

RELEASE OF TWO MEMBERS FROM DETENTION

Mr. Deputy-Speaker : I have to inform the House that I have received the following letter dated the 14th February, 1956 from the Chief Justice, High Court of Judicature, Orissa, Cuttack :

"We have to inform you that His Highness Maharaja Rajendra Narayan Singh Deo and Shri Saran-gadhar Das, Members of the House of the People were arrested on a charge under Section 188, 1 P.C. and were detained in Cuttack jail under orders of the Sub-Divisional Magistrate, Cuttack. On a petition made to this Court under Art. 226 of the Constitution of India in O.J.C. No. 25, of 1956 by the said members, the Court after hearing the same, have been pleased to direct their release unconditionally on the 13th February, 1956."

MOTION ON ADDRESS BY THE PRESIDENT

Mr. Deputy-Speaker : The Lok Sabha will now take up the debate on the President's Address. Before I call upon Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad to move his motion of thanks to the President, I have to announce that under Rule 21, I fix the time limit for speeches. It shall not ordinarily exceed 15 minutes with the exception that for the leaders of groups 30 minutes or a few minutes more may be allowed and the Prime Minister who, I think, will reply to the debate on behalf of Government may, of course, take a longer time.

श्री भागवत झा आजाद (पुनिया व संथाल परगना) : १५ फरवरी, १९५६ को राष्ट्रपति जी ने संसद सदस्योंके समक्ष जो अभिभाषण दिया उस के लिये हम सभी सदस्य उनके बहुत कृतज्ञ हैं और इस सम्बन्ध में मैं सदन के सम्मुख यह प्रस्ताव रखना चाहता हूँ :

"इस सत्र में आये हुये लोकसभा के सदस्य, राष्ट्रपति जी द्वारा १५ फरवरी, १९५६ को एक साथ समवेत् संसद के दोनों सदनों के समक्ष दिये गये अभिभाषण के लिये उन के प्रति हार्दिक कृतज्ञता प्रकट करते हैं ।"

इस का अंग्रेजी तर्जुमा इस प्रकार है :

"That the Members of Lok Sabha assembled in this Session are deeply grateful to the President for the Address which he has been pleased to deliver to both the Houses of Parliament assembled together on 15th February, 1956."

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, राष्ट्रपतिजी ने अपने भाषण में हमारी सरकार की नीति के दो पहलुओं पर प्रकाश डाला है । मैं उन की विषय व्याख्या करूंगा, लेकिन जब मैं इस प्रस्ताव के सम्बन्ध में आये हुए संशोधनों को देखता हूँ तो मुझे आश्चर्य मालूम होता है कि राष्ट्रपति का अभिभाषण कोई विषयकोष होना चाहिये या सरकार की मुख्य मुख्य नीतियों का संकेत मात्र ? जितने संशोधन इस प्रस्ताव के सम्बन्ध में आये हैं उन का उल्लेख मैं बाद में करूंगा । राष्ट्रपतिजी ने अपने भाषण में हमें यह बताया है कि गत वर्ष हमारी सरकार ने अपने सतत प्रयत्नों के फलस्वरूप आशातीत सफलता पाई है साथ ही साथ उन्होंने यह भी कहा है कि पिछले अनुभवों के आधारपर वर्तमान वर्ष में सभी घटनाओं का हमें साहस, धैर्य तथा पूर्ण प्रयत्न के साथ सामना करना चाहिये । अगर हम ध्यानपूर्वक अपनी राष्ट्रीय और अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय नीतियों की देखें तो हमें पता लगेगा की सरकार की घरेलू एवं वैदेशिक नीतियां बहुत सफल हो रही हैं ।

राष्ट्रपति जी ने कहा है :

"भारतीय जनता और संसद सकारण विगत वर्ष के प्रयत्नों और सफलताओं को संतोष तथा सतर्क आशा के साथ देख सकते हैं ।"

मेरी राय में लोकसभा के प्रायः सभी सदस्य राष्ट्रपति जी के इस आशयपूर्ण एवं उत्साहवर्द्धक संदेश से सहमत होंगे । उन्होंने यह बतलाया है कि हमारी वैदेशिक नीति क्या है । इस के ऊपर प्रकाश डालने का भार मैं अपने समर्थक श्री रामस्वामी पर छोड़ता हूँ, लेकिन मैं यह कहने का लोभ नहीं रोक सकता कि हमारी वैदेशिक नीति पूर्णतया सफल रही है । हमारी विदेश नीति का लक्ष्य यह है कि संसार में शांति कायम रहे और शांति में बाधा डालनेवाले जितने कारण हैं वे सभी दूर हों । साथ ही साथ पंच शील के आधार पर हमारे देश के सम्बन्ध और देशों के साथ पूर्ण रूप से विकसित हों और फूलें फूलें ।

[श्री मायबत झा बाजाब]

राष्ट्रपति जी ने यह कहा है :

“भारत की वैदेशिक नीति की सफलता का द्योतक यही है कि दूसरे देशों के साथ भारत के संबंध मित्रतापूर्ण बने हुए हैं और उन में से कइयों के साथ हमारे सम्बन्ध बहुत घनिष्ठ रहे हैं और बढ़ रहे हैं। साथ ही साथ हमारा जो अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय क्षेत्र में प्रयास हो रहा है उस की दूसरे देशों में अधिकधिक सराहना हो रही है।”

इस का प्रत्यक्ष रूप हम यह देखते हैं कि हमारे देश में अभी हाल ही में बाहर से जितने बड़े बड़े प्रतिष्ठा प्राये ह उन्होंने भी हमारे पंच-शील की सराहना ही की है। हमारे जन नायक प्रधान मंत्री ने ऐटम बम, हाइड्रोजन बम तथा ब्रिटिश प्रस्तावित कोबल्ट बम की घमकी से दूर रह कर हमारे पक्ष की समुचित पुष्टि की है तथा हमारे देश को उच्च स्थान पर ला बिठाय है।

अब मैं सदन का ध्यान मुख्यतः देश की भूरेलु स्थिति की ओर आकृष्ट करता हूँ। हम अपनी प्रथम पंचवर्षीय योजना समाप्त कर रहे हैं और दूसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना के द्वार पर खड़े हैं। अगर हम देखें तो पता चलेगा कि राष्ट्रपतिजी ने जो संदेश दिया है वह अक्षरशः सत्य है कि पहली योजना की सफलता से लोगों में विश्वास की भावना का उदय हुआ है और उस के परिणामस्वरूप हमारे राष्ट्र की आर्थिक व्यवस्था की उन्नति की नींव रखी जा चुकी है।

(SARDAR HUKUM SINGH in the Chair)

सभापति जी, हम भारतवासी गर्ब के साथ यह कह सकते हैं कि हम ने अपनी प्रथम पंचवर्षीय योजना में जो सफलता पाई है वह आशा-ीत है। जब कि पश्चिमी योरोप के राष्ट्रों को अपनी औद्योगिक सम्यता के निर्माण में पूरे २०० वर्ष या उस से भी अधिक लगे, और वह भी अधिकतर उपनिवेशों की पिछड़ी आर्थिक स्थिति के शोषण के बल पर।

जब कि रूस को अपनी महान कामयाबी के लिये भारी मूल्य चुकाना पड़ा, हमारा देश शान्तिमय एवं जनतन्त्रीय तरीकों से लोगों का जीवन स्तर ऊंचा उठाने का प्रयास कर रहा है। यही कारण है कि हमने अपनी प्रथम पंचवर्षीय योजना के फलस्वरूप अपनी राष्ट्रीय आय में जहां ११ प्रतिशत वृद्धि का लक्ष्य रखा था वहां १८ प्रतिशत वृद्धि कर ली है। अपने पुराने

अनुभवों के आधार पर हम यह भी चाहते हैं कि द्वितीय पंचवर्षीय योजना काल में हम २५ प्रतिशत की वृद्धि करें और हमारा विश्वास है कि हमें इस में भी सफलता मिलेगी। प्रधान मंत्रीजी ने कहा है :—

We can do this and the best reason for my saying so is my enormous faith in the Indian people.

यानी हम ऐसा कर सकते हैं और मेरा ऐसा कहने का मुख्य कारण है भारतीय जनता में मेरा अटूट विश्वास। इस लिये मेरा पक्का विश्वास है कि द्वितीय पंचवर्षीय योजना में हम अपनी राष्ट्रीय आय में २५ प्रतिशत की वृद्धि कर लेंगे।

प्रधान मंत्री के इस विश्वास की झलक हम ६२२ सामुदायिक योजना और ५०० राष्ट्रीय विस्तार सेवा खंडों में देखते हैं, जो कि १९५६ के अन्त तक इस देश के ८ करोड़ निवासियों की सेवा कर सकेंगी। हमारे एक माननीय मित्र ने एक संशोधन रखा है जिसमें उन्होंने कहा है कि हमें इस काम में भी कोई सफलता नहीं मिली है। मैं उन से कहूंगा कि आप इन योजनाओं की सफलता की झलक उस किसान की आंखों में देख सकते हैं जो कि जब अपने लहलहाते हुए खेतों की ओर देखता है तो कितना खुश होता है। साथ ही जब वह यह देखता है कि सिधरी का बना हुआ खाद चितरंजन में बने हुए लोको-मोटिव के द्वारा उस के पास पहुंच रहा है तो वह कैसे आनन्द विभोर हो जाता है, इसका अन्दाजा सहज ही लगाया जा सकता है। इन कम्युनिटी प्रोजेक्ट्स (सामुदायिक योजनाओं) ने हमारे देश में क्रांतिकारी परिवर्तन ला दिये हैं। इन क्रांतिकारी परिवर्तनों के बारे में हम किसानों से पूछ सकते हैं, अपने उन कृषकों से पूछ सकते हैं जो अपने आप ही अपना जीवन स्तर ऊंचा उठाने का प्रयास कर रहे हैं। राष्ट्रपति जी ने ठीक ही कहा है :

“ये योजनायें जारी रहेंगी और द्वितीय पंचवर्षीय योजना की अवधि के अन्त तक इन योजनाओं के अन्तर्गत देश के प्रायः सभी देहात और सभी ग्राम आ चुकेंगे”।

मेरा विश्वास है कि जब हम द्वितीय पंचवर्षीय योजना को समाप्त कर चुकेंगे उस समय तक हम अपने ग्रामों के अन्दर एक और क्रांतिकारी परिवर्तन ला सकेंगे।

जहां तक औद्योगिक उत्पादन का सबाल है उस में ४३ प्रतिशत की वृद्धि हुई है और कृषि

द्वारा उत्पादन में १८ प्रतिशत की वृद्धि हुई है। खाद्यान्न के मामले में तो हमें आशातीत सफलता प्राप्त हुई है। इन में २५ प्रतिशत की वृद्धि हुई है। १९५० में जहां हमारे यहां खाद्यान्न का उत्पादन ५४० लाख टन था वह बढ़ कर अब ६५० लाख टन हो गया है। जब हम इस वृद्धि को देखते हैं तो हम यह भी नहीं भूल सकते कि इस मामले में नदी घाटी योजनाओं ने भी हमारी बहुत मदद की है। इन योजनाओं ने हमारे देश को शस्य और श्यामला बनाया है। भाखड़ा नंगल, दामोदर घाटी योजना, मयूराक्षी, हीराकुंड ने न केवल हमारी जमीन को उत्पादन शक्ति को बढ़ाया है, बल्कि दो पड़ोसी राज्यों के आपसी मतभेदों को भूला कर उन्हें सम्पूर्ण देश के आर्थिक विकास के लिये बीच की सीमाओं को तोड़ने के लिये मजबूर किया है और उन मूक नदियों की भावनाओं को एक नौजवान कवि की पंक्तियों में सुनाता हूँ :—

भाखड़ा नंगल की अपरिमित शक्ति तुम्हारे हाथ है
और देश की कोटि कोटि जनता से तेरा साथ है।
मयूराक्षी, पात्र गल दौड़ी, कोई न रहे कंगाल
लो, बिहार का संदेशा मैं लाई हूँ बंगाल।
तुम दोनों मिल पूर्व देश के बढ़ो पथ पर
बड़ा हर्ष है, बड़ा गर्व है,
नई योजना, नया सत्र है।

मैं समझता हूँ कि जो कुछ भी हमने किया है उसमें हमें आशातीत सफलता मिली है। इन बड़ी बड़ी योजनाओं के साथ हम नें लघु सिंचाई योजनायें भी शुरू की हैं, जिन के कारण आज देश की ६७० लाख एकड़ प्यासी भूमि शस्य श्यामला बनी है।

१९५४-५५ में सार्वजनिक क्षेत्र में खोले गये हिन्दुस्तान केबल मशीन टूल लिमिटेड, हिन्दुस्तान इनसेक्टिसाइडस, चुर्क के सरकारी सीमेंट फॅक्टरी एवं मध्यप्रदेश के नेपा मिल्स ने उत्पादन आरम्भ कर दिया है और आशातीत सफलता प्राप्त की। प्रथम पंचवर्षीय योजना के प्रारम्भिक काल में खोले गये बिस्तरंजन लोकोमोटिव और सिंदरी फटिलाइजर फॅक्टरी के कारण और उन में उत्पादन शुरू हो जाने के कारण हमारा देश प्रगति के पथ पर बहुत आगे बढ़ रहा है। जब हम इन सब सफलताओं को देखते हैं तो हमारा सिर गर्व से ऊंचा हो जाता है और हम समझने लगते हैं कि यह चीज शायद विश्व के इतिहास में बेमिसाल है। प्रथम पंचवर्षीय योजना के किन किन पहलुओं पर मैं प्रकाश डालूँ ? जो सफलतायें हम ने प्रथम पंचवर्षीय

योजना के अन्तर्गत प्राप्त की हैं उन के बारे में एक विस्तृत रिपोर्ट इस सदन के सामने है। इस लिये मैं राष्ट्रपतिजी द्वारा कहे गये एक मूलमंत्र को दुहराकर ही संतोष करता हूँ कि "प्रथम पंचवर्षीय योजनाद्वारा हमारी अर्थ व्यवस्था की उन्नति की नींव रखी जा चुकी है"। इस नींव पर आर्थिक समानता एवं सामाजिक न्याय का सर्वांगीण महल खड़ा करने के लिये सरकार ने द्वितीय पंचवर्षीय योजना की रूपरेखा देश के सामने प्रस्तुत की है। हमारे एक माननीय सदस्यने एक संशोधन रखा है जिस में उन्होंने कहा है कि द्वितीय पंचवर्षीय योजना की कमियों पर प्रकाश नहीं डाला गया है, प्रथम पंचवर्षीय योजना में हमें कुछ सफलता प्राप्त नहीं हुई है और इसी तरह की दूसरी बातें कही हैं जहां तक प्रथम पंचवर्षीय योजना का सवाल है मैं इतना ही कहना चाहता हूँ कि हमें बहुत भारी सफलता प्राप्त हुई है और हमारा देश बहुत आगे बढ़ा है। जहां तक द्वितीय पंचवर्षीय योजना का सवाल है मैं उन से कहूंगा कि योजना आपके सामने है, आप उसमें जो कमियां हैं उन को बतलायें और उनको दूर करने का प्रयत्न किया जा सकता है। यह तो एक योजना है जिसमें कि हेर फेर हो सकता है और अभी इसका पूर्ण रूप हमारे सामने आना है। इस योजना में राष्ट्रपति जी ने कहा है "भारत सरकार का लक्ष्य देश में समाजवादी समाज की स्थापना है"। भारत के भावी आर्थिक स्वरूप के सम्बन्ध में यह एक अगले और बड़े कदम का सूचकमात्र है। परन्तु इसके साथ ही उन्होंने यह भी स्पष्ट कर दिया है कि "इस सम्बन्ध में हमारी उन्नति के आधारभूत माप दंड सदा समाज का हित और असमता का क्रमिक निराकरण होगा"। इस का यह मतलब है कि हम इतना तेज दौड़ना नहीं चाहते हैं जिस से कि हम मुंह के बल गिर पड़ें हम असमानता को दूर करना चाहते हैं और जल्दी से जल्दी दूर करना चाहते हैं। लेकिन इतनी जल्दी भी नहीं जिससे हमारे कदम बाद में आगे जाने के बजाय पीछे जाने शुरू हो जायें। हम लोगों का जीवन स्तर ऊंचा उठाना चाहते हैं। इस दिशा में हम क्रमिक कदम उठा रहे हैं और उठाते जायेंगे। हमारे कुछ मित्र हैं जो यह चाहते हैं कि यह सारा काम एक रात में हो जाये जो कि नामुमकिन है। जैसा कि नहरू जी ने कहा है कि हमें विश्वास है कि हम ऐसा कर सकेंगे और ऐसा करने में हम क्रमिक कदम उठावेंगे और इसका क्रमिक निराकरण भी करेंगे।

[श्री भागवत झा आजाद]

समाजवाद की नींव पर समाज की रचना करने का काम आरम्भ हो गया है। और इस उद्देश्य की प्राप्ति के लिये सरकार ने द्वितीय पंचवर्षीय योजना में सार्वजनिक क्षेत्र का विस्तार करने की योजनायें भी बनाई हैं। यदि हम द्वितीय पंचवर्षीय योजना की प्रथम पंचवर्षीय योजना से तुलना करें तो हमें मालूम होगा कि इस योजना में सार्वजनिक क्षेत्र का विस्तार करने के लिये काफी योजनायें रखी हैं। इन योजनाओं में आधारभूत उद्योगों और मशीनों के निर्माण के उद्योग के विकास पर जोर दिया गया है। यह चीज स्पष्ट है। लेकिन फिर भी हमारी एक सदस्य महोदया ने यह कहा है कि द्वितीय योजना में मशीन बनाने के उद्योग पर कोई जोर नहीं दिया गया है। इस के बारे में तो राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने अभिभाषण में स्पष्ट रूप से संकेत दिया है और इसका द्वितीय पंचवर्षीय योजना की रूपरेखा में उल्लेख भी है।

हम जानते हैं कि हर देश को आगे बढ़ाने के लिये लोहे और इस्पात की आवश्यकता होती है। द्वितीय पंचवर्षीय योजना में १९६०-६१ तक देश की विभिन्न आवश्यकताओं को ह्याल में रख कर ४५ लाख टन इस्पात और ७ लाख टन कच्चे लोहे की आवश्यकता होगी। इसको पूरा करने के लिये देश में बड़े बड़े लोहे और इस्पात के कारखाने खोले जा रहे हैं और सार्वजनिक क्षेत्र का तेजी से विस्तार किया जा रहा है। ऐसा करने से हमें आशा है कि हम अपनी आवश्यकताओं की पूर्ति कर सकेंगे। राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने अभिभाषण में और बहुत से आंकड़े भी दिये हैं जिन को पढ़ कर मैं लोकसभा का अधिक समय नहीं लेना चाहता। केवल इतना ही कहना चाहता हूँ कि देश बड़ी तेजी से आगे बढ़ रहा है।

राष्ट्रपतिजी ने बड़े ही स्पष्ट शब्दों में यह कहा है कि "लोगों के लिये अधिक रोजगार उपलब्ध करने का प्रश्न असाधारण महत्व का है"। हमें मालूम है कि इस प्रश्न को हल करना ही है और यह भी जल्द ही है कि हर एक की इस देश में रोटी कपड़ा मिले और करने के लिये काम मिले। इसी चीज को देखते हुए १९५३-५४ में जब यह प्रश्न बहुत गम्भीर हो गया था, उस समय सरकार ने अपनी प्रथम पंचवर्षीय योजना में रोजगार के अवसर बढ़ाने के लिये उसमें २०० करोड़ रुपया अधिक खर्च किया था। द्वितीय पंचवर्षीय योजना में भी इस बात की

आवश्यकता को महसूस करते हुए एक छोटी सी कमेटी बिठाई गई थी जिस से यह कहा गया था कि वह इस बात की जांच करे कि द्वितीय पंचवर्षीय योजना में जो क्रय शक्ति का विस्तार होगा और जो चीजों का उत्पादन बढ़ेगा वह कैसे कैसे कुटीर और ग्रामोद्योग के आधार पर बढ़ाया जाए और जिस प्रकार से अधिक से अधिक रोजगार के अवसर मुहैया की जायें। उस कमेटीने जांच पड़ताल करने के बाद अपनी रिपोर्ट प्रस्तुत कर दी है जिस को कि सरकार ने स्वीकार कर लिया है। मुझे इस बात की प्रसन्नता है कि सरकार ने यह फैसला किया है कि सूत कातनेवाली मशीनों के लिये लाइसेंस देना बन्द कर दिया जाये.....।

Acharya Kripalani (Bhagalpur cum Purnia): May I suggest that if those who do not understand Hindi here are to understand Hindi, the speaker must speak a little more slowly?

Mr. Chairman: I would request the hon. Member who is speaking to speak more slowly and I would also request hon. Members to speak in subdued voice because there are so many voices coming here which make it difficult to follow the hon. Member who is now speaking.

श्री भागवत झा आजाद: मैं माननीय सदस्यों को इस सुझाव के लिये धन्यवाद देता हूँ। मैं समझता हूँ कि मैं तो पहले ही बोलने की अपनी रफ्तार के पचास प्रतिशत पर बोल रहा हूँ। अब मैं पच्चीस प्रतिशत पर बोलने का प्रयत्न करूंगा।

सभापति महोदय, मैं यह कह रहा था कि किसी भी स्वतन्त्र देश की सरकार—चाहे उस का सम्बन्ध किसी भी राजनीतिक दल से क्यों न हो—का सर्वप्रथम कार्य है अपने देश के निवासियों के लिये रोटी का इन्तजाम करना। राष्ट्रपति महोदयाने अपने भाषण में बड़े ही स्पष्ट शब्दों में कहा है कि लोगों के लिये अधिक रोजगार उपलब्ध करने का प्रश्न असाधारण महत्व का है, इस लिये सरकार पूरा प्रयत्न कर रही है कि इस देश में जो बेरोजगार हैं, उन को रोजी दी जाय। हमारी दूसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना में यह प्रस्ताव रखा गया है कि हम कुटीर उद्योगों और ग्रामोद्योगों के द्वारा अपने देश के बेरोजगारों को काम देंगे। सरकार का यह प्रस्ताव बहुत ही महत्वपूर्ण है। सरकार ने मशीनों द्वारा काते गये सूत पर जो लाइसेंस लगाया है, उस की हम सराहना करते हैं और हम आशा करते

हैं कि अगली पंचवर्षीय योजनामें और भी ऐसे कदम उठाये जायेंगे, जिससे अधिक से अधिक लोगों की काम मिल सकेगा ।

दूसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना में यह सिद्धान्त स्वीकार किया गया है कि उसकी अवधि काल में जमीन पर सीलिंग लगाई जायगी । हम इस का स्वागत करते हैं, लेकिन साथ ही साथ हम यह भी चाहते हैं कि व्यक्तिगत अकृषि आय पर भी सीलिंग लगा दी जाय । यह उचित नहीं है कि जिस आदमी के पास जमीन है, उसकी आय की सीमा निश्चित कर दी जाय, लेकिन जिस आदमीने शहर में कई कई मकान खड़े कर दिये हैं, उस की आय पर कोई सीलिंग न लगाई जाय । जब हम एक रैयत को इस बात का अधिकार देते हैं कि अगर उस ने बारह साल तक किसी जमीन को जोता है, तो उस पर उस का अधिकार हो जाता है, तो जो आदमी बीस-बीस पच्चीस-पच्चीस साल से बड़े बड़े पूंजीपतियों के मकान में रहता है और बराबर रेंट देता है, उस मकान पर उसका अधिकार होना चाहिये । हम उम्मीद करते हैं कि दूसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना में जमीन पर सीलिंग लगाने के साथ ही साथ व्यक्तिगत अकृषि आय पर भी सीलिंग लगाई जायगी । हम आशा करते हैं कि सरकार इस विषय में उचित विधान बनायेगी ।

जिस तरह यूरोस्लावियामें उद्योगोंको चलाने में—उन के प्रबन्ध और संचालन में—मजदूरों का हाथ है, जिस का उल्लेख हमारे प्रधान मंत्रीजी ने अमृतसर में राष्ट्रीय कांग्रेस के अधिवेशन के अवसरपर किया था, हम चाहते हैं कि उसी तरह द्वितीय पंचवर्षीय योजना में हमारे मजदूरों को भी जो कि अपना खून पसीना एक करके इस देश के नव-निर्माण में अपना सम्पूर्ण स्वाहा कर रहे हैं, उद्योगों के संचालन और प्रबन्ध में अधिकार दिया जाय ।

इस प्रकार हम देखते हैं कि हमारी द्वितीय पंचवर्षीय योजना प्रथम पंचवर्षीय योजना से कहीं अधिक प्रगतिशील एवं विशाल है, किन्तु साथ ही साथ हम अपने देश का क्रमिक विकास करना चाहते हैं । हमारी सरकारने पुराने इम्पीरियल बैंक को राज्य बैंक बना दिया है और जीवन-बीमा व्यवसाय का राष्ट्रीयकरण किया है । हम आशा करते हैं कि जब भी देश को जरूरत पड़ेगी, सरकार अन्य बैंकों का और अन्य बीमा-व्यवसाय का भी राष्ट्रीयकरण करेगी ।

इन तमाम पहलुओं पर गौर करने से हम इस निश्चय पर पहुंचते हैं कि राष्ट्रपतिजी ने अपने भाषण में जो यह कहा है कि दूसरी योजना प्रथम योजना की अपेक्षा अधिक महत्वाकांक्षापूर्ण है और उसे कार्य रूप देने के लिये देश के लोगों को पहले की अपेक्षा से कहीं अधिक प्रयत्न करना होगा, वह अक्षरशः सत्य है । हमारा विश्वास है कि सब लोग राष्ट्रपति जी द्वारा व्यक्त की गई आशा के अनुसार इस योजना को किसी पार्टी की योजना न मान कर इसे राष्ट्र-निर्माण की योजना समझेंगे और काम करेंगे ।

राष्ट्रपतिजी ने अपने भाषण में कहा है कि हमारे देश के कुछ भागों में कुछ अशोभनीय घटनार्ये हुई हैं । हम जानते हैं कि हमें भाषा के प्रति बहुत प्रेम है । हम चाहते हैं कि देश की विभिन्न क्षेत्रीय भाषाओं का विकास हो, लेकिन हम भाषा के नाम पर अपने देश की एकता का बलिदान नहीं कर सकते । हमें यह न भूलना चाहिये कि यह एक महान देश है और इसमें रहने वाले सब एक हैं । यह आवश्यक और उचित है कि इस देश के सभी अंगों का बराबर विकास और उन्नति हो । राष्ट्रपति के इस संदेश का हम स्वागत करते हैं । अगर हम न इस देश का पुनर्संगठन करना है, तो उस का सर्वोपरि आधार होना चाहिये सम्पूर्ण देश का आर्थिक विकास ।

राष्ट्रपतिजी ने अपने भाषण में पिछड़े वर्ग कमीशन की सिफारिशों की ओर भी ध्यान दिया है और यह बतलाया है कि इस सदन में ऐसे विधान लाये जायेंगे, जिन के द्वारा परिगणित और पिछड़ी जातियों की लिस्ट में सुधार किया जायेगा । हम इस घोषणा का स्वागत करते हैं । जब तक देश के सब तबकों के आदमी बराबर कदम से कदम मिला कर आगे नहीं चलेंगे, तब तक देश को वास्तविक स्वतन्त्रता प्राप्त नहीं हो सकती है । इस सम्बन्ध में नेफ्रा में सरकार द्वारा किये गये कार्य प्रशंसनीय हैं । सन्थाल जातियों और नागाओं की उन्नति के लिये प्रथम योजना में तीन करोड़ रुपया रखा गया था । उन लोगों के लिये शिक्षा और जीवन की अन्य आवश्यकताओं का भी प्रबन्ध किया जा रहा है ।

राष्ट्रपतिजी ने अपने भाषण में अन्य जिन विषयों का उल्लेख किया है, उन का हमारे माननीय मित्र श्री रामस्वामीजी उल्लेख करेंगे ।

राष्ट्रपति जी ने कहा है कि हम प्रगति के पथ को अपना चुके हैं, हम यात्राकी एक मंजिल तय कर चुके हैं और अब एक और भाग्यनिर्णायक

[श्री भागवत झा आजाद]

दूसरी मंजिल की ओर बढ़ने वाले हैं। इस सम्बन्ध में मैं कहूंगा कि :

बन्धु आज निर्माण काल है,
नई कल्पना, नया राज है,
गांधी की मिट्टी पर गांवों,
शांति, प्रगति का नया साज है,
अपने इन हाथों को देखो,
बल कितना इन में है लेखो,
मिट्टी तेरी राह देखती,
जिनको तुम पर बड़ा गर्व है,

बड़ा हर्ष है, नई योजना नया सत्र है ।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं अपने इस प्रस्ताव का समर्थन करता हूँ ।

Shri S. V. Ramaswamy (Salem) : It is with genuine pleasure that I second the motion moved by my friend, Shri Azad. The President has given a very thought-provoking statement about affairs at home and abroad which calls for thinking of great national issues and seeking solutions on national lines.

First of all the position with regard to Pakistan has improved in certain respects, with regard to trade and traffic, but the continuous exodus of population from East Pakistan is a matter of great concern. Whole families, men, women and children, are moving away from East Pakistan seeking refuge in India. It is not easy for people to give up their hearths and homes and move out elsewhere. It must be presumed that the conditions prevailing there are not favourable for these people to continue there. We hope things will improve and this sad spectacle of people moving away from where they should be would stop.

Then there is the question of Portugal and India's attitude towards Goa. The claim of Portugal to Goa is neither reasonable nor just ; nor is there any logic. Even the legal point which they claim depends on a treaty three centuries old. Portugal is like a third rate lawyer defending a hopeless case, quoting a long overruled decision. It is unfortunate that the Secretary of State of the United States should have come forward with a statement that the colonial possessions of Portugal are provinces of Portugal. We have taken exception to it. It gives us the idea that colonialism is still lingering in the minds of the most advanced western countries. It is

no doubt the atomic age, but this certainly is a century of Asia and Africa and the sooner the western powers realise this home truth, and the sooner this colonialism is wound up the better for the world.

There is then the Baghdad Pact. It has not merely split the Arab nations but we see the fearful spectacle of armaments being piled up in that region. The situation there is deteriorating and, what is worse, the cold war has been brought to our very doors. We have been opposing these military pacts and we have lodged our protest against those also.

With regard to the military pacts, the SEATO in the first instance and later the Baghdad Pact, no one of us can help thinking that these are inroads into Asian sovereignty and independence, and are damaging to the Asian hopes of economic progress. We have lodged our protest and we shall continue to lodge our protest.

Then there is the continued non-recognition of the People's Republic of China when their place in the U.N. is a rightful one. This is a dangerous spot too. There is again the difficult situation that is arising in Vietnam and Laos. Difficulties have been thrown in the way of international commissions working peacefully. We hope these difficulties will be got over and the international commissions will be allowed to function undisturbed and do their duty.

These, Sir, I submit, and many other problems are national issues and they must be treated and dealt with on national lines. They, therefore, by their very nature underline the need for lending full support to the Government in dealing with these problems.

The noblest contribution of India to the life and thought of modern times is the Panch Shila. It is the most enduring contribution of our illustrious Prime Minister to a troubled and much harassed world. It is an inspired contribution. The source of inspiration is the Father of the Nation. It is the projection of Gandhism into international affairs. It is heartening to note the increasing number of nations, big and small east and west, who have subscribed to it. It is even more heartening to note that the Bandung principles which are conceived in the spirit of Panch Shila are being made use of by no less a power than the great Soviet Union in its approach to the U.S. Let us

hope, Sir, that this Panch Shila will plant itself across the Atlantic, in the hearts of the great American people.

Sir, we are still being referred to sometimes as neutralists, neutrals, uncommitted areas and the like. The suggestion seems to be that we are "do nothings", a "cat on the wall". That is far from truth. They forget the tremendous positive role that we are playing in world affairs. We are irretrievably and permanently committed to the maintenance of world peace. That is why our leader Shri Krishna Menon so ably urged before the Tenth Assembly of the U.N. that we believe in collective peace and not aligning with armed groups. We believe in peaceful co-existence and not in what Sir Winston Churchill said: "peace by mutual terror". We have been consistently following this policy in thought, word and deed. That is why we have been consistently opposing all military pacts. We have been consistently urging renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy. We have always stood for a total ban on atomic weapons. We have even urged reconvening of the General Assembly in order to deal with the disarmament case. We believe that disarmament is a necessary and preliminary step to the renunciation of war.

Sir, our unmitigated opposition to colonialism and to racialism in any shape or form is also another aspect of the same objective. We have supported freedom movements all over the country and that too is another aspect of our stand point. We believe in universalising the U.N. 16 more nations have been admitted and our thanks are due, in a generous measure, to our delegation which went to the Tenth Assembly for helping to extend this arc of human brotherhood. Let us hope that this year our delegation will play an even more helpful part in bringing more nations in and also to see that the representatives of the people's Republic of China take their seat in the U.N. which is their rightful due.

The Bandung Conference is a historic landmark in African and Asian affairs. For the first time 29 nations of Asia and Africa gathered together. It is heartening to see that one of the recommendations made at the Bandung Conference, namely, for the formation of an International Finance Corporation, has taken shape already, and the other recommendation, namely, for the creation of a

Special United Nations Fund for the Economic Development of Backward Nations, popularly known as SUNFED, was also seriously debated in the U.N. We trust that if only the rich and the powerful nations of the world bestow their attention on these two measures they would be doing a great service to the world in helping the backward areas to come forward and march on to prosperity. The world may well remember that the nations which represented at the Bandung Conference constituted about two-third of the world's population and to improve the people of such a large area it behoves the great nations to bestow greater attention on these two matters which were urged at Bandung Conference.

It is a matter of immense pleasure for me to refer to the fact that one of our brilliant scientists Dr. Bhabha was called upon to preside over the International Conference for the Peaceful Use of Atomic Energy. This is a landmark in the human history for it is here that for the first time the scientists from all over the world came, met, discussed and read papers. Hundreds of papers were read on atomic secrets, and we are told that thirty volumes of 300 pages each on atomic energy and peaceful uses thereof will be published shortly. This colossal material on the closely guarded secrets of the mighty atom is a distinct and tremendous gain for humanity. We trust, Sir, following that Conference, an International Atomic Energy Agency will be set up to further the ideals that were adumbrated at that conference and that that agency will be linked up with the U.N. so that the backward nations which are power-starved and which are otherwise incapable of developing rapidly might be benefited by the peaceful uses of atomic energy. This, I submit, will be more useful than forming military pacts or holding army manoeuvres in Bangkok or elsewhere.

We are indeed happy to have so many distinguished visitors—Heads of States, Prime Ministers, Ministers, savants and saints, in our country. We have been hosts to a number of cultural and student delegations and not the least of the ECAFE itself. All these have contributed to a better understanding between nations, cementing the bonds of friendship and creating an unexhaustible fund of goodwill.

Shri M. S. Gurupadaswamy (Mysore) : What about cultural delegations?

Shri S. V. Ramaswamy : I mentioned it. You did not follow perhaps. Papers have said—and it is heartening to see—that the Secretary of State of the U.S.A. will shortly be visiting this country. There is no doubt India will give him a hearty welcome. I hope, and nothing will please us more than to be told, that it will be a prelude to the visit of the President of the United States himself to this country. I believe I have broadly covered the main points with regard to foreign affairs.

Turning now to home affairs, I would briefly refer to the necessity for administrative changes which are conceived to be in terms of the reorganisation of States. It is unfortunate that it took a linguistic turn. We have been witnessing, I am sorry to say, the exhibitions of linguistic midsummer madness and violence in most parts of the country. Lives were lost. Valuable property was destroyed. For a moment, we forgot that we belong to one nation; that we are one country; that we are governed by one Government and we owe allegiance to one Constitution; that we have a historic past and that we have a glorious future. We forgot all that. We descended to the level of claiming a portion of territory here or a sub-taluk there and of claiming even corridors as if one State is foreign to another. The whole thing is unfortunate, and it is right that the President has called upon us to have tolerance, patience and forbearance.

On the 20th December last, if the Lok Sabha will remember, the Prime Minister referred to the suggestion of creating a zonal scheme, and the Lok Sabha universally acclaimed it, and the reaction of the country has been very good. The Prime Minister suggested that the zonal councils may be in the first instance only advisory. But what has been the reaction elsewhere? The Chief Ministers of Andhra, Mysore and Travancore-Cochin suggested that it would not be enough to have only advisory councils but we must invest them with powers. That shows the States are prepared even to surrender some of the powers to the zonal councils.

Shri M. S. Gurupadaswamy : No; they meant that the powers should vest in the Centre.

Shri S. V. Ramaswamy : It was only yesterday that the Deputy Chief Minister of the Andhra State. . . .

Shri U. M. Trivedi (Chittor) : Yesterday?

Shri S. V. Ramaswamy : Yes; . . . said that the surplus waters of the Godavari and the Krishna would be spared to Tamilnad. This shows the way in which the mind of State leaders is working. These zonal councils will certainly have to play a large part and I hope greater attention will be paid to these zonal councils than to State boundaries. These are happy auguries, and I am sure the Centre also will part with certain powers to these zonal councils so that the five zonal councils that have been suggested will be able to tackle all matters of inter-State importance, such as river-valley projects, power and irrigation projects, inland waterways, roadways and so on, and also the exploitation of minerals which will help to develop all regions of the country. That way lies the integration of the country so that the country may march forward to higher heights of prosperity.

We are coming to the end of a great adventure and that is the first Five-Year Plan. It has been a very successful adventure. It has been far beyond our expectations. Hon. Members will recall to their minds the situation that prevailed in May, 1952, when we assembled here for the first time. There was shortage of everything everywhere: shortage of food, of cloth and of even drinking water in the South. That was the gloomy situation in the country, but the country has moved forward and the success of the Plan has been much beyond our expectations. It is good that we are beginning our second great adventure, greater than the first—the second Five-Year Plan—under the auspices which are more prosperous than when the first adventure was started. You cannot now cross the country, whether you travel by road or rail, even ten miles without coming across some work, some developmental work, either it be digging of canals or wells or laying of roads or construction of buildings, hospitals, schools and so on, anywhere in the country. That shows the country is vibrating with new energy and trying to go forward and improve the lot of the common man. It behoves all of us, every one of us here and outside, to carry this message of

the Second Five-Year Plan to the remotest village, to every nook and corner, and to elicit the sympathy of the people to see that the Second Five-Year Plan is a greater success than the first and so that this country may move forward to greater happiness and greater prosperity and attain a position which is even more glorious than now.

Mr. Chairman : Motion moved :

"That the Members of Lok Sabha assembled in this Session are deeply grateful to the President for the Address which he has been pleased to deliver to both the Houses of Parliament assembled together on 15th February, 1956."

It has been seconded. I find there are a good number of amendments as well. I would request the hon. Members who wish to move their amendments to hand over the number of their amendments to the Secretary at the Table within 15 minutes and if the amendments are otherwise admissible they will be deemed to have been moved. The motion and the amendments will be taken for discussion now.

Dr. Lanka Sundaram (Visakhapatnam): I suggest, with great respect, that moving the amendments now would make the Lok Sabha know exactly what amendments are moved, so that the Members may know the points under discussion.

Mr. Chairman : Within 15 minutes I will get those numbers and I will announce them.

Acharya Kripalani : Sir, While we join with the Treasury Benches in thanking the President for his Address, we wish that a fairer picture had been placed before the country, of our achievements in the past and a fuller picture of the future plans of the Government concerning the problems that face the country. The Address, as you know, is characterised by a sense of smug satisfaction at our great achievements in the international and the national fields. There is little effort at critical study or self-analysis. As usual, the Address begins with the important role we have been playing in the international fields and of which we are always proud. There is no doubt that we have maintained our neutrality as between the two power blocs. It is also true that we have always emphasised the need for a non-violent approach to

international problems and we have worked in our own humble way for world peace. We have also enunciated the broad principles on which the world's tensions can be diminished and goodwill may prevail among nations. It is also true that some countries have taken advantage of this enunciation of our principles and tried to maintain an attitude of friendship with other countries wherever their intimate interests are not involved. So far as the two power blocs are concerned, there is no material change in their attitude in spite of the Conference of the Big Four at Geneva last year. However, being afraid of the atomic war, they take advantage of the principles we have enunciated and come to some partial understandings which appear to ease tensions for the time being. But this, good as it is, is not enough. It is not enough for world peace. Though efforts are made to see that local armed conflicts that are likely to spread are stopped, all arrangements for any permanent good understanding are sabotaged by both the parties, because each party insists upon its own pound of flesh. This is what happened in Korea and it is again happening in Indo-China.

I P. M.

India is allowed to play an important role in the efforts at reducing tensions, but because of want of co-operation of the power blocs is left high and dry, having spent its best efforts and a good deal of its money which it can utilise for better purposes. Yet it cannot be denied that we have achieved some reputation in international affairs. However, this has not given us any advantageous position so far as our vital interests are concerned.

The President, in his Address, has mentioned with satisfaction the renewal of rail traffic and the liberalisation of the visa arrangements between India and Pakistan. In both these matters, more than India, Pakistan is the gainer. But the crucial questions remain unsolved. At present the most crucial question is the influx of Hindu refugees from East Bengal. Month by month the influx has been increasing. At the beginning of 1954 it was in the neighbourhood of 6,000. By December 1954, it had increased to 25,000, and by March last year, it had increased to 27,000. I have not got the latest figures, but I believe this influx has been fluctuating between 20 and 25 thousands per month. At the time of the Nehru-Liaquat Ali Pact,

[Acharya Kripalani]

it was pointed out that there was a deliberate attempt on the part of Pakistan to create in East Bengal conditions that would oblige the Hindus to migrate to India and this would not only affect a better population balance as between the West and East Pakistan, but also adversely affect our economy. We were assured that no such thing would happen after the Pact, but Pakistan is again at its game. We would have liked to know what policy, if any, the Government propose to adopt to tackle this problem which periodically upsets our economic calculations. No country is allowed to create conditions that would oblige its citizens to take refuge in a neighbouring country in such great numbers as to upset latter's economy.

Then, there is the question of Ceylon and the naturalisation of Indian settlers there. This question remains yet unsolved. The question of Goa is there. For the solution of this question, many of our brave comrades recently laid down their lives and many more are rotting in jails under inhuman conditions. Though the President has mentioned this problem, he has not indicated how the Government propose to solve it.

Further, Sir, however brilliant our international policy may be, it has not been able to stop the formation of military pacts. These threaten our peace and security. The South-East Asia Pact and the recently formed pact in West Asia are a menace to us. That they are a menace is clear from the fact that the Congress President recently said that India will have to increase its expenditure on the military to safeguard itself against these pacts. The President has no doubt talked of these pacts, but he has not shown us the way out; he has not shown us what the Government propose to do to check the formation of such pacts. Also while these pacts in the East—in Asia—are mentioned their formation in the West is ignored. It is not one power bloc that is responsible for these pacts, but the other also is rivalling it.

Of course, it is good to say that we have said that we will solve every international problem through goodwill. We have advised others also to do likewise. We believe that this can be done. As believers of goodwill, we have decided to extend our friendship to the good and the evil alike. Like the old religious mystics, we judge nobody. We believe that judgment belongs to God.

We rejoice with the Rashtrapati at the success of the freedom movements in the colonial lands in Asia and Africa. This colonialism is transoceanic. But, while we rejoice at its disappearance another movement is taking place elsewhere that revives a new variety of colonialism. This is the movement of nibbling at one's neighbours and swallowing them up quietly. I do not know whether the old oceanic colonialism was worse or the present colonialism is worse.

Shri M. P. Mishra (Monghyr North-West): The present is worse.

Acharya Kripalani: While we condemn the one, we should also take note of the other; that is also likely to disturb the peace of the world in the future. However, it is not in peaceful times, even though such times are disturbed by war tensions, that the foreign policy of a Government can be tested. It is only when the cold war begins to get hot, that we will be able to assess the efforts that our Government has put forward at easing tensions in the world.

There is another sphere in which we can judge very correctly the policies of our Government, and that is the home front. What has been the accomplishment there of our Government? The greatest test and the most sensitive thermometer for measuring advance at home is that of the living standards of the masses of our people living in the villages. What these poor men need is very little. In the words of the Father of the Nation, they need two square meals a day, a modest house in hygienic surroundings, the rudiments of basic education for every child that is born and elementary medical assistance in sickness. They also want freedom from fear of the patwari and the policeman and the constant illegal demands that are made on them. Our masses in the villages do not ask for a motor car in every house, or a radio or television set or a refrigerator. Nor do they demand university education for their children. Nor do they aspire to get the services of specialists when they are ill. Their needs are modest; their demands are more modest. The performance of any Government in India will be judged not in terms of the grandiose schemes or plans to raise the national income, but in satisfying the most primary and elementary needs of our teeming population living in the villages. It is quite possible for the national income to increase and the poor may still remain poor and be

with us always. This has actually happened after the First Five-Year Plan. Production and national income, we are assured, have increased. So also has unemployment. This makes not only for poverty, but ignorance and low standard of living. Nay, it brings about frustration in our people. It works for physical and mental deterioration of our people. When we go to the villages, this is what we see.

The Presidential address tells us as if it were an axiomatic truth of economics that "we have a long way to go before we reach our objective of socialistic pattern of society". It will come, we are told, when the standard of living has increased and when "the national income has been raised to an adequate level". This a confusing misconception. Whether it is the deliberate desire to hoodwink the public or it is due to gross ignorance, it is not for me to say. America has, by all standards, more than an adequate level of national income and vast production. Yet, there is no socialism in that country. When Russia went communist, it had neither an adequate standard of production nor national income. Yet, it did not take it long to establish socialism. Three years back, China had less production than India and lesser national income. Yet, that did not stand in the way of the leaders of the People's Republic in establishing a socialistic pattern immediately they got into power. If India is to wait till it attains higher standards of production and national income adequate in terms of the U.S.A. and England or even the less developed countries in the west, it may have to wait till the Greek calends for its socialism. Historically, communism and socialism were practised even by primitive tribes who had no great standards of living or of national income. The fundamental idea behind socialism, I say for the education of Congressmen, is that all wealth is socially produced and must, in justice, be equitably distributed. This is all that is meant by socialism.

Shri Nand Lal Sharma (Sikar): Is it to be distributed among Congressmen?

Acharya Kripalani: It may be distributed among the Hindu Mahasabhaitees.

If this is not done, and some individuals and groups are living on the fruits of the labour of others and the poor are being exploited, surely there is nothing to prevent an equitable redistribution of wealth in India at its present level of production and national income.

When that is done, you have shown your *bona fides* and then efforts for increasing production and national income may be jointly put forward. Both the things may go on simultaneously. Then, efforts to increase national income and production will be more successful. The poor people know that whatever they produce will be equitably distributed. This is what happens in a good family. The nation should arrange its affairs even as a good family arranges them, if it aspires to be based on an equalitarian and a socialistic basis.

[MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER, in the Chair]

Take for instance the disparity between the lowest and the highest incomes in India. It is many many times more than in Western countries. The villager gets at the most Rs. 20 per month. It is even lower than that, but take it as the lowest income; and the highest income, modestly estimated—in Government services—is Rs. 4,000 per month. It is two hundred times more than what the poor man gets. Neither the intelligence nor the educational difference between those who have the highest income and those who enjoy the lowest income justify such a wide gulf. In America the difference between the lowest and the highest incomes is about ten times. In Israel, a newly established country, it is not more than three times.

Shri M. P. Mishra: In Russia it is 50.

Acharya Kripalani: Well, let us go to Russia.

It is this that made the Father of the Nation to prescribe for India the highest salary to be paid in Government service at Rs. 500 per month. Why did he do this? Because he was thinking of establishing a socialistic pattern of society. Considering the extent of inflation, this Rs. 500 may be increased to Rs. 1,500 or even Rs. 2,000 but only if the lowest income is proportionately raised. Unless it is raised to Rs. 100 at least, you cannot raise the highest income to Rs. 1,500 or Rs. 2,000. Even that would be disproportionate. Socialism apart, this gulf between the highest and the lowest income is not being narrowed in spite of the rise in national income due to the First Five-Year Plan. This is the achievement of our Government critically analysed. Therefore, we have little reason for complacency. If conditions are to improve, we will have

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to think of economic processes, of production, exchange, distribution and consumption of goods not in material terms as is being thought of in the plans, but in human terms. If we do so, in a country like India with its vast population, the emphasis will have to shift from large-scale to small-scale industry capable of absorbing the man-power of the country which is lying waste.

I am not expert at figures. I only deal with facts. The Second Five-Year Plan is as yet in the realm of figures and not facts which can be sensed, measured and judged. Therefore, I leave it to my learned friend Shri Asoka Mehta and Prof. Mukerjee to dabble in the jugglery of figures that can prove or disprove anything one likes.

With your permission, I will now refer to something that is uppermost in the thoughts of all of us, even though it has little to do with the condition of our masses and their welfare. This is the problem of the redistribution of the States in the Indian Union. The President in his Address has merely touched upon the problem without indicating the way in which the mind of the Government is working. It is a subject surcharged with needless emotion. Even life-long friends have to part company if they happen to differ on this question. The controversies let loose by this question have recently led to tragic events which throw an unfavourable light not only on the patriotism of the upper and educated classes who occupy the position of leadership, but also on our professions of non-violence and peace. We have proclaimed to the world that all questions, even international questions, can be solved through non-violence and that they are capable of being so solved. But here in our country we cannot settle our own internal disputes peacefully—disputes which in any democracy are settled without the use of violence. It would appear that our non-violence, as our charity, does not begin at home. It is something that is intended for export and we know in export it pays very good dividends!

Why is it that our people who so recently remained non-violent under the greatest provocation given by a tyrannical and a dictatorial Government in Goa, cannot remain non-violent in dealing with each other? I am afraid there has been some defect in our moral education.

From the dawn of history up to the advent of Gandhiji, all our spiritual leaders have emphasised the need of loving the enemies. They were so pre-occupied with this question of loving the enemy that they forgot to tell us to love our friends. Therefore, wherever we have differences with each other, we seek to settle them through violence. Mark how non-violent we were in Goa. I feel that the wise men of China did better than our own wise men. They advised: "Love your friends and be just to your enemies." It is this emphasis on the love of the enemy that makes our conduct to appear to the foreigner as hypocritical, that we enunciate principles on which we never work. I remember when Babu was repeatedly invited to preach his message of non-violence in other countries, his answer always was: "I must first make good here in my own country," but our present policy is that we must make good in foreign lands because our Swaraj has been attained not at home but abroad!

Who is responsible for the fury that was let loose in some parts of the country? The Prime Minister has more than once said that he is prepared to accept responsibility for what happened. As usual, it is difficult to know the meaning of his words. Is he thinking in terms of making penance for others?

I suppose he does not believe in vicarious penance.

Shri Kamath (Hoshangabad): No, not yet.

Acharya Kripalani: Is he then conscious of some blunder that his party and his Government have committed which has brought about this holocaust? We know that he does not believe in purifactory penances and *prayaschittas* for blunders committed. Otherwise, just like some others, he would have gone on a fast unto life and not unto death. Moreover, a person conscious of his mistakes does not confess them in such a challenging manner; he is humble. But humility is not one of the virtues from which our Prime Minister is known to suffer. What then does he mean? Evidently, he is replying to some critics. However, this challenging attitude does not solve our problems. There is no doubt that mistakes have been committed. But who committed these mistakes? At the Congress session, the Home Minister accused the Opposition parties. He said that they had taken advantage

of a difficult situation and brought about the trouble. I have the greatest respect for the ability of our Home Minister. May I suggest that this is a clever lawyer's pleading or advocacy in a bad case? It goes against all known facts. From the beginning, it is the actions of the party in power, that has aggravated the situation.

The Congress, after Independence, repeatedly promised to Karnataka and to Andhra that they will give separate provinces on linguistic basis. Committees were appointed. Even a very high-powered committee consisting of the Prime Minister, the Deputy Prime Minister, and the Congress President was appointed; and the committee consisting of these three highest dignitaries in the land went into the question and submitted their report. But nothing was done. And why nothing was done? The people had a suspicion that the Maharashtra demand for Samyukta Maharashtra stood in the way of Andhra and Karnataka. This may or may not be correct. But that was the impression created. The separation of Andhra was postponed, till the demand was backed by a good man fasting unto death. This was followed by violence, loot and arson. This was a bad way of submitting to a demand that had been considered by the Congress as just and legitimate. It was a wrong way of doing a right thing. It gave the people an idea that our Government would yield only to violent pressure.

Anyhow, after having granted a separate Andhra, to avoid confusion, Government appointed an impartial commission to go into the whole question of reorganisation of States, and make their recommendations. This was welcome to all the sections of the people. Nobody doubted the integrity of the Commission or their ability. Nobody said that even when the commission's report was out, each party would have its pound of flesh. If they had only declared that whatever be the findings of the commission, they would have what they want, then there would have been no need for the commission; they remained silent. They accepted the commission, and they accepted also that it was impartial. They also did not say that they would create confusion if the commission's recommendations went against their cherished desires.

We thought that the appointment of the commission would bring about peace. But before the appointment of

the commission, and also during its tours of enquiry, things happened that vitiated the whole atmosphere and made peaceful approach impossible. What were these happenings? In many places, minorities were denied a fair deal. They were denied the rights of a common citizenship guaranteed in the Constitution. In some States, domicile rules were introduced such as have not been introduced by us even for foreigners in India. The members of the Congress executive and Cabinets in different States waged themselves against each other and issued inflammatory statements. There were riots in certain parts of the country, but the Congress High Command and the Central Cabinet did nothing in all these matters. If the authorities remain so mute and silent, you cannot expect the atmosphere to improve.

When the commission's report was out, their recommendations did not receive from the Government the consideration that they ought to have received. The authorities were surprised by some of the recommendations made. They assured the public that the recommendations were not the last word, and that modifications can be brought about. This resulted in widespread agitation that took ugly forms.

When the report of the commission was considered in Parliament, it was not the Opposition Members who made the most impassioned and violent speeches, but Congressmen. A top-ranking Congressman and an ex-Minister declared on the floor of the House that if Bombay was not made part of Samyukta Maharashtra, then the issue will be decided in the streets of Bombay. The Maharashtra PCC passed resolutions repudiating the decisions of the Congress High Command about Bombay. It called upon all legislators whether in the Centre or in the States to resign. In Utkal, I am sorry to say, the PCC passed a resolution asking the MLA's and M.P.'s to resign. The resolution also said that unless Government revived their decision about a bit of disputed territory containing about a lakh of population, "it would be impossible for Congress leadership to carry on the administration." At this meeting, most of the Ministers were present, including the Chief Minister of Orissa. The same evening, the Chief Minister at a college union meeting is reported to have said that the youth should not only think in terms of discipline, but also think in terms of recklessness. These

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were the words of a Chief Minister! When some student leaders met the PCC Secretary he is reported to have told them that there would be a deadlock in the Government and the students should act to strengthen the State Government with whatever action possible. Naturally, the police and the authorities thought that they had not to check the rioting that took place and the stoppages of trains and the destruction of public property.

With all these facts undisputed, and admitted to throw the blame upon the Opposition parties is strange indeed; I say it is false, and I repudiate it. I throw it back in the face of those who make such charges against the Opposition. I have no doubt that if only the Congress Government had accepted the recommendations of the commission and left the question of necessary modifications to Parliament, then the Opposition parties alone could not have whipped up this ugly agitation. Rather in the Opposition parties were individuals who, not caring for party decisions, warned the country of the consequences of any agitation that might be started on this question and advised acceptance of the Report.

Even so, I am not prepared entirely to blame the Congress and its Government. The Opposition parties have to bear their share of blame and shame. They showed as little regard for the unity of the country and for democracy as the Party in power. We are all to blame for what has happened. I believe the leadership and the upper classes who today consist of the educated, have failed the country. History is repeating itself. At all critical times, it is the higher classes that have failed the country and brought about the loss of freedom. Today it is the ambitions and rivalries of the upper and the educated classes, with whom lies the leadership, which are the cause of what is happening. As I said on the last occasion, the question of redistribution of States has little to do with the weal and woe of the starving and ignorant masses. It has much to do with power politics and loaves and fishes of office. If we the educated and the politicians give the proper lead, our people will surely follow. We raise the slogan 'Hindi Chini Bhai Bhai' and our people repeat it. And they repeat it more sincerely than we do. We say, 'Hindi Russi Bhai Bhai' and we get the response we expect. Are

we not strong enough to say, are we not honest enough to say, are we not patriotic enough to say 'Hindi Hindi Bhai Bhai'? It is Sir a sad state of affairs. If we, the leaders are united, people will not fail us.

Let us see what is the position today. From day to day Congress decisions have been changing. Today it is that Bombay will be the winter capital and commercial capital of India. I think that we would all like to avoid the winter in Delhi and go and enjoy the warmer climate of Bombay.

Shri Kamath (Hoshangabad) And a little trade also in the Commercial capital.

An Hon. Member: That is for the Ministers to do.

Acharya Kripalani: But the next day the decision is that Bombay will be an independent State and its future status will be decided hereafter. Eternal talks are going on between the High Command and the Akali leaders—they are interminable. And what will happen to Andhra is also unknown (*Interruption*). In all humility, I submit that Central Government and the Congress Party appear to be confused, and in their confusion, they accept anything that is suggested in order to ford over the present difficulties. The latest proposal is about the formation of multi-lingual zonal States.

Shri Kamath: And regional Councils.

Acharya Kripalani: They are very clever at coining new words. No thought is given to the complexity of this proposal. It is thought that if only the Congress leaders at the top in the different linguistic areas are united on zonal States, the proposal will present no difficulties and we will live happily ever after. The psychological, the administrative, the linguistic and many such difficulties that stand in the way of the smooth working of zonal States are conveniently ignored or brushed aside. It would also appear that the authorities do not feel the need of consulting other political parties. Apart from that, they do not see the need of consulting the people even. 'The Congress is the nation; if the Congress is united, the unity and prosperity of the country is assured.' This, I must submit, is a very shortsighted, nay, a very perverse, policy that is being followed by the Party in

power. The Congress and the Government, from the beginning, have made one great mistake.

Shri Kamath : Blunder.

Acharya Kripalani : It is that of altogether ignoring other parties. But how can the Congress take the Opposition into confidence? They think that those who have the temerity to differ from the Congress are not only the opponents of the Congress but are the enemies of the country. Their every movement is to be watched.

May I, Sir, give a personal example? Whenever I have taken short distance ticket, the ticket examiner has come and politely asked me about my health and then said that he wanted to see my ticket.

Shri S. S. More (Sholapur). That is the experience of all who sit on this side.

Acharya Kripalani : Being familiar with these things under the foreign, imperial rule, I smiled, because he does not see the tickets of others who are in the compartment. Then I ask him, 'Are you doing this in connection with your everyday duties as a railway employee or have you been asked by the police?' He smiles. He says, 'You know, we have got to do it'. When I take a long-distance ticket, of course the Government know because generally there is reservation and everything is known to the police.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker : He need not purchase ticket now.

Shri Kamath : And no reservation.

Acharya Kripalani : As there is no reservation, they do not know.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker : Can they not find out from the pass where the hon. Member is going?

Acharya Kripalani : Recently I went to Meerut, to my Ashram, and the same thing happened. He asked me: "महाराज, आप की तन्दुरुस्ती कैसी है? आजकल आप दुबले लगते हैं। क्या मैं आप का टिकट देख सकता हूँ?"

It is not that they do not know me. They know me. They also know that I am not a person likely to travel without

ticket. They also know that no ticket is necessary because I have got a free pass.

This is not all. Whenever I make a speech, police reporters come to record it. The speech may be in connection with social reform, it may be in connection with village industry. Recently I made a speech in connection with *bhoodan*, which has nothing to do with politics, *bhoodan* which is supported by every ambitious politician in the Congress....

An Hon. Member: Progressive.

Acharya Kripalani :.... I accept the correction and a posse of police reporters came, as usual in imperial times with their tables and chairs and dominated over the meeting, when we were all sitting on the ground.

An Hon. Member : They want buddhidan.

Acharya Kripalani : My Bihari friends know it, because it was reported in the Press also. I told these reporters, 'What are you reporting here?' I want this Government to quit, and I have said so on the floor of the Lok Sabha, when I was a member of the Congress, when I was not in Opposition. It is our democratic right to say that the Government be demolished if it does not come to our expectation. There will be no democracy if there was no eternal criticism going on in the country. (*Interruptions*). I say, why waste money on these CID people? Why not send them to catch thieves, robbers and murderers who are going free in this country today?

After the last session I went to Poona. My host told me that the house was being watched by two CIDs. I went out and enquired from those men—the men were pointed out to me—and I said: Why are you here? They said: Sir, we have been asked to observe your movements. I said: Are there not thieves and robbers where your services can be better utilised; do you consider the ex-General Secretary of the Congress and the ex-President of the Congress to be a thief and robber? I say this is politically wrong; it is morally immoral. I say it is vulgar. But these things are being done.

I do not put any claims as a leader of the Opposition. But, I have been the General Secretary of the Congress for

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more than a decade. I have been the President of the Congress at a time when that position was considered the highest honour that the country could bestow upon any of its citizens. And, if today this is the treatment that I get what must be the treatment that ordinary Members of the Opposition must be getting? Is there any reasonableness left in this Government; is there any sense of decency left in the Government if they do these things? We protested even against these things when foreigners were practising them.

In my opinion, if the reorganisation of the States has to be done on any reasonable basis, the present is not the time for it. The general atmosphere in the country is so surcharged with passion, is so excited that a cool consideration of the problem is impossible. I would, therefore, humbly request that, for the time being, we should drop the question and concentrate our attention on the basic issues that confront us and these, as I have said, are the poverty of our people and their abysmal ignorance. After some time, when the atmosphere is calm and people consider it, can without being excited by parochial and partisan passions, we can sit together as friends and as those who have the best interests of the country at heart and find out a solution that will not only benefit the country but will also be generally acceptable. I will, therefore, make an earnest appeal—to whom shall I make the appeal, the responsible persons are absent....

Shri B. D. Pande (Almora Distt.—North-East) : Durwasa does not appeal but he gives only *shrap*, (श्राप)

Acharya Kripalani : This is all the impression that has been made upon an old congressman by my impassioned appeal. None is so blind as those who will not see and none so foolish as those who will not understand. I would, therefore, make an earnest appeal not only to the Government—he would not wait to hear what I have to say; my friend, may I tell him that I am not addressing only the Opposition. I would, therefore, make an earnest appeal not only to the Government but to the opposition parties and the people of India to drop the question of the reorganisation of the States for the time being till a calm atmosphere has been created and people can think coherently and, if I may say so, honestly, without passion and without anger.

Swami Ramananda Tirtha (Gulberga):

Mr. Deputy-Speaker, the Address of the President is a document which enumerates the achievements of the Government in a simple and forthright manner. It is not couched in ambiguous terms but it states facts in a very clear manner. I should say it is quite unassuming in its enumeration. It cuts a note of cautious optimism though it is not oblivious to the handicaps and the defects that have been left in the whole course of events. It is bound to elicit appreciation on the part of every Member of this Lok Sabha though criticisms are bound to be levelled against some aspects of it.

I am not going to dilate upon the foreign policy of this Government nor upon the impact which it had on the councils of the world. The very fact that there is an increasing appreciation of our foreign policy is something which proves the correctness of the attitude of peaceful democracy which we have adopted in solving the problems of the world. The admission of 16 nations to the United Nations Organisation is an achievement which conclusively proves the effectiveness and the correctness of our foreign policy.

I have to refer to a matter or two very briefly with an anxiety to know how the matters stand. The question of Goa is still unsolved. Whether it is a province of Portugal or a colony—the great Foreign Secretary of the USA has said that it is a province of Portugal. If I understand it correctly, it should mean that the people of Goa and other Portuguese territories in India have not the right to liberate themselves from the Portuguese Empire. If that is so, what has the Government done in repudiating this statement of the great statesman of the USA? Sir, it is no use simply saying that the statement of Dulles is wrong. I do not find anything in this Address which shows even in the remotest degree that the problem of Goa is nearer the solution. I would like to know from the Government, except for what it has done in enforcing economic sanctions and the economic blockade, which perhaps has resulted in greater miseries to the people of Goa, what further steps the Government has taken in order to bring the solution of the Goa problem nearer home? Is it that those who feel keen about this problem have only to reconcile themselves to the inevitable and wait for the

day when through the good counsels of international statesmen the problem could be solved? I wish the Government comes forward with a clearer enunciation of policy in this respect fully knowing that only peaceful methods can be employed in the solution of this problem. It is at the same time perfectly right for us to know what concrete steps the Government is taking for liberating these Portuguese territories from the clutches of that empire.

2 P.M.

I would like to refer to two more points. The Second Five-Year Plan is on the anvil. We have completed one stage of the journey and are embarking upon the second one and perhaps a more fateful one as the President has aptly stated. Though the targets of the First Five-Year Plan have been approximately reached, we have got an ambitious programme of work, and it is no use minimising the magnitude of the plan which we visualise. What is the social gain and the quantum of the removal of inequalities that we visualise? After all, the increase in production or addition of certain quantum of material in the land is not going to give us the satisfaction of having ushered in a just social order, by whatever name we call it. The inequalities are growing and if the Second Five-Year Plan does not guarantee the removal in some substantial measure of these inequalities, I have to say that we will lose faith not only in democratic planning but in democracy itself. Therefore, it is of vital importance for all of us to see that the defects that were found out in the working of the First Five-Year Plan do not continue in the Second Five-Year Plan. What is this social gain? I am one who has to travel a lot in the countryside. If there is any gain, social or otherwise, it may be restricted to the urban areas, but so far as the rural areas are concerned, the benefits accruing from the First Five-Year Plan have not been felt. In all realism I have to state that the feelings of the achievement of the First Five-Year Plan have not been found in the rural areas. What is the cause? The cause is that the administrative machinery has a method of its own to function. The democratic approach, the mass approach, the people's approach has not yet been sufficiently cultivated, and I would urge upon the Government to see that if the Second Five-Year Plan is to be a model of success, the defects in the functioning of the administrative machinery will have to be

done away with. I do not want to carry this point further because we have got ample opportunities while discussing the Second Five-Year Plan. The people's co-operation and enthusiasm is there in the fullest measure but that wanes and dampens as there is no effective response or adequate response on the part of the administration.

One word more and I shall have finished. I do not want to take the time of the Lok Sabha in matters which are not important, but let me say that we are pledged to a democratic and peaceful method, a democratic approach for the solution of all problems, internal and international. So far so good. But one thing all of us have to remember is that the State machinery, the administrative machinery, is only a small part of the democratic functioning. Whether we sit on this side of the House or the opposite, it is for us to cultivate this spirit of democratic approach and make the people appreciate it and imbibe it. The responsibility of the Government now in this respect is more than ever because after all, if the people come to feel that justice is denied or justice is delayed, they will lose faith in a democratic approach of life. Therefore, I would urge upon the Government to solve the problems so that justice may be carried to the people's hearts and no misgivings or misconceptions or misapprehensions are left that by peaceful methods justice cannot be achieved. Let us once for all cease to think in terms of bullets, brickbats and acid bulbs; neither the people nor the Government can feel glorified if violent methods are pursued. I do not wish to blame this section of the people or that. I am not one who would feel enthused over the rash achievements of any section of the people, but after all, if democracy is to function in an atmosphere of bullets and brickbats, whether on the part of the Government or on the part of people, that is a sad day for this infant democracy.

Lastly, I would join issue with my learned friend, Acharya Kripalani, who has counselled us—the people, the Government, the Opposition, one and all and sundry—to postpone the question of the reorganisation of the States to a future date, I do not know for how long, but as he himself has stated, till the tempers are cooled down. I call it a counsel of despair. I do not think that because certain crimes are committed by a section of the people the

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national problems have to continue unresolved. That is the failure of the leadership; that is the failure of the people as a whole and democracy as such. We have to solve the problem, the problem of the reorganisation of States. If we have failed in some measure and in certain aspects let us rectify the mistakes. Let us not talk in terms of violent methods. As one who has something to do with the formation of the Maharashtra State, I completely and fully condemn the acts of violence committed in Bombay....

Shri Kamath : By the Government also.

Swami Ramananda Tirtha : At the same time, I feel sorry that the Government also has used the bullets—whether proportionately or not is a matter for investigation. But as one who has something to do with the formation of the Maharashtra State, I say this. I do not want to say what the Government should do or should not do. But people have to be cautious. I wish to state on the floor of the Lok Sabha that only by the democratic methods of persuasion and conversion and argumentation and conviction, the problem of Bombay has to be solved.

◀ **श्री राम शरण (ज़िला मुरादाबाद—पश्चिम) :** राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण के सम्बन्ध में मेरा कुछ ज्यादा कहने का विचार नहीं है। मैं केवल दो-तीन बातों के सम्बन्ध में ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूँ।

राष्ट्रपति के भाषण के पैराग्राफ १८ में लिखा है :—

समाजवाद के नमूने पर समाज की स्थापना, राष्ट्रीय धाय का समुचित स्तर तक विकास और देश के सभी नागरिकों के लिये समान भवसर—इन सभी आदर्शों को पूरा करने के लिये अभी हमें बहुत कुछ करना रहता है। परन्तु हम प्रगति के पथ को अपना चुके हैं। हमारी उन्नति के आधारभूत भापदंड सदा समाज का हित और असमता का क्रमिक निराकरण होंगे।

पैराग्राफ १७ में यह दिया हुआ है :—

लोगों को अधिक रोजगार दिलाने और कई प्रकार का उपभोग का सामान पैदा करने की दृष्टि से, उत्पादन की उन विधियों पर अधिक जोर दिया जायेगा, जिनमें

अधिक से अधिक हाथ रूप सकें। विशेषकर कुटीर और ग्रामोद्योगों पर भरोसा किया जायेगा। सामुदायिक योजना और राष्ट्रीय विस्तार सेवाओं के फलस्वरूप देश के बहुत से देहातों में पहले ही क्रांतिकारी परिवर्तन हो चुके हैं।

उपाध्यक्ष जी, हमारे देश का सब से बड़ा प्रश्न बेरोजगारी का है। इस प्रश्न को हम किस प्रकार हल कर सकते हैं? जहाँ तक हम उस को हल कर सकेंगे, वहाँ तक हमारी सफलता होगी। द्वितीय पंचवर्षीय योजना में हम औद्योगीकरण के ऊपर अधिक जोर दे रहे हैं। उस में अधिक धन लगेगा, लेकिन काम कम लोगों को मिलेगा। द्वितीय पंचवर्षीय योजना की अवधि में हम ६ या १० मिलियन—एक करोड़ के करीब—लोगों को काम दिला सकेंगे। उन को काम दिलाने के मुख्य साधन ग्रामोद्योग और कुटीर उद्योग माने गये हैं। इसी का थोड़ा सा संकेत राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने अभिभाषण में किया है। उन्होंने कहा है कि अधिक से अधिक हाथ लगाने के लिये—अधिक से अधिक लोगों को काम दिलाने के लिये हम को ग्रामोद्योगों और कुटीर उद्योगों के ऊपर निर्भर करना पड़ेगा। मैं समझता हूँ कि इस सम्बन्ध में गवर्नमेंट की नीति स्पष्ट नहीं है।

मेरे स्थान में इन उद्योगों को दो दृष्टिकोणों से देखा जा सकता है। एक दृष्टिकोण के अनुसार इन को रिलीफ मेजर के रूप में—सहायता के रूप में देखा जाता है। यह सोचा जाता है कि लोगों को काम दिलाने में इन से कुछ सहायता मिल सकती है। कुछ लोग समझते हैं कि हम ग्रामोद्योगों और कुटीर उद्योगों से तभी तक काम लेंगे, जब तक कि वे रिलीफ के तौर पर—सहायता के तौर पर सहायक हो सकें और जब हम लोगों को बड़े बड़े उद्योगों—बड़ी-बड़ी इंडस्ट्रीज में लगा सकेंगे, तो हम इन उद्योगों को खत्म कर देंगे।

दूसरा दृष्टिकोण यह है कि हमारा देश एक कृषि-प्रधान देश है और हम इसको एक उद्योग प्रधान देश नहीं बना सकते हैं। हम यहाँ पर कितने ही अधिक उद्योग क्यों न चलायें, हम को यहाँ कृषि की प्रधानता रखनी ही होगी। देहात के असंख्य लोगों को बड़े बड़े उद्योगों में लगाना सम्भव नहीं है। ऐसी अवस्था में हम को देहात में ऐसे कुटीर उद्योग और ग्रामोद्योग चलाने होंगे, जो उन लोगों का एक सहायक व्यवसाय बन सकें, जिन के पास थोड़ा काम है और उन

लोगों को भी उन में खपाया जा सके, जिन के पास कोई काम नहीं है—जिनमें दोनों प्रकार के लोगों को लगाया जा सके। केवल कुटीर उद्योगों और ग्रामोद्योगों में ही अन-एम्प्लायड (बेरोजगार) और ग्रंडर-एम्प्लायड (कम रोजगार वाले) दोनों प्रकार के लोगों को लगाया जा सकता है। दूसरे शब्दों में दूसरा दृष्टिकोण यह है कि इन उद्योगों को हम केवल सहायक व्यवसाय ही न मानें, रिलीफ़ मेज़र ही न मानें, बल्कि यह समझें कि वे हमारे जीवन का इन्टिगरल पार्ट हैं, आधारशिला हैं और उन के बिना हमारे देश का काम नहीं चल सकता है, इस लिये इन के सम्बर्धन और उन्नति के लिये अधिक से अधिक प्रयत्न करना चाहिये। हमारी नीति स्पष्ट होनी चाहिये कि हम बड़े उद्योगों को तभी अपनायेंगे जब कि उन के बिना काम न चले और ग्रामोद्योगों को हम अधिक से अधिक प्रोत्साहन देंगे। खास तौर पर जीवन के लिये जो नितान्त आवश्यक चीज़ें हैं, यानी अन्न और वस्त्र, उन के लिये हम ग्रामोद्योगों का सहारा लेंगे। अगर हमारी यह नीति हो, तो यह कहा जा सकता है कि हम ग्रामोद्योगों को अच्छी प्रकार से प्रोत्साहन दे सकते हैं और अच्छी तरह चला सकते हैं।

जैसा कि प्रायः कहा जाता है, हम को अपनी राष्ट्रीय आय को बढ़ाना है। जैसा कि अभी आचार्य कृपालानी ने कहा है, राष्ट्रीय आय बढ़ सकती है—प्रथम पंचवर्षीय योजना में यह १८ प्रतिशत बढ़ी और अगली योजना में उस को २५ प्रतिशत बढ़ाने का विचार है—लेकिन उस के साथ ही साथ ऐसा भी हो सकता है कि जो गांव के रहने वाले हैं, जो आम जनता है, उस की स्थिति न सुधरे। ऐसा हो सकता है कि बड़े उद्योग चलाने के कारण देश में धन और पैदावार बढ़े—और उस की औसत भी बढ़ सकती है—लेकिन उस के साथ ही साथ यह भी सम्भव है कि उसमें भी गरीबों की स्थिति, जनसाधारण की स्थिति सुधरे। इस लिये यह आवश्यक है कि हमारा मापदंड हो अनन्योदय—सर्वोदय, जिस का मतलब यह है कि अन टु दि लास्ट मेन—आखिरी आदमी तक, गरीब से गरीब आदमी की स्थिति संभले। यदि गांव के गरीब लोगों, हरिजनों, लैंडलेस लेबरर्स (भूमिहीन मजदूर) इत्यादि की स्थिति संभलती है, अगर वे अपने आप को सुखी महसूस करते हैं, अगर वे समझते हैं कि उनके खाने-पीने, कपड़ा, मकान, दवा-दारू, बच्चों की पढ़ाई आदि का समुचित प्रबन्ध है, जो कि

मनुष्य के जीवन के लिये नितान्त आवश्यक वस्तुएं हैं, तब ही यह कहा जा सकता है कि जनसाधारण की स्थिति संभली है और इन वस्तुओं का प्रबन्ध करने के लिये—गरीब से गरीब आदमियों के खाने और कपड़े का प्रबन्ध करने के लिये सिवा कुटीर उद्योगों और ग्रामोद्योगों के दूसरा कोई साधन दिखाई नहीं देता है।

आजकल देहात में रहने वाले साधारण लोगों का अगर खाने और कपड़े का थोड़ा सा भी प्रबन्ध हो जाता है तो वे समझने लगते हैं कि उन का जीवन सुखी हो जायेगा। लेकिन एक स्वतन्त्र देश में जहां पर गणतन्त्रात्मक शासन हो सुखी उसी को समझना चाहिये जिस को संतुलित भोजन मिलता हो, जितना हमारे देश में औसत है यानी १८ गज कपड़ा मिलता हो, जिसके पास अपना मकान हो, और साथ ही साथ उस के बच्चों की पढ़ाई का प्रबन्ध हो और बीमारी के लिये दवा दारू का प्रबन्ध हो। जब तक यह सब नहीं हो जायेगा तब तक यह नहीं कहा जा सकेगा कि साधारण आदमी की स्थिति सुधर गई है। तो हम जो आगे नियोजन करने जा रहे हैं उस में हम को यह दृष्टिकोण अपने सामने रखना चाहिये। आजकल जो हमारी सामुदायिक विकास योजनायें और राष्ट्रीय विस्तार सेवा योजनायें चल रही हैं उन में सरकारी नौकरों द्वारा यदि कार्यकर्ता की दृष्टि से काम किया जाता है तो वहां अच्छा परिणाम दिखाई पड़ता है, उन स्थानों में फसलें अच्छी हो रही हैं, आबपाशी का प्रबन्ध हो गया है, अच्छे बीज का प्रबन्ध है और खाद आदि का प्रबन्ध है। उन जगहों में देहात की सड़कों में खरंजे भी लग गये हैं, और देखने में स्थिति अच्छी मालूम होती है। लेकिन अभी वहां के लोगों के लिये हम को संतुलित भोजन और पर्याप्त वस्त्र का प्रबन्ध करना है जो कि अभी तक नहीं किया जा सका है। इस के लिये हमें आगे नियोजन करना चाहिये।

आज ही के समाचार पत्रों में कम्युनिटी प्राजेक्ट के एडमिनिस्ट्रेटर श्री डे ने एक वक्तव्य में बताया है कि हम देहात की अवस्था सुधारने में कुछ अंशों में तो सफल हुए हैं लेकिन जहां तक ग्रामोद्योगों का सवाल है, जहां तक सहकार समितियों का सवाल है और जहां तक पंचायतों का सवाल है, हम सफल नहीं हुए हैं। इस लिये मेरा कहना है कि जब तक हम अपनी योजना में ग्रामोद्योगों का समावेश नहीं करेंगे तब तक

[श्री राम शरण]

साधारण प्रादमी की स्थिति नहीं सुधरेगी और वह अपने आप को सुखी अनुभव नहीं करेगा। हम को सब से पहले तो देहात वालों के लिए संतुलित भोजन का प्रबन्ध करना चाहिये। यही जरूरी नहीं है कि इस प्रकार की खेती करायी जाये कि गांव वालों को कुछ पैसा मिल जाये बल्कि यह भी आवश्यक है कि वे उन वस्तुओं को पैदा करें जो कि उन के भोजन के लिये आवश्यक हैं। इस के लिये हमें खेती नियोजन का प्लेनिंग करना होगा।

इस के साथ ही एक चीज की ओर हमको और ध्यान देना चाहिये। हम देखते हैं कि देहात में जो चीज पैदा होती है वह कच्ची हालत में ही शहरों में चली आती है और फिर शहर से ठीक तैयार हो कर देहात में आती है। हमको ऐसा प्रबन्ध करना चाहिये जो चीज गांवों में पैदा हो उस का प्रोसेसिंग भी वहीं किया जाये। इस के साथ ही साथ हम को को-ऑपरेटिव मार्केटिंग की भी व्यवस्था करनी चाहिये ताकि जो चीज गांवों में पैदा होती है उस को गांव वाले रोक कर रख सकें और उस को कम कीमत में बेचने के लिये बाध्य न हों बल्कि जब उसकी जरूरत हो तब उसको बेचें जिससे कि कीमत बढ़ने का जो लाभ है वह गांव वालों को मिले। इस लिये यदि हम इन बातों का समावेश अपनी योजना में करें और साथ ही साथ इस बात का भी प्रबन्ध करें कि देहात वालों की आम जरूरत की चीजें देहात में ही तैयार की जायें, तो जो अण्डर एम्पलाइड और अनएम्पलाइड हैं उन को हम रोजगार दे सकेंगे। तब हमको अपनी भाग्य की योजना में ग्रामोद्योगों और कुटीर उद्योगों के लिये विशेष रूप से व्यवस्था करनी चाहिये। जब तक हम यह नहीं करेंगे तब तक हमारी दूसरी पंच-वर्षीय योजना अधूरी ही रहेगी। चाहे हम अपने देश में कितना ही उद्योगीकरण करें, चाहे हम अपनी पैदावार कितनी ही बढ़ायें और साथ ही साथ औसत राष्ट्रीय आय भी हम बढ़ा दें, लेकिन असली मानों में हम अपने देश को तभी आगे बढ़ा सकेंगे जब हम साधारण व्यक्तियों को और खास तौर से अन्तिम व्यक्ति को, जो कि बेरोजगार है, जिस के पास भूमि नहीं है और न कोई दूसरा काम है, काम दे सकेंगे। तभी हम उन लोगों को सुखी बना सकेंगे जब हम उनको रोजगार दे सकेंगे। इस लिये मेरा कहना यही है कि हम को इस दृष्टिकोण की योजना बनाते समय विशेष रूप से सामने रखना

चाहिये। मैं चाहता हूँ कि सरकार अपनी औद्योगिक नीति का स्पष्टीकरण करें क्योंकि इस का स्पष्टीकरण किये बिना न तो हमारा देश असली मानों में उन्नति कर सकता है, न उस का उद्धार हो सकता है।

Shri H. N. Mukerjee (Calcutta North-East): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, once again we are discussing the President's Address and it is an occasion when Parliament and the Government take stock and announce measures and policies. But, I fear I have to say that with characteristic ineptitude, which they seek to cover up with brave words, the advisers of the President have bungled badly. They mouth words and phrases regarding wisdom and tolerance and at the same time brandish the big stick against the people. A little while ago we heard a speech from Acharya Kripalani when he pointed out certain instances of the kind of behaviour which he gets from the Government of this country inspite of his having been a former President of the Congress Organisation, and that only reminds us how there continues to be a barrier, a tremendous wall of separation between the Government and the people which is only too obvious in the present state of affairs. I say this as much in sorrow as in anger because I feel there was a tremendous opportunity for Government to behave in a manner which would have brought the people together.

Our foreign policy has its limitations but, by and large, the people were ready to applaud it. The Second Five-Year Plan, which has not yet been finally formulated, has certain obvious lacunae but the people had a desire, a very eager desire to work all together for the reconstruction of the country. It was, therefore, an opportunity for Government to come forward with such policies and measures which would assist the people really and truly to contribute to the common welfare. But, it is exactly at this moment of time that the Government behaves in a manner which shows that it is afraid of working with the people, it is afraid of the people going ahead to take charge of the reconstruction of their own country, and that is why I say that particularly in regard to the question of reorganisation of the States the bankruptcy of this administration is today so very patent. It is a tragedy which all of us feel deeply because today there was a necessity for all sections of the people to come together, but this Government by its

policy of vacillation, ineptitude and its policy of working against the interests of the people is responsible for the present position.

Today the most important single fact in our national life is the failure of Government to pursue a principled and consistent policy regarding the reorganisation of States. Bombay City today is bleeding in a thousand wounds and that has happened because the wounds have been inflicted by the Government's premeditated perversity. That perversity has blinded certain sections of our people to behave in a manner which nobody supports. Nobody supports the kind of thing which happened in Bombay as far as the attack on life and property is concerned. There is no doubt about it. Nobody supports it, but there is also no doubt about the complete mismanagement of the situation in regard to the Maharashtra problem which brought about a state of things where this kind of things happened. What do we see? How do the Government and its most responsible spokesmen behave like? The Congress Party had its annual celebration at Amritsar only the other day and there, of all things, while moving a resolution on Buddha Jayanti, the Prime Minister went out of his way to talk about the violence and terrorism mainly in Bombay and said that the challenge must be firmly faced and he also said that the solution of such problems in the street "must be met in the streets". Those were the Prime Minister's own words. This reference to the "streets" was made here in the Lok Sabha by a former colleague in the cabinet of the Prime Minister himself, Shri Gadgil, who continues to be at present a colleague of the Prime Minister in the party. He referred to the question of the streets of Bombay only because he wanted to give expression to the very democratic idea that the question of Samyukta Maharashtra will have to be decided by the people of that area, and in Bombay naturally, there would be demonstrations because that is the traditional way in which our people have been taught and have very rightly been taught to express their desire. It was a very innocent desire with which Shri Gadgil used that expression, "streets of Bombay." After so many things had happened, after everybody had come forward to denounce those acts of arson, etc., which Government makes so much of,—after all that has

happened—the Prime Minister says from his position of authority that they shall be met in the streets. I cannot conceive of a parliamentary set-up in any country where a Prime Minister in his party meeting challenges the people in the manner in which the Prime Minister has done on this occasion. I find also that in the same Congress celebrations the Prime Minister made another speech where he said that he disapproved of the expression, "the Congress High Command," because all decisions are taken from below; nothing is imposed from above. I fear that the Prime Minister, when he said it, had said goodbye to a sense of humour, because the most patent item in political life today is the imposition of the Congress High Command on different areas of our country, of certain decisions which members of the Congress themselves cannot swallow without betraying their own conscience. That is exactly the position which has arisen in our country today. I have not got the time to go into details over Bombay. There are so many other matters, but it shows how our country is suffering today, and for the cause of that suffering there is no attempt at understanding and there is no effort to eliminate the cause of that suffering and there is an attempt to impose solutions from above while words and phrases are mouthed about the "Congress High Command" being a very inappropriate expression, for, the decisions emerge from below, from out of the hearts of the people and so on and so forth. I say this is hypocrisy of the worst water and unless Government can get rid of the hypocrisy Government will not be able to mobilise public sentiment that is the greatest need today. The greatest need today is the mobilisation of the unity which, as I indicated earlier, was a reality and a possibility that should have been achieved and could have been achieved. But the pitch has been queered by the disgraceful tactics which the Government had taken resort to.

I feel also that I must refer to Punjab. I do not know what opportunistic devices are being canvassed behind the scenes in regard to the solution of the Punjab problem. To my mind, the Punjab problem is simple enough. If you provide for a genuine Punjabi-speaking State you can solve it, I think it is simple enough, but it does not appear simple enough to the Government of our country.

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I find also in Amritsar, at the Congress session, the Prime Minister referred to the procession which the Akali movement got up in that city as a *tamasha*. I am not very sure about the Akalis, though I have particularly very great esteem for their leader in this House, my friend Sardar Hukam Singh. I am not very sure about the Akalis, but they brought out a tremendous procession. It demonstrated a certain basic desire of the people. There is no getting away from it. But to the Prime Minister it was a *tamasha*. That is how he looks upon the democratic methods which the people are taking recourse to. We are talking about democratic processes. It was a very terrific demonstration which they could mobilise in Amritsar and take along the streets of Amritsar, and very likely that was a democratic demonstration of which the Prime Minister should have been proud. He should have tried to understand what was behind the demonstration, but he pooh-poohed that as a *tamasha*. If it was a Congress *tamasha* it would have been something on top of the world, but naturally, the other demonstration had to be ridiculed! That is the kind of anti-democratic and anti-people attitude which Government shows from time to time.

In regard to the other problems and particularly in regard to a problem which hardly exists, the Government has come forward with a "solution" which, to say the least, is fantastic. I refer to the question of the proposed merger of West Bengal and Bihar. It may be very salutary for an individual to stand on his head from time to time and to practice *shirsasana*, "शीर्षसन" but you cannot solve a problem by standing it on its head. It is no good saying that because certain things have happened somewhere else, we are going to have a "solution" in West Bengal and Bihar, that we are going to have shock therapy or some thing of that sort. That is the excuse which is being put forward by the Government of the day. Actually, what should be done is, if there is any belief in the democratic process, to consult the desire of the people, and there should be reference to the desire of the people, and the desire of the people, as far as these questions regarding the proposed merger of West Bengal and Bihar or Samyukta Maharashtra are concerned, is clear enough. There is no doubt about it. That is why I find a very orthodox and loyal

Congress paper, the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, wrote editorially on the 11th February as follows:

"The violence indulged in by certain sections of the people must not be used as a pretext for not modifying or cancelling decisions that were taken by agreement and that have proved extremely unpopular. We only plead that if the Congress High Command, on a careful examination of their whole case, comes to be convinced that the decisions already taken are wrong, they must not shrink from modifying or rescinding those decisions simply because of the disturbances in Bombay and Orissa."

This paper is trying very mildly and moderately and loyally to impress on the Congress High Command that a decision should not be taken in a huff and that because allegations have come from Bombay and Orissa or anywhere else regarding violence this kind of shock treatment should not be practised. As far as violence goes, already it has been said—and later this matter would be discussed in greater detail—that violence in Bombay has been leonine and dreadful on the Government side and if there is a judicial enquiry, a great deal of material will come out and it will show up the picture as it really has been. But that is a different aspect of the matter. Because violence has happened somewhere, because Government have mismanaged the whole thing, because provocative utterances have been made by all kinds of people from the Prime Minister downwards, the situation in Bombay was absolutely in a mess. There is no doubt about it, but because of that, you are not going to be allowed by the people of this country to swallow those principles which you have placarded so long, to repudiate those principles which are in conformity with the desires of the people and the needs of the people and to go back upon the principle of the redistribution of States on the linguistic principle. You cannot do that, and you cannot bring forward this kind of shock remedy like the merger of West Bengal and Bihar or the formation of Dakshin Pradesh or Paschim Pradesh or Heaven knows what other conglomerations they are conceiving of just at the present moment. You cannot do that. What you have to do is to realise how far the desire for the linguistic reorganisation of the States is the real desire of the

people and how far today you can realise it in practice. As for its being the real desire of the people, there is no doubt. It is only after coming into power that the Congress began to be apprehensive about linguistic redistribution of States, and that is why the Dar Commission and the JVP Committee produced the kind of thing which they did. But the States Reorganisation Commission which was appointed a few years ago and reported last year has at least made it very clear that you cannot play with fire, that you cannot make the people so impatient and that the people cannot just stomach your kind of administration and that it is absolutely necessary that by and large we should have a linguistic redistribution of States. There is no doubt about it. I do not know which wiseacre coined the expression "linguism" in order to have a kind of pernicious parody of the people's emotion. The people want the linguistic re-organisation of States because that is the only way in which, democratically speaking, they can participate in the administration, they can follow the proceedings of the legislature, they can themselves be members of the legislature and they can understand what is happening in the courts. For these purposes, the language of that particular area should be employed. It is not necessary at all at this present moment to argue about the desirability of the linguistic re-organisation of the States. They have tried to laugh it out of court merely by introducing the word "linguism". You can laugh at the Himalayas and say that it is a hell of a lot of straggly rock; you can laugh at the seas on the three sides of the country and say it is a dull ditch; but, these are matters of fact and the desire of the people for the linguistic redistribution of the States is a basic matter of fact and you cannot go against it. I find all kinds of arguments. In spite of the absolutely indisputable desire of the people, all sorts of things are being said in order to confuse matters. We have been told that we want a united India and that this linguistic distribution of States is going to stand in the way. I do not see how that can happen. Whoever knows anything about the history of India or about the position of India today knows it very well that we have unity in diversity. There is no getting away from it. You cannot repudiate the facts of history; you must realise that unity cannot last unless it is broad-based upon the consent of the people. There is no getting away from it also that we

have in this country a sense of unity from Kanya Kumari to Kashmir, from Kamakhya in Assam to Dwaraka in Gujarat and we have so many places of pilgrimage, the seven rivers and so on in our *Maha Bharata*. And after the Muslims came there happened a new synthesis of culture. That sense of unity is ingrained in our hearts. But that sense of Indian unity can only be made a practicality, in terms of real political life, if you have your States organised on the linguistic basis. There is no question about it. You can only have unity when it is broad-based on the desire of the people. Therefore, today those who talk about unity are talking through their hat consciously or unconsciously if they suggest at the same time that linguistic States are a barrier in the achievement of their unity. What exactly do they say when they suggest that because they are wonderful Indian patriots, they want a Paschim Pradesh or Poorva Pradesh or Dakshin Pradesh? I know some of the things which they are saying. I know what is being said in West Bengal and Bihar. The papers do not always report it. The Chief Minister of West Bengal, when he is confronted with the question that in the United States of West Bengal and Bihar the Bengali-speaking people would be in a hopeless minority as far as numbers go, answered that Bengalis would have quality as against numbers and by reason of quality, they could dominate. And his Bihari counterpart may very well have been saying "Look here, these crafty Bengalis may imagine that because they had learnt the English alphabet before we did, they can lord it over us. But we are numerous enough to teach them certain lessons". I do not know what they exactly said, but very naturally they might have said so. The West Bengal Chief Minister said that by reason of the quality of the Bengali brain or whatever it was, the Bengalis could dominate the Biharis. What is all this non-sense? This kind of propaganda is being done. Again, it is being said that the Bengalis need not be perturbed because in Bihar there are lots of discontented Bengalis who will come over to you. There are the Adivasis—I do not see Mr. Jaipal Singh here—and, it is being said that Bengalis who are supposed to be cleverer than the Biharis, can get round the Adivasis and just try to see that they support the Bengalis every time. We are therefore being told to continue this miserable campaign of crafty power politics as between Bengalis and Biharis. In this House, when the States Reorganisation Report was

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being discussed, Mr. Gopalan, our leader, gave us the slogan "Bengali-Bihari Bhai Bhai", but that can only happen on the basis that Bengalis and Biharis have their own States. But if they come together and merge their States on crafty understandings, what will happen? Only the other day I also had occasion to say a few things about that, but I hardly have time to repeat them. Before the S.R.C. from West Bengal and from Bihar evidence was given by leading representatives of the Congress Party which suggested how bad and ugly the barrier between them was. The President of the West Bengal Congress Committee went so far as to say that Government money in Bihar was being employed for getting people drunk, for getting them to beat up the Bengalis and for seeing that the Bengalis do not have their say on the question of the reorganisation of the States. All kinds of allegations and counter-allegations, which are too dirty to be bandied about in this House, were being made by leading representatives of the Congress Party at that time. Opportunistic claims for larger territory than was really due to one or the other on the basis of the linguistic principle were being pressed by one party against the other. But, suddenly by an act of magic in which may be the Prime Minister has come to believe these days—he might have changed his rationalism suddenly by an act of magic—the two Chief Ministers come forward and say, we shall have a United State. And, then, they go back to their followers and talk in a chauvinistic way saying that the Bengalis can control the United States of West Bengal and Bihar or that the Biharis can control the so-called United States. This control will not be in the interests. . . .

Shri C. R. Narasimhan (Krishnagiri): The hon. Member referred to a statement by the Chief Minister of West Bengal.

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: Whatever be the interruption, I am going to proceed.

Shri C. R. Narasimhan: On a point of order, Sir, the hon. Member referred to a statement by the Chief Minister of West Bengal to the effect that in the proposed State, the Bengalis would dominate simply by their brain. Such a statement is attributed to the Chief Minister of West Bengal. I want to know whether there is any evidence for it.

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: It came out in the papers and if necessary, I can certainly produce reports. In Bengal it is such common knowledge. . . .

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Order, order. A point of order has been raised that a particular statement made by the hon. Member has to be supported by documentary evidence. If it is seriously challenged, Mr. Mukerjee is not going to go away from this House and I will ask him to show the papers. Usually we go upon the information given by hon. Members. If the hon. Member finds any statement which is conflicting with this, it is open to him to say so. Hon. Members are expected to be responsible for the statements which they make. In the absence of anything to the contrary, every statement made on the floor of the House need not be supported by documentary evidence. If there is anything contrary to what the hon. Member has said, we will take it up. In the meanwhile, the hon. Member will verify whether what he said is correct. Except in exceptional cases where the opinion of the House as a whole on a particular matter is sought for immediately, in other cases one can say, "To the best of my knowledge, this is the purport of the statement made and reported in the papers." Nothing more is necessary.

Shri C. R. Narasimhan: May I know from the hon. Member when and where the statement was made?

Sardar Hukam Singh (Kapurthala-Bhatinda): The hon. Member has a right to challenge the statement; but, what I understand from Mr. Mukerjee's speech is, whatever they might have actually said, it is being returned. What one man has said, the other man corrects.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The hon. Member wants to verify. When such points are raised. . . .

An Hon. Member: He must challenge.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: How can he challenge? How many years has he to look to? The hon. Member wants to know at what time approximately this statement was made so that he may also look into it. Shri H. N. Mukerjee may give a general idea as to what papers can he search.

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava (Gurgaon): I would like to know whether a report in the press is authentic and

it is to be taken as absolutely true. The hon. Member says that the hon. Chief Minister said that they wanted to dominate. I doubt very much whether that was said.

Dr. Ram Subhag Singh (Shahabad South): That was not said. I do not know whether that has been said or not. He did not say that as authentic. About West Bengal, what he has said has come out in the press and in the book also published by the Government of West Bengal.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Order, order. Generally I wish to say this for future guidance and adoption in the Lok Sabha. When particularly reference is made to statements of responsible people outside who are not here to defend themselves or explain their position, as far as possible, if the very statements are made, they would be quoted here. Otherwise, it becomes difficult if reference is made to somebody's report of some statement, because those people are not here. If their own statements themselves are referred to, we can have them certainly. They may take another opportunity in their own Assemblies or elsewhere to say that the statement made here has not been placed properly. These are all observations which may be borne in mind when we quote speeches of hon. Members particularly when they are a little damaging to their own position. Whatever may be the damage, if it is relevant here, the House should know it and certainly it is open to any hon. Member to make the statement here. We are only anxious about the correctness of the facts. The hon. Members will bear this in mind.

Shrimati Renu Chakravartty (Basirhat): May I point out, Sir, that in Bengal this has been stated from a thousand platforms. Even today it has not been denied by the person who is supposed to have made it or otherwise. It has come out in the press. No contradiction has come. Therefore, I think, at this stage for Shri C. R. Narasimhan to raise such a question is beside the point.

Shri C. R. Narasimhan: I have to defend myself, Sir, I wanted to find out through you whether the hon. Member could give me this information.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Shri H. N. Mukerjee will say when approximately

such statements were made. That is enough.

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: As far as I am concerned, I am sorry I have not got the extract with me at the moment. I can certainly supply it to be laid on the Table of the House if necessary, because I have an absolutely clear recollection about what he said. The reference to quality as against numbers in Bihar was something which is categorically stated by the Chief Minister in order to make the merger proposal acceptable to Bengal audiences.

This question of the merger of West Bengal with Bihar and the merger of other States is now being canvassed so strongly that we certainly should try to understand why it is happening. Why is it that we should deny the right of the people concerned to have their linguistic States? When that was more or less the decision already made on the basis of the S.R.C. Report? It is quite clear that if you have large conglomerations, you may conceivably have administrative convenience. But, that was a kind of excuse which only a foreign administration could put forward, especially when for the purposes of so-called administrative convenience which may or may not be correct, we are now going to deny the people of certain regions their right to shape their own affairs in their own way. I say this because our experience shows this. For example, in the composite Madras State, the Andhra Members of all parties have pointed out so many times in the Lok Sabha that because of the non-existence till recently of the Andhra State, the desire of the Andhra people for such a project as the Nandi Konda project could not be pushed through with the rapidity which was very necessary. The Andhras needed their own State. It is not that the average Tamil feels hostile towards an average Telugu. It is not that at all. But, there are certain power political forces which are working. That is why we find that it is necessary for the people concerned in particular regions to have their own State. Even today, I am told that the present Madras Government does not appear to be willing to take up the Barapole project which will bring considerable benefit to the Malayalees and the Coorgis in the West coast. Not that the Tamils do not like the Malayalees, or the Malayalees have anything against the Tamils. It is because, as I said, power political factors operate in a particular way. Therefore, in the present context of things, you can only satisfy

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the desire of the people if, wherever you find language groupings of sufficient strength and importance and geographical contiguity you give them the right to have their own State. That is also the lesson of our own history throughout the centuries. Unless, therefore, we can have these States, we shall not have real democracy functioning in our country.

I find also that it is said that we are going to have a unified plan for the whole country and therefore it is necessary to have the merger of certain States. Unless the Central Government has chosen to abdicate its functions altogether, I do not understand this argument at all. Planning is almost entirely a central function. If there has been friction between States in the execution of the plan, it is for the Centre to intervene. For example we have heard that in West Bengal as one of the arguments in favour of merger that over the execution of the Mayurakshi project there was some difficulty because the Bihar Government and the West Bengal Government could not consult each other intimately enough. Heaven knows for what reason they could not consult each other or could not get assistance from each other. If that was so, it was the job of the West Bengal Government or the Bihar Government at once to inform the Central Government or it was the job of the Central Government, which ought to be in the know, at once to intervene in the matter and see to it that the project was properly executed. For the purpose of having a planned national economy it is not necessary to have this kind of an artificial conglomeration which would disable the people from really exercising their democratic right, participating in the legislative functions, in understanding the work of the judiciary and everywhere having their own hand in the construction of their own country.

We have been told also that in order to achieve the unity of the country, we are going to have these large-scale conglomerations. In regard to this, a convention was held lately in Calcutta which was presided over by a very eminent individual, whose speech I have here in original, Bengali, Shri Atul Gupta, who has been President of the Congress Sahitya Sangh since its foundation. Every Congressman respects him as a leading intellectual, altogether one of the leaders of thought in that part of

the country. He says; "if you imagine"—I am giving a rough translation—"if you imagine that you can maintain and develop the unity of India by having multi-lingual States, then you are putting really a time bomb at the very structure of Indian unity. There will be an explosion afterwards because you are now giving an opportunity for all kinds of chauvinistic quarrels inside these administrative units." It is going to be a time bomb. That is how he describes it. It is picturesque, but true. Then, he also refers to the Constitution and history of our country. In the Constitution,—you were one of the participants in the formulation of the Constitution—you say, "India, that is Bharat, is a union of States." That is our understanding. If you want to change that understanding, well and good. Find out what the people think. But, don't sit in Amritsar or somewhere and say, this is the ukase, this is the order we give, you have to obey. In the Constitution you say "India, that is Bharat, is a Union of States." That is the understanding. We have a Schedule which mentions fourteen languages. We have "India in Maps" published by the Government of India in 1950 which shows how India is distributed between these linguistic units. Twelve of those languages cover the whole of our country with some very slight variations here and there. And of course, there are many dialects and many minorities who would be living in different language areas. For that purpose we have in the Constitution safeguards for minorities and so on and so forth. But our country is historically and geographically and culturally so constituted that there are well demarcated areas which have linguistic and cultural and psychological unity. There is no doubt about it. Those units also have, by and large economic unity, what you call viability and all that sort of thing. And therefore, it stands to reason that India which is a union of States shall have a number of States which shall be based upon some recognizable principle, and the only principle that we can apply and which is in conformity with the wishes of the people is the linguistic principle. It is not "linguism", it is not disruptionism, it is not centrifugalism, it is something very different. It is really the only right way of working together.

3 P.M.

I have said over and over again there is this fundamental unity of India. There is a Bihari sitting there as Minister for

Parliamentary Affairs. We talk from time to time. We talk about literature. He recites some poetry and there is a kinship which is there in spite of my having learnt Bengali at my mother's knee and he having learnt Maithili, or Kaithi or Hindi, I do not know which, at his mother's knee. There is this difference and there is at the same time some unity. I go to Kerala, I go to Jammu and I feel I have come to country which is mine wherever I go. At the same time, I know there are differences. How are you going to reconcile these differences? How are you going to achieve unity in diversity? And how have our great men like Rabindranath Tagore envisaged the achievement of that unity? How does our National Anthem refer to this unity?

ਪੰਜਾਬ ਸਿੱਖ ਗੁਜਰਾਤ ਮਰਾਠਾ, ਫ਼ਾਰਸੀ ਭਾਸ਼ੀਆਂ ਵਾਂਗ ।

We get all these definitely demarcated units and we have got to keep them together.

The Minister of Parliamentary Affairs (Shri Satya Narayan Sinha): Bihar and Bengal were together for years and years, probably in your life time.

The Minister of Revenue and Defence Expenditure (Shri A. C. Guha): In that song, there is no mention of Bihar.

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: The matter has come to such a pass that yesterday I saw a report that in the West Bengal Assembly some Congress Members are unable to get their Bengali supporters to stomach the idea of the merger and are trying to get some safeguards; and one of the safeguards reported in this particular suggestion is that if there is a united State of West Bengal and Bihar, unilaterally they should be able to secede. We have to talk in this way. You think of unity, you accuse us of disruption. You say that we want to break the unity of the country. It is exactly the contrary. The situation today is that we can only achieve the unity of our country on the basis of recognition of the diversity which exists, and today our people in the different linguistic zones have come forward in such a manner that you cannot....

Shri U. M. Trivedi: There is too much talk going on. We cannot hear. The two Ministers are talking.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: When anybody is speaking, other hon. Members must hear what he has to say.

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: I am sorry I have caused much of a flutter in certain doves, but I say that it is unnecessary, it is gratuitous for anybody today to come forward with a policy which is playing with fire. I say this very seriously and solemnly. Why try to impose decisions without ascertaining the wishes of the people? That is exactly what Government is going to do. And that is why I am quoting again from Shri Atul Gupta who has been the Founder-President of the Congress Sahitya Sangh. He says:

"Because there have been some violent incidents they say that the only solution is to make Bihar and West Bengal into one State and that that would at once make the Biharis and the Bengalis call each other brothers and their mutual affection would overflow. This kind of imagination is only possible to those who have separated Bombay City from Maharashtra where it naturally belonged and who are determined to send officials from Delhi in order to administer Bombay. This is not the imagination of a healthy mind. It is the perversity, it is the madness of power which was untasted before which has brought about this kind of *lilanritya* this peculiar dance which has come about because of having tasted power which you had not tasted before."

Shri U. M. Trivedi: It is made by a Congressman.

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: And he says:

"The first duty of citizens in every democratic Republic is to make arbitrary administration impossible, whichever the political party which is in power."

Arbitrary political power has to be made impossible, that is what he says,— a man who is eminently sedate, who is an erudite practitioner of law, who is a writer of literature, who is the President of the Congress Sahitya Sangh says the first duty of citizens in a democratic Republic is to make impossible arbitrary administration whichever party is in power. The people would try to make

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impossible arbitrary administration and merger ideas, whether it is Paschim or Dakshin or Purva or Uttar. All these merger proposals run counter to the people's desire. It is riding roughshod upon the people's desire. It is playing with fire, and if Government thinks that they are going to get away with it, then Government is in a delusion.

And I say again in sorrow more than in anger, because as I have said before here was an opportunity for all of us moving together, here was an opportunity on the basis of reconstructing our country for all of us to move together. After the States Reorganisation Commission's report you could have made some really rational alterations; then we could have moved together smoothly and harmoniously in rebuilding India, and it is exactly at this point of time that this kind of bomb shell is thrown into the Indian scene. I do not think I should refer to . . .

Mr. Deputy-Speaker : The hon. Member has taken 43 minutes already. If he wants five more minutes I am prepared to give.

Shri H. N. Mukerjee : If I have five minutes more, I shall finish.

I shall refer only to certain other aspects. In regard to foreign policy, we shall have occasion later on to discuss it, but it is a pity we have no firm line regarding the Portuguese possessions. It is a pity that the President appeared to be happy at the Gold Coast's having become a member of the British Empire rather than a completely independent country. It is a pity that there is expression of happiness about what happened in Malaya, but there is not a word about the freedom fighters against whom Australian and New Zealand troops are now going to be deployed; combined Commonwealth strength is going to be hurled against them. On the one hand there is not a word in the President's Address about the fighters for freedom in Malaya, but there is rejoicing in regard to the granting of so-called independence there. It is a pity also that there is no reference in the foreign policy passages to Kenya or Cyprus.

In regard to industry, I am sorry that no steps are being taken by Government to increase the real wages of the working class. There is no effort to

implement a suggestion already made about there being a national minimum wage.

[SHRI BARMAN *in the Chair*]

There is nothing about the settlement of the eight year old dispute of the Bank employees. On the contrary, what we find is in the Damodar Valley Corporation some 16,000 workers who held a convention in Calcutta lately are in fear of retrenchment. Five thousand people in the Food Department in West Bengal are fearing retrenchment. And as far as working class organisation is concerned, the railway workers have to fight Government's machinations to divide their ranks and to inject new and unwanted leadership into the united movement of the railwaymen. We find also the same kind of intrigue is going on with regard to the organisation of the Bank workers.

In regard to agriculture, I do not see why there is no reference in the President's Address to any objective desire on the part of Government to stop the evictions of the peasants. These evictions, as everybody knows, have been very widespread very paradoxically after the passing of land reform Bills. And then altogether if you take the entire economic scene, the increase of unemployment and the loss of the peasantry's purchasing power are matters which are causing very grave perturbation. I fear, therefore, that the President's Address does not satisfy; I fear that the advisers of the President are landing the country in a mess. I feel that especially in regard to the problem of reorganisation of States, Government are adopting policies which are absolutely anti-people. I feel that the proposals about the merger of different States are proposals which go against the whole grain of Indian nationalism, are proposals which are not in conformity either with the history of our country or with the desires of our people. And that is why I feel that some drastic changes have to happen before our people can really have a happy life.

Mr. Chairman : The following are the selected amendments to the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address which the Members have indicated to be moved subject to their being otherwise in order :

1, 2, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, (omitting part 2), 14, 15, 16, 19, 20, 21, 22,

23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55.

Shri Nand Lal Sharma : What about those amendments of which notice has been given today ?

Mr. Chairman : Perhaps, they have not been received so far at the Table.

Shri Sadhan Gupta : I may be permitted to move amendment No. 17.

Mr. Chairman : I shall include that also in the list, provided it is in order.

Dr. Lanka Sundaram : I beg to move:

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

“but regret to note that growing imbalance in the approach of the Government to the problems of the country, international and national, as reflected in the Address, wherein several pressing questions of the people have received little or no attention at all.”

Shri V. G. Deshpande (Guna) : I beg to move :

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

“but regret that the Address has not referred to the complete failure of Government in tackling the problem of the reorganisation of States in a democratic manner after consulting all the responsible elements, parties and individuals in the country.”

Shri T. B. Vittal Rao (Khammam) : I beg to move :

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

“but regret that there is no reference to the appointment of a National Commission to go into the question of safety measures in the mines though the exploitation of enormous mineral wealth is recognised under the Second Five-Year Plan.”

Shri Sadhan Gupta (Calcutta South-East) : I beg to move :

(1) That at the end of the motion, the following be added :

“but regret that the Government of India have failed to accept the democratic and legitimate demand

for the reorganisation of States on the basis of language.”

(2) That at the end of the motion, the following be added :

“but regret that the Address fails to refer to and express disapproval of the proposal for the merger of the States of West Bengal and Bihar and of other States.”

Dr. Rama Rao (Kakinada) : I beg to move :

(1) That at the end of the motion, the following be added :

“but regret to note that the Address fails to mention clearly that reorganisation of States on the basis of language will not be complicated by any attempt at merger of States by political pressure.”

(2) That at the end of the motion, the following be added :

“but regret to note that the Address fails to mention that reorganisation of States will be taken up on linguistic basis and in particular Visalandhra, Samyuktha Maharashtra including Bombay City and Punjabi-Speaking State will be formed immediately along with other linguistic States.”

Shri V. G. Deshpande : I beg to move :

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

“but regret that the Address has not referred to the unfair and unjust decision of the Government to take Bombay city, which is admittedly a part of Maharashtra, under the administration of the Central Government and thus leading to disturbed and disorderly conditions in that city including the police excesses.”

Shri Sadhan Gupta : I beg to move :

(1) That at the end of the motion, the following be added :

“but regret—

(a) the failure to enunciate a firm policy in respect of the Portuguese occupation of territories which rightfully belong to our country;

(b) the omission to oppose the Gold Coast being made a part of the British Commonwealth instead of granting it complete independence;

[Shri Sadhan Gupta]

(c) the omission to refer to and disapprove the suppression by the British of nationalist movements in Kenya, Cyprus and other countries;

(d) the welcoming of the grant of so-called independence to Malaya without disapproving the suppression of the forces of national liberation in that country which are fighting for the end of economic and political domination of British imperialism there; and

(e) the omission to refer to the suppression of struggles for liberation by the French Government in Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco."

(2) That at the end of the motion, the following be added :

"but regret —

(a) the omission to mention that the First Five-Year Plan has not resulted in any appreciable improvement in the lives of the common people ; and

(b) the omission to refer to the shortcomings of the proposed Second Five-Year Plan."

Shri Sivamurthi Swami (Kushtagi) : I beg to move :

(1) That at the end of the motion, the following be added :

"but regret that though the Address recognises the legitimate love of one's language it fails to suggest any definite policy for—

(a) appointing impartial and judicial Boundary Commission or Commissions to settle boundary disputes arising out of the reorganisation of States ; and

(b) holding plebiscite to ascertain the will of the people in the disputed areas."

(2) That at the end of the motion, the following be added :

"but regret that the Address while admitting that the reorganisation of States is an important matter fails—

(a) to recognise the linguistic principle as a basis for the reorganisation of States; and

(b) to take note of Government's attitude towards the forma-

tion of multilingual States without ascertaining the wishes of the people of such States."

(3) That at the end of the motion, the following be added :

"but regret that the Address has been complacent while referring to the revolutionary changes brought about in the rural areas by the Community Projects and National Extension Service, whereas there has been no substantial improvement in the social and economic spheres of the rural areas covered by the Community Projects and the National Extension Service in spite of an expensive administration."

(4) That at the end of the motion, the following be added :

"but regret that the Address, while recognising the importance of our village and cottage industries from employment and production point of view, overlooks to provide marketing facilities for the products so as to enable the industry to become self-sufficient."

(5) That at the end of the motion the following be added :

"but regret that though the Address lays stress on the principle of non-violence it fails to take note of or to appreciate the legitimate, peaceful and non-violent movement conducted in certain areas for adjusting border claims arising out of the reorganisation of States."

Sardar Hukam Singh : I beg to move :

(1) That at the end of the motion, the following be added :

"but regret the failure of Government in paying compensation to the displaced persons within a reasonable time."

(2) That at the end of the motion, the following be added :

"but regret the inability of Government in providing houses to the displaced persons."

(3) That at the end of the motion, the following be added :

"but regret the failure of Government in checking the transfer of claims at 50% of their real worth of compensation."

(4) That at the end of the motion, the following be added :

"but regret the policy of Government in raising the valuation of the houses built in various colonies for the rehabilitation of displaced persons."

(5) That at the end of the motion, the following be added :

"but regret the inability of Government in getting the agreement with Pakistan in respect of movable properties implemented properly."

(6) That at the end of the motion, the following be added :

"but regret the inability of Government in securing from Pakistan proper sense of security for Hindus, which would have checked the efflux of Hindus from East Bengal."

(7) That at end of the motion, the following be added :

"but regret the failure of Government in applying the Directive Principles contained in Part IV of the Constitution to its policies."

(8) That at the end of the motion, the following be added :

"but regret the failure of Government in decreasing unemployment in the country."

(9) That at the end of the motion, the following be added :

"but regret the inability of Government to take adequate measures for the relief of flood sufferers."

(10) That at the end of the motion, the following be added :

"but regret the failure of Government in checking corruption and inefficiency in the administration."

(11) That at the end of the motion, the following be added :

"but regret the inability of Government to implement its promises made in 1953 for removing distinction between Hindus and Sikhs so far as special concession for Scheduled Castes and Backward Classes were concerned."

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(12) That at the end of the motion, the following be added :

"but regret the failure of Government to find a solution of the Portuguese colonies in India."

(13) That at the end of the motion, the following be added :

"but regret the failure of Government in securing satisfactory solution of the citizenship issue of Indians in Ceylon."

(14) That at the end of the motion, the following be added :

"but regret the inability of Government to pursue a uniform and consistent policy with regard to reorganisation of States in India."

Shri M. S. Gurupadaswamy : I beg to move :

(1) That at the end of the motion, the following be added :

"but regret the failure of Government to bring about an early settlement of Portuguese enclaves in India."

(2) That at end of the motion, the following be added :

"but regret the failure of Government to hold democratic consultations with the leaders of various political parties in the country with a view to arrive at common understanding in respect of the reorganisation of States on the basis of important recommendations made by the States Reorganisation Commission and further regret the unilateral move of the Government to constitute zonal States without ascertaining the wishes of the people concerned."

Shri Gadfiligana Gowd (Kurnool) : I beg to move :

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

"but regret that—

(a) no mention has been made about the appointment of a Parliamentary Committee for supervising the works under Community Projects and National Extension Service schemes and Local Assistance works where the Government is spending crores of rupees ;

(b) no mention has been made about the formation of Visala Andhra and of the appointment of Boundary Commissions to demarcate boundaries on a linguistic basis ;

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(c) no mention has been made about the scrapping of Prohibition in the country as experience of the working of Prohibition in certain States has shown that Prohibition is a thorough failure and that illicit distillation has become a cottage industry ;

(d) no mention has been made about laying new railway lines in Andhra State."

Shri V. G. Deshpande : I beg to move :

(1) That at the end of the motion, the following be added :

"but regret that the Address does not refer to the failure of the Government of India to take effective steps to liberate Portuguese possessions in India."

(2) That at the end of the motion, the following be added :

"but regret that the Address has not referred to the failure of Government of India to take effective steps to safeguard the interests of the Hindus in East Pakistan so that the influx of refugees to India may be stopped."

Shri Rishang Keishing (Outer Manipur—Reserved—Sch. Tribes): I beg to move :

(1) That at the end of the motion, the following be added :

"but regret to note that the Address fails to mention clearly that —

(a) in reorganisation of States the aspirations of already acknowledged linguistic groups will be fulfilled;

(b) provision would be made for maximum possible autonomy by transferring control over the police and appropriate allocation of revenues to district *panchayats*, particularly in all such areas which have hitherto enjoyed the status of States and may in the future be integrated with other areas ;

(c) in respect of disputed taluqa and village units in border areas popular will shall be ascertained by means of a plebiscite ;

(d) the Government would stop going from one decision to another in respect of State and boundary

disputes as this attitude has brought destruction and death to people."

(2) That at the end of the motion, the following be added :

"but regret to note that the Address fails to mention the untold hardships faced by members of those castes and tribes that have not yet been included in the list of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes on account of the long delay to introduce legislation to amend the lists of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in spite of the fact that the Backward Classes Commission has submitted their report about a year back."

(3) That at the end of the motion, the following be added :

"but deeply regret the omission in the Address of any reference to the immense hardships caused by the indiscriminate extension of the Indian Forest Act to the tribal or hill areas whereby the tribal people are deprived of their lands and forests, the sole means of their livelihood, and remain as slaves at the mercy of the forest department and contractors."

Shri V. G. Deshpande : I beg to move :

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

"but regret that the Address has failed to refer to the wrong approach of the Government of India to the problem of States Reorganisation in so far as—

(a) it has decided to separate the city of Bombay from Maharashtra and make it a Centrally administered area ;

(b) it is encouraging proposal for merger of Bengal and Bihar before the country is given a full opportunity to consider the consequences and implications of such a proposal ;

(c) it is pursuing a vascillating policy and is devising fantastic schemes with regard to Punjab, Andhra and Telangana ;

(d) it has decided to merge Madhya Bharat with Madhya Pradesh against the declared will of the Madhya Bharat Legislature."

Dr. Rama Rao : I beg to move :

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

"but regret that there is no mention of the fresh threat to the freedom struggle of the people of Malaya from certain members of the Commonwealth posed by the intervention of Australian and New Zealand troops against the people of Malaya."

Shrimati Renu Chakravarty : I beg to move :

(1) That at the end of the motion, the following be added :

"but regret that the Address fails to refer to and express disapproval of the proposal for the merger of West Bengal and Bihar and other States without getting the approval of the electorate."

(2) That at the end of the motion, the following be added :

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the declaration of a National Minimum Wage in the Second Five-Year Plan."

(3) That at the end of the motion, the following be added :

"but regret that the Second Five-Year Plan does not envisage the immediate promulgation of an ordinance to stop all evictions of peasants prior to a searching enquiry into the cause of widespread evictions resulting from the Land Reforms Bills introduced or passed in the various States and which is leading to mounting unemployment and loss of purchasing power thereby endangering the very industrialisation plans of our country."

(4) That at the end of the motion, the following be added :

"but regret that the Address does not take note of the failure of the Draft Second Five-Year Plan in giving sufficient emphasis on heavy and machine building industries, without which the rate of industrialisation can never progress and our country's economic independence cannot be achieved."

Shri Boovaraghassamy (Perambalur) : I beg to move :

(1) That at the end of the motion, the following be added :

"but regret that the Address does not refer to any scheme to help the people who have greatly suffered by the recent cyclonic rains in Tamil Nad."

(2) That at the end of the motion, the following be added :

"but regret that the Address has failed to give any assurance to make one of the South Indian languages a compulsory subject in colleges and schools of the Hindi speaking areas."

(3) That at the end of the motion, the following be added :

"but regret that Government have failed to take referendum for settling the formation of linguistic States and border adjustments."

(4) That at the end of the motion, the following be added :

"but regret that the Address has failed to make a specific declaration about the quick implementation of the recommendations of the Backward Classes Commission."

Shri Sadhan Gupta : I beg to move :

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

"but regret the omission to refer to the manner in which the nationalisation of Life Insurance is being carried out to the prejudice of the employees, the State and the public and with the assistance of former insurance magnates who are hostile to nationalisation."

Mr. Chairman : All these amendments are now before the House.

Shri Kasliwal (Kotah-Jhalawar) : The hon. Member who spoke last said : 'You cannot solve a problem by standing on its head.' I very much agree, and I say 'You cannot make a speech by standing on your head'. But that is exactly what the last speaker did, because the distorted and twisted picture which he gave today in his speech was a picture which could have come only from a head which was standing upside down.

The hon. Member confined his arguments only to one single point, and that related to the SRC. I was amazed

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when he said that people who were talking of unity were talking through their hats. That is what he said. Now, I am going to say that if he was also talking of unity he was also talking through his hat.

I shall not confine myself only to the question of States Reorganisation, because I believe that there are many other matters which are of far greater importance to us and to the country, and one of these I propose to take up and discuss today.

I am grateful to the President for his Address, especially for his reference in para 7 to Gold Coast and other countries in West Africa. But I was shocked and surprised to find that the hon. Member who spoke last said that Gold Coast had not become a part of the British Empire. It may have been a part of the British Empire, before but today it is no longer a part of the British Empire. If he had said that it is now becoming a part of the British Commonwealth, then he would have been more correct. Anyway, it is not my object to correct my hon. friend, and I shall therefore continue my speech along the lines which I have chosen.

I am happy that Gold Coast today is getting freedom and independence. I am also happy to see that the British Togoland which was up till now under the trusteeship system is getting some sort of recognition now. You will recall that a visiting mission had gone to Togoland, and they had suggested that there should be a plebiscite on the question whether British Togoland should join the Gold Coast or it should remain separate. It makes no difference to me whether British Togoland by a plebiscite joins Gold Coast or not, so long as it becomes independent. And I would like here to offer my thanks to the leader of our delegation at the UN, who spoke so eloquently about the services of the Governor of Gold Coast in seeing that this particular portion of the British possessions became independent as soon as possible.

But there is a slight lacuna here. Nothing has been mentioned about French Togoland. In area, French Togoland is much bigger than British Togoland. The people of French Togoland are the same as in British Togoland; the people of French Togoland are the same as those in Gold Coast.

They all speak the language. They belong to the same tribe Ewe. When that is so, I do not see any reason why no plebiscite is being taken in French Togoland, and why the people of French Togoland are being kept under trusteeship even now. I would very much like that Government take this particular point into consideration, and raise the question of French Togoland also in the Trusteeship Council.

I now come to the Cameroons. As you know, Cameroons was a German possession before 1914. But in 1914, it was divided into two parts, the British Cameroons and the French Cameroons, the British Cameroons is being administered by Nigeria, and the French Cameroons is being administered by the French as their possession. I am told that so far as the British Cameroons are concerned, if Nigeria gets independence and freedom, the British Cameroons also will get independence. I told that there is already a process of reform being undertaken in Nigeria. So far, so good, and I would like to offer my congratulations to the people of Nigeria that they may get independence as soon as possible. You might perhaps recall that we had occasion to welcome two of the Ministers of Nigeria last year in our capital. And I wish my best for the people of Nigeria and also for the people of the British Cameroons.

But again, the story of the French Cameroons comes before me. The French Cameroons consists of a very large area. The people there are completely backward, and yet nothing is being done for them. I again want that our Government should raise this question also before the Trusteeship Council and ask why the French Cameroons is today in the state in which it is, why nothing is being done for its people, why no step is being taken to reform the conditions of the people, and why there are no constitutional reforms, no economic reforms and things of that sort.

I know that France which is the administering authority for this territory is submitting its report. But then if you see the report, you will see that it is good for nothing. And I am sorry to say that on this particular question also, no voice has been raised.

I am very happy—and the news has appeared in yesterday's and today's papers—that our delegation has raised

the question of Ruandi-Urandi. I have very great sympathies with Ruandi-Urandi. Ruandi-Urandi has been crushed under the heels of the Belgians. Nearly 4 million people are living in a small territory of 20,000 square miles or so. And you will be surprised to know that the people of Ruandi-Urandi are among the tallest in the world, and they are among the most sensible in the world. You will remember that in India the proverb goes that a tall person is not always sensible, but that is not the case, so far as the people of Ruandi-Urandi are concerned. I am very glad that our delegation has raised the question of Ruandi-Urandi.

The answer which the Belgian delegate gave was rather very bad. He said that the question of Ruandi-Urandi would be considered after ten or fifteen years. I would say that the question no longer poses consideration; the question has been there already before them, and therefore, Ruandi-Urandi should have its independence as soon as possible.

I will now go to another question which is being handled by the Trusteeship Council, and that is the question of Somaliland. By 'Somaliland', I mean former Somaliland which is now being administered by Italy as an administering authority. I am very glad that Somaliland is making good progress, and in a very short period, Somaliland will achieve freedom. But what about British Somaliland? Nothing is being said about British Somaliland? Nothing is being said about French Somaliland. Why the land of Somalis is being divided into four portions, I cannot understand. Who is to raise his voice on behalf of the Somalis for the reunification of Somaliland?

Shri U. M. Trivedi: What have we to do with Somaliland?

Shri Kasliwal: He has to do with nothing in the world. He has only to do With Goa—nothing else. (*Interruptions*).

I am unable to understand why 25,000 square miles of Somaliland are today being handed over to Ethiopia. The people of Somaliland have protested against it. Their representatives went to the UN and said that they do not want this cession of 25,000 square miles from Somaliland to Ethiopia. We do not know what has happened. I want to draw your attention to this, that we have to raise our voice about this question, as to why these 25,000 square

miles of Somaliland are being given to Ethiopia.

Shri A. M. Thomas (Ernakulam): Did it form part of Ethiopia before?

Shri Kasliwal: It never formed part of Ethiopia.

Then there are two Trusteeship territories to which I want to refer. One is Tanganyika. A visiting Mission had gone there and given their report about Tanganyika. They have said that Tanganyika is making sufficient progress. But the British say that Tanganyika is not going to have self-government. That is the attitude of the British. There is one thing more that is going on in that territory. There is a move to form some sort of an East African Federation. I say that at all costs an East African Federation must be avoided. The people in Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika do not know what is the position in the Central African Federation. Before the Central African Federation came into being, the Africans in Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland had far greater rights and far greater powers than what they have today. The same thing is going to happen in the case of Africans if an East African Federation comes into being. Already we are seeing that there is a kind of unification gradually, slowly and designedly being carried on. Today appeals from Tanganyika go to Kenya, appeals from Uganda go to Kenya and so on. There is a sort of customs union. There is now coming into effect a kind of political union. That is how slowly and insidiously an East African Federation is being brought into being. I want to register my protest against that. If Tanganyika, Kenya and Uganda are going to become part of an East African Federation, it will be the death-knell of the rights of Africans.

There is another point I want to raise, and that is with regard to South West Africa. South Africa continues today to be intransigent so far as South West Africa is concerned. I need not go into the whole history of how the matter went to the International Court of Justice and how they said that South Africa, as the administering authority, has got to submit its report to the Trusteeship Council. But even today South Africa refuses to do so. The incorporation of South West Africa in South Africa must be prevented at all costs. You will recall that at the last session of the UN General Assembly, a delegation of the Herero tribe went to

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the UN to lodge a formal protest against this. I do not know what has happened subsequently. All I want to say is that South Africa cannot be allowed to swallow South West Africa. South West Africa has to have its self-government and independence. I am very happy that our delegation at the UN has continued to agitate this question and speak on behalf of the people of South West Africa.

Up to now, I have dealt only with Trusteeship territories. I want now to take five minutes more on another topic and then finish my speech because it is my object to take up only one point, the question of colonialism, because colonialism is something to the eradication and destruction of which our foreign policy is pledged. I have already said about Nigeria. I shall be very happy to see Nigeria get self-government and complete independence. I know that the people of Nigeria are not happy just because it is said that today they are the largest colony in the British Empire. Today they may be the largest colony, but I believe tomorrow they won't be the largest colony in the British Empire, and they will have their proper place in the comity of nations.

I want to speak also about Belgian Congo, about Angola and about Mozambique, where rights of the natives of the Africans—are completely crushed, where they are living in a state of permanent servitude. What is happening in Belgian Congo, probably very few people in the Lok Sabha know today. Belgian Congo, which is 80 times the size of Belgium, is crushed under the heels of Belgium. There are no rights granted to the people. There are very few whites who are staying there, but they are dominating over the lives of 2,50,00,000 natives. That is the condition of Belgian Congo. They have got no legislature of their own, no native councils of their own. They are nothing but hewers of wood and drawers of water for their Belgian masters.

The conditions in Angola and Mozambique, the two wretched Portuguese territories, West Africa and East Africa, are beyond description. The people in Angola and Mozambique are dying out, and I say they are dying out due to the terrors and the tyranny of the Portuguese who are ruling there. Nobody has raised his voice because these territories do not happen to be under Trusteeship. If it is our foreign policy

today that colonialism has to be destroyed, then I say it is our duty to raise our voice in the UN and say that the colonial powers have got to submit yearly reports to the UN as to how they are administering these territories, which are being crushed today under colonialism.

I have already referred to the Central African Federation. I only want to say a word about Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika. My hon. friend, Shri H. N. Mukerjee, has very rightly referred to the fact that the President has not said anything about Kenya. Things in Kenya are horrible. During the last session, the hon. Deputy Minister gave some figures as to how many Mau Maus were killed in Kenya. He said 9,000 and odd were killed. I am sorry to say that he was only wrong to the extent of 80,000. The number of Mau Maus killed is 90,000 and odd. We do not know how terrible conditions there are so far as the natives are concerned.

Then I want to refer to the question of British Guiana, Dutch Guiana and French Guiana in South America. You will recall that when the Dutch said that Dutch Guiana now formed part of metropolitan Holland, our delegation protested—and very rightly protested. I do not know how long Guiana is going to be divided between these three Powers, the British, French and Dutch. The reunification of Guiana must take place sooner or later, if the people of Guiana are to remain happy and contented. How long are these people going to remain divided?

I am very glad that so far as British West Indies is concerned, there is going to be some sort of federation, a British West Indies Federation or some such thing consisting of Jamaica, Trinidad, Bahamas and Barbados and others. I am really happy to welcome it, and I hope so far as Guiana is concerned, some such steps will be taken and British Guiana, Dutch Guiana and French Guiana reunified.

Shri K. L. More (Kolhapur *cum* Satara—Reserved—Sch. Castes): Mr. Chairman, I am grateful to you for giving me this opportunity to take part in the debate on the motion of thanks to the President.

In the beginning, I would like to express my deep sense of gratitude to the President for his wholesome Address. I

support the motion moved by Shri Azad thanking the President for his Address. As all of us know, this is the fifth Address to this elected Parliament. The only thing I can say about this Address is that it is of a unique type. It is simple and I might say that it is Gita for the whole of the nation, under the past circumstances and the future. I may appeal to this Lok Sabha and to my countrymen that this message given by the President should be read in every house.

The Address consists mainly of three parts. The President surveys international events and circumstances; secondly, he also surveys the events at home; and the third part consists of a note. This is very important. He concludes his Address by a very noble note. And, I feel that is the crux of the whole Address. The President did not want to just give explanations for some certain events—international or domestic. He did not just like to explain or lay down the policies that belong to the Home Ministry or the Ministry of External Affairs or the Planning Commission. He has just given them as a sort of illustration. But the keynote is that of the Message. He has asked us to celebrate Buddha Jayanti. This may appear very strange in an Address like this. The President has appealed to celebrate Buddha Jayanti. What is the meaning behind it? That is what I want to point out in the short space of time. I do not want to go over other matters which the Parliament has opportunity to discuss and to put forth their suggestions. What is the message the President has given us? It is the eternal message, the living message. May this message of tolerance and compassion of the Buddha be with you in your labours. Not only has he said this but in just illustrating every event, national or international, he has sounded that very note. You will just note how that note pervades the whole of the Address. It pervades while discussing the Second Plan; it pervades all our sense of nationhood and our devotion to the basic ideas and principles laid down for us by the Father of the Nation. Again while referring to the States reorganisation he has emphasised the very note that we shall succeed only by adherence to our old principles and ideals. So, I want to deal with this. The President wanted a very clear message to be conveyed to the whole nation and that is the message of peace.

My friend from the Opposition, Shri Hiren Mukerjee who spoke before me discussed in his whole speech the reorganisation of States. I was amazed to note this because the party he comes from is a party whose motto is not the reorganisation of States on a linguistic basis or to emphasise language. Their ideology, I do not find, is of that type. But, I found that he greatly emphasised the matter of reorganisation of States. What is required, as the President has said, is the creation of goodwill, tolerance and peace. In this respect I agree with Acharya Kripalaniji even though I differ from him in many respects. He sounded a note and that we must take into account, that we should not go into the past happenings said just create that foul atmosphere but we should act in such a manner that the passions and sentiments and emotions of the people are not aroused in a manner which is detrimental to the nation's unity. That is the thing we want. We want goodwill to be established. Whatever we do hereafter must go to establish that peace and tolerance and goodwill among the people. In this respect, the President has given us a right guidance. Let us remember this. He says that there can be no progress for our country if you do not adhere to non-violence and tolerance and to the basic integrity which makes a great people. The reorganisation of the States is an important matter but we must apply all our wisdom and tolerance to it. But, in the larger perspective of India and India's future, it is a small matter, what administrative boundaries we prescribe for a State. So, when people who are elderly to us also again go into matters, say, Bombay matters, Orissa matters, etc., and go to the length of suggesting an enquiry and all that sort of things, let me give my own views which are quite well-known to you regarding the reorganisation of States. I am a party to the Maharashtra's claim; I may desire that Bombay should go to Maharashtra, but I differ in the method of just demanding what I want. I want that everything should be decided in a peaceful and democratic method. The President has given us a very good guidance in this respect, and I hope also that whatever Parliament in its wisdom decides will be willingly accepted by all our people. Shri Mukerjee accused Government for handling the S.R.C. matters—and in every respect he attributed the blame to Government—but I do not share his view. As far as I know, the Government was for the acceptance of the re-

[Shri K. L. More]

commendations of the Commission, but as the Government is democratic and desires to give weight to the wishes of the people, it believed in negotiations and therefore put forward so many formulas and compromises. If you call this vacillation, it is a wrong thing. Shri Mukerjee went to the length of accusing—and some other speakers before him also did the same—that it was the Congress which was responsible for the results and they denied the challenge that other parties were responsible for that. But as far as I know that the communist and socialist parties exploited the sentiments of the people. That is a fact. Their action in that respect was harmful to the unity of the nation. We must not do anything which will harm the unity of this country. In this respect the President has given a good place to the unity of the country and laid stress on it. Let us decide every issue in a calm and democratic manner—that is the hint given by the President.

I do not wish to deal with other matters. What is needed is the creation of the proper atmosphere, whether in the matter of Goa or in the matter of the States reorganisation or the Second Five-Year Plan.

As regards the survey of the success achieved by the First Five-Year Plan, the President has given the right picture, though it is not to the extent of fulfilling our desires, but we are marching in a right and proper manner and that will lead us to the accomplishment of the Second Five-Year Plan and the objectives that he has laid before us.

It is gratifying to note that this time the President has laid more stress on the unemployment problem. He has said that the question of providing more employment is of vital importance. In the preceding four or five Addresses he has not given such a clear hint and, therefore, I am grateful to him. In all my previous speeches I laid stress only on one point and that was regarding unemployment, and so I am pleased with the President's Address in this respect.

I will just deal with one more point and end my speech, and that is with regard to his reference to the lists of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. It may appear that the President has no sympathy for the Backward Classes or the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, but in a very small reference he has given us the clue to his sympa-

thies for the uplift of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. He has hinted that those who have not come under those lists and therefore are deprived of the benefits given to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes should be given the benefits and his intention is welcome, and I congratulate the President for this kind of reference.

Mr. Chairman : We are thankful, we are grateful to the President, that is the proper expression.

Shri K. L. More : I am grateful to the President for it.

I would refer to the last point, that is, to Goa. Much is made about Goa. Goa is just near my constituency and so I must at least make a passing reference to it. So many people are impatient about the solution of the Goa problem. I would say this to my friends—if you want a solution, why should you not go and suggest some remedies? There is no bar to suggest any short-cut solution, and the Government will readily accept it. But they do not suggest any short-cut solution but only spend their energies in blaming the Government. Government has decided that the solution of the Goa problem is on a non-violent basis. It is likely to take some time, but Government is all along creating an atmosphere of goodwill, international goodwill, and that will go to the ultimate solution of the Goa problem. That is why we see so many visits of foreign dignitaries here and also visits by our Prime Minister abroad. All this shows that there should, first of all, be goodwill created among all nations, and that will create a good ground for the solution of this problem. And especially the visits of our Prime Minister have expanded the horizon of goodwill.

I would just express my gratitude for the best Address given to us by the President and end my speech.

Mr. Chairman : The following further amendments by Shri Nand Lal Sharma have also been intimated to be moved : Nos. 56, 57 and 58. They will be circulated as usual.

Shri Nand Lal Sharma : I beg to move :

(1) That at the end of the motion, the following be added :

“but regret that in spite of expressing feeling of anxiety at the

international situation especially in relation to Indian Union, the Address fails to indicate the steps that Government are going to take to protect the country against threats of war."

(2) That at the end of the motion, the following be added :

"but regret that the Address fails to indicate the steps the Government are going to take to ensure the safety of Hindus and other minorities in East Pakistan"

(3) That at the end of the motion, the following be added :

"but regret that the Address fails to indicate the policy of the Government to tackle the intricate problem of the States' Reorganisation to the satisfaction of the people."

Mr. Chairman : These amendments are also before the House along with those moved earlier.

श्रीमती कमलेश्वरमति शाह (जिला गढ़वाल-पश्चिम व जिला टिहरी गढ़वाल व जिला बिजनौर-उत्तर) : महोदय, मुझे राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण के उत्तर में उन का अभिवादन तथा समर्थन करते हुए कुछ अपने सुझाव भी निवेदन करने हैं ।

हमारे देश में अपाहिजों के लिये तो कुछ स्थानों में भवन हैं, परन्तु देश के उन बूढ़ों के लिये कुछ भी प्रबन्ध नहीं है, जिन के पास बुढ़ापे में शान्ति से जीवन के शेष दिन बिताने का कोई साधन नहीं होता । भारत भर में बूढ़ों के लिये भवन केवल गोंडल, सीराष्ट्र में है । बनारस में एक भवन रामकृष्ण मिशन वालों का है, लेकिन वहां पर केवल बंगालियों को ही लिया जाता है । संसार के लगभग सभी देशों में बूढ़ों के लिये यह सुविधा है । इसलिये सरकार से मेरी यह प्रार्थना है कि यहां भी बूढ़ों के लिये कुछ भवनों का निर्माण किया जाय, जिनमें वे लोग अपने जीवन के अन्तिम दिन शान्ति से व्यतीत कर सकें, जो बूढ़े हैं, अर्च्छे घराने के हैं, लेकिन जिन के पास कुछ नहीं है ।

हमारे देश में अध्यापकों की स्थिति भी बड़ी दयनीय है । उन को चपरासियों, बैरों, डाकियों मालियों, रसोइयों जैसे अधिभितों की तुलना में आधा वेतन भी नहीं मिलता है । भारत के सभी नागरिकों की शिक्षा के जिम्मेदारों के लिये यह एक तिरस्कार का विषय है ।

में ने देखा है कि मास्टर-तिम्बल के सीमान्त स्थानों पर जो नई पाठशालायें बनी हैं, उन के अध्यापकों को इन से द्वाई गुना अधिक वेतन मिलने लगा है और ये बेचारे भ्रमी तक मुंह ही ताक रहे हैं । मेरा प्रस्ताव यह है कि प्राथमिक, माध्यमिक और उच्च पाठशालाओं के अध्यापकों को कम से कम १०० रुपये मासिक मिलना चाहिये उनको भी प्राविडेंट फंड, पहाड़ों पर काम करने वालों को हिल-एलाउंस, आने जाने का व्यय, मुफ्त का निवास स्थान, मुफ्त की चिकित्सा तथा उन के बच्चों के लिये निशुल्क शिक्षा की सुविधायें दी जानी चाहिए । इन्हें भी चपरासियों की तरह गरम और ठंडी बर्दियां मिलनी चाहिए, जिस से जीवन की आवश्यक वस्तुएं पा कर वे लोग निश्चिन्त हो कर बालकों को शिक्षा दे सकें । इस प्रश्न पर विचार करना बहुत आवश्यक है । सरकार को इस और ध्यान देना चाहिये ।

दूसरी आवश्यकता समाज कल्याण, नारी-शिक्षा कल्याण, बाल विकास इत्यादि केन्द्रों में काम करने वाली ग्राम सेविकाओं के वेतन-क्रम में वृद्धि करने के विषय में विचार करने में है । ये महिलायें विधवा या परित्यक्ता होती हैं और इन पर इन के बच्चों या अन्य आश्रित कुटुम्बजनों का दायित्व रहता है । इन्हें प्रायः अपने घरों से दूर नौकरी करनी पड़ती है, जहां इन्हें वस्त्र तथा खाने-पीने की आवश्यक वस्तुएं भी बहुत महंगी मिलती हैं । यहां तक कि एक टिन पानी का उन को दो आने में मिलता है और लकड़ी इत्यादि भी खरीदनी पड़ती है । अतः इन्हें भी प्राविडेंट फंड, हिल-एलाउंस इत्यादि सुविधायें देना परमावश्यक है । यदि इन लोगों की कठिनाइयों को ध्यान में रख कर उन को दूर करने का प्रयत्न किया जायेगा, तभी वे निश्चिन्त होकर और मन लगा कर काम कर सकेंगी, अन्यथा हम को अच्छी शिक्षित ग्रामसेविकायें नहीं मिल सकेंगी ।

हाल की कुछ राजनैतिक घटनाओं पर हमारे पूज्य राष्ट्रपति का खेद प्रकट करना उचित ही था । इसी प्रकार मेरे विचार से दिल्ली नगर में पानी की दुर्घटना भी एक खेद का विषय है । दिल्ली के नागरिक इस पानी को दिल मसोस कर पी रहे हैं । अब तो अधिकारियों को जागरूक हो जाना चाहिये और नजफगढ़ के नाने तथा जितने भी वैसे अन्य सतरे के स्थान हैं, उनकी उचित व्यवस्था करने में ढील नहीं बरतनी चाहिए ।

[श्रीमती कमलेंद्रुमति शाह]

आज हमारी मुख्य कठिनाइयाँ प्रशासनिक क्षेत्र में डील व अष्टाचार हैं और उन का परिणाम अव्यवस्था है। ये दोनों बातें समाज के लिये घातक हैं। यह भी उचित नहीं है कि जो लोग अष्टाचार के लिये जिम्मेदार हैं, उन्हीं से इन बातों की जांच कराई जाय। शिकायतों की जांच करने वालों की तो बड़े यत्न से चुनना होगा अन्यथा सत्य की सामने लाने में देर होगी और अव्यवस्था अधिक बढ़ेगी।

आज हम विविध योजनाओं का विस्तार कर रहे हैं और हमारी कई योजनायें पूरी भी हो चुकी हैं। इन योजनाओं की विदेशियों द्वारा भी प्रशंसा हो रही है। इन योजनाओं की कार्यान्वित करने के लिये ऋण लेने के स्थान में, जैसा कि श्रीमती गांधी का विचार है, बचत योजना से देश को सहायता पहुंचानी होगी। हमारे प्रधान मंत्री ने ठीक ही कहा है कि विदेशी सहायता के आधार पर हम कब तक अपनी प्रगति की गाड़ी को खींच सकेंगे।

अष्टाचार के कारण धन का जो अपव्यय हो रहा है, यदि वह समूची मद उन प्रस्तावित योजनाओं में लग पाती, तो हमें अपने कार्य पर कितना संतोष और गर्व होता। अतः हमें यह खोज करनी है कि अष्टाचार क्यों बढ़ रहा है। क्या इसका कारण अपर्याप्त वेतन है? यदि ऐसा है, तो हमें उनके वेतनों को बढ़ाना चाहिये जिस से कार्यकर्ताओं को केवल किसी भी प्रकार धन प्राप्त करने का ही ध्यान न रहे और वे कार्य संचालन कुशलतासे निश्चिन्त होकर करें। हमें अष्टाचार के कारणों का पता लगा कर उसकी उचित व्यवस्था करनी है। तभी हमारी पूर्ण उन्नति होगी, इस में कोई संदेह नहीं है। इस समय हमारी जितनी भी योजनायें चल रही हैं, उन में केवल पचास प्रतिशत धन व्यय हो रहा है। बाकी धन कहां जा रहा है, यह किसी से छिपा नहीं है।

हमें अपने देशवासियों का स्तर ऊंचा करना है। हमारे सामने बेकारी की समस्या बढ़ती जा रही है। हम पारिवारिक भूमि की सीमा बांध रहे हैं। इन सब बातों पर पहले पूरी तरह विचार करता है कि जब एक परिवार को इतनी सीमित भूमि मिलेगी जिस से दो से अधिक व्यक्ति पेट नहीं भर पायेंगे, तब कहां से बचत योजना चलेयी और कैसे बच्चों को पाला व पढ़ाया जा सकेगा। जनता के पास जब न पर्याप्त भूमि है, न नौकरी है, तब भूखे मरने के प्रतिरिक्त

और क्या रह जायेगा? इस स्थिति में सामूहिक जीवन-स्तर ऊंचा करने का हमारा लक्ष्य भी कैसे पूरा हो सकेगा। उल्टे जिन लोगों का स्तर ऊंचा है, उन का स्तर भी गिर जायेगा। अतः मेरा निवेदन है कि बालिग और नाबालिग, सभी को जमीन का समान भाग मिलना चाहिए। तभी नाबालिग पढ़-लिख और जी सकेंगे।

पूर्वी पाकिस्तानसे जो हिन्दू भारत आ रहे हैं, उन को भारत में भी बड़ी कठिनाइयों का सामना करना पड़ रहा है और वे बड़े कष्ट में हैं। पाकिस्तान में उनको रहने नहीं दिया जा रहा है। सरकार को इस विषय में विचार करना है और इन लोगों की समस्यायें हल कर के इन को कुछ न कुछ सहायता पहुंचानी है।

सब जानते हैं कि गोवा में हमारे जो लोग क्रौंद हैं, उन को बड़ा दुःख हो रहा है। वे बीमार हैं परन्तु उनकी चिकित्सा की कोई व्यवस्था नहीं है और कोई उन की परवाह नहीं कर रहा है। उन को भी किसी न किसी प्रकार सहायता पहुंचाना आवश्यक है।

जिस प्रकार दक्षिण में हिन्दी पढ़ाना अनिर्धार्य कर दिया गया है, उसी प्रकार हिन्दी भाषा-भाषी प्रदेशों में भी दक्षिण की एक भाषा को पढ़ाने की व्यवस्था होनी चाहिये। इस से हम सब के बीच में मेल पैदा होगा और किसी के मन में यह विचार नहीं आयेगा कि हम तो दूसरों की भाषा पढ़ रहे हैं, परन्तु दूसरे हमारी भाषा नहीं सीख रहे हैं। यह विचार हम लोगों के बीच में नहीं होना चाहिये। जो क्षेत्र पिछड़े हुए घोषित किये गये हैं, उन को अभी तक कोई फायदा नहीं पहुंचा है। इस विषय में मैं एक इच्छांत दूंगी। जून में मेरे पास सरकार से एक चिट्ठी आई थी कि टिहरी गढ़वाल को पिछड़ा हुआ क्षेत्र घोषित कर दिया गया है। लेकिन अभी तक उस क्षेत्र को कोई विशेष सुविधा नहीं मिली है। गजट में भी उसका पिछड़ा हुआ क्षेत्र होना घोषित नहीं किया गया है।

विदेशों से जो विशेषज्ञ भारत बुलाये जाते हैं, उन के साथ ही साथ हमारे भारतीयों को भी रखने की व्यवस्था होनी चाहिये और उन को भी शिक्षा मिलनी चाहिये, जिस से समय पा कर हम स्वावलम्बी हो सकें और हमारा खर्च भी कम हो सके, क्योंकि विदेशियों पर हम को अधिक खर्च करना पड़ता है और उन की हर एक बात और सुविधा का ख्याल रखना पड़ता है, जब कि भारतीय हमको सस्ते वेतन पर

मिल सकते हैं। इस तरह हमारे देश की स्थिति दृढ़ और मजबूत हो सकेगी और हम स्वावलम्बी हो सकेंगे।

सरकार का जो पांच जोनल स्टेट्स का प्रस्ताव है, मैं उस का हार्दिक समर्थन करती हूँ। मेरे विचार में यही होना चाहिये। जितनी भी स्टेट्स कम होंगी, उतना ही हम एक दूसरे के निकट आयेंगे। हमें यह विचार ही नहीं करना है कि हमारी दो जवानें हैं या ज्यादा हैं। हमें एक हा कर रहना है। इसी दृष्टिकोण से हमको सब प्रश्नों को देखना है और सोचना है और यही एक लक्ष्य हम को अपने सामने रखना है।

Shri K. G. Deshmukh (Amravati West): I am very thankful to you for giving me a chance to participate in this debate. I am very thankful to the President for giving a thoughtful Address to this Lok Sabha and welcome the same in general. In that Address, more stress is laid on the foreign policy of the Government of India and I think it is right too. Amidst the atmosphere of tension that exists in the world today we must be careful about how we deal with the foreign countries, and especially our neighbours. I am very glad to note in the President's Address that our relations are very cordial and friendly with both the blocs that exist in the world today. I am also very glad that our relations with our neighbour countries, with a very few exceptions, are also very cordial. I think that is the right indication of the foreign policy that had been pursued by our hon. Prime Minister. In general, I look upon our foreign policy as the only right one in the present circumstances. I do not want to go in details on this subject because much has been said by many of the speakers before me in this House.

4 P.M.

Now I will come to the mention of the Five-year Plan that has been made by the President. We are by now at the fag end of the First Five-Year Plan and on the threshold of the Second Five-Year Plan. I think this is the proper time to review the progress we have made in the First Five-Year Plan. The President has rightly said in his Address on page 5 that the success of the First Five-Year Plan has produced confidence in our people and has laid the foundations of a more rapid growth of the national economy. While saying so, I am aware that in some respects we

could not achieve the targets which we expected in the First Five-Year Plan especially in the sphere of community projects and irrigation projects.

In the sphere of community projects we could not achieve the targets that we had expected and we could not make progress up to the mark. I am saying so by the experience which I got in the community project area in my constituency of which I had the honour to remain a member of the Advisory Committee. In many of the sittings of the Committee I have made a mention of it to the Chairman of the Advisory Committee who is the Deputy Commissioner of that area. My experience about the working in that community project, I regret to say, is not very satisfactory. In many of the other projects which I had the honour to visit I saw that the progress is not as satisfactory as it should be.

When this project was inaugurated the idea was given to us that after the end of this project period the whole appearance of that area will be changed. Now, at the fag end of that period what do you see there? There we see only a few roads, quite a few village hospitals, a few number of village schools, some wells and nothing more than that. Except for a few other works which they might have taken up by way of small irrigation works nothing more is seen there. Is this the picture we dreamt at that time? If this was the picture we had in mind, if this was the result which we expected, then in my humble opinion, we could have done this through the Deputy Commissioner of that area. We have spent Rs. 65 lakhs on this project—I am giving an example of my project—during this period and the result is what I have stated just now. If this was the result which we expected by spending Rs. 65 lakhs....

Shri L. N. Mishra (Darbhanga cum Bhagalpur): Which project?

Shri K. G. Deshmukh: The Amravati Project in my constituency. If this was the result which we expected after spending Rs. 65 lakhs we could have got this done through the Deputy Commissioner of my District and by that way we could have saved all this paraphernalia of big officers and the motors and jeeps that are running in the community project in my area. I am not very much critical of the hon. Minister on this point but I only wanted to

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bringing this to the notice of the hon. Minister so that he may take note of it at least in chalking out the next Five-Year Plan and do some work which we wanted to be done there. There was nothing wrong in having this community project scheme. I read the whole scheme. The scheme was so good that if only it could have been worked out properly it would have had very good effect and really the whole appearance of the area would have been changed. The only mistake is that the scheme has not been worked out properly. Therefore, when I read here the reference by the President in his Address saying :

"The Community Projects and the National Extension Service have already produced revolutionary changes in many of our rural areas. These will be continued and expanded and, it is hoped, that by the end of the second Plan period, they will cover nearly the whole of our rural area."

I wanted to make a reference about the community project in my area and point out that when we are expanding that scheme in our next Five-Year Plan we should at least take note from our past experience and try to mend things which we could not do in our previous community projects.

I will not go in details on that subject; nevertheless I would like to state that I am very glad, as the President has rightly and correctly said, that we have been successful in several other spheres during our first Plan period. I am impressed to read the reference by the President especially about the targets which we achieved in the First Plan period. In his Address on page 5 he says :

"The targets of the First Plan have been in many cases exceeded and the national income has risen by 18 per cent. Industrial Production has increased by 43 per cent and agricultural production by 15 per cent. It is particularly satisfactory that the production of food-grains has increased by about 20 per cent., even though there have been disastrous floods in North India and cyclones caused havoc in the south of India."

So, in our first Five-Year Plan, the figures given here show that we have achieved a lot. In many of the cases we have

not only achieved what we expected but we have achieved more than that and exceeded the targets for which I congratulate our Government and I am very thankful to the President for bringing these figures to our notice.

Now, in the Second Five-Year Plan I am glad that the Government have given stress on exploiting the country's productive potentialities. It is a matter of great importance that the Government is bent upon enlarging the public sector, more especially on developing basic and machine-making industries. That is exactly what we wanted in the next Five-Year Plan. In the First Five-Year Plan we have achieved much in agriculture. We could not do much on the industrial side as the stress was given in the last Plan on agricultural and irrigation projects. Therefore in the next Plan we want the industries; especially the basic and machine-making industries, to be taken up. I am glad that the Government is going to do that.

The Government is also proposing to carry out mineral survey on an extensive scale so as to discover and exploit the potential resources of the country. The President has made a reference to this in his Address. I am glad that the Government is going to do that but, at the same time, while expressing my thanks on this account I would like to draw the attention of the hon. Minister to some of the districts in Madhya Pradesh. You know, Sir, Madhya Pradesh has rich mineral resources in some of its parts, especially in Chanda District and Bastar District. These two Districts are very rich in mineral resources but I am sorry nothing has been done up to this time to exploit these resources which are very necessary for the future industrial development of our country. Therefore, I draw the attention of the hon. Minister to this point and would request him to exploit these natural resources in the two Districts of Chanda and Bastar in my State.

Mention has been made by the President about the events that have taken place in some parts of India in regard to the reorganisation of States. Much has been said by this time on this subject and much of the time of this Lok Sabha has also been taken on that subject and so I would not go into its details. I would only like to make a short reference to what the President has said at page 7 on this subject. He says :

"Above all, there can be no progress for our country if we do not

adhere to non-violence and tolerance and to the basic integrity which makes a people great."

This is the real guidance which he has given us in his Address and this is the real way in which we can and should solve this problem. I am sorry to see these violent events that have taken place in our country in regard to the States Reorganisation question and I think that these things ought not to have taken place in pursuance of their legitimate demands. I do understand the passion and the emotion that were raised on this subject, but still, our leaders—they may be leaders on the Opposition side and they may be leaders on my side here—ought not to have done this and if they had avoided these things, that would have been better. Since it has been done, now we cannot help it, and the only thing we can do is to go forward in some conciliatory mood and with some peaceful measures to solve this problem. I hope and also request that the Government also will take into consideration the popular trend of the people on this subject and will provide certain measures in the Bill which is coming to Lok Sabha shortly.

I next pass on to the subject of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Mention has been made by the President on this subject at page 8 of his Address. It has been said that the Government is bringing a Bill to amend the lists of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. I am glad that Government are doing this, but at the same time, I regret that mention has not been made by the President about the list of backward classes. In fact, when the lists of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes are to be amended in the light of the recommendations of the Backward Classes Commission, the subject of backward classes also should have been taken up in the same Bill. Just as a Commission was appointed for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, the Backward Classes Commission was also appointed to look into the question of backward classes. The Commission went into the lists of all the backward classes in every State and I hear that they have made some recommendations to the Government to amend the lists of backward classes also. So, I hope Government will make provision for amending the lists of backward classes also in the same Bill.

I would next like to mention about the scholarships that have been awarded to these three classes of people by the Government of India. The scholarships, as we know, are being awarded to the Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe students and to the backward class students. I have the honour to be a member of this Board and from the experience that I have gained there, I can say that every year we assist all the students belonging to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, but, at the same time, no provision is made by the Government to give scholarships to the backward class students below the rank of a first class. In this year, we could not assist all the first class students even. What little we could do was made possible only by repeating the demands for funds for at least three months. Of the demand of Rs. 40 lakhs that we made, we got only Rs. 20 lakhs, and so we could give scholarships to students belonging to the backward classes and who were first class students only. In some of the States, those students securing 56 or 58 per cent could be assisted. So, I request the hon. Home Minister to see that at least a provision of Rs. 3 crores is made so that all students of the backward classes who secure more than 55 per cent of the marks may be assisted. I am not making a very high demand. All students who secure 55 or more marks can be called intelligent students and at least for such intelligent students, there must be provision for scholarships. That is my request to the hon. Minister.

I am glad that the Government attach importance to the reorganisation of rural economy and to the development of co-operatives, both in agricultural and in small-scale industries. This is a very remarkable remark no doubt and we hope that the Government will pursue this policy of promoting the co-operative movement in India. If we look to the co-operative movement in the different States and see the progress made, we can say that not much progress has been made by this movement in any of the States except in Madras and Bombay. If we are going to have the socialist pattern of society which is the aim of our Second Five-Year Plan and which is the aim and object of our Government's policy, only the co-operative movement and especially the co-operative farming is the solution to that problem, and this is especially in the sphere of land and cultivation. If we are going to distribute the land—we are having a ceiling in the

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next Five-Year Plan—the poor people to whom this land is going to be distributed will not be able to cultivate that land with their own money, as they are poor moneyless people. So, Government also will not be in a position to advance amounts time after time, and therefore, co-operative cultivation is the only solution to this problem of land distribution. So, I request that the Government should give a great momentum to this movement and this is the time when Government should take this matter into their hands. I hope the Government will do it. I thank the President for giving us this thoughtful Address.

श्री मंड लाल शर्मा:

कररुह कुलिशीन्वषतां चरणाम्बुजनस्त्र
कान्तिभिर्मजताम् ।

हृदयग्रन्थीन्भिन्दन् मनसि नृसिंहः समुल्लसतु ॥

एक माननीय सदस्य: इसका अर्थ बतलाइये ।

श्री मंड लाल शर्मा : मैं ऐसा समझता हूँ मानों कहीं बाहर अफ्रीका में बैठे हुए संस्कृत का श्लोक मैंने बोल दिया हो और मैंने देखा कि मेरे द्वारा संस्कृत का श्लोक पढ़ने के कारण कुछ प्रेमियों की हंसी भी आ गई है ।

खैर, अब मैं अपने विषय पर आता हूँ। चाहता तो यह हूँ कि राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण के सम्बन्ध में जैसे हमारे कांग्रेसी सदस्य लोग आभार प्रदाशत करते हैं, वैसे ही आभार में भी उनके प्रति प्रदर्शित करें। राष्ट्रपति के वक्तव्य के लिये आभार प्रदर्शित करना मेरा भी कर्तव्य है किन्तु कुछ संशोधनों के साथ। उन संशोधनों का मेरे लिये देना आवश्यक था क्योंकि राष्ट्रपति के मुख द्वारा भारत सरकार की समस्य कार्यविधियों और उन के द्वारा किये गये कामों का व्योरा बतलाया गया था। ऐसा मालूम पड़ता है कि राष्ट्रपति की प्रकृति के अग्ररूप उन के मंत्रियों ने उन का अभिभाषण तैयार करा दिया है उन की उस प्रकृति का एक संकेत हम को उन के अभिभाषण के अन्त में आज २५०० वर्ष बाद महात्मा बुद्ध का जन्मदिवस मनाने के लिये भारत सरकार जो तैयार हो रही है, उल्लेख से मिलता है और महात्मा बुद्ध के शिष्यों की पंक्ति में परिगणित हुए हैं। महात्मा बुद्ध के वे ४ सुवर्ण सिद्धांत यह हैं :

सव्वं दुःखं दुःखं सव्वं खणिकं खणिकम्
सव्वमनासमनासं सान्तं निव्वाणम् ॥

अन्त में सर्वनाश में ही शान्ति है ।

और सारे जीवन में दुःख ही दुःख है, मुझे कुछ भ्रम भी नहीं है, परन्तु मैंने देखा कि राष्ट्रपति का अभिभाषण लगभग कष्टों के रोदन से प्रीतप्रोत है। कष्टों के रोदन के साथ वह कहते हैं कि सब देशों के साथ हमारा सम्बन्ध मैत्रीपूर्ण है। इतना स्वीकार करते हुए भी फल में आपने कह दिया है कि हमें खेद है कि अमुख स्तर पर हमारी चेष्टायें कोई प्रगति नहीं कर सकी, गोआ के सम्बन्ध में हम ने परिश्रम किया, वहाँ कोई प्रगति नहीं हुई, पूर्वी पाकिस्तान के सम्बन्ध में कहा कि निरन्तर शरणार्थियों का निष्क्रमण हो रहा है, हिन्दू और दूसरे अल्प संख्यकों का, इस के सम्बन्ध में भी हमें कोई प्रगति प्राप्त नहीं हुई, और भी बहुत सी ऐसी उल्लेखें हमारे सामने पड़ी हुई हैं, जिनके विषय में हमें प्रगति प्राप्त नहीं हो रही है। इसलिये अपने संशोधनों में मैंने निवेदन किया है कि इस सम्बन्ध में राष्ट्रपति को चाहिये था, भारत सरकार को चाहिये था, कि राष्ट्र के सामने अपनी पालिसी को स्पष्टतया रखती, देश को पता रहना चाहिये कि हमारे पड़ोस में जो आ कर के सैनिक अड्डे बना रहे हैं, हमारे पड़ोस में आ कर के ही नहीं बल्कि हमारी सीमाओं के ऊपर सैनिक सहायतायें जो प्रदान करते हैं उन के प्रति हमारा क्या दृष्टिकोण होगा, उन के प्रति हमारी नीति किस प्रकार की होगी। मैं समझता हूँ कि सिवा इस के कि अमरीका ने पुर्तगाल से मिल कर के उस के हक में कोई अपना वक्तव्य दे दिया और उस वक्तव्य के प्रति हमने खेद प्रकट कर दिया, उस के आगे न हम पुर्तगाल को कुछ कह सकते हैं और न हम गोआ के सम्बन्ध में कोई कदम उठा सकते हैं। केवल एक अवला के समान हम अपने दुःख को रो लेते हैं और कहते हैं कि हमारी इच्छा है कि इस प्रकार का अनर्थ न हो, परन्तु सहअस्तित्व और अहिंसा हम को इस बात के लिये मजबूर करती है।

कहरे दरवेश बर जाने दरवेश

साधु का क्रोध अपने ऊपर। अन्ततोगत्वा हम इस सम्बन्ध में किसी का कुछ नहीं बिगाड़ सकते। अगर कोई मारता है तो 'तर्न दाई अदर चीक'। दूसरा गाल भी उस के सामने रख दो कि एक और मार लो, और क्या हो सकता है? यह परिस्थिति भारत जैसे सर्वोच्च सत्तापूर्ण राष्ट्र के लिये, जिस के पास पूर्ण रूप से अपनी सेना और शक्ति है, उचित नहीं है। इस का अर्थ यह नहीं है कि वह दूसरे के गले पर चढ़ता जाय, इस का अर्थ यह नहीं है कि वह विश्व को धमकी

दिखाता रहे और हर समय युद्ध के लिये आह्वान करता रहे। परन्तु इसका अर्थ यह भी नहीं है कि वह दूसरों के साथ अन्याय न करते हुए भी दूसरों के अन्याय का शिकार बनता जाय। सब से बड़ी मूर्खता और पाप दूसरे पर अन्याय और अत्याचार करना है और उस से भी बड़ा पाप है दूसरे के अन्याय और अत्याचार को निरन्तर सहते रहना। आप के इस अभिभाषण के अन्दर इस सम्बन्ध में किसी प्रकार का कोई संकेत नहीं।

हम को स्मरण है कि इसी संसद् में अल्प-संख्यकों के मंत्री श्री विश्वास ने यह शब्द कहे थे कि हम कई बार पत्र लिख चुके अल्पसंख्यकों के बारे में, हमारा पत्र-व्यवहार होता है, परन्तु पाकिस्तान सरकार की ओर से हमें कोई भी सहयोग नहीं मिलता, हम क्या करें। श्री खन्ना कह चुके, कई बार राष्ट्रपति ने भी कहा। अच्छा होता कि राष्ट्रपति इस सम्बन्ध में मौन रहते क्योंकि एक राष्ट्र के लिये यह सब से बड़ा दुर्भाग्य होता है कि उस का राष्ट्रपति, जिस के पास सेना रहती है, जो जनता से उस की रक्षा के लिये कर लेता है, बदले में उस को यही उत्तर दे कि पूर्वी पाकिस्तान से निरन्तर हिन्दुओं को निकाला जा रहा है और निष्क्रमण की गति बड़ी तीव्र गति से बढ़ती चली जा रही है, ६,०००, ७,०००, १०,०००, १८,०००, २२,००० और अब २७,००० तक उस की संख्या पहुँच चुकी है, परन्तु यहाँ सिवा अरण्य रोदन के और कुछ भी नहीं हो रहा है, हम कुछ कह नहीं सकते हैं।

इस देश के दुर्भाग्यपूर्ण इतिहास में इस अहिंसा की नींव पहले पहल बड़ी अशास्त्रीय और अनुचित विधि से डाली गई थी, और वह इस देश में जहाँ पर कि देश की रक्षा के लिये, आत्म-रक्षा के लिये स्वयं मनु ने कहा था :

“गुरुं वा बालवृद्धं वा ब्राह्मणं वा बहुभुतम् ।
आततायिनं मान्तं हन्या देवा विचारयन् ॥”

गुरु हो, बच्चा हो, वृद्ध हो या बहुभुत ब्राह्मण भी हो तो भी यदि वह आततायी बन कर आता है तो वह भी बिना विचार के दंड का भागी बनता है। इस को भूल कर निरन्तर अहिंसा का पाठ पढ़ा जा रहा है, और वह पाठ भी पढ़ा जा रहा है श्री नेहरू के क्षेत्र में, श्री दातार के क्षेत्र में नहीं, श्री दातार का क्षेत्र है घर का। पिता अपने बच्चों में आपस में अंगरखे लड़ाई देख कर दो थप्पड़ भी मार दिया करता है परन्तु फिर भी उनको पिता के समान ही स्नेह करता है। मेरा दादा है कि

शासन पर आरुढ़ जो व्यक्ति है वह पिता के स्थान पर है और जनता जो है वह संतान के स्थान पर है 'प्रजा' शब्द का अर्थ संतान है। परन्तु आज उस को इस दृष्टिकोण से नहीं देखा जा रहा है। छोटे छोटे दृष्टिकोण से काम लिया जा रहा है। आज इस सत्ता रूपी धन को आपस में बाँटने की भावना बन गई है, और यह भावना ले कर सत्ता, अपनी पार्टी के अतिरिक्त दूसरी पार्टी वाले के साथ, चाहे वह कितनी ही सज्जन क्यों न हो, कुछ भी करने को तैयार नहीं है, कहीं ऐसा न हो कि दूसरे को किसी प्रकार का क्रेडिट (श्रेय) मिल जाय, कहीं जनता में यह भाव न आ जाय कि दूसरे लोगों ने भी अच्छे काम में कुछ हाथ बटाया है, इस का फल यह होता है कि देश में केवल एक शंकाकी भावना आती है कि सत्ता का तो ईश्वर के ऊपर से विश्वास ही उठ गया है, मैं तो कहता हूँ कि यदि आप बुद्धिस्ट ही बन जाते तब भी मुझे प्रसन्नता ही होती, परन्तु आप का तो कोई धर्म ही नहीं है। आप सोलहों आने सेक्युलर (धर्म निरपेक्ष) बन गये हैं, सोलहों आने आप का ईश्वर और अपने सत्कर्मों को पेश करने में विश्वास नहीं रहा। जिस का नतीजा यह होता है कि आर मिनिस्टर के पास जाते हैं तो वह भी बेईमानी से नहीं बच सकता, अफसर के पास जाते हैं तो वह भी बेईमानी से नहीं बच सकता। छोटे से छोटे अफसर या कर्मचारी के पास जाते हैं तो वह भी कोर्ट के अन्दर पीछे से आवाज देता है, मैजिस्ट्रेट के देखते देखते कहता है, कि हमारा हक तो हम को देते जाओ। अरे यह तुम्हारा हक है या कि मूर्ख, तुम्हारा नाहक है। वह अपने हक की बात करता है और मैजिस्ट्रेट चुं भी नहीं करता। कारण क्या है? कारण यह है कि एक तार टूटा हुआ हो तो उस की कोई मरम्मत की जाय, लेकिन जब यहाँ पर ताना-बाना सभी बिगड़ा हुआ है तो उसे कौन ठीक करे? जब आप का कोई धर्म ही नहीं रहा, आप को बुद्धिज्म पर भी विश्वास नहीं है, आप को किसी भी धर्म पर विश्वास नहीं रहा। इस का फल यह हुआ कि आप देश की जनता को भूल गये, आप जानते नहीं शान्ति को कैसे स्थापित किया जाय, अगर हम जनता का नाम लेते हैं तो भी पार्टी पालिटिक्स में पड़ कर के, केवल अपनी शक्ति को प्राप्त करने के लिये जो देश के साथ खिलवाड़ करता है वह महापाप करता है, किन्तु इसके साथ साथ जिस के हाथ में शक्ति विद्यमान है, उस सत्ताधारी पार्टी को भी चाहिये कि वह भी जन-कल्याण की भावना से काम करे।

[श्री नंद लाल शर्मा]

स्टेट्स के रिआर्गनाइजेशन के सम्बन्ध में राज्य-पुनर्गठन आयोग ने जो सिफारिशें की थीं उन का सब से बड़ा विरोध करने वाले और झगड़ा खड़ा करने वाले कांग्रेसी सदस्य ही हैं। मैं इस को दावे के साथ कह सकता हूँ कि विरोधी पार्टियों में से सब से पहले कृपालानी जी बोले थे और पत्रों में उन्होंने उन सिफारिशों का समर्थन किया था। मुझे स्मरण है, मैंने पत्रों में पढ़ा था कि उन्होंने कहा था कि कुछ जो राज्य पुनर्गठन आयोग ने कहा है, वह बिल्कुल निष्पक्ष भाव से कहा है और उस को स्वीकार करना चाहिये। बाकी दलों के नेता लोग उस समय तक मौन ही थे। लेकिन उस समय पहले पहल जो विरोध की आवाज उठी वह कांग्रेसी सदस्यों द्वारा और वह कांग्रेसी सदस्यों द्वारा उठी ही नहीं, बल्कि देश के कोने कोने में उस ने आग लगा दिया। वह आग बढ़ती गई। जनता को मरवा दिया गया। और अन्त में पुलिस की गोलियाँ भी निराश्रित और निहत्थे जनता पर आईं। हम ने तब भी संकेत किया था कि यह इन्कलाब जिन्दाबाद का नारा आप मत लगाइये। कहीं ऐसा न हो कि जिस इन्कलाब जिन्दाबाद के नारे के परिणामस्वरूप अंग्रेज चले गये। उसी के फलरूप आप भी चल दें। हम को स्पष्टतः न किसी व्यक्ति विशेष के साथ न कोई द्वेष है और न मोह।

एक महिला सबस्य्या : आप को साथ लेकर जायेंगे।

श्री नन्द लाल शर्मा : हम तो भगवती सुरसफ के मुँह में सदा जाने के लिये तैयार हैं। हम को किसी बात का डर नहीं है। हमारी तो यह मान्यता है कि:

राम काज कीने बिना मोहे कहां विश्राम।

हम तो नियम की बात करते हैं, सत्य की बात करते हैं। झूठ बोलने वाला, उल्टा बोलने वाला नष्ट हो जायेगा। भीम नहीं बच्चे, द्रोण नहीं बच्चे, तो कौन भाई का लाल है जो बच सकता है। हम तो केवल यह चाहते हैं कि सत्य बात की जाय, धर्म के अनुकूल बात की जाय—“अश्रुबन्धुबन्धाऽपि नरो भवति किल्बिषी”। मुझे न पंडित नेहरू के व्यक्तित्व से, न देशमुख के व्यक्तित्व से और न श्री दातार के व्यक्तित्व से राग है और न ही द्वेष। हमें सरकार से कोई द्वेष नहीं है किन्तु उन के पद कर्तव्य से राग है। आज यह सरकार है तो कल दूसरी सरकार बन सकती है। जो भी सरकार को उखाड़ फेंकने की चेष्टा करेगा उस से किसी का

भी कल्याण नहीं होगा। हमें तो जो इन की पालिसी है बही ठीक मालूम नहीं होती। हम तो चाहते हैं कि सरकार की कुर्सी मजबूत रहे लेकिन अगर सरकार मूर्खता करेगी तो कुर्सी स्वयं उस से छूट जाएगी और फिर उस के बाद क्या होगा। इस के बारे में कुछ कहा नहीं जा सकता है। हो सकता है कि उस वक्त जब ऐसी बातें हों तो राष्ट्र के लिये एक विपत्ति का समय आ जाए।

श्री बी० डी० पांडे : राम राज्य स्थापित होना है।

श्री नंद लाल शर्मा : आप राम राज्य की ओर नहीं बढ़ रहे हैं। राम राज्य का अर्थ है धर्म का सम्मान, धर्म का आदर, राम के चरित्र के अनुसार धर्म नियंत्रण, ईश्वर नियंत्रण, शासक और शासित जनता के बीच कोई भेद भाव का न होना। जब यह सब चीजें होंगी तभी राम राज्य स्थापित होगा।

राष्ट्रपति जी ने यहां पर भाषण तो कर दिया और अपने अपने अभिभाषण में राष्ट्रीय और अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय समस्याओं की ओर कुछ संकेत भी कर दिये। परन्तु इस सारे अभिभाषण से यह मालूम नहीं पड़ रहा है कि राष्ट्रपति महोदय अथवा हमारी सरकार ने आगामी वर्ष में कौन सी नीति को अपनाना है, कौन से मार्ग पर चलना है। इस बारे में कोई संकेत नहीं दिया गया है कि गोम्रा की समस्या को किस प्रकार से सुलझाया जायगा, पूर्वी पाकिस्तान से जो लगातार लोग आ रहे हैं, उस के बारे में क्या किया जाएगा। और भी जो समस्याएँ हैं गोम्रा अथवा पाकिस्तान के अलावा, उन को किस प्रकार सुलझाया जाएगा। मैं आप के मार्ग में कोई रुकावट खड़ी करना नहीं चाहता। परन्तु साथ ही साथ म राज्यों के पुनर्गठन के सम्बन्ध में थोड़ा सा कहे बरीर नहीं रह सकता। इस बारे में सरकार ने जो नीति अपनाई है उस की आलोचना किए बिना मैं नहीं रह सकता। मेरे से पहले वक्ताओं ने इस की ओर संकेत दिया है कि अच्छी बात को अगर बुरे ढंग से किया जाय तो इस से बढ़ कर दुर्भाग्य की ओर कोई बात नहीं हो सकती।

मैंने महाराष्ट्र की मांग का सदा समर्थन किया है और आज भी करता हूँ। महाराष्ट्र के पास करोड़पति नहीं हैं, अरबपति नहीं हैं। मैं पूछता हूँ कि क्या यही कारण है कि उन की उचित मांग को ठकराया जा रहा है। क्या महाराष्ट्रीय देश के साथ प्यार नहीं करते, स्नेह नहीं करते। क्या उन्होंने देश को स्वतन्त्र कराने में

बोग नहीं दिया। यदि इन में से कोई भी बात नहीं है तो क्या कारण है कि उन की मांग को स्वीकार नहीं किया जा रहा है। आज से नहीं उन की इस उचित मांग को कई बरसों से रोंदा जा रहा है। उन की यह मांग आज से नहीं अंग्रेजों के जमाने से चली आ रही है। आज उन की मांग को रोंदने के लिये मल्टी-लिंगुअल (बहुभाषी) और बाई-लिंगुअल (द्विभाषी) स्टेट्स बनाने की बात सोची जा रही है। इस प्रकार का गड़-बड़ी पूर्ण अध्याय क्यों आप शुरू करने जा रहे हैं।

इस के साथ ही साथ मैं पंजाबी सूबे के बारे में अपने विचार यहां प्रस्तुत करना चाहता हूँ। मैं स्पष्ट रूप से कहता हूँ कि पंजाबी सूबे की मांग का हम कोई विरोध नहीं करते हैं। पंजाब के रहने वाले जिनकी भाषा पंजाबी है, इस का कैसे विरोध कर सकते हैं। विरोध है तो केवल लिपि के बारे में है। हम चाहते हैं कि गुरुमुखी लिपि नहीं होनी चाहिए। आज तक इतिहास में कभी भी यह लिपि उन पर लादी नहीं गई है। वहां पर यूनिवर्सिटी पार्टी की गवर्नमेंट थी, वहां पर अंग्रेजों की हकूमत रही है, और भी चाहे कोई गवर्नमेंट वहां पर रही हो किसी ने उन पर यह लिपि नहीं लादी। मैं मानता हूँ कि आज भी सतलुज से रावलपिंडी तक और उस भी भागे पंजाबी बोली जाती है। वहां पर गुरुमुखी स्क्रिप्ट नहीं है जो कि रिलीजस स्क्रिप्ट (धर्मग्रन्थों की लिपि) है और जिस का हम सम्मान करते हैं, आदर करते हैं। वहां पर पंजाबी भाषा है, मैं इस की मानता हूँ। पंजाब की डैफ़िनीशन पंजाबी भाषा से नहीं है। हम ने इस को रबड़-छंद नहीं बनाया है, लक्षणानुकारी लक्षण होता है न कि लक्षणानुकारी लक्ष्य। पंजाब की पंजाबी भाषा है। पंजाब के बारे में मेरा निवेदन है कि यदि किसी ने तलवार दिखा दी या किसी ने १० लाख का जलूस बना कर दिखा दिया तो हम उस के सामने झुक जायेंगे, ऐसी बात नहीं होनी चाहिये। वहां पर जो ७० प्रतिशत जनता है, जिन्होंने सिखों से कभी ईर्ष्या नहीं की, कभी द्वेष नहीं किया, उन के साथ हमेशा बन्धुओं की तरह से रहे हैं उन का भी हमें क्या रखना है। सिखों और हिन्दुओं की दो कल्चर नहीं है। हम तो स्पष्ट कहते हैं :

“ एक ओंकार सत्गुरु परसाद ”

जब ओंकार से ही गुरु ग्रन्थ साहब को आरम्भ करेंगे तो कोई दूसरी कल्चर (संस्कृति) नहीं हो सकती। जहां यह हो—

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“कहो नानक विपत्ति में टेक एक रघुनाथ” जब रघुनाथ का नाम होगा, जब हरि का नाम होगा, जब हर का नाम होगा, जब ऐसे नाम गुरु ग्रंथ माहब में आयेंगे तो गुरु ग्रंथ में श्रद्धा रखने वाले कभी यह नहीं कह सकते कि हमारा दूसरा कल्चर है और हम उस को मानते हैं। ऐसी परिस्थिति में दो-दो और तीन-तीन नेशन-ध्युरी के सिद्धांत पर कोई अलग सूबा मांगे तो सरकार को झुकना नहीं चाहिये। सरकार को अपनी नीति स्पष्ट रूप से निर्धारित करनी चाहिये।

हिन्दी जो कि राष्ट्रभाषा घोषित की गई है और जिस को लागू करने के लिये एक समय निर्धारित किया गया है मुझे डर है, कि कहीं उस में वृद्धि न हो जाए। अभी यह लैंग्वेज कमीशन जो बैठा है, मैं किसी के खिलाफ कुछ मोटिव इम्प्यूट (दोषारोपण) नहीं करना चाहता। क्योंकि मैं इस की उचित नहीं समझता हूँ, परन्तु मैं देख रहा हूँ कि कुछ प्रचार चल रहा है मौलाना मिनिस्ट्री की ओर से, और हिन्दी का गला घोटने के प्रयास किये जा रहे हैं। मैं आप को स्मरण दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि कांस्टिट्यूटिंग एसेम्बली ने एक मत हो कर हिन्दी को राष्ट्रभाषा घोषित किया था और कहा था कि निर्धारित समय में इस को लागू करने की चेष्टा की जाए। आज हम देख रहे हैं कि गौरांग भगवान के जो मानस पुत्र हैं वह अभी तक अपनी गौरांग भाषा का त्याग नहीं कर सके हैं। आज प्रतिवर्ष लाखों अंग्रेजी पढ़े लिखे लड़के लड़कियां हमारे कालिजों से निकल रहे हैं। यदि आप को दिल्ली जाना हो तो आप को दिल्ली जाने वाले रास्ते पर ही चलना होगा न कि अफ्रीका के रास्ते पर। आप तो चल रहे हैं कहीं अफ्रीका की ओर और कहते हैं कि हम चल रहे हैं हिमालय के अन्दर। आप को चाहिये कि आप उसी रास्ते पर चलें जिस पर चल कर आप राष्ट्रभाषा हिन्दी को अपना सकें। मैं तो देखता हूँ कि स्वतंत्रता प्राप्ति के बाद अंग्रेजी १० गुना बढ़ी है। मैं देखता हूँ बसों के अन्दर वह लोग भी जो अंग्रेजी जानते भी नहीं हैं या टूटी-फूटी अंग्रेजी जानते हैं वह भी अंग्रेजी के सिवा किसी दूसरी भाषा में बात करना पसन्द नहीं करते। उस का कारण आप लोगों की अंग्रेजी भाषा के प्रति प्रीति है।

“ यद्यदाचरति श्रेष्ठस्तत्त देवेतरो जनः ।
स यत्प्रमाणं कुरुते लोकस्तदनुवर्तते ॥”

[श्री नन्दलाल शर्मा]

यानी गौरांग गुरुओं के जो शिष्य हैं, भाषा और संस्कृति को जब आप ने संभाला है तो फिर बाकी ग्राम जनता क्या करेगी। आप को ध्यान धर्म की ओर नहीं है, आपका ध्यान भाषा और वेशभूषा की ओर नहीं आपका ध्यान संस्कृति की ओर नहीं है तो फिर हम कैसे कहें कि हम को स्वराज्य प्राप्त हुआ है। तब तो यह स्वराज्य इसी प्रकार का स्वराज्य समझा जायेगा जैसे कि किसी को क्लोरोफार्म सुंघा दिया जाए और उस को मैदान में पटक दिया जाए और फिर चाहे उस की नाक काट डालिये या उस का कान काट डालिये। ऐसा स्वराज्य हम को हानि करेगा। स्व का अर्थ आत्म तत्व है। इसलिये स्वराज्य वह राज्य होगा जो कि आत्मसंस्कृति का राज्य हो। उस की ओर हमारे राष्ट्रपति संकेत करते या हमारी सरकार उस ओर संकेत करती। मैं राष्ट्रपति के व्यक्तित्व का सम्मान करता हूँ। लेकिन साथ ही मैं अपनी ओर से यह चेतावनी देना चाहता हूँ कि वह नासुकतापूर्ण अहिंसा है यदि शत्रु के प्रति उस का उपयोग किया जाये। यह ठीक है कि अपने बन्धुओं के प्रति वास्तविक अहिंसा को ग्रहण किया जाय। सत्य बन्धु में और असत्य बन्धु में स्वाभाविक शत्रु में और स्वाभाविक मित्र में, कृत्रिम शत्रु में और कृत्रिम मित्र में भेद करने की भावना हो। सतत साम का प्रयोग कुलीन मित्र करें, असत् साम का प्रयोग न करें। यदि आप ऐसा करेंगे तो निश्चय ही राष्ट्र का कल्याण होगा और राष्ट्र के कल्याण की भावना करते हुए, और राष्ट्रपति के पद का सम्मान करते हुए और राष्ट्रपति के प्रति आभार प्रदर्शित करते हुए इन संशोधनों को मैं उपस्थित करता हूँ और इस प्रकार भारत सरकार की प्रदक्षित इस नीति का विरोध करता हूँ।

श्री श्रीनारायण दास (दरभंगा मध्य) : मेरे मित्र श्री भागवत झा आजाद ने राष्ट्रपति के प्रति जो कृतज्ञता का प्रस्ताव रखा है मैं उस का हृदय से समर्थन करता हूँ।

वैसे तो हर साल के आरम्भ में संसद् में राष्ट्रपति का अभिभाषण होना एक व्यवहार सा बन गया है। परन्तु इस वर्ष इसका विशेष महत्व है। क्योंकि चालू पंचवर्षीय योजना समाप्त होने जा रही है और आगामी पंचवर्षीय योजना तैयार की जा रही है। इसीलिए इस अभिभाषण में राष्ट्रपति जी ने राष्ट्रीय और अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय विभिन्न समस्याओं पर थोड़ा थोड़ा प्रकाश डाला है और कुछ दिशा का निर्देश

करने का प्रयत्न किया है। इन समस्याओं के विषय में कुछ कहने से पहले मैं यह कहे बिना नहीं रह सकता कि राज्यों के पुनर्गठन के प्रश्न को लेकर हमारे देश में जो एक विषम परिस्थिति पैदा हो गई है वह न केवल सरकार के लिये चिन्ता का विषय है वरन् सारे राष्ट्र के लिए चिन्ता का विषय है।

हमने अपने संविधान के द्वारा अपने सामने कुछ आदर्श रखा था और उस आदर्श को पूरा करने के लिये हम धीरे धीरे कदम बढ़ा रहे थे। हिन्दुस्तान के दो टुकड़े हुए और उस से जो विषम स्थिति पैदा हुई उस का भी हम ने हिम्मत और बहादुरी से मुकाबला किया। दुनिया में यह समझा जाने लगा था कि एशिया के अन्दर स्वतन्त्र होने वाले कई देशों में हिन्दुस्तान ही एक ऐसा देश है जिस ने क्रान्ति के बाद चाहे वह शान्तिमय क्रान्ति ही क्यों न रही हो, जल्द देश के अन्दर प्रजातान्त्रिक सिद्धांतों को रखने की हिम्मत की है और बहुत थोड़े समय में अपने देश की राजनीतिक स्थिति में स्थिरता ला चुका है। और आर्थिक स्थिति में भी सुधार करने का प्रयत्न कर रहा है। लेकिन मेरा ऐसा ख्याल है कि राज्यपुनर्गठन के प्रश्न को लेकर कुछ प्रान्तों में जो हिंसा का वातावरण पैदा हो गया और जो लोगों ने प्रजातन्त्र के रास्ते को छोड़ कर अशान्तिमय रास्ते को अपनाया, चाहे ऐसा कांग्रेस वालों के उकसाने से हुआ हो या कांग्रेस विरोधी दलों के उकसाने से हुआ हो, मैं समझता हूँ कि वह भारतवर्ष के लिये बहुत ही लज्जा का विषय है और इसका परिणाम यह हुआ है कि जहाँ हम ने दुनिया को दिखा दिया था कि भारत राष्ट्रीय और अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय समस्याओं को हल करने के लिये प्रजातान्त्रिक ढंग अपनाता है, वहाँ अब दुनिया के लोगों को इस बात में संदेह होने लगा है कि हिन्दुस्तान का जो प्रजातान्त्रिक गणराज्य है उस में भी राजनीतिक स्थिरता है या नहीं। इसलिए मैं इस सभा में यह कहे बिना नहीं रह सकता कि इस समस्या का मुकाबला न केवल सरकार को, न केवल कांग्रेस दल को, बल्कि सब दलों के लोगों को मिलकर करना चाहिये और इस समस्या का सब को मिल कर समाधान खोजना चाहिये। और चाहे यह स्थिति किसी के भड़काने और उकसाने से पैदा हुई हो हम को उस के असली कारणों को ढूँढना चाहिये कि क्या वजह है कि हमारे राजनीतिक जीवन में इस तरह की घटना घटित हुई है। जहाँ हमारी सरकार अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय समस्याओं को हल करने में अहिंसा और शान्तिमय तरीकों से काम लेती है वहाँ

उसे अपने देश के उपद्रवों को दबाने के लिये गोली का आश्रय लेना पड़ा। यह एक महत्वपूर्ण राष्ट्रीय सवाल है। यह सिर्फ सरकार का या कांग्रेस का सवाल नहीं है बल्कि सारे राष्ट्र का सवाल है कि हम प्रजातान्त्रिक ढंग अख्तियार करें या हिंसात्मक ढंग अख्तियार करें। इसलिए मैं सरकार से अनुरोध करूंगा कि इस समस्या पर विचार करने के लिये सभी दलों का एक सम्मेलन बुलाया जाये और उस सम्मेलन में सब लोग बिना मन में कोई बात रखे हुए इस समस्या पर विचार करें जिस से कि देश में जो विषम स्थिति पैदा हो गई है उस का निराकरण किया जा सके।

साथ ही मैं यह भी कहना चाहूंगा कि राज्य-पुनर्गठन आयोग की सिफारिशें अगर किसी राज्य को मान्य नहीं हैं तो मैं समझता था कि यह सवाल सीधे रूप में हमारे सामने आवेगा और पार्लियामेंट उस पर विचार कर लेगी। और इस के बाद भी यदि किसी का उस के निर्णय से मतभेद हो तो उसके लिये एक रास्ता और है जो कि अभी भी खुला हुआ है, अर्थात् दोनों दल इस मामले को पंचायत के सुपुर्द करने को राजी हो जायें और जिस पंच पर दोनों दलों का विश्वास हो उसके सुपुर्द यह काम कर दिया जाय और वह जो निर्णय वे उस को मान लिया जाये। मैं समझता हूँ कि यह भी एक सुझाव है जिस पर कि सरकार को विचार करना चाहिये।

प्रथम पंचवर्षीय योजना के द्वारा जो फल प्राप्त हुई है और जो लक्ष्य प्राप्त हुआ है उस पर राष्ट्रपतिजी ने हर्ष प्रकट किया है। मैं भी उस हर्ष में उनके साथ हूँ। देश का धन बढ़ जाना, हमारी राष्ट्रीय आय में १५ प्रतिशत की वृद्धि हो जाना, औद्योगिक क्षेत्र में और कृषि के क्षेत्र में पैदावार का बढ़ना अवश्य ही सुखद है। लेकिन मैं यह जानना चाहता था कि इस आय का कौन कौन सा हिस्सा समाज के किस किस अंग को गया। यदि इसका विवरण हमारे सामने आता तो हम को विशेष सन्तोष होता। हम जानना चाहते हैं कि यह धन जो बढ़ा वह कहाँ गया। शरीर में रक्त पैदा हो गया यह तो प्रसन्नता की बात है लेकिन हम यह जानना चाहते थे कि वह रक्त उपेक्षित अंगों को पहुंचा या नहीं। यह जो धन बढ़ा यह इतना गौरव का विषय नहीं है, और जो लक्ष्य हम ने प्राप्त कर लिया वह भी इतना महत्व का विषय नहीं है लेकिन जो महत्व की बात है वह यह है कि वह धन समाज के उपेक्षित वर्ग के पास गय

या नहीं। हम ने अपने संविधान में जो आदर्श रखा है वह सरकार की सफलता की कौसटी है, चाहे वह कांग्रेस सरकार हो या सोशलिस्ट सरकार हो, उसकी सफलता की कौसटी वे राजनीतिक निर्देशक सिद्धांत हैं जिन को कि संविधान में दिया गया है। हमें यह देखना है कि सरकार उस कौसटी पर खरी उतरती है या नहीं। राष्ट्रपति महोदय ने भी कुछ हद तक यह स्वीकार किया है कि हम अपने ध्येय तक नहीं पहुंच पाये हैं और हम को अभी बहुत कुछ करना है। इसलिये मैं सरकार से कहना चाहता हूँ कि केवल धन बढ़ाना हिन्दुस्तान की समस्या का हल नहीं है; यद्यपि इस की भी आवश्यकता है। उत्पादन बढ़ना जरूरी है, लेकिन यह नहीं होना चाहिये कि उत्पादन तो बढ़ जाये पर देश में लोग भूखे मरें, देश में लोगों को काम न मिले और उन के पास पैसा न हो जिससे कि वे अपनी आवश्यकता की चीजें खरीद सकें। यदि लोग खरीद न सकें तो अन्न का भंडार रखने से क्या लाभ हो सकता है। अब चूंकि दूसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना शुरू होने वाली है, इसलिये मैं सरकार से कहना चाहता हूँ कि सरकार को केवल इस बात से संतोष नहीं करना चाहिये कि उस ने अपने सामने समाजवादी समाज का आदर्श रख लिया है और न उस को इस बात से संतोष करना चाहिये कि हम क्रमिक ढंग से आर्थिक विषमता को दूर कर रहे हैं। जहां तक क्रमिक ढंग से जीवनस्तर को ऊंचा करने की बात का सम्बन्ध है, उस के बारे में मेरा तो कहना यह है कि यह क्रमिक ढंग की बात तो वह विदेशी सरकार जो हमारे यहां विद्यमान थी, वह किया करती थी। मैं तो चाहूंगा कि हमारी सरकार इस भाषा को बदल दे और हमारी जो अगली पंचवर्षीय योजना आरम्भ हो रही है उस में ऐसा प्रयत्न करे कि हमारे बीच आर्थिक विषमता कम से कम रह जाय और लोगों का जीवनस्तर— जो नीचा है वह ऊंचा उठे। जो आर्थिक सीढ़ी के ऊपर है वह जल्दी से जल्दी थोड़ा सा नीचे उतर कर आ जाए। इस सम्बन्ध में मैं सदस्य गणों के सम्मुख एक सुझाव रखना चाहता हूँ और उन के द्वारा सरकार को सुझाव देना चाहता हूँ कि अभी जरूरत इस बात की है कि एक प्रायोजन नियुक्त किया जाय जो इस बात की जांच करे कि हम ने अब तक ५ वर्षों के अन्दर या ७ वर्षों के अन्दर जब से हमको आजादी मिली और हमने अपना संविधान लागू किया है तब से हम ने जो राज्य के निर्देशक सिद्धांत रखे हैं अर्थात् डाइरेक्टिव प्रिंसिपल्स आफ स्टेट पालिसी, उन को हम कहाँ तक कार्यान्वित कर सके हैं

[श्री श्रीनारायण दास]

और कार्यान्वित नहीं कर सके तो उस का क्या कारण है और क्या क्या कठिनाइयाँ सामने आ रही हैं जिन की वजह से वह अमल में नहीं आ पा रही हैं। इस आयोग का यह काम होगा कि वह इन सारी बातों की जांच पड़ताल करे, राज्य के स्तर पर और केन्द्र के स्तर पर छानबीन कर के यह बतलाये कि इन सिद्धांतों को अमल में लाने में क्या क्या कठिनाइयाँ पेश आती हैं और उन को किस तरह से दूर किया जा सकता है और में समझता हूँ कि इस तरह हम अपने ध्येय को प्राप्त करने में सफल होंगे। इसलिए मैं चाहूँगा कि इस तरह के आयोग की नियुक्ति सरकार करे।

दूसरी बात में जो कहना चाहता हूँ वह यह है कि देश की जनता से जो यह मांग की जा रही है और उस से इस बात की अपेक्षा रखी जा रही है कि वह आगामी पंचवर्षीय योजना के लिये धन जुटाये और बचत करे और राष्ट्र की जो बचत होगी, उस संचित राशि को हम देश के उपयोगी निर्माण कार्यों में लगायेंगे और धन का उत्पादन करेंगे और उस के बाद हम समाज में उचित रीति से उस उत्पादित धन के वितरण की व्यवस्था करेंगे। मैं समझता हूँ कि सरकार की राष्ट्र और जनता के नाम यह अपील बिल्कुल समयानुकूल है और मैं उस के साथ पूरे तौर पर सहमत हूँ और यह ठीक भी है कि व्यक्तिगत जीवन में या समाज के जीवन में जो फ्रिजूलखर्च है उस को जरूर बन्द करना चाहिये। लेकिन साथ ही साथ में सरकार का ध्यान अत्यधिक बढ़े हुए उस प्रशासनिक खर्च की ओर दिलाना चाहता हूँ जो कि आवश्यकता से बहुत ज्यादा बढ़ा हुआ है और कर जांच कमीशन आयोग ने अपनी रिपोर्ट में साफ शब्दों में कहा है कि जहाँ हम जनता से अपेक्षा रखते हैं कि वह द्वितीय पंचवर्षीय योजना को सफलतापूर्वक कार्यान्वित करने के लिये कठिनाइयाँ झेलें, वहाँ सरकारी विभागों से भी इस बात की अपेक्षा की जानी चाहिये कि वे अधिक से अधिक अपने खर्चों में कमी कर के और आवश्यक कटौती करके पंचवर्षीय योजना को सफल बनाने में हाथ बटायें। कर जांच आयोग ने यह भी सुझाव दिया है कि राज्य के प्रशासनिक विभागों में जो फ्रिजूलखर्च चल रही है और धन का अपव्यय हो रहा है उस के बारे में जांच पड़ताल किया जाय और वह उपाय बतलाये जाएँ जिसके जरिये हम जल्दी से जल्दी अपने प्रशासन में होने वाले व्यय को कम कर सकें। इसलिये इस तरह

के एक आयोग का बनना अत्यन्त आवश्यक है और मुझे आशा है कि हमारे वित्त मंत्री महोदय अपने बजट के अभिभाषण में इस बात की घोषणा करेंगे।

तीसरी बात जो मैं कहना चाहूँगा वह यह है कि प्रजातन्त्र की सफलता में तीन अंग होते हैं। एक तो हम बैठे हुए हैं कानून बनाने वाले, दूसरा अंग हमारे न्यायालय हैं जो न्याय करते हैं और तीसरा अंग हमारे वे कर्मचारीगण हैं जिन पर सरकार की मशीनरी को चलाने का भार है और सरकारी आदेशों को कार्यान्वित करने की जिम्मेदारी है। और यह बात भी सही है कि हमें अपने कार्यों को जो काफी पहले से बढ़े हुए हैं उनको पूरा कराने के लिये अधिक से अधिक कर्मचारियों को रखना पड़ेगा क्योंकि जाहीर है कि बिना यथेष्ट कर्मचारियों के आयोजन से तमाम काम पूरा होने वाले नहीं हैं। लेकिन मैं समझता हूँ कि जन-कल्याण कार्य करने के लिये जो आजकल हमारे कर्मचारीगण हैं अधिकांश में उन में उनके लिये क्षमता नहीं, वैसे हमें किसी के प्रति घृणा या द्वेष भाव नहीं है लेकिन यह बात जरूर है कि आदमी की जो आदत पड़ जाती है वह जल्दी मिटती नहीं है। हमने अंग्रेजों की सरकार से शान्तिमय तरीके से स्वराज्य लिया और शासन का वह पूरा ढांचा ज्यों का त्यों चला आता है और आज आवश्यकता इस बात की है कि हमारे कर्मचारीगण बदले हुए जमाने को पहचानें और उस के अनुसार अपनी मनोवृत्ति में परिवर्तन करें और ऐसा करने के लिये समय समय पर सुझाव दिये जाते रहे हैं और अभी हाल में पणिकर साहब ने अपने एक भाषण में कहा है कि प्रशासन के सम्बन्ध में जांच करने के लिये और उस में सुधार लाने के लिये एक आयोग नियुक्त किया जाय और इसी तरह का एक सुझाव कुछ दिन हुए मंने भी दिया था, लेकिन मेरे प्रस्ताव पर बहस होने के बाद उसको अस्वीकार कर दिया गया और वह प्रस्ताव गिर गया। आज जरूरत इस बात की है कि जब हम इस देश में कल्याणकारी राज्य की स्थापना करने जा रहे हैं तो हमारे जो प्रशासन में कर्मचारी लोग हैं उन की जो शासन करने की मनोवृत्ति है वह बदली जाय और वह सेवा और रचना करने की मनोवृत्ति को अपनायें। आज देश को प्रशासन करने वाली मनोवृत्ति के कर्मचारियों की आवश्यकता नहीं है बल्कि उस को देश में रचना करने वाली जरूरत है। हम इस शासन की पुरानी चली आ रही दूषित मनोवृत्ति के लिये किसी पर दोष

नहीं मढ़ना चाहते लेकिन हम चाहते हैं कि सरकार जल्दी से जल्दी इसकी जांच कराये और प्रशासन में सुधार करे और जो कर्मचारी गण रखे जायें वे अपने को देश का शासक नहीं बल्कि सेवक समझें और यह समझ कर काम करें कि एक कल्याणकारी राज्य की स्थापना करना उनका कर्तव्य है। उनको समझना चाहिये कि उन्हें जनता पर हुकूम नहीं चलाना है बल्कि उन को रचना और निर्माण का काम करना है। इसलिये मैं समझता हूँ कि प्रशासन सुधार आयोग की आज अत्यन्त आवश्यकता है।

मैं एक और बात की और आप का ध्यान दिलाना चाहूंगा। जब पहली पंचवर्षीय योजना हमारे सामने रखी गई थी, तो उस समय देश में जितनी राजनैतिक पार्टियां थीं, उन में मतैक्य नहीं था और सैद्धांतिक मतभेद विद्यमान थे कि राज्य की व्यवस्था किस आदर्श पर की जाय। व्यवस्था कायम हो लेकिन आज तो वैसे कोई उलझन मौजूद नहीं है और राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण में साफ़ तौर पर कहा गया है कि हमारा ध्येय इस देश में समाजवाद के नमूने पर समाज की व्यवस्था करना है। हम चाहते हैं कि हमारे देश से आर्थिक विषमता दूर हो जाय और लोगों का जीवनस्तर ऊंचा हो। ये सब आदर्श ऐसे हैं जिन पर किसी को मतभेद नहीं है और ऐसे मौके पर जब दूसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना चलने वाली है, सरकार की तरफ से यह प्रयत्न किया जाय कि जितनी भी विरोधी पार्टियां हैं उनसे बातचीत करे और पूछे कि किस शर्त पर वह दूसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना में एक साथ मिलकर सहयोग दे सकेंगे, और सरकार को इस बात की कोशिश करनी चाहिये कि दूसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना को कार्यान्वित करने के लिये सारे विरोधी दलों का सहयोग प्राप्त करे कि सरकारी दल और सारे विरोधी दल तथा सारे देश की जनता एक साथ कन्धे से कन्धा मिला कर देश निर्माण के महत्वपूर्ण कार्य में जुट जाय ताकि हमारे देश से हर एक प्रकार की विषमता दूर हो, गरीबी और भुखमरी दूर हो और बेकारी और बेरोजगारी दूर हो, और ऐसा तभी सम्भव हो सकता है जब सभी वर्गों का हमें पूर्ण सहयोग मिले। कांग्रेस और सरकार की तरफ से विरोधी दलों को सहयोग के लिये आमंत्रण दिया जाय और उन से मिल कर बात की जाय और उन का सहयोग प्राप्त किया जाय और ऐसा होने पर ही हम अपने ध्येय को प्राप्त करने में सफल हो सकेंगे। स्वराज्य प्राप्ति के बाद हम लोग गांधी

जी के आदर्श को लेकर चले हैं और वे आदर्श ऐसे हैं जिन पर शायद किसी को भी मतभेद नहीं हो सकता और हमारे सरकारी कर्मचारीयों को भी उन आदर्शों पर चलना सीखना चाहिये। आज जब हम निर्माण का कार्य प्रारम्भ करने जा रहे हैं तो हमें आपसी मतभेद भुला कर अपने विरोधी दलों के लोगों का भी इस कार्य में सहयोग प्राप्त करना चाहिये और मैं सरकार से अपील करूंगा कि इस तरह का प्रयत्न किया जाय जिस से विरोधी दलों का सहयोग इस दूसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना को चलाने के लिए मिल सके।

सभापति महोदय, अनुभव बतलाता है कि हमारा देश गरीब होते हुए भी हमेशा से उत्सव-प्रिय रहा है। देश में गरीबी का बोलबाला है लेकिन तब भी हम लोग हर वर्ष बड़े उत्साह के साथ होली का त्योहार मनाते हैं और घर-घर आये लोगों का आदर-सत्कार करते हैं और स्वागत-सत्कार और उत्सव मनाने की यह हमारी सरकार को भी पड़ गई है और आये दिन हम देखते हैं कि संगीत और नृत्य के आयोजन सरकार द्वारा किये जाते हैं और इन उत्सवपर काफी रुपया खर्च किया जाता है। मैं यह नहीं कहता कि सम्मेलन नहीं होना चाहिये, सम्मेलन विचार-विमर्श के लिए होने चाहिएं लेकिन जैसा कि हमारा स्वभाव है हालांकि हम गरीब हैं और पेट में अन्न नहीं है लेकिन हम होली मनाते हैं, मैं चाहता हूँ कि हमारी सरकार इस आदत को न अपनाये, और जहां तक संभव बन पड़े इन सम्मेलनों और उत्सवों आदि पर कम खर्च करे

सरदार हुकूम सिंह : हमारी सरकार का स्वभाव हमसे भिन्न कैसे हो सकता है।

श्री श्रीनारायण दास : हमको अपनी सरकार को समझाना चाहिए कि इस तरह का अनावश्यक खर्च न करे और उस धन को राष्ट्र निर्माण के कामों में खर्च करे। अब जैसे हमारे इस प्रजातान्त्रिक देश में २६ जनवरी का उत्सव मनाया जा रहा है, तो मैं यह नहीं कहता कि आप उस को न मनायें, जरूर मनायें लेकिन प्रजातन्त्र की जो भावना है उस के अनुरूप उस को मनावें और उस को दिल्ली के नगर में न मना कर देश के गांवों में मनायें और इस समारोह और राष्ट्रीय उत्सव को शिक्षा का ढंग दिया जाय तो बहुत अच्छा होगा। इसलिये आवश्यकता इस बाद की है कि आज सरकार

[श्री श्रीनारायण दास]

जो तरह तरह के उत्सवों और आयोजनों पर काफी मात्रा में धन खर्च कर रही है, वह न करे।

सभापति महोदय, मुझे यद्यपि अभी दो चार बातें और कहनी थीं, लेकिन चूंकि मेरा समय समाप्त हो गया है इसलिये मैं अब अधिक न बोलूंगा और मैं राष्ट्रपति को धन्यवाद देने का जो प्रस्ताव रखा गया है उस का समर्थन करता हूं। हमारे काम की प्रशंसा तभी होगी जब हम अपने संविधान में जो डायरेक्टिव प्रिंसिपल्स (निर्देशक तत्त्व) दिये हुए हैं उन को पूरा कर के दिखायें और मैं तो समझता हूं कि इस संसद् में अगर सरकार की प्रशंसा हो जाती है तो वह उतनी महत्त्वपूर्ण नहीं है जितनी कि जनता के बीच में सरकार की प्रशंसा महत्त्व रखती है, और वह प्रशंसा अभिनन्दन की चीज है। मैं इन्हीं शब्दों के साथ जो धन्यवाद का प्रस्ताव रखा गया है, उस का हृदय से समर्थन करता हूं।

5 P.M.

Shri Raghubir Sahai (Etah Distt.—North-East cum Budaun Distt.—East): I am of opinion that if we take an overall picture of all that has been done in the past year, there is every reason for sincere gratification. Whether we take our domestic policies or we take our external policies, in every sphere we have met with success.

I would like to dwell on some aspect of our internal policies. In the first place, we should feel overjoyed at the success of our First Five-Year Plan. In many respects, our targets have been exceeded. So far as the agricultural sphere is concerned, we have met with very great success, and there is every reason for satisfaction that we have now become self-sufficient so far as agricultural products are concerned.

[PANDIT THAKUR DAS BHARGAVA
in the Chair]

With regard to industrial production also, we feel satisfied with our great advance. But although the First Five-Year Plan has been great success we admit that planning-mindedness has not been created in our country so far. Until and unless planning-mindedness has been created among our people, there will be very little prospect of the Second Five-Year Plan becoming a great success. We feel that while in

the agricultural sphere we have met with very great success, in the sphere of irrigation, we have not done so, because in many of the Community Projects and National Extension Blocks these resources of irrigation have not been expanded. Until and unless we look to that aspect of the problem, we will not be able to make our Community Projects and National Extension Blocks a very great success. I do not wish that we must concentrate on very big projects all over the country. They are necessary of course, but small schemes whereby irrigation can be expanded should be taken up. Sinking of ordinary wells, construction of small *bandhis* and tube-wells can be taken up all over the country. I am glad that in the Second Five-Year Plan, there is greater provision for irrigation, and I hope that whatever lacuna has been left in the First Plan so far as irrigation is concerned will be filled up during the Second Five-Year Plan period.

I wish to revert to the subject of planning-mindedness. Until and unless planning-mindedness has been created in the country, the Second Five-Year Plan cannot be a very great success. I find that the most difficult subject is that of raising resources for the Plan I found therein that there have been suggestions that further taxation will be raised, small savings schemes will be encouraged and governmental resort to borrowing also will be had. These are some of the suggestions made by that able body, the Planning Commission, with regard to raising resources. I feel doubtful whether without planning-mindedness we shall be able to raise further taxation, collect more money by small savings or collect more money by borrowing. I am afraid there will be a lot of hue and cry if further taxation is raised, if people are not planning-minded, they do not know that agricultural production has increased by so much percentage, industrial production has increased by so much percentage, and power has been generated to such and such extent. It is only very few individuals in the country who know about these achievements. I wish that those who are responsible for running the government should bear this aspect in mind. If we want to make a success of the Second Five-Year Plan, there must be a spirit of planning-mindedness all over the country. People should accept further taxation in a spirit of satisfaction, resignation, joy and pleasure. They should not resent; they should

subscribe to small savings. They should advance money where they can to meet the needs of the Government. That is my first point, that planning-mindedness should be encouraged if we want that our Second Five-Year Plan should be a success.

When I say that the events of the past year show that our internal policies have been a great success, I have something in mind about Kashmir. It was only last year that some of us, Members of Parliament, had occasion to visit Kashmir. Till we went there, Kashmir was a problem to us. We could not appreciate the policies of Government; nor could we appreciate the criticisms that were levelled at every stage by the public, with regard to the Government's Kashmir policy. But when we went there, we found that the policy pursued by the Government has been a signal success. Our own feeling was, and is, that people in Kashmir, as a rule, are satisfied with their connection with India. They feel that whatever the Government of India were doing was to their good. They were contented, they were satisfied with the Bakshi regime. In my humble opinion, it is necessary that the hands of the Bakshi regime should be strengthened. We found that in Kashmir people were engaged in constructing roads, in developing their own State as we are here busy developing our own country. Power plants were being erected, trade in timber, which was in plenty, was being developed, irrigation was being expanded and in every walk of life, Kashmir was trying to come up to the mark and to advance the interests of the State. It is necessary that more and more contacts should be created between Kashmir and India so that Indians may be able to understand Kashmir and Kashmiris may be able to understand India and more sympathy may be created between Kashmir and India.

There is another point I would like to bring to the notice of the Lok Sabha. Although Governments, both at the Centre and in the States have been throughout anxious to root corruption out, I am sorry to say that corruption is prevailing like anything. And, if there is resentment and dissatisfaction in the country, it is mostly due to the rampant corruption that is prevailing in the country. I do not dispute the *bona fides* of the Government but I certainly would humbly point out that it is not by

enacting this legislation or that legislation alone that you would be able to root out corruption. If corruption can be rooted out, it will be, in the first place, due to your awareness or earnestness. If you are earnest about rooting out corruption, it can be rooted out. If you are not earnest, pass any number of legislations and corruption will not be rooted out.

There was that menace of ticketless travelling sometime ago. The Government was earnest, the Railway Department was earnest that that menace should be controlled and now we find that ticketless travelling has been brought under control. It has not altogether disappeared; everybody knows it but it is not now a menace. So, if we feel earnest about rooting out corruption, it can be controlled and I wish that Government should create more earnestness about it. The departmental rules should be changed and the departmental heads should be made responsible to see that corruption does not thrive under their very noses.

A good deal was said about the developments that have taken place in this country after the publication of the report of the S.R.C. and the decisions made by Government. We are really very sorry that such developments should have taken place either in Bombay or in Orissa. But, I do not certainly subscribe to the view that has been placed before the Lok Sabha by our revered friend Acharya Kripalani for whom I have got very great respect and very great admiration. But, I do not agree with his view that after all these developments that have taken place in the country the Report should be shelved. Well, who knows if this issue is taken up 5 years hence the same situation will not be created and the same hubbub will not be created and the same feelings will not be roused? Who knows about that? When the issue has been taken up, when it has gone so far, let us confront it, and let us solve it. To my mind, it appears from what has taken place that it is quite clear that we must revise our ideas about linguism and linguistic provinces. It is true that some 28 years back the Congress decided upon forming linguistic provinces. But, since then much water has flowed down the bridge. To emphasise the same point or the same resolution that was passed some 28 years back is not a sign of wisdom. I should say we must strongly resolve and tell the people that linguism is

[SHRI RAGHUBIR SAHAI]

dead, the creation of linguistic provinces is a shibboleth and we shall go no more with that cry. Because, unless and until you say like that, if once the trouble has arisen in Maharashtra and Bombay, the same things may arise in other provinces also. We who belong to the United Provinces can now justly say, why not integrate Madhya Pradesh and U.P. because both are Hindi-speaking and we can go mad after it, although we have not gone so far. So, let us be clear about this (*Interruption*). Let us be clear about this that this policy of linguism should not be carried too far and those protagonists of linguistic provinces, whether educated or uneducated, whether political-minded or otherwise, they should all be asked to revise their notions. That has done immense injury to the cause of India. In other countries, we are not known as people of Maharashtra, Bihar, U.P., Bombay, Gujerat, Madras, Kerala or Andhra; we are all known as Indians and we belong to India. In fact, you have put the entire S.R.C. Report in cold storage when instead of emphasising the point of unity and security of India. We have placed it in the background and brought linguistic provinces in the forefront. Let us take first things first. Let us look to priorities. It is the unity and security of India which must be looked to; the administrative convenience and not linguism and the craze for linguistic provinces.

Having said this, I subscribe to the motion that was moved by Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad.

श्री वी० जी० देशपांडे : सभापति महोदय, इस समय देश में राज्य पुनर्रचना आयोग के कारण बम्बई, उड़ीसा इत्यादि प्रदेशों में जो उत्पात हुए हैं उन्होंने देश के हित चिन्तकों के दिलों में चिन्ता का निर्माण कर दिया है और उन को डर लगने लग गया है कि कहीं देश की एकता भंग न हो जाय। जिस समय राष्ट्रपति जी यहां पर भाषण देने आये उस वक्त हमारे हृदयों में बड़ी बड़ी अपेक्षाओं का निर्माण हुआ था। हम समझते हैं कि राष्ट्रपति का अभिभाषण बड़ा विचार प्रवर्तक होगा, बड़ा स्फूर्तिदायक होगा। परन्तु सभापति महोदय मुझे बड़े दुःख के साथ स्वीकार करना पड़ता है और आप मुझे क्षमा करेंगे यदि मैं यह कहूँ कि यह हमें बिल्कुल रूप, रस, गन्धहीन यानी टेस्टलेस, कलरलेस और ओडरलेस लगा है।

राष्ट्रपति के प्रति मेरे हृदय में कोई अन्याय की भावना नहीं है। परन्तु हमारे मंत्रिमंडल ने हमारे देश को ऐसी संकटमय परिस्थितियों में डाल दिया है जिन में से निकालने के लिये राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण में कोई भी तरीके नहीं सुझाये गये हैं और न ही राष्ट्र का मार्ग दर्शन किया गया है।

आपने १६ राष्ट्रों को राष्ट्रीय संघ में मान्यता दी है लेकिन मुझे इस बात से कोई खुशी नहीं होती है। आप पुर्तगाल के साथ अभी तक निपट नहीं सके हैं। अब तो पुर्तगाल ने आप के खिलाफ मामला एक अदालत में भी पेश कर दिया है.....

श्री कासलीवाल : पहले ही पेश कर दिया था।

श्री वी० जी० देशपांडे : यह तो वही बात हुई पुत्र वरदान मांगा गया था और जो मिल गया परन्तु मां मर गई। आप ने कहा है कि आप की नीति अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय क्षेत्र में बड़ी सफल रही है लेकिन मैं कहता हूँ कि आप उस के कारण एक बड़ी आपत्ति में फंस गए हैं। आप ने जो पंचशील के सिद्धांत का प्रतिपादन किया है इस से मुझे कोई खुशी नहीं होती है। आपने पंचशील के सिद्धांतों को अपना कर दुनिया को अहिंसा और सह-अस्तित्व का पाठ दिया है। परन्तु गोआ के सम्बन्ध में आप की क्या पालिसी है यह आप ने साफ तौर से नहीं बतलाई है। गोआ के सैनिक आप की सीमा के अन्दर आ कर लोगों को कत्ल कर रहे हैं परन्तु आप कुछ भी करने में अपने को असमर्थ पाते हैं। मैं यह भी देखता हूँ कि आप का पड़ोसी पाकिस्तान अपने यहां से हिन्दुओं को निकाल बाहर कर रहा है परन्तु आप वहां के हिन्दुओं को बचा नहीं पा रहे हैं।

सीलोन के बारे में आप कुछ कर नहीं सके हैं। इस तरह की सब चीजों के होने के बाद भी आप दुनिया को सह-अस्तित्व का पाठ सिखाते हैं। दुनिया के बड़े बड़े नेता, बड़े बड़े महाराजा, बड़ी बड़ी सुन्दर सम्राज्ञियां यहां आती हैं, इस से मेरे हृदय में बहुत संतोष का निर्माण नहीं होता है। बाहर के कई देशों के साथ आप के सम्बन्ध बने रहने के बावजूद भी आप इस देश के लोगों को बचा नहीं सके हैं, यह मैं देख रहा हूँ।

अब जब मैं देश के अन्दर आता हूँ और जब मैं आप की पंचवर्षीय योजना को देखता हूँ तो भी मेरे हृदय में कोई उत्साह की भावना

पंदा नहीं होती है। मेरे मित्र श्री आज़ाद काव्य-मय हैं यह मैं नहीं समझता था। परन्तु आज इस राजनीतिक मामले पर एक कविता का स्मरण आप को आगया।

अनकती तो काव्य में मैंने सुनी थी। लेकिन एक पंचवर्षीय योजना को दूसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना से भी कविता द्वारा मिलाया जा सकता है यह मैंने नहीं देखा था। इस पंचवर्षीय योजना के फलस्वरूप कविता करने की स्थिति का निर्माण हो जाय यह स्वीकार करने के लिये मैं तैयार नहीं हूँ। मैं अपने निर्वाचन क्षेत्र में जाता हूँ तो देखता हूँ कि दुःख उतना ही है और दरिद्र पहले से भी अधिक बढ़ गया है। इस साल बाढ़ के कारण खरीफ़ की फसल नष्ट हो जाने से उस क्षेत्र में ज्वार रुपये में तीन सेर मिलती है। कोई उन को बचानेवाला नहीं है। उल्टे मैं ने यह देखा कि एक कांग्रेस के नेता वहाँ चले गये और उन्होंने सात रुपये मन पर ज्वार खरीद ली। खरीदने के पश्चात् जो डिपॉजिट देना पड़ता है वह दिया नहीं और उस को ६ रुपये मन के हिसाब से वहीं बेच दिया है जिस से उन को एस लाख रुपये का लाभ हो गया और वह वहाँ से चले गये। सरकार को बताया तो सरकार को इन बातों पर ध्यान देने का वक्त नहीं है। कहा जाता है कि प्राजेक्ट बहुत अच्छी चल रही है। पर वहाँ विकास मन्त्री ने यह जानने के लिये एक समिति बनाई कि प्राजेक्ट में क्या प्रगति हुई है। एक जगह वह कमेटी गई। वहाँ पर जल कष्ट निवारण के लिए एक नेता को एक हजार रुपया दिया गया था। उस कमेटी ने देखा कि उस गांव में कोई जल कष्ट नहीं था। उस के पास बारह महीने चलने वाली नदी थी। कमेटी ने समझा कि शायद कोई कुंवा बनाया गया होगा। लेकिन कमेटी ने देखा तो मालम हुआ कि वह एक रीता गांव था। उस रीते गांव में जल कष्ट दूर करने के नाम से एक हजार रुपया ले लिया गया। इसी प्रकार करोड़ों रुपया खर्च हो रहा है। यह स्थिति हम पंच वर्षीय योजना की देख रहे हैं।

आज मेरी समझ में राष्ट्र के सामने सब से बड़ा प्रश्न राज्यपुनर्गठन का है। हमारे प्रधान मंत्री बार बार यह कहते हैं कि यह बहुत महत्त्व का प्रश्न नहीं है। उन की समझ में यह प्रश्न महत्त्व का हो या न हो, पर यह वास्तविकता है कि हिन्दुस्तान के सब से सम्पन्न नगर बम्बई में ७० से ऊपर आदिमियों को पुलिस की

गोली का शिकार होते हुये हमने अपनी आंखों से देखा है। हमने यह भी देखा है कि उड़ीसा में सात दिन तक राज्य चल नहीं सकता। इस प्रकार का क्षोभ इस देश की जनता में निर्माण हुआ है। मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि इस का उत्तरदायित्व किस के सिर पर है। बम्बई के विषय में जब दो दलों में मतभेद था तो उस का निराकरण लोकतंत्री तरीकों से किया जाना चाहिये था और शान्ति से काम लेना चाहिये था। लेकिन बम्बई पुलिस का जैसा बर्ताव था उस को मैंने अपनी आंखों से देखा। मैं श्रीमान चटर्जी के साथ बम्बई गया था और वहाँ पर हमने एक जगह कुछ गुजरातियों को और महाराष्ट्रियों को बुलाया था। कोई १५ या २० आदमी आये। उसी समय पुलिस वहाँ आई और उन ने कहा कि इतने आदमी नहीं मिल सकते और उन को निकल जाने को कहा। हम ने कहा कि जब कांग्रेस की वर्किंग कमेटी की मीटिंग हो सकती है तो चटर्जी साहब से कुछ आदमी नहीं मिल सकते। इस पर पुलिस ने कहा कि हम को यही हुक्म है कि जबरदस्ती उन को निकाल दो। चटर्जी साहब ने लोगों को जाने को कहा और वे चले गये। अगर वे ऐसा न करते तो पुलिस गोली चलाती और दूसरे दिन पत्रों में समाचार आता "Situation deteriorates in Bombay. Five men killed." मैं ने वहाँ पर पुलिस का यह बर्ताव देखा। मैं आप को बतलाना चाहता हूँ कि एक हिन्दू स्त्री के समान को बचाने के लिये और एक हिन्दू की जीवन की रक्षा करके लिये मैं सौ बम्बई नगरों को त्यागने के लिये तैयार हूँ। बम्बई शहर कोई इतनी बड़ी बात नहीं है। वहाँ पर जो उपद्रव किये गये और जो गुंडा-गर्दी की गई मैं उस का निषेध करते हुए कहना चाहता हूँ कि मैं ने देखा है कि किस तरह से पुलिस ने अत्याचार किये हैं और किस तरह लोगों को गोलियों का शिकार बनाया है। लोगों ने जो उपद्रव किये उन का मैं निषेध करते हुए चाहता हूँ कि इस बात की भी जांच की जाये कि पुलिस ने कितना अत्याचार किया। हमारी हिन्दुस्तान की सरकार से यह मांग है कि इस की जांच करायी जाये।

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

इसके बाद मैं दूसरी बात पर आता हूँ। आज हमारी सरकार ने डिमाक्रेसी का रास्ता पकड़ा है। प्रजातन्त्र का नाम लिया जाता है। लेकिन जब से राज्यपुनर्गठन आयोग की रिपोर्ट प्रकाशित हुई है तब से इस को एक पार्टी का घरेलू

[श्री वी. जी. देशपांडे]

सामला बना लिया गया है। आज प्रान्तीय कांग्रेस कमेटी के लोग सलाह के लिये आते हैं तो कल दूसरे लोग आते हैं। बाहर के लोगों को कोई पूछता नहीं। आपने मध्यभारत को मध्य-प्रदेश के साथ मिलाया। इस पर मध्यभारत के सब राजनीतिक दलों ने, कांग्रेस ने, हिन्दू महासभा ने, और भी जितने दल हैं सब ने विरोध प्रकट किया और जब इस विषय की चर्चा असेम्बली में हुई तो वहां भी बहुसंख्य सदस्यों ने विरोध प्रकट किया। परन्तु जब मैंने यह कहा तो हमारे गृहमंत्री श्री गोविन्द वल्लभ पन्त ने कहा कि मध्यभारत वालों ने मध्य प्रदेश में मिलने का विरोध नहीं किया। मैंने कहा कि मेरे हाथ में असेम्बली की प्रोसीडिंग मौजूद है जिस से प्रकट होता है कि इस का लोगों ने विरोध किया था। इस पर उन्होंने कहा कि ठीक है, विरोध किया है, लेकिन अब कोई विरोध नहीं कर रहा। तो असेम्बली में जो लोग राय देते हैं उस पर आप ध्यान देते नहीं। जब लोग रास्तों पर दंगा करते हैं और उत्पाद की धमकियां देते हैं तभी आप मानने के लिये तैयार होते हैं। इस प्रकार की परिस्थिति आप निर्माण करते हैं। बम्बई के प्रश्न पर आप ६ महीने तक चर्चा करते रहे लेकिन प्रधान मंत्री ने या और किसी बड़े नेता ने बम्बई में जा कर यह पूछा नहीं कि बाहर के लोग क्या चाहते हैं। अगर वे ऐसा करते तो किसी न किसी रूप से इसका हल निकल आता। यह बात आपने की नहीं बम्बई कारपोरेशन ने अपना सुझाव दिया। पूना कारपोरेशन ने भी अपना सुझाव दिया। पर आप ने उन की राय पर ध्यान नहीं दिया। दल के बाहर के लोगों से आप पूछताछ नहीं करते। फिर आप हमारे सिर पर सवार होते हो कि तुम प्रजातन्त्र के रास्ते पर नहीं चलते।

इस के भी आगे हम ने एक नई बात देखी। आज तीन साल से आप भाषावार प्रान्तों की बात कहते चले आ रहे हैं। एक साल तक आप का आयोग देश भर में घूमता रहा। उस की प्रान्त रचना की योजना हमारे सामने रखी गई। फिर एक दिन किसी नेता के मस्तिष्क में ब्रेन बेव आयी और उस ने कहा कि बंगाल और बिहार को मिला कर एक राज्य बना दिया जाये। उन प्रदेशों के राजनीतिक दलों से पूछा नहीं। बाहर के लोगों को पूछा नहीं। प्रशासनिक सुविधा होगी या नहीं होगी यह पूछा नहीं। आप ने दो प्रान्तों को एक करने का निश्चय कर लिया। फिर किसी दूसरे नेता ने

कहा कि बंगाल और बिहार की तरह महाराष्ट्र गुजरात और राजस्थान तक को मिला दिया जाय और एक प्रान्त बना दिया जाये। किसी ने कहा कि बंगाल के साथ आसाम को भी मिला दिया जाये। यह कहां तक ठीक है। इसी तरह का आप बिल लाने वाले हैं।

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: May I know how long the hon. Member is going to take to finish his speech?

Shri V. G. Deshpande: Only ten minutes; I have spoken for ten minutes now.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Then he can continue tomorrow.

ALL-INDIA INSTITUTE OF MEDICAL SCIENCES BILL

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The House will now take up further consideration of the following motion moved by Rajkumari Amrit Kaur on the 18th February, 1956, namely:

"That the Bill to provide for the establishment of an All-India Institute of Medical Sciences be taken into consideration."

Shri Mohanlal Saksena may continue his speech.

Dr. Suresh Chandra (Aurangabad): He had already finished his speech.

सरदार ए० एस० सहगल (बिलासपूर): उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मेरा प्वाइंट आफ आर्डर (श्रीचित्य प्रश्न) यह है कि जब कि कंसिडरेशन मोशन (विचार प्रस्ताव) लोक सभा के सामने आ चुका है और उस पर बहस चल रही हो तो उस अवसर पर किसी मेम्बर को बीच में अपना अमेंडमेंट (संशोधन) लाने का अधिकार प्राप्त है? मैं इस प्वाइंट पर आपकी रूनिंग (बिनिर्णय) चाहता हूँ।

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: He has a right to speak on his amendment. I am not able to follow.

Sardar A. S. Saigal: The motion for consideration is already moved and when the discussion is going on, is any hon. Member authorised to bring an amendment in the middle to refer the matter to Select Committee?

The Minister of Parliamentary Affairs (Shri Satya Narayan Sinha): When the consideration motion was moved, can any hon. Member bring a motion to refer the matter to a Select Committee?