

12.48½ hrs.

ARMED FORCES (SPECIAL POWERS) AMENDMENT BILL*

The Minister of State in the Ministry of External Affairs (Shri Dinesh Singh): On behalf of Shri Swaran Singh, I beg to move for leave to introduce a Bill further to amend the Armed Forces (Special Powers) Regulation, 1958.

Mr. Speaker: The question is:

"That leave be granted to introduce a Bill further to amend the Armed Forces (Special Powers) Regulation, 1958."

The motion was adopted.

Shri Dinesh Singh: I introduce the Bill.

12.40½ hrs.

MOTION ON THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS—contd.

Mr. Speaker: Shri Jashvant Mehta to continue his speech. Four hours and 35 minutes remain.

Shri Jashvant Mehta (Bhavnagar): As I was saying yesterday, many speakers from both sides have discussed and expressed their anxiety over the present situation in the country. The question is: what is wrong, and where is wrong? Our country is passing through a critical period. Our planning Minister stated that we have to face difficult economic situation. Monsoon has failed in many parts of the country and food problem is acute. There is around frustration and defeatism, discontent is gaining ground. Large sections of people are worried about the public affairs. The forces of confusion and chaos are raising their heads. The Bengal Assembly incident shows how the wind blows.

Shri D. C. Sharma (Gurdaspur): On a point of order. Can a Member of

the House sit with his back towards you?

Mr. Speaker: No, he cannot. The Member should not turn his back towards the Chair.

12.50 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

Shri Jashvant Mehta: This incident does not give prestige to anyone. Deterioration has gone deep down in society. The standard of education is deteriorating. Even it is reflected in our national character. Corruption has weakened the fabric of society. On this occasion Members of Parliament who are the cream of society should deliberate and give serious thought on such important issues and try to find out a solution. India an underdeveloped country has to build a new social order and change the present structure of society by democratic way and achieve the goal of social justice. The reports we read about different countries are disturbing. Daily we hear about armed revolutions in different countries of Asia and Africa. The third challenge is by the Chinese dictatorship which also has a different communist approach. On the other hand India has rejected both ways—communist dictatorship or military dictatorship. Parliamentary democracy has come to stay and democratic roots have gone deep down in this country. In spite of being an under-developed country where we have to face economic problems, we have to tackle the whole affairs in a democratic way. It is also a challenge how we can solve this problem in a democratic way because we have to face the problem of poverty, ignorance and inefficiency. Here is a test of the leadership. The people of the world look at us, how we face these problems. Unfortunately, there is a weakness in our democracy. No opposition party is powerful in this country. All the parties are splinter groups and cannot deliver the goods.

*Published in Gazette of India dated 25-2-66.

[Shri Jashvant Mehta]

They can only play a collective role. Thanks to the robust commonsense of the people of the country, they had stood against all the forces of confusion and chaos at the time of Pakistani aggression. In the present circumstances of discontent, frustration when no other political party is in a position to deliver the goods, the only solution is the massive industrialisation of the country and modernisation of agriculture with rural industrialisation. This physical revolution will change the face of our country. Our economic situation requires a jolt and a new approach for social change. The common man of the country should feel that the government is responsive to the demands. The failure or success of the government depends upon how the common man's problems are tackled. Many speakers have spoken on the food situation. Food problem is tackled on two fronts—one is production aspect, the other distribution aspect. On the production front, a lot is required to be done. Government have taken up major and minor irrigation schemes and various programmes like fertilisers, seed distribution, etc. but the administrative machinery is not working efficiently. I would like to draw the attention to a major project, the Narmada River Valley Project. In 1948 the government appointed a committee under the chairmanship of Mr. Khosla to suggest a unified multipurpose development of the Narmada basin. It gave its report at that time. After 16 years in September 1964 another committee was appointed under the chairmanship of Mr. Khosla to prepare a master plan of that project and it submitted its report after one year in 1965 September. Yesterday an answer was given that the recommendations of M.P., Rajasthan and Gujarat governments had been received. No progress has been made. Khosla committee stated that Narmada had enough water to meet all the irrigation and the power demands for at least the next 25 years and still

generate large amounts of electric power. The project will irrigate 65 lakhs of acres in M.P. 45 lakhs in Gujarat, 8 lakhs in Rajasthan and 10,000 acres in Maharashtra; the total will be 111.91 lakh acres. It will generate 2 million kilowatt power from Nowagaon project only. But due to difference of opinion among the different States, the project has not been taken on hand. Our demand is that the Khosla commission report should be accepted in toto and the centre should take the responsibility to finance the major project from a loan from any international agency. It is a national project and it should be tackled at the national level. I will solve the food problem of the country and it will change the face of the Central India, M.P., Gujarat, Rajasthan and Maharashtra. People in M.P. and Gujarat are apprehensive why it is delayed. Government knew that there was difference of opinion before they appointed the Khosla commission. It was a technical commission; the report is now before the government. What are the reasons of delay?

Shrimati Lakshmi Kanthamma: (Khammam): There are now in the House more Members of the Cabinet—Ministers and State Ministers—than the Opposition Members. Mr. Kamath must be happy.

Shri Nath Pai (Rajapur): One of us is enough to tackle six of them.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Order, order.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath (Hoshangabad): She has betrayed her profound ignorance.

Shri Jashvant Mehta: I know that the hon. Minister Dr. K. L. Rao is making a very sincere effort to bring round all the States. But this is a problem of life and death for the people when such a thing is delayed people are frustrated. So, I request the Prime Minister and the Planning Commission to convene a meeting of

the Chief Ministers of M.P., Gujarat, Rajasthan and Maharashtra immediately to take a decision on this project and implement it quickly.

The hon. Food Minister presented the House with a pamphlet on the food situation and in that figures had been given, Government should look into the matter of collecting data of food production; there is need to give second thoughts to the system of collection of data on food production. Government has announced the policy of giving remunerative prices to agriculturists. This should be pursued properly. It will push up agricultural production.

There should be a revolutionary approach in agricultural credit system. The Reserve Bank reports are there.

After that, the G. L. Mehta Committee report is there. A lot of water has flowed in the meanwhile. Still, we have not been able to supply more than 15 per cent of the credit to the agriculturists to meet their requirements. So, an integrated system of short term and long term programmes should be evolved; a card system should be framed and the credit-worthiness of the agriculturists should be decided on the basis of the acreage of the land. It should be a simple process.

13 hrs.

The next point is that which has been suggested by most hon. Members, namely, the abolition of the food zones. Our demand is that the deficit States should not be exploited by the surplus States. We want a national food policy; a national food policy should be evolved so that no State, whether deficit or surplus should suffer in anyway. Everybody should get equal quantity of food, and that policy should be implemented by the Centre and the Chief Ministers who do not follow the line of the Centre should be persuaded to fall in line with the National policy. The food zones should be abolished.

When the Government have accepted the crop insurance scheme in principle, it should be persuade as

early as possible. I want also to support those hon. Members who have pleaded for the removal of the emergency and the DIR.

With these words, I close.

श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री (बिजनौर) :
उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, राष्ट्रपति जी का अभिभाषण सरकार और सरकारी नीतियों का दर्पण होता है। इस में भारत का भूत और भविष्य झांकता है। लेकिन इस बार राष्ट्रपति जी ने जिस तीव्र गति से अपने भाषण पढ़ा प्रतीत ऐसा होता है कि उसी तीव्र गति से भारत की समस्याओं का विश्लेषण करते हुए महत्वपूर्ण समस्याओं को वह अपनी भाषणों से झोजल भी कर गए। उदाहरण के लिए राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने भाषण में कुछ विधेयकों की चर्चा की है। लेकिन भारत सरकार ने कुछ दिन पहले एक महत्वपूर्ण निर्णय लिया था और पहले प्रधान मंत्री श्री लाल बहादुर शास्त्री जी ने एक अविश्वास प्रस्ताव का उत्तर देते हुए अपने भाषण में उस को महत्वपूर्ण निर्णय कह कर पुकारा था और वह निर्णय था प्रशासनिक सुधार आयोग की स्थापना। मुझे दुख इस बात का है कि राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने भाषण में प्रशासनिक सुधार आयोग की चर्चा तक नहीं की है जिस के ऊपर सारा प्रशासनिक ढांचा खड़ा होना है और सरकार को उस पर कुछ निर्णय भी लेने हैं।

लेकिन इस के साथ ही साथ मैं यह भी कहना चाहता हूँ कि भारत सरकार को विशेष रूप से इस प्रकार का कोई निर्णय अवश्य लेना चाहिए जिस में प्रशासनिक सुधार आयोग के साथ-साथ एक मंत्री परिषद् सुधार आयोग अवश्य ही। मंत्री परिषद् सुधार आयोग से मेरा अभिप्राय यह है कि मंत्री परिषद् के जो सदस्य हैं उन की वाणी में दोहरापन न हो। निर्णय लेने और सार्वजनिक रूप में बोलने की उस में एकता होनी चाहिये। उदाहरण के लिये अभी कुछ दिन पहले की बात है कि हमारे वर्तमान प्रधान मंत्री श्री मी इंदिरा गांधी ने काश्मीर के सम्बन्ध में भाषण देते हुए यह कहा था कि काश्मीर भारत का

[श्री प्रकाश वीर शास्त्री]

अभिन्न अंग है और इस के सम्बन्ध में पीछे हटने का कोई प्रश्न ही पैदा नहीं होता है। लेकिन इसी मंत्रि परिषद् के एक दूसरे सदस्य सार्वजनिक रूप में यह कहते हैं कि वर्तमान युद्ध विराम रेखा को अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय रेखा मान लिया जाए। इसी प्रकार से एक मंत्रि परिषद् के सदस्य कहते हैं कि बैंकों का राष्ट्रीयकरण होना चाहिए और दूसरे मंत्रि परिषद् के सदस्य यह कहते हैं वित्त मंत्री श्री चौधरी कि अभी इस प्रकार का कोई निर्णय नहीं लिया गया है। मंत्री परिषद् के सदस्यों में आपस में इस प्रकार की दुमूंही बातों का होना यह दर्शाता है कि मंत्री परिषद् के सदस्य अपनी जिम्मेवारी को अनुभव नहीं करते हैं। और भी कुछ इसी प्रकार की बातें हैं जिनकी अभी चर्चा हो चुकी है। और भी इसी प्रकार के अनेक वायित्व हैं जिनका पालन मंत्रियों को करना चाहिये।

मैं यह भी चाहता हूँ कि मंत्री परिषद् और सरकार को संविधान की मान्यताओं की भी अवहेलना कदापि नहीं करनी चाहिये। अभी पीछे इसी प्रकार का एक निर्णय लिया गया था जिससे ऐसा लगता है कि वर्तमान सरकार संविधान की मान्यताओं से भी छलन हट कर चलना चाहती है। उदाहरण के लिए जब किसी राज्यपाल की नियुक्ति होती है तो उस नियुक्ति में एक आवश्यक बात यह होती है कि किसी भी राज्य का राज्यपाल किसी राजनीतिक बल से सम्बन्धित नहीं होगा। लेकिन कुछ महीने पहले की बात है कि जो केरल के राज्यपाल थे वह अपने पद पर भी बने रहे और राज्यपाल रहते हुए छाल इंडिया कांग्रेस क्रमेटी के सदस्य भी बने रहे। अगर यह बात सही है तो केरल के राज्यपाल ने जानबूझकर संविधान की अवहेलना की है और गृह-मंत्रालय भी इसके लिए दोषी है। अगर केरल का कोई नागरिक सर्वोच्च न्यायालय में जाकर के केरल के राज्यपाल के उन

दिनों में लिये किसी निर्णय को या निर्णयों को चनौती देता और यह कहता कि यह निर्णय इसलिए वैध निर्णय नहीं हो सकता क्योंकि राज्यपाल ही संवैधानिक दृष्टि से ठीक नहीं थे तो मैं समझता हूँ कि इसपर काफी कठिनाई आगे चलकर उत्पन्न हो सकती है। गृह मंत्रालय इस सम्बन्ध में दोषी है। लेकिन आगे के लिए अगर उसने स्वस्थ परम्पराओं का पालन नहीं किया या स्वस्थ परम्पराओं की स्थापना नहीं की और भारत में राज्यपालों को इसी प्रकार से राजनीतिक दलों से सम्बन्धित रहते हुए नियुक्त करता रहा तो कभी सरकार के लिए एक बहुत बड़ी संकट की स्थिति उत्पन्न हो सकती है।

मैं अब सरकार की दुर्बलताओं के बारे में कुछ कहना चाहता हूँ। देश के बटवारे के लिए भी भारत सरकार की लुप्टीकरण की नीति ही जिम्मेवार थी। देश के बटवारे से पहले कांग्रेस जिस मनोवृत्ति का परिचय दे रही है भी अब कांग्रेस सरकार देश में उसी मनोवृत्ति को बढ़ावा दे रही है। सब से पहले मैं काश्मीर में जो स्थिति है, उसको लेता हूँ। काश्मीर के संबंध में मुझे इस बात को कहने की आप अनुमति दें कि भारत सरकार ने जो निर्णय लिया है कि 1948 में जितनी सेनाएँ हमारी वहाँ थी इतनी सेनाओं को काश्मीर में रखा जायगा यह आत्मवादी निर्णय है। उपाध्यक्ष महोदय सेनाओं को 1948 के स्तर पर लाने की पहले जब स्थिति आई थी तब कुछ और भी निर्णय साफ-साफ हुए थे। एक निर्णय उस समय यह हुआ था कि भारत सरकार अपनी सेनाओं की संख्या तभी कम करेगी जबकि पाकिस्तान की सारी सेनाएँ काश्मीर से वापिस चली जायेंगी, काश्मीर में सामान्य स्थिति पैदा हो जाएगी। तब यह उचित समझा गया था कि काश्मीर सामान्य स्थिति बनाये रखने के लिये इतनी भारी संख्या में फौजों को रखने की आवश्यकता नहीं

है। केवल ला एंड आडर को संभालने के लिये सामान्यतः जितनी पुलिस और मिलिटरी है प्रेषित उतनी वहां रहेगी। आज जब कि काश्मीर की स्थिति सुरक्षित नहीं है और काश्मीर की सीमाओं पर पाकिस्तान और चीन दोनों का भय बराबर बना हुआ है ऐसी स्थिति में इस प्रकार का निर्णय लेना आत्माघाती निर्णय है। लेकिन वह निर्णय और अधिक आत्माघाती निर्णय हो जाता है जब हम देखते हैं कि काश्मीर के भ्रंवर वहां की गवर्नमेंट आन्तरिक वातावरण की सुरक्षा पूरी तरह से नहीं कर रही है। घाए दिन समाचार पत्रों में हम इस प्रकार के समाचार पढ़ते रहते हैं कि भ्रमूक स्थान पर आज लग गई। भ्रमूक स्थान पर आज लगने से डेढ़ सो दूकानें नष्ट हो गईं भ्रमूक स्थान पर विस्फोट हो गया, जम्मू के भ्रंवर जो बिधान सभा का सचिवालय है उसके भ्रंवर आज लग गई, तो जब ऐसी भयंकर स्थिति है इस और स्थिति पर वर्तमान काश्मीर की सरकार काबू नहीं कर पा रही है, तो यही कहना पड़ता है कि तुष्टीकरण के नाम पर ही यह एक राजनीतिक निर्णय लिया गया है वहां की राज्य सरकार आन्तरिक वातावरण को संभालने में जब कि सर्वथा असमर्थ है तो ऐसे में ऐसा निर्णय लेना और यह कहना कि सेनाओं की संख्या को कम करेंगे निश्चय ही आत्माघाती निर्णय है इसको कदापि भी दूरदर्शितापूर्ण कार्य नहीं कहा जा सकता है।

इसी प्रकार में नागालैंड की स्थिति है। नागालैंड के सम्बन्ध में पहले प्रधान मंत्री श्री लाल बहादुर शास्त्री ने जब ये शान्ति प्रयास आरम्भ हुए थे उस समय इनकी घोषणा करते हुए इसी सदन में कहा था कि छः महीने में अगर हम किसी उचित निर्णय पर नहीं पहुंचें तो भारत सरकार अगला पग उठाने के लिए स्वतंत्र होगी। लेकिन

उसके बाद वह अवधि बढ़ाई गई, और फिर वह बढ़ती ही चली गई। बढ़ते बढ़ते आज स्थिति यहां आ गई है कि भारत सरकार विवश हो रही है और जो हथुड़े उसके गले में आ कर अटक गई है वह न तो इधर जाते बनती है और न ही उधर जाते बनती है। इधर नागाओं के प्रतिनिधि बातचीत करने के लिए आते हैं और सरकार यह कहती है कि नागालैंड के शिष्टमंडल से बातचीत यह कर रही है। उधर जो नागा आते हैं वे यह कहते हैं कि नागालैंड की जो गवर्नमेंट है वह भारत सरकार से बातचीत करने के लिए आई है, भारत सरकार और नागा सरकार के बीच बातचीत हो रही है। उनके प्रतिनिधि कलकत्ता के एयरपोर्ट पर जब उतरते हैं तो कहते हैं कि स्वतंत्र नागालैंड की मांग के अतिरिक्त और कोई मांग हमारी नहीं है। इसके बिना नागा संतुष्ट नहीं हो सकते हैं। इधर बातचीत हो रही है और उधर रेलगाड़ियां अड़ाई जाती हैं, इधर बातचीत हो रही होती है, उधर वहां हवाई जहाजों में विस्फोट होते हैं। ऐसी स्थिति में पांच साढ़े पांच लाख व्यक्तियों के मुट्ठी भर प्रदेश पर भी आप अधिकार नहीं कर सकते? पिछले दस बारह सालों में करोड़ों और घरबों रुपया लगाने के बाद भी अगर नागालैंड पर आप अधिकार नहीं कर पाये हैं और नागालैंड की स्थिति को सम्भाल नहीं पाये हैं। देशवासी आप से कैसे यह आशा कर सकते हैं कि किसी भयंकर विपत्ति के आ पड़ने पर आप देश की रक्षा कर सकेंगे? उधर काश्मीर की स्थिति भी बिगड़नी हुई चली जा रही है, इधर नागालैंड की स्थिति बिगड़नी हुई चली जा रही है।

तीसरे तुष्टीकरण के नाम पर इसी तरह पंजाब में आप ने एक नया जोशा शुरू कर दिया है। हमारे गृह मंत्री ने एक बड़ी भूल की उस समय जिस समय चौबीस घंटे भी अभी युद्धविराम हुए नहीं हो पाये थे कि उन्होंने एक ही मांस में संसदीय समिति और मंत्रिमंडलीय समिति की स्थापना की घोषणा

श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री]

कर दी। उस घोषणा का यह परिणाम हुआ कि पंजाब के हिन्दू और सिख जो दोनों कंधे से कंधा लगा कर पाकिस्तान से एक हो कर लड़ रहे थे और देश के रक्षा प्रयत्नों में जुटे हुए थे, वह दोनों आपस में संसदीय समिति और मंत्रिमंडलीय समिति का अपने अपने ज्ञापन भेजने की तैयारी करने लग गये। ज्ञापन देने के बाद फिर अपनी गवाही देने की तैयारी करने लगे। अब धमकी देने की तैयारी कर रहे हैं। इसका परिणाम यह है कि पंजाब के अन्दर हिन्दुओं और सिखों की एकता ही नहीं मिट रही शासन के प्रति लोगों की इज्जत भी घट गई। चाहे वहाँ रक्तपात हो या आन्दोलन हो किसी प्रकार का, उसके दायित्व से भारत सरकार बच नहीं सकेगी। उसका उपाय वही था जो सरदार पटेल ने किया था। उतनी ही दृढ़ता से अगर इस प्रश्न को प्रारंभ से सुलझाने की चेष्टा होती तो यह प्रश्न सुलझ सकता था। आज स्थिति यह है कि भारत सरकार के दुर्बल ढंग को देख कर पहाड़ी जिनों ने आन्दोलन करना शुरू कर दिया है कि उन को पंजाब से अलग कर दिया जाये, भारत सरकार के इस दुर्बल मन को देख कर जो हिन्दी भाषी क्षेत्र हरियाना और उस के आस पास का क्षेत्र है वह कह रहा है कि अगर सारे पंजाब को एकभाषी बनाया जाता है तो हमारे ऊपर भाषा का दबाव किसी भी प्रकार से नहीं सहन होगा। मैं पंजाबी का भी सम्मान करता हूँ और मैं हिन्दी का भी सम्मान करता हूँ। जितनी भारतीय भाषायें हैं वह सब अपनी हैं और सब का समान रूप से सम्मान होना चाहिये। लेकिन सम्मान के साथ मैं यह अवश्य कहता हूँ कि कोई भी भाषा किसी पर दबावसे या धमकी से थोप कर न चलाई जाये। अगर जानघर क्षेत्र में रहने वाला कोई व्यक्ति हिन्दी पढ़ना चाहता है, या इधर का कोई आदमी पंजाबी के माध्यम से सरकारी कार्य करना चाहता है तो हमें कोई आपत्ति नहीं। इसके निचे मेरा एक और भी सुझाव है।

जिस समय पुराना मध्य प्रदेश बना तो पुराने मध्य प्रदेश के पहले मुख्य मंत्री थे श्री रविशंकर शुक्ल। जब श्री रविशंकर शुक्ल के सामने इसी प्रकार का एक प्रश्न आया तो कुछ लोग कहते थे कि हम मराठी के माध्यम से काम करेंगे और कुछ लोग कहते थे कि हम हिन्दी के माध्यम से काम करेंगे। उन्होंने कहा कि आप स्वतंत्र हैं—दोनों के माध्यम से काम करें। श्री रविशंकर शुक्ल ने कहा कि सरकार को दस या बीस लाख रुपया ही तो ज्यादा भार पड़ेगा, हम अनुवादक नियुक्त कर देंगे। लोग जिस भाषा में काम करना चाहेंगे कचहरियों में, कार्यालयों में, हम उन को उसकी अनुमति देंगे और दोनों भाषाओं में आवेदन पत्र ले लिये जायेंगे। थोड़े दिन तक वह आवेश रहा फिर सब कुछ धीरे-धीरे रास्ते पर आ गया। जिस प्रकार भी राष्ट्र का उत्थान हो उस को समझने में और करने में सरकार को दृढ़ रहना चाहिये।

आज अगर पंजाब के तुप्टीकरण के नाम पर सारे पंजाब के ऊपर एक भाषा लादी जायेगी तो उसका परिणाम क्या होगा यह आपको निश्चित रूप से पता है। हरियाना के क्षेत्र में जो ज्यादा बोलक नहीं है, हिन्दी भाषी क्षेत्र जो ज्यादा वाचाल नहीं है, अगर सरकार का इस प्रकार का निर्णय हुआ तो, हरियाना के रोहतक, करनाल, महेन्द्रगढ़, गुड़गांव जिलों में, जिस में एक भी घर ऐसा नहीं है जिसका एक नौजवान सेना में न हो, आग भड़क उठेगी। अगर वहाँ आग भड़क गई तो भारत सरकार उसे किसी भी प्रकार सम्भाल नहीं सकेगी। पहले तो सरकार ने इस प्रश्न को छोड़ कर गलती की, लेकिन जब उसने इस प्रश्न को छोड़ा है तो उस को चाहिये कि वह इस पर सावधानी से निर्णय ले। एक के तुप्टीकरण के नाम पर दूसरे के अन्दर असन्तोष पैदा न करे, एक को सम्भालने के नाम पर दूसरे के गले पर छुरी

न रहे। अगर उसने ऐसा किया तो वह पंजाब के साथ ही अन्याय नहीं करेगी बल्कि सारे देश के अन्दर ऐसी भाग फँसा देगी कि जिस प्रकार से पहला सीमा निर्धारण आयोग बनाया गया उसी प्रकार का आयोग फिर स्थापित करना पड़ेगा और देश के अन्दर सरकार दुबारा वह अन्याय खोलेंगी। मैं नहीं कहता कि इस वक्त सीमा का कोई झगड़ा है अगर काश्मीर के सम्बन्ध में, नागालैंड के सम्बन्ध में और पंजाब के सम्बन्ध में सरकार दोषी है। उसने ऐसा प्रश्न पैदा कर के देश को रक्तपात के द्वार पर ला कर खड़ा कर दिया है जिससे कठिनाइयों का मुकाबला जनता को करना पड़ सकता है। ऐसे वक्त में जब कि सारे देश को एक हो कर और कन्धे से कन्धा मिला कर रहना चाहिये या सरकार की नीतियों से स्थिति वहाँ बिगड़ती चली जा रही है।

मैं अपने भाषण में राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण की कुछ वह चर्चा करना चाहूँगा जिन्हें वह भूल गये। मुझे दुःख इस बात का है कि सन् 1965 समाप्त हो गया है, सन् 1966 आ गया और सन् 1966 की 26 जनवरी का दिन भी व्यतीत हो गया। राज भाषा के सम्बन्ध में आप ने जो निर्णय संविधान में लिया है उस संविधान के निर्णय को व्यवहारिक रूप देने में आप को दुर्बलता क्यों? अगर आप के मन में दुर्बलता इसलिये है कि कहीं किसी राज्य में कोई आन्दोलन इसके विपरीत न उत्पन्न हो तो मैं कहता हूँ कि इस को तीन रूपों में ले कर चलिये। भारतवर्ष में तीन प्रकार के राज्य हैं। एक तो हिन्दी-भाषी राज्य, दूसरे अर्द्ध हिन्दी भाषी राज्य और तीसरे अहिन्दी भाषी राज्य। जो हिन्दी भाषी राज्य हैं उन में संविधान की धाराओं को तत्काल लागू करने में आप को क्या आपत्ति है? आप कहेंगे कि यह राज्य सरकारों का काम है। मैं कहता हूँ कि ठीक है, यह राज्य सरकारों का काम है, लेकिन इन राज्यों में जो केन्द्रीय सरकार के कार्यालय हैं

उन में केन्द्रीय सरकार कहां तक अपने दायित्व का पालन कर रही है? अगर हिन्दी भाषी राज्यों में संविधान की धाराओं का पालन होने लगे तो वह दिन दूर नहीं होगा जब दो तीन वर्ष में आप दूसरे राज्यों में भी उसका प्रयोग कर सकें। हमारे यहां जम्मू काश्मीर, गुजरात, महाराष्ट्र, और उड़ीसा यह चार अर्द्ध हिन्दी भाषी राज्य हैं उन में भी वह कार्य चल पड़ेगा, फिर धीरे धीरे अजो और राज्य हैं, जब वह तैयार हो जायें तब उन में संविधान की मान्यताओं को लागू किया जा सकता है। लेकिन सरकार की ओर से कुछ पता तो चले कि सरकार इस तरह की कोई बात करना चाहती है या नहीं?

26 जनवरी, 1966 व्यतीत हो गई। आज तक हमारी संसद में जो विधेयक आदि आते हैं वह राज भाषा में नहीं आते हैं। जब राज भाषा विधायी आयोग बना हुआ है तब ऐसा करने में क्या आपत्ति है? आप दोनों भाषाओं में विधेयक प्रस्तुत क्यों नहीं करते? दोनों भाषाओं में संशोधन क्यों नहीं लाते। इसका सीधा अभिप्राय यह है कि सरकार के मन में चोर है। अगर नहीं हिन्दी लानी है तो सरकार दृढ़ता के साथ घोषणा क्यों नहीं करती कि हम संविधान के निर्णय को बदलते हैं। ऐसा निर्णय लेने के बाद वह देश की प्रतिक्रिया को देखे। जिस समय सरकारी दल के लोग वोट लेने के लिये जाते हैं तो जनता से जनता की भाषा में बात करते हैं। लेकिन जब दिल्ली के पालियामेंट हाउस में और अपने कमरों में आ कर बैठते हैं तो वही पुराना व्यवहार करते हैं। गुनामी का अभिशाप अंग्रेजी आज भी हमारे ऊपर लदी है। मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि आखिर इस प्रकार की स्थिति देश में कब तक बनी रहेगी। सरकार को इस पर कोई निर्णय लेना चाहिये।

मैं यहां पर दो एक बातें अपने भाषण को उपसंहार की ओर ले जाते हुए और कहना चाहता हूँ। एक बात तो यह आज

[श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री]

की सरकार के दिमाग का नमूना अगर लेना हो तो पंत जी की स्टैचू से लिया जा सकता है। आज की सरकार का दिमाग बिल्कुल पंत जी की उस स्टैचू जैसा है जो यहां बीराहे पर कपड़े में लिपटा खड़ा हुई है। सात महीने पहले वह प्रस्तर प्रतिमा लगाई गई थी। तारीख भी तय हो गई थी कि कब उस का उद्घाटन होगा। उस समय फिर लड़ाई छिड़ गई जिस का नतीजा यह हुआ कि उसका विधिवत् उद्घाटन न हो सका, और उससे बैसे ही कपड़ा खाल दिया गया। पन्द्रह बस दिन वह खुली रही। उसके बाद जिन लोगों को आमन्त्रण भेजे गये थे उन्होंने इस पर ध्यान दिलाया तो फिर दुबारा उस पर कपड़ा लपेट दिया गया। यह सरकार की शक्ति का नमूना है कि वह कैसे काम करती है।

जब ताशकन्द घोषणा को देश की जनता से मनवाना होता है या जब कोई इसी प्रकार की और बात मनवानी होती है तब आप श्री लाल बहादुर शास्त्री को याद करते हैं। लेकिन जिस लाल बहादुर शास्त्री ने अष्टादश महीनों में देश का मस्तक ऊंचा कर दिया, उसकी स्मृति में आप ने दिल्ली में या देश के अन्दर क्या निर्णय लिया? आज उनकी समाधि राजघाट और नेहरू जी की समाधि के बगल में उपेक्षित हो रही है। सीमेन्ट तक उस पर नहीं लग पाया है। अगर आप लाल बहादुर शास्त्री का कोई स्मारक नहीं कायम करना चाहते तो आप सीधी भाषा में इस बात को कहिये ताकि देश को पता लगे कि आप विशेष व्यक्तियों को ही पूज रहे हैं, कार्यों को नहीं पूज रहे हैं। क्या श्री लाल बहादुर शास्त्री के त्याग, बलिदान और कुर्बानियों में कोई कमी है जो आप उनके प्रति इतने उदासीन हैं? जब श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू के लिये आप स्मारक खड़ा कर सकते हैं तो इस बेचारे ने क्या अपराध किया है जो भारत का दूसरा प्रधान मंत्री था जिसके लिये देश के किसी कोने से

आवाज तक नहीं उठी कि उस का स्मारक भी खड़ा किया जाय? यहां पर बाहर से विदेशी लाग आते हैं तब वे महात्मा गांधी और नेहरू जी की समाधियों पर फूल चढ़ा कर चले जाते हैं लेकिन जब आप ताशकन्द समझीते की बात करते हैं तब आप लाल बहादुर शास्त्री को डाल बनाते हैं।

अन्त में मैं विदेशी ऋणों के बारे में कुछ कहना चाहता हूँ। विदेशी ऋणों की स्थिति इस प्रकार की है कि सितम्बर 1965 तक 37 अरब कुछ करोड़ रु० बाहर का कर्जा है, जो ग्रांट हम ने विदेशों से ले रखी है वह 3 अरब कुछ करोड़ रु० है, इसी तरह में पी० एल० 480 का रु० जो हमें देना है वह 14 अरब कुछ करोड़ रु० है। सब मिला कर 55 अरब कुछ करोड़ रु० बनता है। जब प्रत्येक भारतीय पर आज 126 रु० 99 पैसे विदेशी कर्ज चढ़ा हुआ है उस स्थिति में हमारे योजना मंत्री और भारत सरकार और नये ऋण लेने के लिये कह रहे हैं। नाति शास्त्र में लिखा है कि ऋणकर्ता पिता स्वजनस्य शत्रुः। वह पिता सन्तान का सब से बड़ा शत्रु होता है जो उन पर ऋण छोड़ कर जाता है। आप भारत को इस स्थिति में छोड़ कर न जायें कि ऋण आप लेते चले जायें और उस के बाद उसका निपटान करना पड़े भारत की भावी सन्तान को।

Shri Ku. Sivapppraghassan (Pondicherry): Sir, I rise to participate in the discussion on the motion of thanks to our revered President for his gracious address to the current session of Parliament. He has rightly opened his address with a touching reference to the passing away of our late Prime Minister, Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri. Mr. Shastri was, both in life and in death, both in peace and in war, a gentleman who exemplified what it was to be a great and devoted disciple of the Father of the Nation. Mr. Shastri, during his short tenure of office as Prime Minister, was called

upon to bear the heaviest burdens and bore them all very cheerfully. He was a gem of a common man, who when exalted to the highest office of in the giving of this land sought his sanctuary in deep humility. Power sat on his shoulders very lightly, therefore, the whole country and particularly my State, wailed the loss of this great leader, struck dumb by his sudden and sad demise.

श्री ठुकराज चन्व कछ्खर.ब (देवास) :

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं आपकी व्यवस्था चाहता हूँ। सदन में यणपूर्ति नहीं है।

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The Bell is being rung. The hon. Member may resume his seat.

There is quorum now. Shri Sivappaghasan may continue his speech.

Shri Ku. Sivappaghasan: Sir, the life of Shri Shastri was a life without a stain and his was a fame without a flaw. Though he has disappeared from our midst, he will live in our hearts inspiring us by his glorious example for years to come and will in the hearts of all peace-loving peoples of the world.

Sir, I have a number of grave problems relating to Pondicherry State and, therefore, I would like to devote the entire time at my disposal to bringing to the notice of this House those grave problems.

1600 workers and their families have been undergoing untold hardships and starvation in Pondicherry for some four months now. This has been consequenced by the closure of Bharati Mill, one of the three textile mills in Pondicherry. I am being daily flooded with telegrams and letters giving the gruesome story of the sufferings of the unemployed workers of the mill. Four long months, Sir, have passed since the mill was closed and the Centre is not seized of the matter and has not considered it in the proper manner. Some kind of interim relief,

some kind of interim subsistence allowance can be in gairness given to them. I am told it is beyond the scope of the State Government to take any direct action in the matter. I am told that an Investigation Commission is now in Pondicherry examining the problem and it will submit a report on the receipt of which the hon. Minister of Commerce will expedite action. Since the Commission is of a judicial character and the matter has become sub justice I am at a loss to go into the details in regard to the matter. But I shall be failing in my duty if I do not convey to the House the grave situation existing there. I call it grave because I have it on good authority that one of the affected workers, unable to maintain himself and his family, deplorably committed suicide a few days ago. I do not think that the Centre is aware of these things and of the explosive situation in the ranks of the labour there. A joint committee of all the Textile Labour Unions there has been formed and is threatening with, I am told, some kind of direct action. Therefore, in the name of democratic socialism, in the name of our proclaimed policy of labour welfare, I urge the Central Government with all the strength at my command to intervene immediately and come out with whatever interim relief, interim subsistence allowance, possible to those 8000 afflicted and hungry souls—workers and their families put together. I also urge in the interest of law and order situation there, which is deteriorating I understand, to expedite steps in the matter for the reopening of the mill and very early restoration of work.

I am now coming to my second point. The lot of the majority of the government employees of Pondicherry State, both pre-merger and post-merger categories, I regret to submit, has received little or no attention at the hands of the Central Government. I grant, Sir, that in a transition, transition from a foreign rule to our own rule, time is a factor to be reckoned with. I grant that it requires time to make the necessary adjustments so

[Shri Ku. Sivappaghasan]

that in the process of our being brought in line with the pattern in the rest of India certain inconveniences are inevitable and have to be endured with patience and understanding. But this question is different. The freedom that we had, the merger we delighted and delight in, raised very high hopes in the hearts of the common people, the poorer sections of my State in particular. Eleven years have rolled on since our territory was merged with India. The question of the service conditions of the employees of the Government of Pondicherry yet continues to be denied reasonable consideration. No doubt, those who were recruited after the *de facto* merger were two or three months ago given some increased rates of dearness allowance, but the question of extending the enhanced dearness allowance to the pre-merger staff is being still dragged on. Not only that, even in respect of the non-gazetted officers of Pondicherry State who were recruited after the *de facto* merger and in the case of a majority of government servants, who have put in more than ten years of service, confirmation still remains unattended to or incomplete. Then there is, Sir, the miserable case, the very pitiable case, of about 50 to 60 temporary employees of the pre-merger staff which has received, in spite of their weepings and wailings, shockingly cold attention at the hands of the authorities concerned. These 50 to 60 temporary employees; who were already started on a poor scale of pay, refused to opt for Madras scales of pay because the corresponding new scales offered to them were exceedingly low. These temporary employees have been asking for increments being sanctioned to them as is being done to other government servants. Under the foreign rule, where they took their appointments, in the natural course of events they would have been made permanent by mere efflux of time and they would have become eligible for increments. Even as late as the 8th of this month my State Government

has addressed the Home Ministry pleading for the sympathetic consideration of these unfortunate employees. In the past 12 years of their service, when cost of living has shot up like anything and life has become a literal struggle for existence particularly for the have-nots, you can easily imagine, Sir, the plight of these 50 to 60 pre-merger temporary staff. Their pay has been static ever since 1954, ever since they were appointed, and allowing this kind of rot to continue there does not behave of us, behave of our Government wedded to the uplift of the poorer sections of the people. I urge the Central Government, particularly the Hon'ble Minister of Home Affairs, under whose benign wings Pondicherry has lately come, to consider their question at least on sheer human grounds and lift them from their depth of misery.

I now come to my third point. Pondicherry had, particularly in the days of our beloved Panditji, the unique fortune of receiving his personal and kind attention. The stamp of his deep concern for us—for us, late-comers into the map of free India—can be seen in many developmental works that have sprung up there and are studied over the entire State, and in the monumental medical college which has come into existence there proudly bearing the name of that beloved leader of ours. The Government of India is, I should say, very generously subsidising us annually so that we could shake off our economic backwardness and come up to the level of the rest of the country. We are extremely grateful for these aids. But the attention given to the industrialisation of Pondicherry has been deplorably disheartening and depressing. No doubt, a few small scale industries have come up there, but the question of setting up some large scale industrial project has time after time been turned down by the Centre. Specifically to state, three years ago a team of experts from the Centre visited Pondicherry and made an on-the-spot-study of the feasibility of setting

up a fertiliser factory in the public sector there. I was even told that conditions were considered favourable enough and accordingly reported. But strangely enough, Sir, perhaps because we are a small State and for that matter an infant State, though that is precisely the reason why we merit special consideration, special nourishment for some time at least, preference went to somewhere else. During pre-merger days Pondicherry was a free port and that provided the commercial classes and the general local population with opportunities of materially thriving well. Now the position is altered and there is no hope for our territory, for our population, unless some large-scale industries both in public and in private sectors are brought into existence there. I know that one of the projects in the view of the local administration is the setting up of a scooter factory and the Government of Pondicherry has already recommended to the Government of India the case of private-sector enterprise with French collaboration for the manufacture of scooters there. The final decision of the Centre is being awaited. I would suggest and plead with the Centre that it is high time the project was taken up by the Government if possible and if necessary in the public sector. Scooters are in extremely short supply in the country and Pondicherry offers abundant scope in all respects for starting a scooter factory there. Facilities like land, water and power are easily available. Skilled labour from within the State as well as from the city of Madras nearby can be easily obtained. We have port facilities as well as rail and road facilities. If the project is set up with French collaboration as contemplated by my State Government, there are people in Pondicherry with excellent knowledge of the French language who can effectively work with French technicians imported for the purpose. I appeal, therefore, to the Government of India, through you, Sir,.....

Shri Warior (Trichur): That is an added advantage.

Shri Ku. Sivapraghassan: I appeal, therefore, to the Government of India, through you, Sir, that no further time be lost in giving the sanction for the establishment of a scooter factory there. That is the way of building up my State, the only way, so that the economy of Pondicherry can be put on a sounder and self-supporting basis.

डा० महाबेब प्रसाद (महाराजगंज) : ज्पाध्यक्ष महोदय, गत वर्ष भारत की परीक्षा का वर्ष था। पिछले भ्रगस्त में पाकिस्तान ने भारत के अभिन्न अंग कश्मीर पर आक्रमण किया था। निश्चय ही हमारा यह कर्तव्य है, कर्तव्य था और कर्तव्य रहेगा कि हम भारत की अखंडता की हर प्रकार से जैसे भी सम्भव हो रक्षा करें किन्तु कश्मीर पर पाकिस्तान का आक्रमण भारत के एक अखंड भाग पर आक्रमण नहीं था यह आक्रमण था हमारी परम्पराओं से आती हुई मान्यताओं पर। यह हमला था हमारी आस्थाओं पर। यह संहारक कार्यक्रम था हमारी आस्थाओं को मिटाने के लिए . . .

श्री हुकम चन्द कछवाय : मैं व्यवस्था का सवाल उठाना चाहता हूँ और वह यह कि इस समय सदन में गण-पूत नहीं हैं।

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The hon. Member might resume his seat. The bell is being rung... Now there is quorum.

डा० महाबेब प्रसाद : पुरातन काल से भारतवर्ष में नाना प्रकार के लोग, नाना प्रकार के धर्मों में आस्था रखते हुए चले आ रहे हैं। पाकिस्तान ने समझा कि कूक कश्मीर में बहुमत मसलमानों का है इसलिए कश्मीर पाकिस्तान के साथ होना चाहिए। यह बिलकुल ग़लत बात थी हमारे जो निश्चय थे उसके अनुसार और हमारी परम्पराओं के

[डा० महादेव प्रसाद]

अनुसार भी । बहुत पुराने काल से भारतवर्ष में नाना वर्ण के लोग रहते आये हैं । नाना देवताओं की अर्चना करते रहे हैं ।

“भारतेषु स्त्रियः पुंसो नानावर्णं प्रकीर्तिताः
नाना देवाचैर्ना युक्ताः नानाकर्माणिकुर्वन्ते ।”

दूसरी बात यह थी कि पाकिस्तान ने कोई जो समस्या हिन्दुस्तान से सम्बन्धित थी उसको पशुबल से हल करने की चेष्टा की । वह भी हमारी मान्यताओं के खिलाफ़ बात थी और तीसरी बात यह थी कि जैसा कि यूनाइटेड नेशंस चार्टर में दिया हुआ है कि कोई देश दूसरे देश के आंतरिक मामले में हस्तक्षेप न करे । इस सिद्धान्त की भी हत्या करने की कुचेष्टा पाकिस्तान की ओर से की गई । यह सौभाग्य की बात है कि पाकिस्तान के जो शासक हैं उन को अकल आई और ताशकंद में जो घोषणा हुई उसके कारण हमारी जो मान्यताएं रहीं उनको पुनः प्रतिष्ठा मिली । मैं आप के माध्यम से सदन से निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि ताशकंद की घोषणा पर विचार करते हुए इन तीन सिद्धान्तों की, इन तीन आस्थाओं की जिन पर कि आक्रमण हुआ था उसको ध्यान में रखा जाय ।

आचार्य कृपालानी ने कल भाषण बेटे हुए ताशकंद स्प्रिट की बात कही । बात सही है कि ताशकंद की घोषणा, वह कोई, जैसे कि राष्ट्रपति ने शास्त्री जी की श्रद्धांजलि के सम्बन्ध में संघटित जो सार्वजनिक सभा रामलीला मैदान में हुई थी, उसमें कहा था कि ताशकंद की घोषणा कोई राजनीतिक मस्विबा नहीं है, न कोई यह जो प्रायः दो देशों में समझौता हुआ करता है उस प्रकार का एक समझौता है बल्कि उस में जो भावनाएं हैं उसी की प्रमुखता है ।

मुझे बड़ा दुःख हुआ यह सुन कर . . .

श्री हुकम चन्द कछवाय : मुझे बड़ा दुःख है कि सदन में गण-भूति नहीं है ।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय : मैं ने देख लिया है सदन में कोरम मौजूद है । डा० महादेव प्रसाद बोलते रहें ।

डा० महादेव प्रसाद : आचार्य जी ने कल आपात काल की स्थिति समाप्त करने की बात अन्य विरोधी सदस्यों के समान ही कही है । कोई उनके मुंह से एक बात निकल गई, ताशकंद की घोषणा की अर्थात् करते हुए :—

“In a few months you will know where your Tashkant spirit lies.”

अगर यह बात सही है कि ताशकंद स्प्रिट की जो भावनाएं हमारी हैं, जो हमारी मान्यताएं हैं उस पर कोई आक्रमण होने वाला है जैसे वह कहते हैं तो क्या वह जरूरी नहीं है कि आपातकालीन स्थिति अब भी क्रायम रखी जाय ।

इस सिलसिले में एक बम्बई प्रान्त की घटना का उल्लेख आचार्य जी ने अपने भाषण में कस किया, वह नूरानी जी के विषय में थी । उन्होंने कहा कि मैं नहीं जानता कि वह नूरानी जी मुसलमान थे बाद में उनको खयाल था कि वह तो नाम के बास्ते सिधी हैं । मैं नूरानी जी के बारे में तो नहीं जानता लेकिन उन्होंने एक पुस्तक लिखी है ‘बी ताशकंद क्वेश्चन’ । उस में उन्होंने ऐसी बातें दी हैं जिस से मुझ को तो ऐसा लगता है कि अगर ऐसा कोई व्यक्ति हिन्दुस्तान में है तो उसे डी० आई० आर० या उस से भी बड़ी किसी नियम में बन्द किया जाना बड़ा आवश्यक है ।

मैं आप की आज्ञा से कुछ स्थल उस के इंट्रोडक्शन का पढ़ देना चाहता हूँ :—

“Most of the leaders of the Government and political parties, in power or in opposition view with

each other in asserting and reasserting that the accession of Kashmir is final and irrevocable, that the people of Kashmir have voluntarily decided to throw in their lot with the Indian people and that there was nothing to be discussed or done with respect to that issue. With just a few honourable exceptions the press as a whole has joined the same chorus. The natural popular reaction is that Sheikh Abdullah is a traitor and betrayer and an ungrateful person who deserves to be locked in jail."

किन्तु उनकी क्या राय है ?

"The fact of the situation, however, is that what Sheikh Abdullah is stating happens to be largely the truth. The truth is that the problem of Kashmir is not solved. The truth is that the people of Kashmir never had the opportunity of expressing their views on the issue of accession. And the truth is that there will never be peace and stability in Kashmir as long as India and Pakistan continue to quarrel over the issue. These truths may be inconvenient and unpleasant but, as long as they are ignored, Kashmir will continue to be a festering sore in the body politic of India."

यदि भारतवर्ष में कोई भी ऐसा व्यक्ति है जो इस बात की चुनौती देता है कि कश्मीर भारत में बिलीन नहीं हुआ, कश्मीर भारत का अभिन्न अंग नहीं है तो मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ आचार्य कृपालानी से कि क्या ऐसे आदमी को हिन्दुस्तान में बाहर रहने देना चाहते हैं ? कर्तई नहीं, यह एक मात्र उत्तर होगा सबन् के हर कोने से ।

श्रीमन्, जैसे कि राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने अभिभाषण में कहा है, शान्ति विश्व के लिए और हमारे देश दोनों के लिए आवश्यक है । भारतीय संस्कृति हमेशा शान्ति की पुजारी बनी रही है । हमारा यह तरीका रहा है कि हम सक्षम रहे हैं तो भी एक कदम आगे बढ़ कर शत्रु से अपनी प्रतिष्ठा का ध्यान

रखते हुए शान्ति कायम करने के लिए मुलह की बात करने की चेष्टा की है । भगवान श्री रामचन्द्र ने उस समय जब उन की सेना रावण पर आक्रमण करने के लिए बिलकुल सक्षम थी फिर भी उन्होंने मित्रों से सलाह की कि रावण से इस बारे में एक मुलह की बात की जानी चाहिए । बाल्मीक रामायण का यह उद्धरण है :—

"बभ्रुव दुर्धर्षतरा सर्वैरपि सुरासुरैः ।
राघवः सं नियश्येव सैन्यं एवं रक्षसांघे ॥
संमध्य मंत्रिभिः संधि निश्चरत्य च पुनः पुनः ।
आनन्तर्यमभिप्रेप्सुः क्रमयोगार्थं तत्ववित् ॥"

क्योंकि जैसा कि महात्मा बुद्ध ने कहा :—

"जयं बेरं पसवति दुःखं सेति पराजितो
उपसस्तो सुखोसेति हित्वाजय पराजयं ॥ "

डा० लोहिया ने ताशकन्द करार पर आशंका की है । उनका कहना है कि इतिहास का अटकल किया जाय । मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि अटकलबाजियों से राजनीतिक बातें नहीं हल हुआ करती हैं । और यदि थोड़ी देर के लिए हम मान लें कि जिससे हम बात करते हैं वह बाद में जाकर मुकर जायगा तो क्या यह सही नहीं है कि जिस समय भगवान कृष्ण दुर्योधन से बात करने के लिए जा रहे थे और युधिष्ठिर ने यह कहा, डा० लोहिया के समान ही कहा, कि मैं नहीं मानता कि आप की बातों को दुर्योधन मानेगा, वह छल करेगा, उस वक्त भगवान कृष्ण ने जो उत्तर दिया वह उत्तर मैं डा० लोहिया सर्राबे जो संशयात्मा हैं, शंकालु हैं, उनके लिए कहना चाहता हूँ ।

श्री काशी राम मुन्त (अलवर) :
"संशयात्मा विनश्यति" ।

डा० महादेव प्रसाद : वह तो कहा ही गया है, परन्तु भगवान् कृष्ण ने यह उत्तर दिया :

जानाम्येतां महाराज घातं राष्ट्रस्य पापताम्
अवाच्यास्तु भविष्यामः सर्वलोक महीक्षिताम् ॥

[डा. महादेव प्रसाद]

—मैं जानता हूँ कि दुर्योधन कितना पापो है, उसने कितना अन्याय किया है, कितना छल किया है, लेकिन हम दुनिया को दिखा देना चाहते हैं कि शान्ति कायम रखने के लिए हम अपनी तरफ से कोई कौर-कसर नहीं रखना चाहते हैं।

श्री काशी राम गुप्त : वह भी डाक्टर हैं और माननीय सदस्य भी डाक्टर हैं। दोनों आपस में समझ लें, लेकिन कहा गया है : "संशयारत्ना विनश्यति"।

डा० महादेव प्रसाद : कुछ दिनों पहले जब ताशकंद समझौते पर बहस हो रही थी, तो डा० लोहिया ने एडगर स्नो के आर्टिकल का उल्लेख किया था। राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण पर चर्चा के समय भी उन्होंने उसकी चर्चा की। कौन से आर्टिकल को उन्होंने चर्चा की, यह पता नहीं है, लेकिन एडगर स्नो का एक आर्टिकल 27 फरवरी, 1965 के "द रिपब्लिक" में निकला था, जिसमें माओ-त्से-तुंग के साथ उनके इन्टरव्यू का विवरण दिया गया था। उस में कहा गया था :

"In another context, it was said that unless Indian troops again crossed China's frontiers, there would be no conflict there."

अगर एडगर स्नो की सब बातों को सही मानें, तो क्या माननीय सदस्य इसको भी सही मानने के लिए तैयार हैं? क्या माओ-त्से-तुंग के इन शब्दों पर, जिन को एडगर स्नो ने रिपोर्ट किया है, विश्वास किया जा सकता है? यह स्पष्ट है कि हर जगह से उत्तर मिलेगा, "कभी नहीं।"

श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री ने ताशकंद घोषणा के विषय में चर्चा करते हुए श्री लाल बहादुर शास्त्री की मनोभावना के सम्बन्ध में कुछ अटकलबाजी की। मैं समझता हूँ कि उनकी जो कल्पना है, वह किसी प्रकार से

बुद्धि में बैठती नहीं है। मैं उन से निवेदन करूँगा कि शास्त्री जी ने ताशकंद में पहुंचते ही जो भाषण दिये, उन से पता चलता है कि उनकी मनोभावना और इच्छा क्या थी। मैं आप का और इस सदन का ज्यादा समय इस उद्धरण को पढ़ कर नहीं लेना चाहता हूँ लेकिन उनके भाषण का जो अन्तिम पैराग्राफ है, मैं उसको पढ़ देना चाहता हूँ। उन्होंने कहा था :

"A heavy, responsibility lies on our shoulders. The sub-continent has a population of 600 million—one-fifth of the human race. If India and Pakistan have to progress and prosper they must learn to live in peace. If there is constant conflict and hostility, our peoples would suffer ever greater hardships. Instead of fighting each other, let us start fighting poverty, disease and ignorance. The problems, the hopes and aspirations of the common people of both the countries are the same. They want not conflict and war but peace and progress. They need, not arms and ammunition, but food, clothing and shelter. If we are to fulfil this obligation to our peoples, we should in this meeting, try to achieve something specific and positive."

यह खुशी की बात है कि उन्होंने वहां पर स्पेसिफिक और पाजिटिव परिणाम हासिल किया, जिस से आज भारत और पाकिस्तान का तनाव कम हुआ है और आशा है कि आगे भारत और पाकिस्तान के सम्बन्ध उत्तरोत्तर अच्छे होते जायेंगे। वास्तविकता तो यह है कि हमारे सामने गरीबी, अज्ञान और रोग की समस्याएँ हैं। जिस वक्त हिन्दुस्तान आजाद हुआ था, पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू ने 15 अगस्त, 1947 को ही एक प्रैस कांफ्रेंस में सन्देश देते हुए कहा था :

"भविष्य हमें बुला रहा है। हम कहां जायेंगे और हमारा क्या प्रयत्न होगा? साधारण मनुष्य को, भारत के किसानों

और मजदूरों को स्वतंत्रता और भ्रवसर दिलाना, गरीबी और अज्ञान और रोग से लड़ कर उनका भ्रन्त करना, एक समृद्ध अगसत्तात्मक और प्रगतिशाल राष्ट्र का निर्माण करना, और ऐसा सामाजिक, आर्थिक और राजनैतिक संस्थाओं की रचना करना, जिन से कि प्रत्येक पुरुष और स्त्री को न्याय और जीवन की पूर्णता प्राप्त हो सके ।”

हमारे वर्तमान प्रधान मंत्री, श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी, ने जैसे इस को और स्पष्ट करते हुए 24 सितम्बर, 1964 को नई दिल्ली में जूनियर चेम्बर्स आफ कामर्स को संबोधित करते हुए कहा :

“Freedom was a meaningless word if it did not include freedom of opportunity for everyone, whether he was born in a poor or rich family, to grow to his full height physically and intellectually. This freedom had been denied to a very large section of our people for centuries. To provide freedom of opportunity to all equally, the concept and practice of planning and socialism were necessary. If there was no planning, there would be chaos.”

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय : माननीय सदस्य अब अपना भाषण समाप्त करें ।

डा० महाशय प्रसाद : मुझे बातें तो बहुत कहनी थीं, लेकिन आप के प्रादेशानुसार भ्रन्त करते हुए मैं वर्तमान प्रधान मंत्री के नेतृत्व में जो सरकार गठित की गई है, उसका स्वागत करता हूँ । किन्हीं लोगों ने उनकी मुदुता को देखते हुए उस पर आपत्ति की है और यह शंका प्रकट की है कि यह सरकार उनके नेतृत्व में सफल हो सकेगी या नहीं । मैं ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि सफलता और विफलता का कभी भी मुदुता से सम्बन्ध नहीं है । सब तो यह है कि मुदु दारुण का सामना कर सकता है, मुदु प्रदारुण का सामना कर सकता है, मुदु के लिए कोई बात असाध्य नहीं है, इस लिए मुदु तोन्नतर है ।

मुदुना दारुणं हन्ति मुदुना हन्त्यदारुणम् ।
नासाध्यम् मुदुना किञ्चित्स्मात्तोन्नतर मुदु ॥

उन शब्दों के साथ मैं राष्ट्रपति जी को उनके अभिभाषण के लिए धन्यवाद देता हूँ ।

Dr. M. S. Aney (Nagpur): Sir, the President's Address is under discussion. Our President has been known all over the world as a philosopher. By profession he is a professor and by accident he has become a politician. Therefore whenever he speaks there are more theoretical statements than there are practical solutions. I am glad to find that after referring the death of Lal Bahadur Shastri he has blessed the new ministry of young men. It is expected that the whole House will co-operate with them in order to make it a success.

But one thing of great importance is what he described as the state of things which was existing when Lal Bahadur Shastri was himself controlling the affairs. “Quite deeply distressed by the turn of events which forced us into an armed conflict with Pakistan, he gave an inspiring lead to the nation. Our brave and gallant armed forces have written a new chapter of glory in our history. We honour our heroes, comfort the bereaved and lament the loss of precious lives. People of India have once again demonstrated their unity and solidarity. There was communal harmony throughout the country. Labour showed an exemplary spirit. I mention these things particularly because this is the state of things in which Lal Bahadur Shastri has left India.”

It is the responsibility of the present Government to see that this state of things is maintained and is further strengthened, to see that nothing is done which is likely to disturb the harmony of the people of India, and to replace the spirit of harmony between the labour and their employers which is prevalent today so that the spirit of harmony will effectively avoid a class war. All these things

[Dr. M. S. Aney]

have to be avoided by the present Government if the policy which Lal Bahadur Shastri had started and which was supported by the whole House is to continue for the benefit of this country.

Leaving aside these questions which are of principle, I come to certain practical points. The speech of the President is well known generally as a statement which is the voice of the Cabinet; he becomes their mouthpiece. I am surprised to find that some of the most important events that took place in the country were not mentioned by the President in his speech at all. One of them is the fact that a committee was appointed by the Home Minister to investigate into the question of Punjabi Suba. A Parliamentary Committee has also been appointed to investigate into the question of formation of Punjabi Suba. I was surprised to find that the question of reorganisation of States was raised in a way by the appointment of the Parliamentary Committee and a Cabinet Sub-Committee to investigate into the question of reorganisation of the State of Punjab. I want to make a specific suggestion here. One thing that has come to our notice is that the existence of the present States is a matter of grievance among the people of various States. The people of certain parts of U.P. have shown their anxiety to be separated from U.P. and be merged with Haryana. The people of certain parts of other States also want to be separated from the present States and formed into separate autonomous States.

Shri Bado (Khargone): Like Vidharba.

Dr. M. S. Aney: Yes I am just coming to that.

The principle of formation of States on a linguistic basis is said to be accepted, but I have no doubt that the Government of India have never given

its acceptance to the linguistic principle. Yet, it is a fact that they succumb to the pressure whenever it is brought by the people who insist on the formation of provinces on a linguistic basis such as Maharashtra, Gujarat and Andhra.

One of the greatest sources of discontent is the inequality of the States. For example, a State like U.P. excepting Maharashtra and M.P., is three times as big as any other State. The discontent is due to the fact that the people of one or two States having a big majority are in a position always to dominate over other States of smaller size on account of the large number of votes that they command at the Centre. A particular section of people rule over India permanently. This is a kind of grievance which is growing every day and this has been given expression in this House in various ways, directly and indirectly.

Very big questions are involved in the matter of appointment of a committee for investigating the formation of a Punjabi Suba and such a matter had been ignored so long by the Government. I hope that the House will give its proper consideration to the whole thing and will give proper directions when the report of the Committee is received.

I now turn to another point. The President was the Vice-Chancellor of the Banaras Hindu University for some time. It is a Central University. The Convocation of the University was to be held on the 4th of this month, but on account of certain disorders on the 3rd in Banaras, the Convocation has been postponed. The visit of the President to Banaras was also cancelled. Such a big thing has taken place, but no reference has been made about it by the President in his Address. Only the other day Parliament was informed by Mr. Chaglia that the Police had indulged in excesses there and encroached on the autonomous right of the University in the campus. I have a copy of

the statement which the Vice-Chancellor of the University has submitted to Government on the events that took place there on the 3rd. I am not going to read the whole thing. I was personally present there on that day; I had gone there for the sake of delivering two lectures on two days in connection with the Madan Mohan Malaviya Memorial Lectures. I had delivered one lecture and the second lecture was to be delivered by me on the 3rd, but it had to be postponed on account of those disturbances. I am not going to make any statement on this to the House, but the report shows that the District Magistrate and the Police did not care to respect the authority of the University in the campus; they broke open the door of the University campus; armed Police force rushed inside and later on beat the students in a most cruel manner. The matter was communicated to the Government of U.P. also and they have thought of appointing one judge to make an inquiry into the conduct of the Police, into the conduct of the Magistrate and into the conduct of the students. As you know, Sir, Banaras Hindu University is a Central University. So, before taking any decision, the U.P. Government should have consulted the Central Government as to who would be the proper man to go into the whole thing.

Shri S. M. Banerjee (Kanpur): Now they are changing the man.

Dr. M. S. Aney: I am very glad to hear that. I do not want to make any further comments on that. I wish that what my friend says comes true and proper change is made in the personnel to hold the inquiry.

The third point about which the President feels is food position. I do not want to say much about it. Everybody knows. If only the Government of India had given even one-tenth of its attention to the food problem during the last 15 years instead of concentrating their attention on the heavy industries to be erected all over

the country by taking assistance from foreign countries, be it Russia or the United States, all these difficulties would not have come. If proper attention had been devoted to agricultural industry, on the proper development of which depends the safety of the whole nation, if that industry had been taken care of in a more practical way, I am sure the present difficulties would have disappeared. I know big plans were prepared and many Committees, Zila Parishads and Panchayats were established in the name of improving agricultural position and giving social amenities. But what is the result? Even half the money that was allotted was not properly spent.

It was something gratifying that for some time there was a slight increase in production, but unfortunately the drought which has taken place this year, has disturbed even the small rate of growth which had been registered. That is to say, the progress that we have been making under the present conditions is of such a slender and precarious nature that even a slight change in the climate is enough to disturb the whole thing. It is a matter which is to be reconsidered immediately. Of course, we require some immediate help from outside as a temporary measure. But so far as food is concerned, we must depend upon ourselves. If we take care of that, then the serious discontent against the Food Department, as we see today, will not be there.

14 hrs.

Then, some Members suggested about the immediate resignation of the Food Minister. But that is not going to give you the food. You have got to feed the people and after you have fed them, then we can sit together and think of finding a better way of improving the food position. My point is that practical steps with regard to the storage of food and its proper distribution to the people should be taken up immediately and, at the same time, the Government

[Dr. M. S. Aney]

should pay a greater attention to small irrigation schemes by which the farmers can have local irrigation. Instead of thinking of big schemes, getting the water from Jamuna to some distant place in the south and getting the water from Cauvery to some distant place in the north, small schemes should be taken in hand. Those big schemes should be deferred for the time being. If you do that and take small schemes in hand, that will show immediate results and improve the food position.

With these few words, I conclude by saying that we shall always co-operate with the Government which is led by the leader of a new generation and make the administration more successful and the country more prosperous.

Shri Achuthan* (Mavelikkara): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, in rising to support the motion of thanks to the President on his address, I would like to deal with the food situation with special reference to Kerala to which State I have the honour to belong and as whose representative I am here.

Though Kerala is one of the smallest States in the country, it is now perhaps one of the biggest problems of the country. People have started calling it a problem State. The State as such has not created any problems, though problems after problems have arisen within the State. Problems are showered upon this tiny State in the south-west corner of the country, sometimes by other States and more often by the Centre. It is now common knowledge that Kerala, probably due to the constant change of colours in the political horizon there, is very much neglected by the Government of India. Kerala, which is very rich in natural resources, is also the biggest dollar-earning State in the country. It is indeed a paradox that such a plentiful State is

thrown into the clutches of poverty and food shortage. When we are producing rubber, pepper, cardamoms, tea, coffee etc. in the hills, coconuts, cashewnuts, aracanuts etc. in the plains and monozite, illminiterzircon, in the coastal belt, for the benefit of the entire country, why should the Centre and the surplus States grudge to give us foodgrains?

I am proud to draw the kind attention of this august House to the fact that Kerala is contributing a unique commodity, to all other States without which the effective working of the government machinery, both in the Centre and other States would not have been as it is today. The commodity I am referring to here is the intellectual capacity for which there is no dearth among Keralites. Don't you think, Sir, that to put them into utter starvation is a crime judging from all canons of morality and civilisation? I feel in the name of God, in the name of humanity at large that it is the bounden duty of the Government to see that such a class of people are not extinct from the face of India for want of proper food and clothing.

Kerala felt happy and proud when we heard that Shri C. Subramaniam, former Finance and Education Minister of Madras has taken over charge as the Food Minister in the Government of India. We in Kerala could not see Shri Subramaniam as a person who does not belong to us and who does not know our problems and difficulties. He was sitting there at Polilachi on the border line between Kerala and Madras, viewing Kerala with one eye and Madras with the other. We had no reason to think that he was sitting on a fence like a doubting Thomas without tackling the problems of these States. As Madras Minister when he asked us water, we opened the flood gates of Parambikulam and allowed him to consume

*English translation of speech delivered in Malayalam.

as much quantity of water as he and his brothers and sisters in Tamilnad wanted.

Parambikulam is now on the soil of Kerala, the waters of which reservoir have started flowing freely towards Pollachi and Udumal Pettah in Tamilnad. When Coimbatore, the great industrial city of Madras and the capital city of his home district wanted water for drinking we allowed the Siruvani water from the Attapadi valley of Kerala to flow towards the city of Coimbatore to quench the thirst of the people there. I may be permitted to refer to an earlier story, Sir, that waters of the Periyar river in the Highlands of Travancore were diverted towards Madras to turn the barren fields of Ramnad District green and smiling. Our hon. Food Minister, Shri Subramaniam, knows all these facts and when we are starving, when we have asked him for a few ounces of rice, he takes pleasure in sealing the borders between Madras and Kerala and thus preventing the movement of rice across the borders. It has to be remembered that a good portion of rice produced in Madras has been watered by the rivers and reservoirs of Kerala.

The introduction of the State zones in the place of Southern zone is the cause of many of the ills of our State. I, therefore, urge that the State food zones should be abolished forthwith and if at all any zones are found necessary, the southern zone comprising of the Southern States of Andhra, Madras, Mysore and Kerala may be reintroduced.

As a representative of the Scheduled Caste of Kerala, I would like to draw your attention, Sir, to the problems of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes not only of Kerala but of the whole country. As a member of the committee on Untouchability, Educational and Economic Development of the Scheduled Castes, I have had and I am having occasions to visit the various States of the country. Though untouchability

is a crime in the eyes of law, I am sorry to report that untouchability is being observed in one form or the other in many parts of the country. Governmental measures for taking action against offenders appear to be quite inadequate. Many officers of the Government who are charged with the responsibility of bringing the offenders to book are either lukewarm or unsympathetic to the cause. Unless and until proper persons with a proper outlook and proper understanding of the problems are put in charge of the work, the removal of untouchability from the entire country is going to take a longer period than anticipated. Mahatma Gandhi took it as one of the greatest problems of our country and he devoted much of his attention and energy to the removal of untouchability which was the most important item of his constructive programmes. But I am sorry to say that the persons who swear by the name of Mahatmaji in and out of place do not pay sufficient attention to this all important programme. They are now in a hurry to do away with the reservations in services and in the other fields allowed by the Constitution.

The great services rendered to the nation by the main architect of the Constitution, I mean, Dr. Ambedkar, is almost forgotten by the people who are now in charge of the Constitution and are in possession of the Government of the country. Otherwise, is it possible to miss the portrait of the late Dr. Ambedkar in the Central Hall of Parliament where the great work of moulding the Constitution of the country was done?

When the names of foreigners are erased and in their place the names of the architects of our national movement are substituted, the name of Dr. Ambedkar should also have found a proper place. In the process involving the replacement of the old statues of the British rulers by those of our national leaders, Dr. Ambedkar should have been given an honourable place. At Delhi from where he contributed most for the moulding of

[Shri Achuthan]

the Constitution, and from where he breathed his last, we should have also remembered him by naming an important thoroughfare, market or public building after him.

I also wish to saw a few words regarding the Harijan Welfare activities of our country. People who have no heart in the matter and who are not familiar with the difficulties of the Harijans are very often put in charge of Harijan welfare activities. This acts as a curse instead of as a boon. Persons with experience in the field are sometimes removed from the field and the experience and knowledge is lost to the country and the people. Money that is earmarked for the welfare of the Harijans is very often spent to provide employment for a few without much benefit to the Harijans. Committees are constituted, appointments made and reports produced. But nobody knows what happens to the recommendations in the reports. Most of them are kept in cold storage.

One other important matter that I want to bring to the notice of this House is the failure of the Government in releasing a stamp in honour of Shri Narayana Guru, one of the greatest social reformers the country has ever produced, in spite of repeated requests from Members of Parliament and leaders of public opinion from within and outside the State. Shri Narayana was a great saint who was mainly responsible for the great social awakening that we witness today in the South and more so in Kerala. The slogans that he gave to the nation years ago, or precisely a century ago, have not lost their charm and significance even today, about eighteen years after the achievement of Independence. Their appropriateness only goes on increasing as time passes by. To a caste-ridden Hindu society, the slogan that he gave was 'Ask not, Tell not, Think not of caste'. Is there any slogan that is more revolutionary than this, aimed at the liquidation of the wretched caste system in India? The

concept of an egalitarian society is also one which one would find reflected in another slogan given by him, namely 'One caste, one religion, one god for man'. In these days when we are thinking of building up a nation and a society which is casteless and classless, is there any slogan which is more revealing and more dynamic than these slogans given by this great saint from the South? When we have released stamps in honour of lesser celebrities whose contributions for building up a stronger and united India, nay the world, were definitely much less than the contributions of this prophet of love, does it not mean that the government of the country is not aware of the great contributions made to the nation by this social revolutionary? Such a one shall not go unknown, unhonoured and unrecognised.

At a time when winds of change are blowing from all quarters all around the world, let us rededicate our energies to the mighty task of consolidating the forces of integration to build up a stronger nation rallying round one banner and marching towards a sound economic goal and thus enabling it to withstand all challenges from within and without.

Shri Pottakkatt (Tellicherry): Going through the Address of our distinguished and philosophic President, I was struck by one fact, namely why there was no mention of the lifting of the Emergency which is choking democracy in India. As a citizen, as a Member of Parliament, let me express my most heartfelt view that there is no need to continue this Emergency even for a day more, especially after the Tashkent Declaration.

Sir, you must be aware of how most arbitrarily the powers under the DIR are being misused by the authorities. In Kerala, a kerosene dealer was conveniently detained under the DIR because the police officer concerned

wanted that licence for his relative. I am not exaggerating. The Supreme Court has found this out and it was there in all the papers. A constable can shut up not only a kerosene dealer but he can detain a Member of Parliament and deprive the constituency of its voice in Parliament.

In India, parliamentary democracy has become a farce. Shri E. M. S. Nambudiripad was taken into custody as soon as he landed at the Trivandrum airport. He was not there when the Kerala food agitation was on, and yet he was whisked away from the airport as soon as he landed there.

May I ask what exactly the rationale behind the continuation of this emergency is, unless it be that it is to be used to keep the party in power ever in power? If the borders are to be guarded, a nationwide deprived of civil liberties is uncalled for. May I warn Government that this will create a mental habit that people can be deprived of their civil liberties guaranteed under the Constitution for any length of time and that there would not even be a murmur of protest? In the long run, this will destroy parliamentary democracy in India; the judiciary will become ineffective and that will be a bad day for India.

Now, let me turn to one of the most burning problems of the day, namely the problem of food. Even after eighteen years of freedom, the Congress Government has failed in its primary duty and primary responsibility of feeding the people. They are fed on slogans for which the Congress party is indeed very prolific. Slogans like 'The socialistic pattern of society', 'Avadi socialism', 'emotional integration', 'national integration', 'miss-a-meal' etc. are there in abundance but unfortunately they cannot enter the stomachs of the people. What they can eat is given in ounces, six ounces, five ounces or four ounces, quantities that can be carried in a used postal envelope. This is how this Government in power want to

foster the growing generation. I am afraid that with these ounces we may not create a growing generation but we shall be creating a stunning generation.

For the Food Minister, of course, there are any number of excuses such as climate act of God etc. They are all there to give him alibi. But we all know that crores of rupees have been sunk in these last few years on the Grow More Food Schemes, on fertiliser schemes, major and minor irrigation schemes, tube-well schemes, community development schemes and lastly on package programmes. May I ask why in spite of all these schemes, our production remains almost static over the years? Why are we, in spite of all the schemes, completely at the mercy of the climate and of rains? Is there something totally wrong with the way Government are handling the problem of agriculture, or has it become a habit with Shri C. Subramaniam to rush to Washington for food?

Now, let me come to a few specific problems of Kerala. A well known malady of that State is educated unemployment. A solution to this can be found through greater industrialisation. But in this matter, that State is one of the most discriminated against in India. Even the existing industries get paralysed due to want of power. Kerala can produce power according to all experts in the cheapest manner possible, and yet we are forced to beg for power from neighbouring States, paying a high premium.

The truth is that we earn abundant foreign exchange for India, through cashew, pepper, rubber, tea, coffee, cardamom and such other cash crops. This valuable foreign exchange is used by the Government for industrial expansion in other parts of India. As part and parcel of India, we have no objection to this. Our only claim is that at least a part of this foreign exchange should be used for the greater industrialisation of Kerala,

[Shri Pottekkatt]

one of its pressing needs. If this is not done, the people of Kerala will not forgive the present Government.

Coming to the foreign exchange earnings, may I invite the attention of Government to the fact that we are capable of earning even more? I will take only one instance. If a gigantic scheme of deep-sea fishing is put into execution, investing a few crores, the coastal waters of Kerala can yield fish that can be exported in sizable quantities. Even more fish can be made available to the people here to supplement their diet. At present even what is caught cannot be preserved for want of power and refrigeration facilities. They get spoiled and are used as manure. I want Government to go into this question. Some other Members have also referred to the possibilities of deep-sea fishing off the coast of Kerala. There are some programmes which are already there. But I want these programmes to be expanded in a much bigger way.

Now let me invite the attention of Government to another question that is agitating the people. I want all the students and others detained due to the recent food agitation to be released immediately. There is no reason to put them in jail any longer. I want an inquiry to be conducted into the police excesses. It is now becoming a common practice to let loose police on masses of students, on educational institutions; and not even professors and lecturers are spared. This has happened not only in Kerala, but recently in Banaras Hindu University also. This is another danger signal in India, that the police can enter into any institution and behave as they like. I again request that specific cases of excessive police violence in Kerala should be inquired into. Otherwise, this would mean a licence for the police to do anything in future.

Let me conclude on a note of warning. On very reasonable grounds, the

Kerala people are getting more and more resentful of the Centre, of the Government in power. This is not good for the future of the nation. The repercussions will be far-reaching. It would be to the good of the country, of its future, if the President, the custodian of the rights of the people in every part of the country, takes note of trends like these and advises his Ministers, particularly Ministers like Shri C. Subramaniam, to see that the resentment does not grow among large sections of the people over a long period. The resentment in the mind of the people of Kerala should not be prolonged any more.

Already there is a cry, 'Why should we suffer at the hands of the Centre?' An echo of this sentiment was heard in this House the other day. I am not personally an enthusiast of such a stand. But I consider it my duty to warn the Government—do not create conditions that would make the people think of forging their own destinies without looking to the Centre. That would be a blow to national solidarity and to the Constitution, to the very structure of the Indian Union.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Shri Malai-chami.

Shri Warrior: Our group has got a few minutes more. If you will be pleased and if the House will allow it, I would like to make a few points during that time, because, unfortunately, I will not be here on Monday.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: If the hon. Member called a rees, I have no objection.

Shri M. Malaichami (Periyakulam): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, I rise to support the Motion of Thanks to the President of the Indian Republic for his Address to both Houses of Parliament, and also thank you for the opportunity given to me to speak on the Motion.

The year 1965-66 has been a year of determined action and firm policies, a

year in which we have successfully faced momentous challenges. During his brief but memorable stewardship, our late Prime Minister, Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri, has left our country united and determined to pursue our national objectives. Shastriji have an inspiring leadership when we were forced into an armed conflict with Pakistan. Our brave and gallant armed forces have written a new chapter of glory in our history. The nation is grateful to Russia for the part it played in bringing about the Tashkent agreement. The spirit of the Declaration is that violence should be abjured and all disputes settled by peaceful means. This is most significant. Even though the Tashkent Declaration has been accepted by both countries, still our country is facing grave problems which will have to be successfully tackled by the country.

Speeches have been made demanding lifting of the emergency. The emergency was imposed only to defend the country against aggression, both internal and external. When the security of the country is threatened, the Government has no other go but to declare an emergency to meet the situation. When we think of the threatening attitude posed by China on our northern borders and the opposition to the Tashkent declaration in our own country by reactionary forces to weaken the basis of secularism, Government is left with no alternative but to continue the emergency.

When we are following a foreign policy based on non-alignment and peaceful co-existence and peaceful settlement of problems, on the internal front we see frequent resort to violence and destruction of public property. The basic concept of our policy is democratic socialism. That being so, there is no necessity to resort to violence and destruction of public property. There are means available to redress grievances without resort to violence and lawless action. But we find frequent recourse to violence. So Government has no other alternative but to continue the

emergency. The present circumstances are, therefore, not congenial for lifting the emergency. To ask for ending the emergency now is only to advocate lawlessness and violence.

When the war with Pakistan ended with the Tashkent Declaration costing the life of our late Prime Minister, Shastriji, the stewardship of our country fell on the illustrious daughter of an illustrious father, the late lamented Prime Minister, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru. Shrimati Indira Gandhi belongs to the younger generation and she took up the leadership with a pledge to wage a war against poverty, disease and ignorance. She has undertaken to keep up the promise to our people of work, food, clothing, shelter, health and education by hardwork and unity of purpose.

It is gratifying to note in the President's Address reference to the marked increase in literacy and education during the three Five Year Plans. The percentage of literacy has gone up from 40 at the commencement of the First Plan to nearly 80 this year. When we think of the future generation and the need to give them due opportunities to share responsibility in a free and independent country, and the need to establish a just social order, the language problem and the necessity to solve it at the earliest possible time could not be brushed aside. Our late Prime Minister, in the footsteps of his predecessor, gave an assurance to the non-Hindi-speaking people that English shall continue as the associate language so long as the latter desired it. To maintain the unity of the country, it is essential to allay the apprehensions and remove doubts. The three-language formula will provide the best solution. An amendment providing for English the status of associate official language will be a cementing factor for the future generation. This is the most appropriate time to give the assurance a place on the statute book.

In the President's Address, agricultural production has been said to have

[Shri M. Malaichami]

gone down mainly due to the failure of monsoons. But the Government was able to tide over the crisis, prevent starvation deaths, by pursuing a vigorous policy of intense procurement.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Does he want more time?

Shri M. Malaichami: Yes.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: He might continue on Monday.

14.31 hrs.

COMMITTEE ON PRIVATE MEMBERS' BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS
SEVENTY-EIGHTH REPORT

Shri Hem Raj (Kangra): I beg to move:

"That this House agrees with the Seventy-eighth Report of the Committee on Private Members' Bills and Resolutions presented to the House on the 23rd February, 1966."

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Motion moved:

"That this House agrees with the Seventy-eighth Report of the Committee on Private Members' Bills and Resolutions presented to the House on the 23rd February, 1966."

Shri S. M. Banerjee (Kanpur): In today's list of private Members' business, item No. 5 is a resolution by Shri Karni Singhji.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: We are not on that. Have you got to say anything on the resolution?

Shri S. M. Banerjee: I want to say something about the time allotted.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: You can do it when we take up that resolution.

Shri S. M. Banerjee: If the House is serious about that resolution, I sug-

gest that the other Members should withdraw their resolutions and it should be discussed. I also request Government to come forward with some announcement about the pension.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Are any of the Members withdrawing their resolutions? No.

The question is:

"That this House agrees with the Seventy-eighth Report of the Committee on Private Members' Bills and Resolutions presented to the House on the 23rd February, 1966."

The motion was adopted.

14.33 hrs.

RESOLUTION RE. NATIONAL AND EMOTIONAL INTEGRATION—
contd.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: One hour was allotted, 20 minutes have been taken. Forty minutes are left.

Shri P. K. Deo (Kalahandi): The time should be extended.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I find that there are 8 or 9 members who want to speak. Is it the desire of the House that the time should be extended?

Some hon. Members: Yes.

Shri S. M. Banerjee (Kanpur): By half an hour.

Shri Karni Singhji (Bikaner): At least an hour.

Shri Shinkre (Marmagao): It requires the whole day.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Somebody may move.

Shri P. K. Deo: I beg to move:

"That the time allotted for this