं है। अगर यह बातें इस्तेमाल होंगी — और वे इस्तेमाल हो रही हैं — तो उन को पाकिस्तान इस्तेमाल करेगा, सारी नेशन और मुस्क के खिलाफ इस्तेमाल करेगा।

चूंकि वक्त थोड़ा है, इसलिए मैं उन सब बातों को क्वोट नहीं कर सकता हूँ। आज मुझे श्रीमती रेणु चक्रवर्ती की तक्रारीर मुन कर ताज्जुब हुआ। बड़ी डेमोक्रेट, बड़ी प्रोग्रेसिव और बहुत पुरानी पार्लियामेंटरियन होते हुए भी उन्होंने कहा कि बख्शी गुलाम मुहम्मद करण्ट हैं, हालांकि उन्होंने कई दफा यह प्वायंट आफ आर्डर उठाया है कि उस आदमी को क्रिटिसाइज नहीं किया जाना चाहिये, जो कि इस हाउस में मौजूद नहीं है। जिस पार्टी से उन का ताल्लुक है, १९५२ से ले कर सितम्बर, १९६३ तक, उस पार्टी के नज़दीक बख्शी गुलाम मुहम्मद हीरो था। लेकिन सितम्बर १९६३ में उन के जहनों में यकलस्त कुछ तब्दीली हुई और उन्होंने

[श्री सनानो]

कहा कि वहां पर शलतियां हुईं और अ.ज उन्होंने, बरूशी गुलाम मुहम्मद के मुताल्लिक इस किस्म का स्टेटमेंट दिया है।

पिछले दिनों वहां वर्दाकस्मती से मूए-मुकद्दस की जो चोरी हुई, उस से पहले वहां पर जो हालात थे, वे आप के सामने हैं। मैं समझता हूं कि शायद लोगों को बहुत कम वाकफियत थी कि मूए-मुकद्दस क्या है। उस के पीछे एक बाकायदा तारीख है और उस तारीख की वजह से वहां की अक्सीरियत को उस के बारे में अक्कीदा है। उस अक्कीदे की वजह से उस की चोरी होने पर लोग घबराए कि हम पर क्रहरे-इलाही नाजुल हो रहा है। इस सिलसिले में यह न भूलना चाहिये कि इसी साल काश्मीर में पहलगाम में हादसा हुआ, बडगाम में जलजला आया और वांडीपुर में आग लगी। उस के बाद मूए-मुकद्दस की चोरी हुई। इन वाक्यात से आम लोगों ने यह समझा कि कोई बहुत बड़ी चीज होने वाली है, क्रयामन आने वाली है। वे लोग मातम करते हुए बाहर निकले और मातम करने वालों के लीडर बन कर चन्द आदमी सामने आ गए और उन्होंने उस मामले को अपने हक में और अपने सियासी अग्राराज पूरे करने के लिए इस्तेमाल करने की कोशिश की। मुझे निहायत अफसोस के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि कुछ क्वार्टर्ज से उन को मदद भी मिली और उन की पीठ भी ठोंकी गई।

इन हालात में वहां एक नाम-नहाद ऐक्शन कमेटी, एक सो-काल्ड ऐक्शन कमेटी सामने आई। जहां तक मूए-मुकद्दस की चोरी और उस की रिकवरी का ताल्लुक है, जब तक उसने लोगों के मजहबी जज्बात की तर्जुमानी करते हुए निहायत दियातदारी से यह कोशिश की कि मूए-मुकद्दस की बरामदगी जल्दी होनी चाहिए, तब तक के लिए मैं उसकी दियातदारी को मानने के लिए तैयार हूं। लेकिन जब मूए-मुकद्दस की

बरामदगी हो जाती है, उसकी आइडेंटि-फिकेशन हो जाती है और सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट के होम सैक्रेटरी ने कह दिया कि उस का आइडेंटिफिकेशन हो गया है, तो फिर उसके बाद ऐक्शन कमेटी को जिन्दा रहने या जिन्दा रखे जाने या उस को इजाजत दिये जाने या उस को रेकगनाइज किये जाने की क्या जरूरत महसूस हुई? उसके बाद ऐक्शन कमेटी को कायम रखने की क्या जवाजियत थी? मूए-मुकद्दस बरामद हुआ, उस का आइडेंटिफिकेशन हो गया, वह अपनी जगह पर रेस्टोर हो गया और आम लोग अपने-अपने काम पर लग गये। सिर्फ दो बाजार—श्रीनगर में एक बाजार और जम्मू में एक बाजार—इस बात को लिए हुए आगे बढ़ रहे हैं और हम लोग यहां बैठे हुए किसी अखबार की इस बात को बिलीव कर लेते हैं कि वहां यह हो गया है, वह हो गया है। ये बहुत दुखदायक बातें हैं, लेकिन अगर अपनी सतह से उतर कर उसी तरह के जवाब दिये जायें, तो शायद वह मुनासिब नहीं होगा। मैं समझता हूं कि वह मुनासिब नहीं है और न मैं उस निचली सतह पर उतरना चाहता हूं।

जहां तक क्लोजर इन्ट्रेशन का सवाल है, हम पर यह इल्जाम लगाया जाता है कि हम क्लोजर इन्ट्रेशन के खिलाफ हैं। मैं उन लोगों से बात नहीं करने वाला हूं, जिन की सियासी तारीख १९६२ से शुरू होती है, या १९५७ या १९४७ से शुरू होती है। काश्मीर उस वक्त से हिन्दुस्तान का हिस्सा था, जब कि यह बर्रे-आजम सगौर मारजे-वजूद में आया और काश्मीर का हर एक रहने वाला यह मानता है कि उस के ताल्लुकात हिन्दुस्तान के साथ बरकरार रहे हैं। काश्मीर ने इल्म और अदब की रौशनी फैलाई और बड़े-बड़े स्कालर्ज पैदा किये। जन्नी हिन्द से ले कर सारे मुल्क के लोग वहां पहुंचे इल्म और अदब पढ़ने के लिए। काश्मीर का एक खास इम्पैक्ट हिन्दुस्तान के दूसरे हिस्सों पर रहा

*President discharging  
the functions of the  
President*

और हिन्दुस्तान के दूसरे हिस्सों का इम्पैक्ट काश्मीर पर रहा ।

उसके बाद काश्मीर मुस्लिफ़ दौरों से गुजरा । काश्मीर पर मुग़ल राज आया, अफग़ान राज आया, दूसरे राज आये । एक वक्त आया, जब कि काश्मीर के लोग वहाँ की शक़्ती हुकूमत के खिलाफ़ उठ खड़े हुए । चूँकि उस वक्त मैजिस्ट्री कम्प्यूनिटी ने उस जद्दोज़हद को लीड करना था, इसलिए उसने अपना पार्ट प्ले किया । लेकिन १९३१, १९३२ और १९३३ में मुस्लिम कान्फ़ेंस के नाम पर एज़ीटेशन लड़ी गई और उसके अरसर को, उसकी ताक़त को कम करने के लिए दूसरे हिस्सों में जिन-जिन पार्लैट्स में दूसरी कम्प्यूनिटी के लोग थे, उस वक्त की सरकार ने उनको भड़काना शुरू किया । इससे फ़ौरी तौर पर एक खयाल पैदा हुआ कि यह जो रूलिंग क्लिक है यह हम को आपस में लड़ा कर हम को तोड़ सकता है । १९३४ में सोचा गया कि हम को मुस्लिम कान्फ़ेंस के नाम पर और उसके प्लेटफ़ार्म पर नहीं लड़ना है । यह मसला मुसलमानों का ही नहीं है, सिर्फ़ हिन्दुओं का ही नहीं है बल्कि रियासत के सब लोगों का है, सभी वाशिन्दों का है, वहाँ पर जितने भी लोग रहते हैं, उन सभी का है । वहाँ का वाशिन्दा होने की वजह से मुझे इस बात का फ़ख़ है और वहाँ के हर आदमी को इसका फ़ख़ है कि हम ने नैशनल मूवमेंट का साथ दिया, उससे इन्स्पिरेशन हासिल किया, बापू से इन्स्पिरेशन हासिल किया और उनका साथ दिया । १९३४ में हमने सोचना शुरू किया और १९३६ में बाकायदा सालाना इजलास में यह कहा गया कि हम मुस्लिम कान्फ़ेंस को तबदील करना चाहते हैं । हमने दूसरे दोस्तों को दावत दी कि वे भी हमारे साथ शामिल हों । १९३६ में हमारे नेता बापू जी से मिले और उसके बाद हम आगे बढ़े और हमने १९३८ में बाकायदा फ़ैसला किया कि मुस्लिम कान्फ़ेंस

को दूसरी कम्प्यूनिटी के बुजूर्गों को साथ ले कर चलना चाहिये । मुहतरिम सरदार बुद्ध सिंह को रिक्वेस्ट किया गया, सराफ़ साहब यहाँ बैठे हुए हैं, वे भी हैं और वे जानते हैं और दूसरे बुजूर्गों को रिक्वेस्ट की और उनको साथ लिया और उनको साथ ले कर सही प्रोग्राम आने के बाद काम को आगे बढ़ाया और चलाया और हम कांग्रेस के दोश बदांश चले । आज जब कुसियां और इक़तदार छिन जाने की बात आती है तो हम पर तरह तरह के इल्ज़ाम लगाये जाते हैं । आज आचार्य कृपलानी हाउस में मौजूद नहीं हैं । वह जनरल सैक्रेट्री जब नैशनल कांग्रेस के थे १९३६ में तो हम ने उनको एप्रोच किया था लेकिन हमें कहा गया कि हम कांग्रेस नहीं बना सकते हैं, हम नैशनल कान्फ़ेंस ही रखें । वर्किंग कमेटी का बाकायदा रेजोल्यूशन आचार्य कृपलानी के दस्तख़तों के साथ मेरे पास है और आप चाहें तो मैं उसको हाउस में भी रख सकता हूँ जो इसके बारे में है । उस वक्त मैं एक मामूली वर्कर था और अब भी मामूली वर्कर हूँ । मैं बैक बेंचर रहा हूँ और अब भी हूँ और मुझे इसमें खुशी है ।

उसके बाद आल इंडिया स्टेट पीपल्स कान्फ़ेंस में जो हमारा रोल था, वह भी आपको मालूम है । हमने दो लड़ाइयां लड़ीं, मुकामी शक़्सियती हुकूमत के खिलाफ़, अंग्रेज साम्राज्य के खिलाफ़ । १९४७ में पाकिस्तान का हमला काश्मीर पर नहीं हुआ । अगर आप देखें तो बरतानवी इंपीरियलिज्म ने बहुत पहले काश्मीर पर हमला किया था । यह उस वक्त हुआ था जब गिलगित में एजेंसी बजूद में आई थी, जब हमारी एज़ीटेशन को कुचलने के लिए गोरा फौजें वहाँ भेजी गई थीं और महराज को दबा कर गिलगित में अंग्रेजों ने अपनी फौजें रखी थीं । उस वक्त बरतानिया का हमला हम पर शुरू हुआ था । हमने जेलें झेली हैं, ताज़ियाने खाये हैं, जुमाने हम पर हुए हैं, वैसे ही हम नहीं आ गये हैं ।

[श्री समनानी]

अजहमको यह सुनना पड़ता है कि हम कुरूप हैं। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि अगर कुरूप थे, अगर बख्शी गुलाम मुहम्मद या नेशनल कान्फेंस की हकूमत के खिलाफ कुरूपण का इल्जाम था तो १९५४ से लेकर १९६३ तक जब हम हकूमत कर रहे थे, तब हम पर यह इल्जाम क्यों नहीं लगाया गया ? उस वक्त हमको क्यों बुरा नहीं कहा गया। क्यों हमारा उस वक्त जवाब तलब नहीं किया गया? आज जिस वक्त बख्शी जी हाउस में नहीं हैं और जब उनको हक नहीं है कि वह आकर अपने आपको डिफेंड कर सकें, उनके मुतालिक इस तरह की बातें कहना अच्छा नहीं लगता है। इन सब बातों को यहां बैठ कर हमें खामोशी के साथ सुनना पड़ता है। हमने मुसीबतें देखी हैं और अब भी मुसीबतें देखने के लिए तैयार हैं। हमारी जेनरेशन बदकिस्मती से उस वक्त पैदा हुई है जब कि हमें इन मसायल का मकाबला करते-करते मर जाना है, अपनी सेहत को कुछ तो तबाह कर दिया है और कुछ तबाह कर देना है। आज तरह-तरह का प्रापेगण्डा किया जाता है। बख्शी गुलाम मुहम्मद के जाली बयान जाली दस्तखतों के साथ पाकिस्तान के अखबार "डान" को सप्लाई किये जाते हैं और उसकी कापियां यहां सेन्ट्रल हाल में बांटी जाती हैं। इस तरह की जो सियासत है, इसको मैं चैलेंज करता हूँ। यह गवर्नमेंट है और यह सियासत है। बख्शी गुलाम मुहम्मद के असली दस्तखतों वाली कापियां मैं यहां पर दस, तीस या चालीस पेश करने के लिए तैयार हूँ।

**Shri Ranga:** In 1958, from the Congress Benches I myself raised doubts about the advisability of allowing the National Conference alone to run the whole show there.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** We are not concerned with the politics of the National Conference; we are concerned with the Address.

**Shri Ranga:** We challenged it in 1958 as the only party there.

**श्री समनानी :** १९३९ से मैं सियासत में हूँ। कोई नया नहीं हूँ। मन खूब मैं शतामम पी रान पा रसा रा।

काश्मीर में हम तीन इलैक्शन देख चुके हैं। कंस्टिट्यूट असैम्बली ने वहां मुहरे तस्दीक सवन की है। क.नूनी बात अलग है। लेकिन फैसला उस दिन हो गया था जिस दिन काश्मीर के महाराजा बहादुर काश्मीर को छोड़ कर भाग आए थे। यह फैसला उस वक्त हो गया था जब काश्मीर वैली जहां पर मुस्लिम पापुलेशन है, उससे और श्रीनगर से चार मील दूर पाकिस्तानी झंडे के साथ वहां की फौजें पहुंची थीं और अल्ला हू अकबर के नारे लगाये जा रहे थे और कुरान दिखाया जा रहा था। उस वक्त काश्मीर ने उनका मुकबला किया। उस वक्त जो फैसला हुआ उसको हमने तस्लीम किया, लोगों ने तस्लीम किया। वह लोगों का आखिरी फैसला था। उसके बाद हमको सिक्योग्रिटी काउंसिल से या बरतनिया से किसी भी तरह का कोई फतवा नहीं लेना है। (Interruptions).

Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed was the real force behind the organisation there.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Hon. Members should not go on discussing with the hon. Member.

**Shri Tyagi:** He is speaking on behalf of the people of Kashmir.

**श्री श्रींकार लाल बरवा (कोटा)**  
शेख अब्दुल्ला भी यही कहा करते थे।

**श्री समनानी :** उनकी खिदमात से हम इन्कार नहीं करते हैं। वह हमारे लीडर रहे हैं। मुझे अच्छी तरह से याद है। उन्होंने इसकी तस्दीक की थी। लेकिन एक वक्त आया जब उन्होंने रास्ता छोड़ा जो मुल्क के मफ़ाद के खिलाफ था और उस वक्त उसी जमात ने जिसके वह लीडर थे, उनको कुरबान कर दिया और यह इसलिए किया कि वह मुल्क के वसी मफ़ाद के खिलाफ जा रहे थे।

*President discharging  
the functions of the  
President*

उसके बाद हमने दो इलैकशंस में अपना फ़ैसला दिया और इस मन्वोगन के साथ चुनाव लड़े कि हम इंडिया के लिए स्टैंड करते हैं। आज जन संघ वाले ये भाई बेशक अपने वालंटियर भेजें, लम्बी चौड़ी बर्तियाँ करें। लेकिन उस वक्त यही वायकाट करने वाले थे, कंस्टिट्यूट असेम्बली को तस्लीम न करने वाले थे। इन्होंने कहा था कि यह कंस्टिट्यूट असेम्बली सही नुमाइंदगी नहीं करती है। लेकिन जब हमने अपने फ़ैसले पर मुहर तस्दीक सब्त कर दी और बाद में इलैकशन का वक्त आया, कुमियों का वक्त आया तब इन्होंने कहना शुरू कर दिया कि हम उसके फ़ैसले को मानते हैं। हम उस कंस्टिट्यूट असेम्बली को मानते हैं। उसके बाद दो इलैशन हुए। इस एलीगेशन को जो कि कुछ दोस्तों की तरफ से लगाया गया है और पाकिस्तान न भी लगाया है कि इलैकशन, इलैकशन कमिशन के तहत नहीं हुए हैं, हम मान लेते हैं। हम मान लेते हैं कि ये इलैकशन उनकी सुपरविजन में नहीं हुए थे। लेकिन उसके बाद जब तीसरा इलैकशन होता है वह उसकी सुपरविजन में होता है और जो नुमाइन्दे चुन कर आते हैं, वे भी उस पर मुहरे तस्दीक सब्त कर देते हैं। उस वक्त उसके वहाँ पर आब्जरवर थे, फ़ारेन प्रेस कारेसपांडेंट थे और असेम्बली चुनी जाती है। वह असेम्बली भी यही कहती है कि जो पहले कहा गया था और बख़्शी साहब की लीडरशिप में जो फ़ैसला किया गया था वह सही था, वह आखिरी था।

उसके बाद कामराज प्लान आता है। बख़्शी साहब कहते हैं कि मैं ओहदा छोड़ता हूँ। यहाँ पर मश्वरा होता है, कुछ बातें तय होती हैं, कुछ चीज़ होती है। कुछ दोस्तों को वह नागवार गुज़रती है और कहा जाता है कि जो फ़ैसला यहाँ किया गया है, उस फ़ैसले को वहाँ पर अमली ज़ामा नहीं पहनाया गया।

**Shri Ranga:** He has been putting questions and issuing challenges to us. He has not been under fire by anybody.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** He should conclude now.

**श्री समनानी :** हम अंडर फायर हैं। मैं ज्यादा वक्त नहीं लूंगा। सिर्फ़ दो मिनट में ख़त्म कर दूंगा। यह वह फ़ैसला है जिसको बदला नहीं जा सकता है। मैं अर्ज करूंगा कि काश्मीर नैशनलिस्ट फोर्सिस और प्रोग्रेसिव फोर्सिज के लिये अरेबियन नाइट का वह तोता है जो कि दरियाओं और आग के अन्दर होता है। जिन्न क्यों नहीं मरता है? नैशनलिस्ट फोर्सिस इंडिया में और वहाँ कभी नहीं मरेगी। जो रिपब्लिकनरी लोग हैं, जो फ़िरकापरस्त लोग हैं, उनकी नज़र में काश्मीर वह तोता है जो अगर मर जाता है तो ये जो नैशनलिस्ट फोर्सिस हैं, वे भी मर सकती हैं। ये फोर्सिस यह चाहती हैं कि इस तरह से इस चीज़ पर हमला किया जाए और उसकी जान निकाली जाए। इस वक्त अटक काश्मीर पर नहीं है, तमाम हिन्दुस्तान पर है, वहाँ की ड्यूली इलैक्टिड गवर्नमेंट के खिलाफ है, कांस्टिट्यूशनल गवर्नमेंट के खिलाफ है। अगर आज काश्मीर में कोई आग लगती है या कोई बात होती है तो उसका असर दूसरी जगहों पर भी होता है। हमने बंगाल में उसका हश्र देख लिया है। मैं कलकत्ते में गया हूँ और जाकर एफेक्टिव एरिया को देख कर आया हूँ। मुझे दुःख है कि यह सब कुछ हुआ। लेकिन जो कुछ भी हुआ वह एक छोटी सी चीज़ पर हुआ। अगर इन बातों से या अपनी छोटी-छोटी स्वाहिशात की वजह से हम काश्मीर को डिस्टर्ब करते हैं तो आज बर्तानिया बोला है, कल दूसरा बोलेगा और परसों तीसरा बोलेगा।

आखिरी बात मैं यह अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि कल मैं इस पार्लियामेंट में होऊँ या न होऊँ, अगर रिपब्लिकनरी फोर्सिज को, फ़िरका-

[श्री समनानी]

परस्तों को यह इजाजत दी गई, उनको यह मौका दिया गया कि इमरजेंसी होते हुए भी वे गलत रिपोर्ट प्रेंस में छापें, या वहां पर इस तरह की स्लो ज्वायर्जनिंग हुआ करे, तो काश्मीर जलेगा और, खुदा न करे, उसके साथ हिन्दुस्तान जलेगा। मेरी इस बात को मान लीजिये।

[جلاب دپٹی سٹیج صاحب -

آنریبل ممبر مسٹر چیئر جی اور دوسرے دوستوں نے برطانیہ کے سٹیٹمنٹ کے متعلق اپنے خیالات کا اظہار کیا ہے۔ واقعی یہ ایک ایسی بات ہے جس نے تمام ہندوستان اور ہر ایک ہندوستانی کو انتہائی صدمہ پہنچایا ہے۔ لیکن میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ جیوں جیوں واقعات گذرتے جاتے ہیں ان کا کچھ حصہ بھولنا جانا ہے۔ برطانیہ کا یہ ایگٹیویو کوئی نیا ایگٹیویو نہیں ہے اور اگر کسی وقت بھی ہم اس مغالطے میں رہے کہ برطانیہ سیکوریٹی کونسل میں ہمیں سہورت کرنے جا رہا ہے تو ہمارا یہ خیال غلط تھا اور وہ غلط ثابت ہو گیا ہے۔ اس موقع پر اس نے جس طرح ہمیں متنب کیا ہے اس پر جتنا غم و فتنہ کا اظہار کیا جائے وہ کم ہے۔

لیکن جہاں ہم کشمیر کے متعلق برطانیہ کے ایگٹیویو کی بات کرتے ہیں۔ دوسری باتیں کرتے ہیں وہاں ہم یہ بھی دیکھیں کہ اس ساروین

ہاؤس میں کس قسم کی باتیں کہی جانی ہیں۔ میں اس ساروین ہاؤس کے اختیارات کو چیلنج نہیں کرتا ہوں۔ اس ساروین ہاؤس میں ملک کے ہر ایک مسئلے - ہر ایک امر اور ہر ایک واقعے پر بحث ہو سکتی ہے۔ لیکن اس دفعہ جلاب صدر کے خطبے پر بحث کے دوران اور اس کے علاوہ بھی کچھ دوستوں نے پارلیمنٹ کی سطح سے اتر کر اس کو جموں کشمیر ریاست کی اسمبلی سمجھکر اور اپنے آپ کو جموں کشمیر ریاست کی آپوزیشن پارٹیز سمجھ کر بنائیں گے۔

श्री रामसेवक यादव : क्या काश्मीर एम्बली को कोई हकीमत नहीं है ?

شری سمناانی : آنریبل ممبر سن میں - حقیقت میرے سامنے ہے۔ ان کے سامنے نہیں ہے۔ جو کہ ایک سائنس میں ایک بات کرتے ہیں اور دوسرے سائنس میں دوسری بات کرتے ہیں۔

یہاں پر جو کچھ باتیں ہوتی رہیں۔ ان سے ہندوستان کو، کشمیر کو، کشمیر کے رہنے والوں کو بہار یا مدراس کے رہنے والوں کو کوئی فائدہ پہنچنے والا نہیں ہے۔ اگر یہ باتیں استعمال ہونگی اور وہ استعمال ہو رہی ہیں تو ان کو پاکستان استعمال کریگا۔ ساری نیشن اور ملک کے خلاف استعمال کریگا۔

چونکہ وقت تھوڑا ہے اس لئے میں ان سب باتوں کو کوت نہیں کر سکتا ہوں۔ آج مجھے شریعتی ریڈیو چکرورتی کی تقریر سلکر تعجب ہوا۔ بڑی ڈیموکریٹ - بڑی پراگریسو اور بہت پرانی پارلیمنٹیرین ہوتے ہوئے بھی انہوں نے کہا کہ بخشی غلام محمد کریٹ ہیں حالانکہ انہوں نے کئی دفعہ یہ پوائنٹ آف آرڈر اتھایا ہے کہ اس آدمی کو کریٹسائز نہیں کہا جانا چاہئے جو کہ اس ہاؤس میں موجود نہیں ہے۔ جس پارٹی سے ان کا تعلق ہے ۱۹۵۲ سے لیکر ستمبر ۱۹۶۳ تک اس پارٹی کے نزدیک بخشی غلام محمد ہرو تھا۔ لیکن ستمبر ۱۹۶۳ میں ان کے ذہنوں میں یکمختص تبدیلی ہوئی اور انہوں نے کہا کہ وہاں پر غلطیاں ہونیں اور آج انہوں نے بخشی غلام محمد کے متعلق اس قسم کا سٹیٹمنٹ دیا ہے۔

پچھلے دنوں وہاں بدقسمتی سے موئے مقدس کی جو چوری ہوئی۔ اس سے پہلے وہاں پر جو حالات تھے وہ آپ کے سامنے ہیں۔ میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ شاید لوگوں کو بہت کم واقفیت تھی کہ موئے مقدس کیا ہے۔ اس کے پیچھے ایک باقاعدہ تاریخ ہے اور اس تاریخ کی وجہ سے وہاں کی اکثریت کو اسکے بارے میں عقیدہ ہے۔ اس عقیدے کی وجہ سے

اسکی چوری ہونے پر لوگ کھبرائے کہ ہم بر تہر الہی نازل ہو رہا ہے۔ اس سلسلے میں یہ نہ بھولنا چاہئے کہ اس سال کشمیر میں پہلکام میں حادثہ ہوا۔ بدگام میں زلزلہ آیا اور بانڈی پور میں آگ لگی۔ اس کے بعد موئے مقدس کی چوری ہوئی۔ ان واقعات سے عام لوگوں نے یہ سمجھا کہ کوئی بہت بڑی چیز ہونے والی ہے۔ قیامت آنے والی ہے۔ وہ لوگ ماتم کرتے ہوئے باہر نکلے اور ماتم کرنے والوں کے لیڈر بن کر چند آدمی سامنے آگئے اور انہوں نے اس معاملے کو اپنے حق میں اور اپنے سیاسی اغراض پورے کرنے کے لئے استعمال کرنے کی کوشش کی۔ مجھے نہایت افسوس کے ساتھ کہنا پڑتا ہے کہ کچھ کوارٹرز سے ان کو مدد بھی ملی اور ان کی پیٹھ بھی توڑکی گئی۔

ان حالات میں وہاں ایک نام نہاد ایکشن کمیٹی - ایک سو کالڈ ایکشن کمیٹی سامنے آئی۔ جہاں تک موئے مقدس کی چوری اور اسکی ریکوری کا تعلق ہے جب تک اس نے لوگوں کے مذہبی جذبات کی ترجمانی کرتے ہوئے نہایت دیانت داری سے یہ کوشش کی کہ موئے مقدس کی برآمدگی جلدی ہونی چاہئے تب تک کے لئے میں اس کی دیانت داری کو ماننے کے لئے تیار ہوں۔ لیکن جب موئے مقدس کی برآمدگی ہو جاتی

[شری سمدانی]

ہے اس کی آئینتہفیکیشن ہو جاتی ہے اور سینٹرل گورنمنٹ کے ہوم سیکریٹری نے کہہ دیا کہ اس کا آئینتہفیکیشن ہو گیا ہے۔ تو پھر اسکے بعد ایکشن کمیٹی کو زندہ رکھنے یا زندہ رکھے جانے یا اس کو اجازت دئے جانے یا اس کو ریکنڈائز کئے جانے کی کہا ضرورت محسوس ہوئی۔ اسکے بعد ایکشن کمیٹی کو قائم رکھنے کی کہا جو اہمیت تھی۔ موئے مقدس برآمد ہوا۔ اسکا آئینتہفیکیشن ہو گیا۔ وہ اپنی جگہ پر ریستور ہو گیا اور عام لوگ اپنے اپنے کام پر لگ گئے۔ صرف دو بازار—سرینگر ایک بازار اور جموں میں ایک بازار اس بات کو لئے ہوئے آئے ہوتے رہے ہیں اور ہم لوگ یہاں بیٹھے ہوئے کسی اخبار کی اس بات کو بیلہو کو لیتے ہیں کہ وہاں یہ ہو گیا ہے۔ وہ ہو گیا ہے۔ یہ بہت دکھدایک باتیں ہیں لیکن اگر اپنی سطح سے اتر کر اسی طرح سے جواب دئے جائیں تو شاید وہ مناسب نہیں ہوگا۔ میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ وہ مناسب نہیں ہے اور نہ میں اس نچلی سطح پر اترنا چاہتا ہوں۔

جہاں تک کلوزر انٹیگریشن کا سوال ہے ہم پر یہ الزام لگایا جانا ہے کہ ہم کلوزر انٹیگریشن کے خلاف ہیں۔ میں ان لوگوں سے بات نہیں

کرنے والا ہوں جن کی سیاسی تاریخ ۱۹۶۲ سے شروع ہوتی ہے یا ۱۹۵۷ یا ۱۹۳۷ سے شروع ہوتی ہے۔ کشمیر اس وقت سے ہندوستان کا حصہ تھا جب کہ یہ بر اعظم صہیر معوض وجود میں آیا اور کشمیر کا ہر ایک رہنے والا یہ مانتا ہے کہ اسکے تعلقات ہندوستان کے ساتھ برقرار رہے ہیں۔ کشمیر نے علم اور ادب کی روشنی پھیلانی اور بڑے بڑے سکالرز پیدا کئے۔ جنہیں ہند سے لیکر سارے ملک کے لوگ وہاں پہنچنے علم اور ادب پڑھنے کے لئے۔ کشمیر کا ایک خاص امپیکٹ ہندوستان کے دوسرے حصوں پر رہا اور ہندوستان کے دوسرے حصوں کا امپیکٹ کشمیر پر رہا۔

اس کے بعد کشمیر مختلف دوران سے گزرا۔ کشمیر پر مغل راج آیا۔ افغان راج آیا۔ دوسرے راج آئے۔ ایک وقت آیا جب کہ کشمیر کے لوگ وہاں کی شخصی حکومت کے خلاف اٹھ کھڑے ہوئے۔ چونکہ اس وقت مہاجرتی کمیونٹی نے اس جدوجہد کو لیڈ کرنا تھا اس لئے اس نے اپنا پارتیلے کیا۔

لیکن ۱۹۳۱، ۱۹۳۲، ۱۹۳۳ میں مسلم کانفرنس کے نام پر ایجنٹیشن لڑی گئی اور اس کے اثر کو اس کی طاقت کو کم کرنے کے لئے دوسرے حصوں میں جن جن - پانگتس میں دوسری کمیونٹی کے لوگ تھے۔ اس



وقت کی سرکار نے انکو بھوکا شروع کیا۔ اس سے فوری طور پر ایک خیمال پھدا ہوا کہ یہ جو رولنگ کلک ہے یہ ہم کو آپس میں لڑا کر ہم کو توڑ سکتا ہے۔ ۱۹۳۳ میں سوچا گیا کہ ہم کو مسلم کانفرنس کے نام پر اور اس کے پلہت فارم پر نہیں لڑنا چاہئے۔ یہ مسئلہ مسلمانوں کا ہی نہیں ہے۔ صرف ہندوؤں کا ہی نہیں ہے بلکہ ریاست کے سب لوگوں کا ہے۔ سبھی باشندوں کا ہے وہاں پر جتنے بھی لوگ رہتے ہیں ان سبھی کا ہے۔ وہاں کا باشندہ ہونے کی وجہ سے مجھے اس بات کا فضا ہے اور وہاں کے ہر آدمی کو اس کا فضا ہے کہ ہم نے نیشنل موومنٹ کا ساتھ دیا۔ اس سے انسپھیشن حاصل کیا۔ باپو سے انسپھیشن حاصل کیا اور ان کا ساتھ دیا۔ ۱۹۳۳ میں ہم نے سوچنا شروع کیا اور ۱۹۳۶ میں باقاعدہ سالانہ اجلاس میں یہ کہا گیا کہ ہم مسام کانفرنس کو تبدیل کرنا چاہتے ہیں۔ ہم نے دوسرے دوستوں کو دعوت دی کہ وہ بھی ہمارے ساتھ شامل ہوں۔ ۱۹۳۶ میں ہمارے نیتا باپو جی سے ملے اور اس کے بعد ہم آگے بڑھے اور ہم نے ۱۹۳۸ میں باقاعدہ فیصلہ کیا کہ مسلم کانفرنس کو دوسری کمیونٹی کے بزرگوں کو ساتھ لے کر چلنا چاہئے۔ محترم سردار بدھہ سلگھہ کو رکوہست

کیا گیا۔ صرف صاحب یہاں بیٹھے ہوئے ہیں۔ وہ بھی تھے اور وہ جانتے ہیں اور دوسرے بزرگوں کو رکوہست کی اور ان کو ساتھ لیا اور ان کو ساتھ لے کر صحیح پروگرام آنے کے بعد کام کو آگے بڑھایا اور چلایا اور ہم کانگریس کے دوش بدوش چلے۔ آج جب کرسٹیاں اور اقتداد چھن جانے کی بات آتی ہے تو ہم پر طرح طرح الزام لگائے جاتے ہیں۔ آج آچارہہ کویٹنی ہاؤس میں موجود نہیں ہیں۔ وہ جنرل سیکریٹری جب نیشنل کانگریس کے تھے ۱۹۳۹ میں تو ہم نے کانگریس کو ایجوچ کیا تھا لیکن ہمیں کہا گیا کہ ہم کانگریس نہیں بنا سکتے ہیں۔ ہم نیشنل کانفرنس ہی رکھیں۔ ورکلنگ کمیٹی کا باقاعدہ ریزولوشن آچارہہ کویٹنی کے دستخطوں کے ساتھ مہرے پاس ہے اور آپ چاہیں تو میں اس کو ہاؤس میں بھی رکھ سکتا ہوں جو اس کے بارے میں ہے۔ اس وقت میں ایک معمولی ورکر تھا اور اب بھی معمولی ورکر ہوں۔ میں بیک ہلچر رہا ہوں اور اب بھی ہوں اور مجھے اس میں خوشی ہے۔

اس کے بعد آل انڈیا اسٹھٹ پیپلز کانفرنس میں جو ہمارا رول تھا وہ بھی آپ کو معلوم ہے۔ ہم نے دو لوٹیاں لیں۔ مقامی شخصی حکومت کے خلاف۔ انگریز سامراجیہ کے خلاف۔

[شری سمدانی]

۱۹۳۷ میں پاکستان کا حملہ کشمیر پر نہیں ہوا۔ اگر آپ دیکھیں تو برطانوی امپیریلزم نے بہت پہلے کشمیر پر حملہ کیا تھا۔ یہ اس وقت ہوا تھا جب گلگت میں ایجنسی وجود میں آئی تھی۔ جب ہماری ایجنٹیشن کو کچلنے کے لئے کوری فوجوں وہاں بھیجی گئی تھیں اور مہاراجہ کو دبا کر انگریزوں نے گلگت میں اپنی فوجوں رکھی تھیں۔ اس وقت برطانیہ کا حملہ ہم پر شروع ہوا تھا۔ ہم نے جہلےں جھیلی ہیں۔ تازبانے کھائے ہیں۔ جرمانے ہم پر ہوئے ہیں۔ رہتے ہی ہم نہیں آگئے ہیں۔ آج ہم کو یہ سلنا پوتا ہے کہ ہم کرپٹ ہیں۔ میں کہتا چاہتا ہوں کہ اگر کرپٹ تھے۔ اگر بخشی قلم محمد یا نیشنل کونسل کی حکومت کے خلاف کرپشن کا الزام تھا تو ۱۹۵۳ء سے لے کر ۱۹۶۳ء تک جب ہم حکومت کر رہے تھے تب ہم پر یہ الزام کہوں نہیں لٹایا گیا۔ اس وقت ہم کو کہوں برا نہیں کہا گیا۔ کہوں ہمارا اس وقت جواب طلب نہیں کہا گیا۔ آج جس وقت بخشی جی ہاؤس میں نہیں ہیں اور جب انکو حق نہیں ہے کہ وہ آکر اچھے آپ کو قتلہ کر سکیں ان کے متعلق اس طرح کی باتیں کہنا اچھا نہیں لگتا ہے۔ ان سب باتوں کو یہاں

بہتہ کر ہمیں خاموشی کے ساتھ سلنا پوتا ہے۔ ہم نے مصیبتیں دیکھی ہیں اور اب بھی مصیبتوں سے بچنے کے لئے تیار ہیں۔ ہماری چلریشن بد قسمتی سے اس وقت پیدا ہوئی ہے جب کہ ہمیں ان مسائل کا مقابلہ کرتے کرتے مر جانا ہے اپنی صحت کو کچھ تو تباہ کر دیا ہے اور کچھ تباہ کر دینا ہے۔ آج طرح طرح کا پراپیگنڈہ کیا جاتا ہے۔ بعضی قلم محمد کے جملی بیان جملی دستخطوں کے ساتھ پاکستان کے اخبار قآن کو سہلانی کئے جاتے ہیں اور اس کی کاپیاں یہاں سنٹرل حال میں بالمتی جاتی ہیں۔ اس طرح کی جو سیاست ہے اس کو میں چیلنج کرتا ہوں۔ یہ گورنمنٹ ہے اور یہ سیاست ہے۔ بخشی قلم محمد کے اصلی دستخطوں والی کاپیاں میں یہاں پر دس بیس تیس چالیس پیش کرنے کے لئے تیار ہوں۔

**Shri Ranga:** In 1958, from the Congress Benches I myself raised doubts about the advisability of allowing the National Conference alone to run the whole show there.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** We are not concerned with the politics of the National Conference; we are concerned with the Address.

**Shri Ranga:** We challenged it in 1958 as the only party there.

شری سمدانی : ۱۹۳۹

سے میں سیاست میں ہوں۔ کوئی نیا نہیں ہوں۔ من خوب می شلمس پھران پارسارہ۔ کشمیر میں

ہم تین الیکشن دیکھ چکے ہیں۔  
کنسٹیٹیوٹنٹ اسمبلی نے وہاں ممبر  
تصدیق ثبت کی ہے۔ قانونی بات  
الگ ہے۔ لیکن فیصلہ اس دن ہو  
گیا تھا جس دن کشمیر کے مہاراجہ  
بہادر کشمیر کو چھوڑ کر بھاگ آئے  
تھے۔ یہ فیصلہ اس وقت ہو گیا تھا  
جب کشمیر واپسی جہاں پر مسلم  
پاؤولیشن ہے اس سے اور سرینگر سے  
چار مہل دور پاکستانی جھنڈوں کے  
ساتھ وہاں کی فوجوں پہنچی  
تھیں اور انہیں اکبر کے نازے  
لکائے جا رہے تھے اور قرآن دکھایا جا  
رہا تھا۔ اس وقت کشمیر نے ان کا  
مقابلہ کیا۔ اس وقت جو فیصلہ  
ہوا اس کو ہم نے تسلیم کیا۔ ہم  
لوگوں کا آخری فیصلہ تھا۔ اس کے  
بعد ہم کو ممبرورٹی کونسل سے یا  
برطانیہ سے کسی بھی طرح کا کوئی  
فتوے نہیں لیا ہے۔ (Interruptions)

Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed was the  
real force behind the organisation  
there.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Hon. Members  
should not go on discussing with the  
hon. Member.

Shri Tyagi: He is speaking on  
behalf of the people of Kashmir.

श्री श्रीकार लाल बेरवा (कोटा) : शेख

अब्दुल्ला भी यही कहा करते थे ।

श्री سلانی : ان کی

خدمات سے ہم انکار نہیں

کرتے ہیں۔ وہ ہمارے لیڈر رہے ہیں۔

مجھے اچھی طرح سے یاد ہے۔ انہوں

نے اس کی تصدیق کی تھی۔ لیکن  
ایک وقت آیا جب انہوں نے راستہ  
چھوڑا جو ملک کے مفاد کے خلاف  
تھا اور اس وقت اسی جناح نے  
جس کے وہ لیڈر تھے ان کو قربان کر  
دیا اور یہ اس لئے کیا کہ وہ ملک  
کے وسیع مفاد کے خلاف جا رہے تھے۔

اس کے بعد ہم نے دو ایکشنز  
میں اپنا فیصلہ دیا اور اس سلوکن  
کے ساتھ چلے گئے کہ ہم انڈیا کے  
لٹر سٹیٹڈ کرتے ہیں۔ آج جن سنگھ  
والے یہ بھائی بے شک اپنے والدین  
بھیجیں۔ لمبی چوڑی باتیں کریں۔  
لیکن اس وقت یہی باتیں کرنے والے  
تھے۔ کنسٹیٹیوٹنٹ اسمبلی کو تسلیم  
نہ کرنے والے تھے۔ انہوں نے کہا تھا  
کہ یہ کنسٹیٹیوٹنٹ اسمبلی صحیح  
نمائندگی نہیں کرتی ہے۔ لیکن جب  
ہم نے اپنے فیصلے پر ممبر ثبت کر  
دی اور بعد میں الیکشن کا وقت  
آیا۔ کرسیوں کا وقت آیا تب انہوں  
نے بھی کہنا شروع کر دیا کہ ہم  
اس کے فیصلے کو مانتے ہیں۔ ہم  
اس کنسٹیٹیوٹنٹ اسمبلی کو مانتے  
ہیں۔ اس کے بعد دو الیکشن ہوئے۔  
اس الزام کو جو کہ کچھ  
دوستوں کی طرف سے لگایا گیا ہے  
اور پاکستان نے بھی لگایا ہے کہ الیکشن  
کمیشن کے تحت نہیں ہوئے ہیں

[شری سلمانی]

ہم مان لیتے ہیں - کہ یہ الیکشن اس کی سہولتوں میں نہیں ہوئے تھے - لیکن اس کے بعد جب تیسرا الیکشن ہوتا ہے وہ اس کی سہولتوں میں ہوتا ہے اور جو نمائندے چن کر جاتے ہیں وہ بھی اس پر مہر تصدیق ثبت کر دیتے ہیں - اس وقت اس کے وہاں پر آجروں تھے - فارین پریس کارپوریشن تھی اور اسمبلی چلی جاتی ہے - وہ اسمبلی بھی یہی کہتی ہے کہ جو پہلے کہا گیا تھا اور بعضی صاحب کی لہڈر شپ میں جو فیصلہ کیا گیا تھا وہ صحیح تھا - وہ آخری تھا - اس کے بعد کام راج پلان آتا ہے - بعضی صاحب کہتے ہیں کہ میں عہدہ چھوڑتا ہوں - یہاں پر مشورہ ہوتا ہے - کچھ باتوں طے ہوتی ہیں - کچھ چیز ہوتی ہے - کچھ درستوں کو یہ ناگوار گزرتی ہے اور کہا جاتا ہے کہ جو فیصلہ یہاں کیا گیا ہے - اس فیصلے کو وہاں عملی جامہ نہیں پہلایا گیا -

Shri Ranga: He has been putting questions and issuing challenges to us. He has not been under fire by anybody.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: He should conclude now.

شری سلمانی : ہم انڈر فائر ہیں

میں زیادہ وقت نہیں لوٹتا - صرف دو منٹ میں ختم کر دوں گا - یہ وہ فیصلہ ہے

جس کو بدل نہیں دیا جا سکتا ہے - میں عرض کروں گا کہ کھمبر نیشنلسٹ فورس اور پروگریسو فورس کے لئے لوہوں نائٹ کا وہ طوطا ہے جو کہ دریائوں اور آگ کے اندر ہوتا ہے - جنی کہوں نہیں مہرتا ہے؟ نیشنلسٹ فورسز اٹھیا میں اور وہاں کہی نہیں مریں گی - جو وی ایکشن لوگ ہیں - جو فرقہ پرست لوگ ہیں - ان کی نظر میں کشمیر وہ طوطا ہے جو اگر مر جاتا ہے تو یہ جو نیشنلسٹ فورسز ہوں وہ بھی مر سکتی ہے - یہ فورس یہ چاہتی ہیں کہ اس طرح سے اس چیز پر حملہ کیا جائے اور اس کی جان نکالی جائے - اس وقت اٹھک کشمیر پر نہیں ہے - تمام ہلدوستان پر ہے - وہاں کی ذیلی الیکشن گورنمنٹ کے خلاف ہے - کانستٹیووشنل گورنمنٹ کے خلاف ہے - اگر آج کشمیر میں کوئی آگ لگی ہے یا کوئی بات ہوتی ہے تو اس کا اثر دوسری جگہوں پر بھی ہوتا ہے - ہم نے بلکال میں اس کا حشر دیکھ لیا ہے - میں کلکتہ میں گیا ہوں اور جاگر انویسٹمنٹ ایریا کو دیکھ کر آیا ہوں - مجھے دکھ ہے کہ یہ سب کچھ ہوا - لیکن جو کچھ بھی ہوا وہ ایک چھوٹی سی چیز پر ہوا - اگر ان باتوں سے یا اپنی چھوٹی چھوٹی خواہشات کی کشمیر کو دستبردار کرتے

ہیں تو آج برطانیہ بولا ہے - کل  
دوسرا بولے گا اور پرموں تھسرا بولے  
- ۴

آخیری بات میں یہ امر کرنا  
چاہتا ہوں کہ کل میں اس  
پارلہامینٹ میں ہوں یا نہ ہوں اگر  
دھوکشہری فورسز کو - فرقہ پرستوں  
کو یہ اجازت دی گئی - ان کو یہ  
موقع دیا گیا کہ امرجہلس ہوتے  
ہوئے بھی وہ غلط دہڑتوں پر مبنی  
مہر چھاپیں - یا وہاں اس طرح کی  
سلو پوائزنگ ہوا کرے تو کشمیر  
چلیکا اور خدا نہ کرے اس کے ساتھ  
ہندوستان جلے گا - مہری اس بات کو  
آپ مان لیجئے -

Shri P. R. Patel (Patna): We are grateful to the Vice-President for his Address to us.

15.31 hrs.

[DR. SAROJINI MAHISHI in the Chair]

The Vice-President has referred to Uganda and Kenya and expressed joy over the freedom they have achieved. We are very happy that these parts of Africa have won freedom. The days of colonial rule are over, and no country has a right to rule over another country. But after the independence of these countries, the plight of the Indians staying there has become such that they have had to leave the country, their safety has become a matter of great concern to them. Our High Commissions there will have to look into the matter and see that the interests and safety of our people there are looked after. People are coming back to our country with all their belongings and I hope the Finance Minister will be kind to them and give them some

concessions in customs and other things.

In paragraph 29 the Vice-President has referred to the theft of the holy relic from the Hazratbal Shrine. We are happy that the holy relic has been found, but there is a curious fact that when the holy relic was stolen, some Hindu idols were also stolen in Jammu. These two things happened at the same time. Let us also consider other things. Before these two things happened, Pakistan tried to create trouble on our borders. There was also shooting. Pakistan tried to snatch away some territory on our border and we were trying to defend it. At that time Pakistan thought of approaching the Security Council, and my feeling is that, in order to strengthen their case, there has been a conspiracy in Kashmir to steal this holy relic and the idols. But fortunately, the people of Kashmir behaved well. Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, all united in mourning, and they were one, and Pakistan failed there. But then, Pakistan thought of creating trouble at other places, and that was done in East Pakistan. We know the horrors committed there. Some reaction also was found in Calcutta. This is very bad. Any citizen of our country, Hindu, Muslim, Sikh or Christian, has got equal rights, equal status, and they have as much claim over this country as you and I have, and the safety of anyone is the concern of one and all. I am very glad that goondaism in Calcutta was checked, but in East Pakistan people suffered a lot. We are told that some 20,000 persons were killed, that some villages and houses have been burnt, that girls have been kidnapped and abducted. All this happened in East Pakistan. While on this side we tried to check goondaism, there it was encouraged. I am of opinion that we must be now firm. So far as our dealings with Pakistan are concerned, let us be very clear on one point, namely that the question of Kashmir does not arise. Kashmir is part and parcel of India, there cannot be any question regarding it. There

**President discharging  
the functions of the  
President**

[Shri P. R. Patel]  
may be other questions, but not this question. And any incursion on our borders should be replied to with force, if necessary. We are a civilized people, but our civilization should not go to the extent of weakness. I would prefer to use force, rather than submit to weakness and call myself civilized. Because of the weakness we show, whether it is civilized or not, we are losing our friends. In the Security Council, the British representatives said something annoying to us. I was a student of history. I have read English history with pride, I have respect for the English people, their love of freedom and justice. The people of England have fought for freedom and justice against their own rulers.

**Shri Sham Lal Saraf:** Where they themselves are concerned, not for others.

**Shri P. R. Patel:** But when I read the speech of the British representative, I thought it was an insult to the British people. The British people should think over the matter, that is my feeling. We, on our part, should extend our hand of friendship, but if that hand is not accepted with honour and we are insulted, let us say good-bye to the British friendship. We do not care for friendship when the question of honour is involved. I would submit that on this point we should be rather strong and effective.

In the Security Council Britain went against us. What was our representative in London doing? It is his duty to acquaint our Government with the attitude of the British Government. The High Commission is meant for that. It is not only to provide jobs. I think our High Commission has failed. We were not intimidated, and I think our High Commission failed in creating the necessary public opinion there.

There is a proverb in Gujarati and I may be permitted to refer to it:

*Gharib ki joru sab ki bhabi.*

The poor man's wife is insulted by one and all. A weak nation is not respected anywhere in the world. Ours is a big country. Our past is glorious. We are not weak. But we are not firm. Whatever be the risk, when the question of honour comes, we must face the danger and as a consequence of that, if there be a war, I would invite a war rather than be humiliated in the world. The NEFA reverses had brought humiliation to us and to our honour and so long as we do not pay back the NEFA reverses with compound interest, I am of opinion we would not be able to command respect of the other countries. So, the first thing is to make ourselves strong, determined and firm. Let us be prepared to face any risk. But we should not allow ourselves to be humiliated in the world.

The need of the hour is more production, industrial and agricultural. We want more factories, we should be able to produce more arms and armaments. When there is no war, we can produce other essential things. Our progress today is not sufficient and we are quarrelling, whether there should be nationalisation or not, public sector or private sector. Having accepted mixed economy, we should forget all those things and make ourselves strong enough to face anybody in the world. That is my view.

Our Vice-President has said that our agricultural progress is not satisfactory; production is going down. It would not astonish anybody as while talking about increased agricultural production, we do not see the hurdles and obstacles coming in the way. For instance, the price of crude oil about 4-5 years back was Rs. 45 a barrel; on account of increased duties the same costs today Rs. 92 or Rs. 93. We requested the Government to reduce the excise duties or subsidise the crude oil used in agriculture. Nothing is done. In this way, are you going to have more production?

You will see in the country that about 16.5 million acres were irrigated by wells in 1958-59, and today, perhaps the acreage may be about 20 million. This is done by wells. For irrigation, oil engines are used. To propel oil engines crude oil is required. If the crude oil is taxed and the agriculturists are put in a condition to use less, who will suffer? The agriculturists will suffer and the country will suffer, I wish this time the Finance Minister will look into the matter.

I am of opinion it is the duty of the Ministry of Agriculture to look into the matter, but the Ministry of Agriculture is concerned with importing food from outside rather than to look after more production. And the latest move of the Ministry of Agriculture has pained me, namely, the restriction put on the movement of gur. That has benefited the middlemen, the profiteers and the black-marketeers as if the Ministry of Agriculture has come to the rescue of black-marketers and profiteers; and it has done great harm to the producers because they get less. In Hapur you will see that gur is sold at Rs. 20 a maund and that very gur is sold in Gujarat at Rs. 75 to Rs. 80. Who has benefited? The poor people of Gujarat have to pay more. So also the people of the whole country. The producers get less for themselves. (Interruption). Is this the way of looking after the agriculturists? If this is the work of the Ministry of Agriculture, I would say, let the Ministry be abolished absolutely and let the people be allowed to have their own say.

**Dr. B. N. Singh** (Hazaribagh): Mr. Chairman, while offering my deep gratitude to the Vice-President for his kind Address, I am unable to associate myself with the policies of the Nehru Government as enunciated in the Address. Empty words of the Government; words without any pith and substance, do tend to make much sound but achieve precious little by way of ameliorating the conditions of

the rural population. In Delhi, after the clean sweep by the Kamaraj plan, the power-intoxicated Ministers, and should I say, communist-indoctrinated members on the Treasury Benches, are living in an atmosphere of smugness and self-complacency; fed with an overdose of contentment, they are, so to say, oblivious of the sufferings of the common man. The contagion has spread from the Treasury Benches and infected a battalion of Lilliputians behind them, and today, the chess-board of power politics is one which has been set ready for the game, "Who after Nehru?"

We on this side, however, are very much concerned over the recent illness of our Prime Minister, and the confusion it has created in the administration. Mathematically three angles of a triangle may be equal to one another, but such a proposition in political science is an absurdity. We have seen that the confusion has become worst confounded by the appointment of a joint triumvir to run the administration. I have got nothing personally against the triumvir, but the Prime Minister would do well to cut the Gordian knot by appointing the first among the equals and thus ending the confusion and chaos that has set in.

If you take a glimpse of the rural India, you will see a more ghastly spectacle—indescribable poverty and misery in every village, a daily income of between 19 and 31 pP for over half of the population; population increase outstripping national income growth, illiteracy still between 70 to 80 per cent, caste's apartheid spreading within society like a fungus disease, an epidemic here and a famine there, corruption in the police, graft in Government, cynicism and patronage in higher politics, bullying and intimidation in lower, gloom and frustration written large on the face of the people.

**An Hon. Member:** Side by side we have the Kamaraj Plan.

**Dr. B. N. Singh:** That has got no relevancy in our discussion.

This spectral sight is the result of 16 years of muddled thinking, wasteful spending, dogmatic regimentation and ruthless exploitation by a monopolistic system of the State working through its not very reliable and efficient machine, the bureaucracy or its not very knowledgeable agents, the ministers.

The writers of the President's Address have adroitly tried to cover up unpleasant facts in a beautiful bouquet of beautiful words. However dexterous the attempt to equivocate and despite prolixity those that can discern, at the very first glance, can see the disdainful indifference of the Nehru Government to the enormous sufferings of the people.

From Avadi to Bhuvanagar, the pseudo-communists have been swearing by socialism, only each has his own understanding of what this much-used word means. Very rightly C. E. M. Joad has observed that "Socialism was like a hat which had lost its shape because too many people had worn it". At Avadi, the Congress Party started with speaking of a "socialistic pattern of society"; subsequently the aim was changed to "Socialist Cooperative Commonwealth" and now this has been replaced by "Socialist State based on parliamentary democracy" which is equated with "Democratic Socialism"—high sounding words indeed! No one, however, has ever cared to explain how these terms differ from one another. Probably the Congress periodically feels the necessity of evolving new terms for much the same reason which impels to manufacturer of consumer goods to offer them in new packages from time to time.

In the name of socialism, the Congress Government since the last 16 years has been pretending to provide the basic necessities of life

through the establishment of public sector and through comprehensive centralised planning and by nationalisation of the private sector. The same thing the communist countries have been trying to do very much before India attained independence through the system known as 'scientific socialism'. Many countries in Europe like Austria, Switzerland, Sweden and Great Britain have experimented with this socialist technique of planning, but finding it unsuitable have changed over to other systems. Even in the Communist countries today they have progressively seen that scientific socialism does not yield the desired results or helped in the rapid economic growth of the country. So, the swing today in all the advanced countries of the world is away from both centralised planning and State ownership, and in spite of the miserable failures of our Plans our Prime Minister is stubbornly clinging on to both State enterprise and comprehensive planning.

The Bhuvanagar resolution brazenly speaks of being able to provide substantially the basic needs of the people by the end of the Fifth Five Year Plan. After a decade from today the Government will be able to make available, say, a pittance of Rs. 30 for every person a month to enable him to buy the necessities of life. "A pie in the sky when you die" business, Madam, cannot be tolerated any further. After this shocking and shameful revelation the bell has tolled for the Congress to pack up and walk out.

Many Members here have spoken on Kashmir and international affairs. But I would like first to deal with the food front in India. India being an agricultural country where over 70 per cent of its population live by farming I would, at the outset, like to see how democratic socialism has helped the great mass of agriculturists. Through wrong handling of the food portfolio both at the centre and in the State and constant interference



from impractical theorists, the production of edible products, as is evident from the reports on the Plans, has fallen very considerably. Change the cook and the food tastes good, is a proved old adage, but it does not necessarily follow from this that change the Food Minister and the food will grow well. With each change of the Food Minister the food policy of the Government has changed with detrimental effect both on the producers and the consumers.

Even after 16 years of socialistic regime of Pandit Nehru and his sycophants, hundreds of thousands of emaciated Indians impoverished by the Government are living today semi-starved barely on one unnutritive meal a day, while money by the billions have been squandered on utterly unproductive and useless projects by the Government. An army of statisticians is kept busy in the Yojana Bhavan every day working out clever indices to befool the agriculturists.

Not being able to achieve machine manufactured figures in the fields the blame is thrown on the wrong implementation of the Plan, the vagaries of nature and other things and the wrath of the all powerful Government has fallen on the millions of small agriculturists.

Immediately comes the Gopabandhunagar resolution to our rescue with a magical remedy. The resolution says that in the case of uneconomic holdings it is important that the unit of cultivation is enlarged on a co-operative basis. So the stress once again is on State ownership of land through co-operative to bring about increase in production. Years of experimentation with joint co-operative and collective farming have shown disastrous results on production of foodgrains. By way of elucidation, Sir, I would like to submit that in the USSR 204.6 million hectares of land is under agricultural cultivation. Out

of this, 6.74 million hectares are private plots belonging to Kolkhoz and other category of private workers, i.e. 3.3 per cent of all cultivated lands. In the year 1961 potatoes were sown in 8.9 million hectares of which 4.3 million belonged to collective farms and 4.6 million to private workers. The harvest from the State farm was 30.8 million tons while from the private farms 53.5 million tons. The average yield thus works out to 7.1 tons per hectare in collective farm and 11.6 tons per hectare in farms belonging to private workers. The figures are revealing indeed.

16.00 hrs.

Now, Sir, permit me to give you comparative figures of production as between a free enterprise country, i.e., the U.S.A. and a totalitarian country, the U.S.S.R. The figures have been worked out by the able economist Karl Brandt. He says:

"In the USA with 8.5 per cent of national labour, i.e., 7.4 million workers the production is over 200 million tons of grains, 3 million tons of sugar, 20 million tons of meat and eggs, over 60 million tons of milk, 35 million tons of fruits and vegetables or 315 million tons of edible products plus 3.5 million tons of cotton and 1 million tons of tobacco."

Of Russian agriculture Mr. Brandt notes:

"... that after 40 years of brutal experiment of collectivisation Soviet Russia produces with  $4\frac{1}{2}$  times the number of farm workers i.e. 33 million workers, 60 per cent of what America produces. One American farmer produces food for himself and 24 others. A Soviet farmer produces enough for himself and 4 others. In short, the relatively free U.S.A. farmer is six times more productive than the enslaved Russian farmer."

*President discharging  
the functions of the  
President*

[Dr. B. N. Singh]

Mr. Khrushchev, Sir, I must admit, and all credit goes to him, unlike his predecessors in office, has kept an open mind. Addressing a meeting in Bucharest in June 1962 he observed:

"It takes brains and capital to catch up with the United States.

At a meeting of agricultural workers he said:

"The more important thing is to make people interested in the realisation of this task, to create material incentive for them."

At a party meeting in 1962 Mr. Khrushchev suggested.

"that it may even be necessary to forget certain unworkable communist economic theories and imitate those capitalist methods which have proved so successful in free enterprise societies."

While Mr. Khrushchev is thinking on new lines to gain self-sufficiency in food, the Indian policies still flow from the half-baked marxist thinking of our Prime Minister. The democratic socialism of the Congress like the marxist theory wants to obliterate the peasant as a class in Stalin style by putting agriculture to on a factory basis i.e., by reducing the farmer to the status of landless labour who would totally be at the mercy of the omnipotent State. What else can be the motive in bringing this monstrous Constitution Seventeenth Amendment Bill?

Like Karl Marx, who has characterised peasants as "petty bourgeoisie", as unstable and reactionary class, who must be kept under strict regimentation, the Congress socialist dogmatism is trying to destroy the independence of the farmer who happens to be a devoted soldier of freedom.

As in Agriculture, so in all fields of production where incentive has been robbed and where there is too much of interference from the top, inertia sets in. We cannot remove inertia or

for long keep it from returning except by the force of something personally gained. Rajaji has said that there can be no better psychological force than linking incentive with production. This incentive must be kept secure against all onslaughts from the Government, against all trespass, legal or illegal.

I am not against planning or socialism. What I am against is this Soviet type of planning, the defective policies, wrong priorities, dogmatic thinking and the use of coercive methods to achieve wrong ends. Professor Milton Friedman, one of the world famous economists, says of Indian Planning:

"There is a right way and a wrong way to do most things. This whole paraphernalia which in this country goes by the name of planning is bad planning because it is almost guaranteed to defeat rather than promote your objectives."

Let us adopt planning on the French pattern, that is, "planning by consent" where the middle way has been accepted between the traditional liberal market economy and the detailed, centralised and authoritarian type of planning. If one goes through the French Plan which is now completing 20 years of its life, one would be struck by the insignificant role played by coercion in trying to mould the behaviour of the private sector as between the carrot and the stick and the French authorities have always preferred, wherever possible, the carrot. Unfortunately, in India it is just the other way round and this Congress Government does not for a moment hesitate to amend the Constitution and thus abridge the fundamental rights of the citizens to overcome an obstacle in the implementation of the Directive Principles. Every change in the constitutional structure is justified by the leadership as being progressive—in effect progressing towards party despotism.

Fundamental rights enshrined in our Constitution are no gift from Pandit Nehru to the citizens of India to be wantonly nibbled at by the Congress Government. In all true democracies of the world, fundamental rights are there in recognition and confirmation of dignity and freedom, coeval with birth in a civilized country. Democracy and democratic socialism of the Nehru pattern cannot coexist. The well known British Economist Graham Hutton has said:

"Private property, private enterprise and private enterprisers provide a democracy's dynamics. Take these away and you take away both democracy and its dynamics."

Ours is a democratic republic and India has already adopted a democratic Constitution. This democratic socialism or Neo-communism of Pandit Nehru is a subsequent growth which is eating into the very vitals of our democracy. Indian democracy cannot tolerate molestation any further.

I end by reiterating the warning given by our President on the 26th January, 1964. The President said:

"We have to guard against the mistakes of a few being visited on the many; if faith is to be preserved in the principles of democracy, corruption has to be eliminated from our public life. It would be well to recognise that the tolerance of our society for weak, inefficient and unclean administration is not unlimited. If social evils such as black marketing, corruption and nepotism are not effectively dealt with there is the danger that the idealistic patriotism of public spirited youth might in frustration seek other outlets."

These words come from the depth of our President's heart and unfortunately they have not been diluted by the Prime Minister's pen.

**Shri Badrudduja** (Murshidabad):  
 Sir, before I address myself

to the subject for today's discussion, I take this opportunity of expressing my deep sense of gratitude to The Almighty for restoring the Prime Minister to his health. I wish him a longer life, because I feel, whatever might be my difference with the Administration, that he is to a great extent indispensable, by virtue of his positive contribution to the political and social life of the country by virtue of his eminence and international status and the respect he commands from the civilised nations of the world.

I begin my discussion now on the President's Address. It takes only a scant note of the sufferings and miseries of West Bengal Muslims during the recent disturbances that took place in Calcutta and the adjoining districts of that State. It deepens the gloom in the minds of the sincerest well-wishers and friends of minorities in both Pakistan and India that provocation or no provocation, communal upheavals should have taken place so often in both the countries, affecting the lives and liberty, honour and properties of the millions of people on both sides of the border, revealing to the world the most combustible substance of religious hatred and animosities that lie beneath the apparently calm political surface of the whole sub-continent.

It is to be regretted very much, it is really so unfortunate that attempts have been made, while emphasising the gravity of the situation in Pakistan, to minimise the sufferings and miseries of the Muslim minority in West Bengal, even the debates initiated by the hon. Home Minister the other day have focussed the attention of the civilised world on the tragic happenings that have taken place in East Pakistan, but they should on no account throw into shade the given tragedy that has befallen the Muslim minority in West Bengal. Barring the two speeches that have been delivered

[Shri Badrudduja]

on the floor of this House by the two deputy leaders of the Communist Party who had the courage and conviction to refer to the sufferings that have afflicted the Muslims of West Bengal, very few speeches in this House have been hinted at those sufferings, far less have any regard for the feelings and sentiments of those people who have passed through a great crisis in recent times.

It is really all the more unfortunate that even *The Statesman*, a paper, reputed for its balanced views, has succumbed to this tendency. I shall read out from the issue of *The Statesman* of the 15th instant. *The Statesman* states almost in the style of my hon. friend Shri N. C. Chatterjee that there can be no comparison between happenings in East Pakistan and those in West Pakistan and that there has been no tendency on the part of Government to under-rate the hardships undergone lately by some Muslims in India. Then, it goes on to say:

“ . . . the Chief Minister had gone to the length of saying, ‘we are ashamed of what happened in West Bengal; if even one person dies in communal riots in West Bengal, we should bow our heads in shame and we should remember that we have acted against our Constitution.’ ”

It further goes on to say:

“Because India, more concerned about the future of India's 50 million Muslims than are the leaders of Islamic Pakistan, has always borne this in mind and studiously underplayed on world platforms the problem of refugees from East Pakistan, there is a deplorable tendency abroad to equate communal troubles here and those in Pakistan . . . ”

Even *The Statesman*, a paper which has always maintained a high standard of journalism and fairness has succumbed to this tendency, Sir, comparisons are very odious. I would therefore, refrain from comparing. I

shall refrain from comparing especially when minorities on both sides of the border have gone through a very terrible crisis. On the contrary, I take this opportunity of expressing my genuine sympathies for our brothers and sisters in distress in East Pakistan. I have not the slightest inclination to underrate in any way the inhuman atrocities that have been perpetrated on them, their lives, properties and honour are as sacred to us as the lives, properties and honour of Muslims over here.

Sir, it was heartening to find that the hon. Chief Minister of West Bengal only the other day on the floor of the West Bengal Legislative Assembly was so kind to observe that he was ashamed at what had happened in West Bengal. That shows a genuine soul having anxious solicitude for the safety of the minorities. But however fine this sentiment, however noble the sentiment, however nice the language, it cannot draw a veil over the inhuman and untold miseries and sufferings of the Muslims of West Bengal; it cannot draw a veil over the wanton loot, plunder and massacre of Muslim innocents; it does not draw a veil over the devastation of their properties on a colossal scale in West Bengal. We cannot shut our eyes either to the fact that day in and day out, after the ugly developments in East Pakistan, some of the papers, which the hon. Home Minister observes, responded splendidly to his appeal for restoration of peace. Some of the papers like the *Jugantar*, *Anand Bazar Patrika* and the *Basumati*, day in and day out carried on an intensive and mischievous propaganda, rousing passions by their inflammatory writings, provocative articles and most unfounded, and sometimes false, statements of the happenings over there, inflaming the passions of the Bengali people particularly of the impressionable youths thus goading them into an uncontrollable frenzy of desperation, thus setting the spark to the delicate fuse which ultimately exploded and

burst into flames, particularly in the city of Calcutta and in the districts of Nadia and 24-Parganas.

The hon. Home Minister the other day while discussing these things, disowned the magnificent role he had played in arresting the drift and saving the crisis that threatened the extinction of the Muslims of West Bengal. But in order to save the face of the West Bengal administration, he said that the West Bengal administration, and the collective will of the people, asserted itself, and, therefore, the situation was saved. Nothing of the kind, Sir. The hon. Home Minister appeared on the scene, his plane landing at Dum Dum at 8:40 P. M. on the 12th January. He saw with his own eyes that most of the Muslim localities like Matijhil, Kalabagan, Jaliatola, Chingrighatta, Tangra and Bibibagon, and other Muslim areas were in flames. Had he arrived only 12 hours later even Zakara Street and Collotolla, where the Muslims had flocked in thousands for shelter, would have been razed to the ground. Even in our area, Taltalla area, the Baker hostel, the Elliot Hostel, the Calcutta Madras and Ripon Street, where the Muslims had assembled,—would have been reduced to shambles. But for his timely appearance on the scene, but for his firm decision, but for his stern action in posting military and replacing the unscrupulous police officers—most of whom instead of helping the Muslims in their deep distress by their collusion, by their positive and definite collusion and complicity with the rioters, complicity with those miscreants, hooligans and barbarous savages and ruffians, hounded to repine and massacre of the Muslims creating an unprecedented havoc in the history of India. These atrocities horrible in their malignity, in their criminality, in their devastating effect upon the unfortunate Muslims of West Bengal, surpass any other havocs within living memory except those of Delhi and East Punjab and West Pakistan, in 1947 and West Bengal in 1950 and the tragic happenings in East Pakistan in 1964.

I do not want to draw on instances though I could have done so and shown the damage caused to Muslims in West Bengal. My hon. friend, Shri N. C. Chatterjee, talks of genocide. I will not minimise anything, I will not under-rate anything. He can talk anything about Pakistan and condemn it by all possible means. I hold no brief for any administration. But I am here to point out what has happened. I will ask, what happened in Maheshtalla, how many Muslims' lives were lost? I have figures in my possession. Some say they counted 232 dead bodies. I have not counted them. But I have figures in my possession. These have exceeded 100. The officer in charge of that police station, instead of giving protection to Muslims, dragged Muslims out of their houses, including the Imam of Batanagar Mosque and shot them down dead. The rest of the Muslims, who could not take shelter in the premises of the factories, were butchered and massacred in cold blood by the hooligans. My hon. friend Shrimati Renu Chakravarty and other Communist leaders stood by us in the greatest hour of our need and gave us shelter, which no other party did. We are so grateful for all they have done, and I take this opportunity of expressing our gratitude to the Communist Party, and particularly to their leaders like Shrimati Renu Chakravarty, Shri Hiren Mukerjee, Dr. Ranen Sen and Shri Indrajit Gupta, who did yeoman service at that juncture. If all the parties and organisations in West Bengal and a large volume of public opinion had asserted themselves, if Shri Atulya Ghosh the accredited leader of the majority party there had been on the scene like Maulana Masoodi in Kashmir during these disturbances if the newspapers had been checked in their mischievous tendencies and misrepresentation of facts from across the border, there would have been no riots in West Bengal.

There has been huge loss here. I may emphasize that 14 police stations of 24-parganas and six police stations

[Shri Badrudduja]  
of Nadia were affected. The minorities were affected from Barasat to Bangaon, and the communication line was practically cut off. Hundreds of villages inhabited by Muslims were completely destroyed. We do not know the exact value of the colossal loss, but we know the loss exceeded tens of crores. In Calcutta alone, in the Moti Jhil area, all the Muslim factories were completely destroyed and ruined. Thousands of Muslim houses were destroyed, so many bastis were pulled down. Muslim industries are completely gone. It will take them 50 years to recover their position economically. They are crushed, paralysed and sucked by this devastation.

Now, I shall come to the speech of the hon. Home Minister. I have got the deepest regard and admiration for the hon Home Minister. He alone rose to the occasion and saved a great situation fraught with disaster for the Muslim minority. I may refer to a portion of his statement:

"In the city of Calcutta, the trouble was not wholly communal. Here, the greater part of the disturbances was caused by hooligans who were in a sense neither Hindus nor Muslims, but just trouble-makers trying to take advantage of the situation."

He goes on further, and says on page 5:

"In the disturbances 208 persons of both communities lost their lives; 56 were killed as a result of police action."

He says further that 62,000 persons of both communities belong to the category of those who left their homes out of a sheer sense of insecurity. With all deference and respect to him, it appears from the statement that Muslims and Hindus suffered equally, that they shared the miseries equally. Sir there may be a sprinkling of Hindu brethren who were not aggressive, who could not have been looters, who could not have plundered, who could not have devastated the properties of the Muslims. I would only request

my friends here to go over there and see with their own eyes what devastation has been wrought, what damage has been caused, not merely to the property of Muslims, but to their lives, to their honour, to their prestige, to everything.

I am one of those who believe sincerely in secularism. I am Sir, one of those who fought partition tooth and nail from December, 1941 to July, 1947, for which I had to go with my revered leader Mr. Fazlul Huq, into political wilderness. I opposed it tooth and nail because I wanted to stem the fast rising tempo of communal passions and frenzies which ultimately burst into flames on both sides of the border. But, Sir, our leaders, who had a better assessment of the difficulties and complexities of the situation and a greater vision of the future, considered otherwise. I made frantic appeals to the revered leader, Shri Sarat Chandra Bose with whom I had the most cordial relations: for God's sake, do not agree to partition: you are the Leader of the Congress Party in the Central Assembly, leader of the opposition: there you have got a voice: do not agree; at any rate for Bengal's sake, where linguistically, culturally, politically, socially, geographically and strategically we will form a solid block containing about 70 to 80 million people. There is no territorial unit in the whole civilised world where so many people speak the same language, having the same interests and feelings, the same sentiments, ideals and background. I emphasised further: you Hindu brethren have no fears because from Calcutta right up to Delhi you will have the weight of Hindu India, Hindu majority behind you. We 51 per cent of Muslims in Assam and West Bengal shall not be able to impose our will upon you because you are politically more advanced, economically much sounder and educationally more advanced. But our leaders, the greatest leaders of the country, for whom I have the deepest regard and admiration went back upon the plighted word to the

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nation. Even after Mr. Mohamad Ali Jinnah agreed to the Cabinet Mission Plan of the 15th May, 1945 and Mr. Jinnah, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Mr. Liaqat Ali Khan and Sardar Baldev Singh, representing the Sikh community all went to England in the same chartered plane sent by the Britishers and met in a conference presided over by no less a person than Atlee, the then Prime Minister of England, and all controversy regarding the Cabinet Mission plan was set at rest and it was ratified by the Working Committee of the Congress and also by the Working Committee of the Muslim League, our leader, within fifteen days of his arrival, went back on his word and wanted partition of the country. The Congress Working Committee passed a Resolution demanding partition of the Punjab, with an overwhelming majority in the teeth of solid opposition from Maulana Azad and Sarojini Naidu and other noble souls in India who had a real vision of the future. The die was however cast; Rubicon crossed. I sank in despair when the country was partitioned. I cried in despair. I had said: "Bengal's death knell had been sounded a little earlier, her funeral ceremony was performed only yesterday. Bengal lies prostrate today bleeding from the wounds inflicted on her soul. A disastrous policy has pursued Bengal since the beginning of the 20th century since after the removal of the capital from Calcutta to Delhi, there has been an organised conspiracy against the talent, genius and manhood of Bengal. And today, India leadership has succeeded in dividing, partitioning and fragmenting Bengal which will have a disastrous effect on the cultural hegemony, political integrity, social entity, economic individuality of Bengal with still more disastrous consequences that are likely to follow; this unnatural division of the country and the provinces is bound to breed germs of perpetual clash and conflict between the two neighbouring States". An insignificant fry like myself felt at this stage of political development of

the country, religious passions and communal hatred are bound to poison the springs of life and vitiate and corrupt the whole atmosphere. Historically, culturally, religiously, emotionally, Hindu and the Muslim majorities are not capable of talking so kindly to the minorities. Therefore, minorities on both sides of the border have today no quarter, no shelter, no recognition, no appreciation, no encouragement, no facilities no opportunities for self-expression in any sphere of life, in any domain of thought. Their lives are at stake, their honour and property are at stake. But sir, in the midst of this storm and stress, in the midst of all that is dark and gloomy dreary and bleak in the life of this nation, there is one ray of hope to redeem the heavy gloom all round. In West Bengal the great Sikh community stood by us and rendered us real service; the taxi drivers of the Sikh community conducted the afflicted Muslims to safe quarters; Punjabi Hindus also did their turn and the Marwari community true to their philanthropic traditions fed 16 to 20 thousand muslims, twice a day, providing them with bed-sheets and blankets, clothes and every other thing. We have expressed our thanks to them. We take off our hats to them. We also thank the saner section of the Bengali people, the sober section of the Bengali people; and particularly the most progressive of all parties the Communist party which rendered us great help by resisting the rioters even though they were shattered by internal dissensions. I shall remember with gratitude the services and contributions made particularly by my much-esteemed sister, Shrimati Renu Chakravartty, who, day in and day out, went round the affected areas and gave us hope and courage.

Sir, I believe in secularism. But I do not believe in the false show of democracy. As I once told Shri C. Rajagopalachari. I am no believer in

[Shri Badrudduja] the theory of the quantitative determination of human destinies. I can never persuade myself to believe that arithmetical calculation and mathematical computations will determine human civilizations, culture and destiny.

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

**Shri Badrudduja:** I ask your permission only for a few minutes more. But I believe in secularism, whatever may be the dangers. We want to stay on and forge ahead in India with the co-operation, with the assistance, with the sympathy with the help of all the progressive elements, of the saner and soberer section in the Congress party as well. There are noble souls in the Congress also who sympathise with us in all our distress. I have decided to stay in India and asked all the 50 million Muslims to do so—because it is our motherland.

“खाके वतन अज तख्ते सुलेमान खूशतर  
खाके वतन अज सबलो रहआन खूशतर  
भूसूफ दर मिश्र पादशाही भी कदोस्गुफ्त  
गदाए किनान बदन खूशतर”

The dust of my motherland is much more precious than the throne of Solomon. The thorns of our country are much more precious than jasmine or any other flower anywhere. Joseph reigned in Egypt, but he observed it is much better to be a beggar in Cenan whatever might be the provocation, whatever might be the miseries, whatever might be the misfortune, whatever might be the troubles, whatever might be the trials and tribulations, we want to remain in India, God overhead and with hearts within we want to forge ahead. We believe in God. We Muslims, Hindus, Sikhs and Christians believe in God. At the critical moments in world's history it is not the Muslims who saved themselves, it is Islam that saved the Muslims. It was the myriad horde and tribes

When the hordes of Halaku swept over Central Asia, devastated the world and destroyed the Metropolis of Bagdad in 1257, there was no power on earth, no Government to stem the tide of aggression of these barbarous savages. At that critical juncture when the Muslim world was threatened with extinction, the moment these wild hordes uttered the sentence on the banks of the tigris, “Lai Elaha Illallah, Muhammad-Ur-Rasullab”—There is no God, but God. Muhammad is His Messenger of peace and inter-communal harmony and understanding, the savages from the destroyers of civilisation became, all of a sudden, the preservers of Muslim civilisation dominating three continents of the world for centuries.

“कुल इन्ना सलापी नु सुकी मुहिया आ  
ममानी लिल्लाहे रबुल आलमीन  
ला शरीक लहु विजालिका उमर तो  
अना अब्रुलुल मुसलमीन”

My life, my death, my prayer, my fasting, my miseries and sorows, my misfortunes, trials and ordeals of life, are all for the Lord of the world.

Sir, we seek the guidance of the Lord, we seek the guidance of the Supreme Power of the Universe who throbs in every constitution, pulsates every atom, regulates and guides all existence, shapes the destinies of individuals and nations, nay, of the whole human race and controls the growth and evolution of the universe and the system of universes through all eternity and infinity.

“लाइलाह इलल्लाह मुहम्मदुर्रसूललल्लाह”

There is no God, but God. Muhammad is His Messenger of peace and inter-communal harmony and understanding. We seek the guidance of the Lord, we seek the guidance of the Supreme Power of the universe. Sir, I have done. A deep distress grieves me to think what man has made of man.



I would conclude with my appeal and my deepest gratitude to all my brethren and sisters of all progressive parties, the Sikhs, the Marwaris, the Punujabi Hindus, as also to the saner sections of the Bengali people, to the great Communist Party of India, for all the help, assistance and co-operation and sympathy which they extended to us in the hour of our greatest need. I close my speech with the memorable words of Shelly:

"We look before and after and  
 pine for what is not:  
 Our sincerest laughter with  
 some pain is fraught.  
 Our sweetest songs are those  
 that tell of saddest thoughts".

**Shri N. R. Ghosh (Jalpaiguri):** Mr. Speaker, Sir, in the beginning I must whole-heartedly join the motion of thanks to the Vice-President for the Address he has delivered to us. I wanted to deal with certain aspects of that Address, but I feel I must straightway say something to meet the challenge of the hon. Member coming from Murshidabad. His speech amazed me. He says except a sprinkling all Calcutta Hindus were looters—what a statement! his speech reminded me of the first information which was sent to Pakistan after the repercussions in Calcutta. I was present unfortunately in the city of Calcutta at that time. The information reportedly sent to Pakistan was that not a single Mohammadan of Calcutta is left alive, that everyone of them has been done to death and that there is not a single property left belonging to the Mohammadans which has not been destroyed. Is this speech just delivered by my hon. friend, from Murshidabad meant for that object—I wonder! Has he realised that a speech like this can again spark off another carnage in East Pakistan, that there will be another holocaust and men, women and children will be burnt alive, as it was done there?

My friend indulged in Hyperbole. He equated the incidents in Calcutta with the terrible incidents in East Pakistan. But my country is not a

closed country. There was never any blackout. But all the information which you get from Pakistan came through those people who fled from that country to the border and through foreigners. Some papers of East Pakistan are honest enough. They gave reports of these brutalities. For my friend's information, I wish to tell him that—I know that village—one village of Khulna, 40 miles from Khulna, at dead of night and some other villages were set on fire. Those villages are peopled by poor cultivators. Those who came out were massacred and the women and children who could not come out were burnt alive. Their charred bodies were recovered the next day by the Pakistan Rifles. If my friend wants to know, that is reported in *Pakistan Observer*, which is a Pakistan paper. Such are the atrocities which were committed. This is not one instance. There are hundreds of instances like that. After a few days, these papers were gagged and the foreigners who wanted to give this information were also stopped. My friend knows very well that facts are more telling than mere vocabulary, than mere froth of words. Does he remember the picture of East Bengal at the time of partition also and the picture of West Bengal at that time? Does he not know that there were about than 2 crores of Hindus in East Pakistan? Does he not know that in most regions of Khulna, the Hindu population was about 80 per cent and it was a Hindu majority district? In the sub-division of Madaripur, my friend knows that the Hindu population was to the tune of 80 per cent. 4 or 5 thanas of Jalpaiguri, from where I come, were ceded to Pakistan. One of the thanas had 90 per cent Hindu population. What is the picture now? Almost denuded of Hindus. My friend lives in Murshidabad in West Bengal. There are more Mohammedans there than ever before at the time of partition. Their relations and friends are coming from across the border. There are far more Mohammedans in Murshidabad than there were ever before.

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[Shri N. R. Ghosh]

What about Khulna? I shall give one instance. When the first two outbreaks of riots happened the rich people and the upper middle class people all left. About 40 per cent of the people left Khulna. The namasudras, the fighting class—they are agriculturists—gave a fight in self-defence and they were massacred by rifles. They had to flee from there because when the State does not protect no citizen whether he belongs to the majority community or the minority community can stay there.

I shall speak of one village which I personally know. There were 1200 Hindu families in that village. It was a prosperous village. After two riots, arson, looting, abduction, rape and other things in the region only 150 families remained and the rest left that village. In the recent riot, I can tell you on very reliable authority, not a single house is there. All the houses have been burnt and the temples have been razed to the ground. All those families are now ready to come away. More than two crores of Hindus were in Pakistan. Now there is less than one crore of Hindus. Is not the fact telling enough? Does it not condemn my friend's arguments? Does it not condemn Pakistan for ever? Can there be any fair attempt to equate what was happening in East Pakistan with what has happened in Calcutta?

I am giving you some brute facts about the Calcutta incident. My friends outside Bengal do not know that the holocaust in Pakistan and the sparking off of Calcutta riots were in the same scheme which was planned by Pakistan. They wanted a repercussion in Calcutta so that they could magnify and play it off against the carnage in East Pakistan. That was their game. I am giving you a few facts from newspaper reports and other sources. On the 9th of January college students with their books started a procession in order to lodge a protest before the house of the Deputy High Commissioner. There are localities which are known to my friend.

**Shri Badrudduja:** I have seen with my own eyes those places.

**Shri N. R. Ghosh:** I have also seen those places with my own eyes. I have distributed reliefs to the Mohammedans. My hon. friend need not feel big about it. On the 9th January those students were attacked at the junction of Rafi Ahmed Kidwai Road and Block Man Street. The students had only books in their hands. They were attacked by Muslims with soda water bottles, bombs, knives, lathis and other things and the procession dispersed.

**Shrimati Renu Chakravartty:** May I point out that he is giving information....

**Shri N. R. Ghosh:** Please let me have my say. Let us not gloss over the facts. The facts must be told so that the House can have a true picture. We are ashamed about what has happened in Calcutta. We also stand by the declaration of our Home Minister and of our Chief Minister that there cannot be any condonation of any incident in Calcutta and that if millions of lives in East Pakistan are sacrificed that will not justify the taking of the life of one single Indian Muslim. We stand by that. But truth must be told. It must be told that it was just not a repercussion in Calcutta; it was in the scheme of things. Pakistan wanted it.

**Shrimati Renu Chakravartty:** No, no. That is not correct (*Interruptions*). They never wanted it.

**Shri N. R. Ghosh:** I also know something about it. (*Interruptions*).

**Mr. Speaker:** Order, order. That is not decided in this manner. I hope all members would remain silent and restrained from these emotions. We have just heard an emotional speech.

**Shrimati Renu Chakravartty:** The Congress Party members should also be told to behave.....

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

**Shrimati Renu Chakravartty:** It is shameful not to come to the aid of the minority.

**Mr. Speaker:** Should I ask the member not to speak but to sit down?

**An Hon. Member:** We never disturbed Shri Badrudduja when he was on his legs.

**Shri N. R. Ghosh:** On the 10th of January, in the very heart of Calcutta there were several attacks by the Muslims on the Hindus—in Banfapukur, Fulbagan, Gorpad, Entally, Park Circus, Raja Bazar, Watganj, Kiderpur, Garden Reach and other places. Some temples were burnt and Hindu properties were damaged by fire. Even Vivekanand Pandal did not escape. There were arson and stabbings. I hope my hon. friend will ascertain and check this fact that there were more casualties amongst the Hindus in Calcutta than in the Muslims. Gunshots and stabbings actually took more victims from the Hindu community than there were casualties amongst the Muslims. This is a fact which has got its own meaning appropos the tirade against the West Bengal Government.

What about Pakistan? My hon. friend should remember what we are doing and what our secularism stands for. We even tolerate slogans like "Pakistan Zindabad". That was the slogan frequently used in Murshidabad. It was proved that Pakistani flags were hoisted and "Pakistan Zindabad" was the slogan used in the constituency of my hon. friend. We tolerated it.

**An Hon. Member:** Shame, shame.

**Mr. Speaker:** Order, order. Hon. Members ought to be patient enough and bear with the hon. Member who is speaking.

**Shrimati Renu Chakravartty:** All this is nothing but untruth. He is trying to rouse passion by making absolutely incorrect statements.

**Mr. Speaker:** Order, order. The hon. lady member should resume her seat. Even if according to the hon. lady Member it is wholly untrue, still I have to hear it. The previous speaker was heard with attention.

**Shrimati Renu Chakravartty:** This also would bring about its own reprisal.

**Mr. Speaker:** What can I do?

**Shrimati Renu Chakravartty:** The previous speaker never spoke on behalf of Pakistan. What did he say?

**Mr. Speaker:** Should I stop him then?

**Shrimati Renu Chakravartty:** He is from Jalpaiguri and he is speaking like that.

**Mr. Speaker:** Order, order. He should be permitted to continue his speech.

**Shri N. R. Ghosh:** I was present in Calcutta. I will give you some startling facts. They were widely reported. On the 9th and before 9th, several high-ups....

**An Hon. Member:** Of the Communist Party.

**Shri N. R. Ghosh:** No, I would not name them. They had consultations with the Deputy High Commissioner and those people, Pakistan-lovers, they were inflaming the Mohammedans. All of them are not bad, but they are easily inflamed. These people wanted to inflame them. That is why they managed all those attacks on the Hindus on the 9th and 10th.

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[Shri N. R. Ghosh]

Now, Sir, unfortunately there was a repercussion. But what we did, as the Vice President in his Address has said, was, it was promptly and firmly put down. I may give another instance to show to what length it went. I mentioned to you about the students procession. Dinabandhu Andrews College students also wanted to come out and join that procession and they were stopped. Bullets were used. Bhudeb Sen, the brightest boy of that College, who was to come for the Republic Parade here was shot dead. The Vice Chancellor of the Calcutta University, who is an ex-Chief Justice of Allahabad, has demanded judicial inquiry. Will not that satisfy the lady Member of the Communist Party and also the Member from Murshidabad as to what length, with what sternness and to what extreme length the West Bengal Government went?

**Shrimati Renu Chakravartty:** Why don't you tell what happened in Bongaon, what happened in Barasat and what happened in Habra

**Shri N. R. Ghosh:** I do not want continuous interruptions from this quarrelsome lady. All those people were active inflaming the Muslim pockets of Calcutta. (*Interruption*).

**Mr. Speaker:** I appeal to the hon. lady Member.....

**Shrimati Renu Chakravartty:** He has called me quarrelsome and everything. I say: let it not be an unvarnished untruth. Why does he not talk of what happened in Bongaon, what happened in Barasat and what happened in Habra?

**Mr. Speaker:** Should he be directed from somewhere else what to talk? Can I direct him to talk of particular things?

**Shrimati Renu Chakravartty:** It is for you.... (*Interruption*).

**Shri N. R. Ghosh:** I can't be your mouth-piece.

**Shrimati Renu Chakravartty:** Thank God, you will never be my mouth-piece.

**Shri N. R. Ghosh:** Then, there were certain other things. Not only these Pakistani spies and some high-ups, these Pakistan lovers, were very active in the office of the Deputy High Commissioner, but they actually went to all the Muslim pockets in Calcutta and inflamed them.

Now, Sir, you will be startled to hear that a few days before the repercussions took place in Calcutta, some big Muslim merchants had effected the riot insurance. They must have got that cue from the Pakistani spy ring in Calcutta. There were photographic arrangements, tape-recordings and other things, all ready, so that all these things can be communicated to Pakistan and that there will be a more heinous carnage. As I said, they have perhaps been trying that there should be more carnage in East Pakistan because of the grim picture, false picture, exaggerated picture transmitted to Pakistan like which has just been placed before the House. (*Interruption*).

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

**Shri N. R. Ghosh:** My friend has read out from the *Stemman's* editorial of the 15th. That was a very wise statement and a very reasonable observation. My friend knows that this is not the first upheaval in East Pakistan. There have been such riots, such holocaust, such arson and all these rapes, abductions, etc. many a time. We have always under-played it and we never put it before the world forum what actually has been going on in East Pakistan. This large-scale exodus—what a hell has been let loose there. We have always kept silent over it. Has this policy of appeasement benefited us? Our Government thought that otherwise there

would be repercussions on the minority community of East Pakistan. Did it produce that effect?

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

**Shri N. R. Ghosh:** May I have some time more, because my hon. friend opposite has said many things?

**Shri Basumatari:** Some more time may be given to him.

**Shri R. S. Pandey:** Five minutes more may be given to him.

**Mr. Speaker:** He might have two or three minutes more.

**Shri Ravindra Varma:** He was persistently interrupted. So, he might be given some more time.

**Shri N. R. Ghosh:** Now, the world's forum cannot be ignored. We have been the victims, and we have been the sufferers, and yet, in spite of that, because of the want of international publicity, we have always been put in the dock.

Everybody knows here, and my hon. friend from Assam has pointed out, that there was infiltration of Pakistani people in very large numbers. Even our Government shut their eyes against the implications of the last census. According to the last census, as the lady Member has pointed out, about 10 lakhs of people infiltrated. That was the finding of the census. But you know, Sir, that census figures are on declarations and were handicapped in Assam. But there have been pamphlets, and there have been facts and figures given by some people in Assam, by people who belonged formerly to the Ministry, that the infiltrators would not number less than 30 lakhs. I would ask our hon. Minister who for the first time admitted that there was the necessity of educating world opinion, to go to the

borders of Assam and see for himself the position. He will find that for hundreds of miles, clusters of villages have sprung up along the border with all these infiltrators. They are a security question and will ever be. I may warn Government that this silent invasion is not innocent. This is done at the instance of Pakistan, and many of the Mohammedans who are on the Indian border have their relations, and they welcome them with open arms, and they conceal them, and after a few days, they pass them off as Indians. That has been the game.

I know of one village, or one *char*, an alluvial bit of land on the river Tiesta, in the district of Cooch-Behar; I had been there on a professional matter and I heard that that *char* had been named as Bogra *Char*. Bogra is the name of a district in East Pakistan, mostly populated by Mohammedans. Those Mohammedans have come there, settled there openly and named it as Bogra *char*, just as the Britishers who had gone to America had named their cities as New York, New Britain and so on. That was tolerated by us. All these things have been tolerated by us.

I may tell you that this silent invasion by the 30 lakhs of Pakistanis in India is a source of danger. That is a great security problem. Let our Government beware.

I repeat that we hate reprisal by any Hindu against a single Indian Mohammedan, because that is against our Constitution and that is against our culture. But I may tell them that our Constitution does not protect disloyal citizens; it does not protect traitors. It does not protect those people who gain their inspiration from elsewhere and who only masquerade as Indians with a different ideology. I submit that secularism does not mean this, and they ought to be told that the fact that our Government is secular does not mean that all these things can be perpetrated in this way with impunity.

Address by the Vice-  
President discharging  
the functions of the  
President

[Shri N. R. Ghosh]

I shall draw attention to what appeared in the *Statesman* today and what appeared in newspapers previously. It will prove that not only were there secret arsenals concealed in mosques, concealed in private houses, but some of these have been recovered now, and it will appear that even the Pakistan Deputy High Commissioner's people and others were busy in actually inflaming these Mohemmadans, against some of whom the DIR has been used.

In conclusion, I only say this...

**Shri P. R. Patel:** We shall sit for five minutes more.

**Mr. Speaker:** I cannot give more time.

**An Hon. Member:** Let him conclude tomorrow.

**Shri N. R. Ghosh:** Then can I conclude tomorrow?

**Mr. Speaker:** No, no.

**Shri N. R. Ghosh:** I tell our Government that this question of infiltration is not an innocent question, it is not a question which should be brushed aside in this way. It is a security question, the question of the activities of disloyal people in Calcutta and

elsewhere, the operation of a spy ring with the conspiracy of Pakistan. These are all security questions. In the name of secularism, these people should not get protection. The Government should seriously look into this and do something about it.

17.01 hrs.

CORRECTION TO STATEMENT

**The Minister of State in the Ministry of Home Affairs (Shri Hajarnavis):** I seek the indulgence of the House to make a small correction in the statement which was made by the Home Minister this morning. The names of the three persons arrested in the Hazratbal case were given as: Abdul Rahim Bandey, Abdul Rashid and Ghulam Mohd. Butt. The name 'Ghulam Mohd. Butt' was mentioned by mistake. It should be 'Qadir Butt'.

**Shrimati Renu Chakravartty (Barackpore):** You released the other man and arrested this man?

**Mr. Speaker:** The House now stands adjourned to meet again tomorrow.

17.02 hrs.

*The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the clock on Tuesday, February 18, 1964/Magha 29, 1885 (Saka).*