

LOK SABHA DEBATES

(Part II—Proceedings other than Questions and Answers) ^{Dated 20.04.2015}

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LOK SABHA

Wednesday, 20th March, 1957

The Lok Sabha met at Eleven of the Clock.

[MR. SPEAKER in the Chair]

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

(See Part I)

PAPERS LAID ON THE TABLE

BUDGET ESTIMATES OF DAMODAR VALLEY CORPORATION

The Minister of Planning and Irrigation and Power (Shri Nanda): I beg to lay on the Table a Copy of the Budget Estimates of the Damodar Valley Corporation for the year 1957-58, under sub-section (3) of section 44 of the Damodar Valley Corporation Act, 1948. [Placed in Library. See No. S-34/57].

STATEMENT OF CASES IN WHICH LOWEST TENDERS HAVE NOT BEEN ACCEPTED BY INDIA STORE DEPARTMENT

The Deputy Minister of Irrigation and Power (Shri Hathi): On behalf of Sardar Swaran Singh, I beg to lay on the Table a copy of the revised statement of cases in which lowest tenders have not been accepted by the India Store Department, London, during the half year ended the 31st December, 1955. [See Appendix I, annexure No. 4].

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AMENDMENT TO UNIVERSITY GRANTS COMMISSION (DISQUALIFICATION, RETIREMENT AND CONDITIONS OF SERVICE OF MEMBERS) RULES

The Deputy Minister of Education (Dr. K. L. Shrivastava): I beg to lay on the Table, under sub-section (3) of Section 25 of the University Grants Commission Act, 1956, a copy of S.R.O. No. 558, dated the 23rd February, 1957, making certain amendment to the University Grants Commission (Disqualification, Retirement and Conditions of Service of Members) Rules, 1956. [Placed in Library. See No. S-36/57].

ESTIMATES COMMITTEE

FORTY-SEVENTH REPORT

Shri B. G. Mehta (Gohilwad): Sir, I beg to present the Forty-seventh Report of the Estimates Committee on the Ministry of Transport (Light-houses).

PAPER LAID ON THE TABLE

EXPLANATORY STATEMENT re PREVENTION OF CORRUPTION (AMENDMENT) ORDINANCE

The Minister in the Ministry of Home Affairs (Shri Datar): I beg to lay on the Table a copy of the explanatory statement giving reasons for immediate legislation by the Prevention of Corruption (Amendment) Ordinance, 1957. [See Appendix I, annexure No. 5].

MOTION ON ADDRESS BY THE * PRESIDENT

Shri Jaipal Singh (Ranchi West—Reserved—Sch. Tribes): Sir, may I appeal to you to modify the advice tendered yesterday? I regret I was

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not present in the House when you gave the indication that as there was to be a separate full-dress debate on foreign affairs you thought that it might be best to preclude references to foreign affairs. I humbly submit that as the President's Address, three-quarters of it, relates to foreign affairs, it would be discourteous not to make a reference to that in thanking the President. Therefore, I would urge, so that the discussion may become effective, that you modify your suggestion. Of course we will bear in mind that there is going to be a separate debate on foreign affairs later on but, at the same time, we should not completely preclude references to foreign affairs as mentioned in the President's Address.

Dr. Lanka Sundaram (Visakhapatnam): May I just add another word to what Shri Jaipal Singh has said? A number of amendments have been tabled in advance of your ruling last evening. Those amendments would be clearly out of order if you adhere to the ruling made yesterday. So the debate can be in terms of the Address delivered to us by the President.

Mr. Speaker: I only made a suggestion that inasmuch as the same matter will come up in a separate debate that need not be referred to here. But, inasmuch as the President's Address, a large portion of it, contains references to foreign affairs, and there are as many as 16 amendments tabled with respect to one or the other of those matters, on broad outlines those matters can be referred to and particular details may be reserved for further discussion later on.

Shri V. B. Gandhi (Bombay City—North): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I beg to move:

"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 the 18th March, 1957."

Sir, I deem it a privilege to move this motion. Normally, the President's Address provides an indication of the legislation that is to come before the House, but as this is a brief session, and the last session of the first Parliament, the President has been pleased to announce that there is no intention of bringing any major or controversial legislation before the House this session. This has enabled the President to devote a good portion of his Address to a review of the international situation and this, in a way, is as it should be, for uppermost in the minds of most of us all is the prevailing tension in the world.

Uppermost in the minds of most of us all is the receding prospect of peace and co-operation among countries. We, however, need not take an unduly pessimistic view of the situation, nor is such a view warranted by the situation which is so admirably summed up in the Address in these words:

"The world situation as a whole, which was beginning to show some signs of improvement, gives us cause for less optimism at present."

Then we pass on to the next item which interests most of us, and that is about Kashmir. We welcome the statement by the President, once again in the clearest of terms, of India's position in regard to Kashmir.

Among the notable events of the past few months is the Prime Minister's visit to the United States at the invitation of President Eisenhower. The President has made a reference to this visit and in the course of his Address the President says:

"The visit and the talks between the President and the Prime Minister have resulted in a greater appreciation of each other's point of view."

This is a very cautious statement, and it is, perhaps, befitting the high position of the President that it should be so cautious. However, in the opinion of many of us not all that is to be heard about the outcome of this meeting has been heard yet. We, of course, do not expect instantaneous or magical results, nor would be wise to pitch our expectations too high. And yet, the meeting of these two men is the best thing that could have happened to a distracted world at this juncture.

That meeting was definitely a historic meeting and the talks that these two men had were the longest in Washington's history. Now we are told that the outcome of the visit has been "a greater appreciation of each other's point of view". This "greater appreciation of each other's point of view" at this the highest level is precisely what the world so vitally needed, and there is hope all over that the influence of this meeting will continue for good over the course of events in times to come. The outcome of this historic meeting is bound to be more enduring than we are in a mood to admit in the midst of our current perplexities and irritations. I shall not say much more about the international situation but I wish to say one thing and it is this: the policies of the Government in external affairs have always had the support of the House. This support has been unqualified and has often been a support transcending party lines. We have just gone through the general elections in this country and the verdict of the people is now before us, a verdict which means an overwhelming support to the programmes and policies of the Government. In fact, we actually made a test, if a test was necessary, in a constituency which is known as the Bombay North constituency. Actually, Shri V. K. Krishna Menon was persuaded to stand as a candidate and it was declared well in advance that a vote to Shri Krishna Menon would be a vote for the foreign policies of the Government. And as we all

know, Shri V. K. Krishna Menon has been returned to this House with a very substantial majority. Let us not forget that this constituency is a very unique constituency and it has very often been described as a miniature India. It really is a very, very representative constituency and when I say this, I say from personal experience.

Shri V. G. Deshpande (Guna): What about other Bombay results?

Shri V. B. Gandhi: I wish we had some time to deal with some of the experiences we had during the recent elections. It is amazing to find how much the average voter knows about foreign affairs. One lesson we have learnt in this election, and it is this: We should not underestimate the intelligence of the average voter. Take, for instance, the Kashmir problem. The average voter has watched what has been happening in the Security Council when the Kashmir problem was before it. The average voter knows in this big world of many countries, which countries are friendly to India and which are to be trusted. The average voter knows which countries are great countries and are to be respected because they would stand up for what they consider to be right. The average voter knows the countries which are great but which would temporize and would vote against their best judgment to accommodate friends with whom perhaps they have military alliances or in whose territory they desire military bases. Yes, Sir, the average voter knows who is who in this world, and this average voter in the mass, 193 million of them in one of the world's biggest electorates has now given a reassurance of his confidence in the Government in its programmes and its policies.

Speaking in this last session of the first Parliament it is inevitable that we should want to look back a little on the past five years. The President has been pleased to make a reference to the work done by

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Parliament in the past five years. The President says:

"Five years ago this Parliament came into existence representing the vast electorate of this great country, and it has laboured for the well-being and advancement of India and for peace and co-operation in the world... I wish to offer you, Members of Parliament, my congratulations on the great tasks that have been accomplished".

Now, that is very generous of the President to think this way of what little work we have been able to achieve in the past five years. This Parliament, along with Parliaments all over the world, has had to cope with increasing burdens of legislation and considering the quantity and the quality of work that has been put through, I believe our record would compare favourably with that of any other Parliament.

I would now broadly divide into two categories the legislative work that was done in the past five years. One category is that of social legislation, and the other is that of legislation designed to lead us to our goal of a socialistic pattern of society. In the first category we all know what all we have done especially in the Acts that will go to form a part of the Hindu Code. In these Acts we have given to the women of India a new status. We have given them a right to divorce. We have given them a right to a share in their fathers' property. We have given them equality of right in the matter of adoption. This is a record in the field of social legislation which, judged by any standard, should be considered impressive.

I come to the other category, that is, the legislation that has to advance us towards our socialistic aim. It is sometimes said that this Parliament has done nothing very spectacular in this sphere. That perhaps, is partly

true, because socialism is not a spectacle. Socialism is hard work. Socialism is progress by the whole people. Socialism is scientific planning. Socialism is not just words nor shouting of slogans. We claim that we have gone some distance on the road towards socialism. We have nationalised some of the key points in the economic system. Take the nationalisation of the Airlines. Take the nationalisation of the Imperial Bank; now it is the State Bank, one of the biggest banking institutions in the land. Take the Life Insurance Corporation. Socialism cannot come in a society where the wealth and economic power are concentrated in the hands of a few people. And what have we done to prevent such concentration? We have in this country a system of taxation of income which in the higher income brackets has a progression which is among the steepest in the world, barring of course, countries where private income is either not allowed or is expropriated. Then, there is the Estate Duty Act, which is certain to lead to disintegration of fortunes accumulated for generations. This is bound to be a certain result, as certain a result of this Act in this country as it has been in others. Take the Company Law, a monumental labour of this Parliament, by which we have placed the managing agency system on its way out. This is the way, step by step, in which we want to make our journey towards socialism.

12 hrs.

Here I would quote the words of the Prime Minister. The Prime Minister says:

"We take steps one by one, consolidate them and prepare for the next step in a practical way, not talking too much about nationalising everything and socialising everything, not talking too much in terms of slogans, but in terms of the steps that we are actually taking."

These words are going to be our chart on the journey towards socialism and I am sure these words would prove of value to other countries similarly placed as India and like-minded, wishing to make progress towards socialism.

No account of the achievements of the first Parliament can be complete without some reference to one of the most courageous Acts of legislation that this Parliament has passed; I am here referring to the States Re-organisation Act. By this Act, we have re-drawn the political map of India. We have removed that old institution of Rajpramukhs and we have given a status of equality to all States, thus making a truer democracy possible.

I shall not refer to various other important legislations that we put through, for instance, legislation for decimal coinage and legislation for guaranteeing the independence and autonomy of our universities through the University Grants Commission, even though some of these Acts are bound to remain as landmarks in times to come. Even while we were carrying on our chief function of legislation, we have been able to evolve certain conventions and traditions in this House which, we hope, will be found worthy of continuing and preserving. This is the record to which the President has given such generous commendation.

Finally a word about the emergence of inflationary pressures. The President has dealt with this subject at some length. Inflation would certainly be bad for our country if it is allowed to grow; and we must, therefore, begin by admitting that there is in this country an incipient inflation. But, at the same time, we have no right to expect that we should be free from any degree of inflation, when we are contemplating development of the magnitude envisaged in our Plans. The requirements and the needs of our Plans have given rise to a two-fold problem for the Government, the problem how to check

inflation and the problem how to make external resources available. Government has already some measures in view, such as making available increased supplies of food and of cloth. This kind of measure can do up to a point; but, it would be too naive to imagine that this measure alone by itself will fill the bill. Similarly, in dealing with the problem of making available external resources, we just talk of expanding exports and curtailing imports. This is also a little of over-simplification of the difficulty. This simple expedient, of course, is more easily stated than practised. The recent agreement with the United States, under which India would receive quantities of wheat, rice and cotton on terms of credit does offer a welcome prospect in the context of checking inflation. This would certainly be a measure that has a very highly disinflationary value. However, I hope that we should at the same time give attention to what these imports on a large scale are going to do to the Indian farmer and the home producer of wheat, rice and cotton.

Now, after all, what is going to be necessary is a pattern of taxation designed to mop up the excess purchasing power in the hands of the community. Also there will have to be some kind of a selective system of export preferences; and, I will not be surprised if we might also require to do a little reorientation of our present import policy, good as it is for its present purposes. I am quite sure that the Finance Minister and the Minister for Commerce and Industry will show the requisite resourcefulness and energy and will find the right remedy for the situation.

With these words, once again I convey to the President the gratitude of this House for his gracious address.

Shrimati Tarakeshwari Sinha (Patna-East): Mr. Speaker, I consider it a very great privilege to have the opportunity of seconding this motion. It has

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also become my privilege to be a little sentimental about it, as this address is the President's last parting message to the sovereign body which was born five years ago. And to-day when I stand on the crossroads of yesterday and tomorrow, I feel proud of our achievements and more proud of our yet unfulfilled, but hopeful, destiny.

As an incarnation of modesty, the President has been rather modest about the achievements of our Government and the prominent part played by our Prime Minister in the difficult field of foreign affairs. Who does not know as to what part India has played in averting the Middle-East crisis, a crisis which would have been a terrible tragedy, following the aggression by Israel, with the active support of the United Kingdom and France? Undaunted as ever by the grave consequences of having to face the wrath of both United Kingdom and France, which came into naked evidence during the Security Council's handling of the Kashmir question, our Prime Minister did not mince words in condemning aggression and was successful in contributing to its halting, before Egypt could be completely overrun.

Here I would like to point out one thing, which has been omitted by the President under the pressure of inevitable brevity and that is the omission of a serious development affecting the Middle East, namely, the Eisenhower Doctrine, which to my mind, adds strength to the tottering Baghdad Pact. The Address rightly points out that the policy of Military pacts has divided Arab nations completely and has brought the apparatus of war more and more into Asia. The debates and resolutions of the Security Council in regard to Kashmir openly demonstrates this fact that the signatories to these pacts stand by each other in matters of individual interest as well as in matters of common interest, forgetting all the channels of truth, justice and fairplay.

It is not without reason that the Prime Minister of Pakistan has constantly been justifying his stand, in this alignment with America, with the big Power Blocs, with the Western Bloc, his membership of the Baghdad Pact, his membership of the SEATO, because all these pacts have paid very rich dividends to Pakistan in the shape of open alliance of these countries with Pakistan in the discussions about the Kashmir issue. But we are not demoralised by the stand of those Western Powers; rather it inspires us to see that in the face of all these unfriendly attitudes of friendly nations, our foreign policy has remained unaffected in all the stormy weathers and it is a matter to be proud of that we decide every issue whether economic or political on its own merits and that we are not guided by the selfish interest in assessing world affairs.

Undaunted again by the gibes of the Western Press, the bulk of which has invariably taken anti-Indian stand on every matter vital to this country, India raised her strong voice in and outside the United Nations in regard to the tragic events in Hungary, and it is encouraging to find that as time goes on, most of the countries have started admiring our stand with regard to Hungary. Not only most of the countries outside the United Nations, but the bulk of the nations in the United Nations have started appreciating our stand in regard to Hungary.

Our policy in this regard has been beautifully summed up by the President himself when he reiterated that we have always stood for the withdrawal of foreign forces and against their use in sabotaging national movements. Also the long list of foreign personalities who come and go to this country itself indicates that whatever our detractors may say, India's foreign policy is deeply appreciated all over the world, and not only all over the world, but a number of countries look now to India, particularly in the United Nations for evolving a formula.

which may bring about harmony in place of conflict among the various nations.

Another statement of the policy which merits our earnest consideration and support relates to Pakistan. I cannot improve upon the terms in which it finds mention in the Address. The Address itself gives a polite but firm warning to all those who indulge in daily talk of war and *jehad* against India, that she will defend her sacred soil against aggression from whatever quarter it comes,—that she will not only defend her legitimate rights in regard to Kashmir and Goa but she will not allow any injustice to be done to this country.

Here I would like to take your permission to add on my own and on behalf of the Government that the Jammu and Kashmir State not only is a constituent State of the Indian Union, but will always be so. I need not say much more about this matter, because in a day or two, Mr. Jarring, the United Nations Representative will come to this country and will discuss this matter with our Prime Minister. But I only want to submit that we must voice our strong and continuous protest against base and reckless propaganda launched by Pakistan and for the benefit of credulous Western minds, we must constantly check our Information Services and see that they also do vigorous propaganda about the basic truth in as objective a manner as possible.

Coming to the discussion of the First and Second Five Year Plans, in examination terminology, 90 per cent achievement is more than distinction and the fact that we achieved nearly 90 per cent of our planned targets in the First Plan is a matter to be proud of. In the history of planning, there is no precedent or parallel to this experiment and the whole nation should be proud of this achievement, but unfortunately the Second Plan is not having the same smooth sailing as her sister plan. Though it is encouraging to find that Government are determined to take appropriate measures to

check the rise in prices, and to check the depletion of foreign exchange resources, it is better that we should realize now that we are also facing one of the most unpleasant effects of the wheel of destiny.

As we have actually started feeling that our Plan is running into foreign exchange difficulties, it is all the more necessary to have a more cautious planning. It is obvious that the Plan's estimates of the foreign exchange earnings have been its weakest features because the calculations made so far, have themselves been based on the assumption that the resources at present available, will be adequate, only for the first three years of the Plan, without there being any need to supplement them with large foreign loans from outside.

Whether this expectation is now being or will be revised by the Planning Commission is difficult to judge. But no one can deny the need to have plans, ready to stop any unexpected drain of our foreign resources, before the three years are up. And when we compare the size of the Second Plan's foreign exchange estimates with that portion of the sterling balances earmarked for development financing, it is obvious that the margin for error in the planned calculation is too small for comfort.

The current drawings on the sterling balances are running at the rate of Rs. 276 crores a year, averaged over a period since the Second Plan commenced on the 1st April. This figure may be judged side by side with the planner's estimate of Rs. 200 crores for the full five years. On the basis of the present calculations, I think that extraordinary methods to supplement foreign exchange resources will have to be found immediately in a few months' time. That is, of course, assuming that the present trend continues, of which there are clear indications. The question arises: Why the outflow should be so much greater? The explanation of this question is not quite clear. There are so many causes. Even yesterday so many causes were mentioned by the Finance Minister himself. One of the

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causes is that there has been a rise in the price level of the world. But I do not think that this rise in price is so much responsible for the depletion of our foreign resources.

Then also it is usually mentioned that big purchases of foodgrains to cover the short falls in the expected harvests have also caused a serious strain on our resources. But I think that they have not become so great as to give cause for so much anxiety.

Then it is usually said that inflationary trends have become one of the causes of this strain on our foreign resources, but in my opinion, I think that the inflationary trend also has not assumed such big proportions as should seriously affect the balance of payment position of our country. So, it seems, that the most probable explanation is an increase in the import of equipment for industrial development and, therefore, the dominant factor causing this serious drain is the import of capital goods. If this is the dominant cause of the depletion of our foreign resources, the question is whether there is any big scope for taking immediate corrective measures. I think we cannot take this step because any step checking or interfering with the flow of development machinery can disrupt the entire industrial development planned for. It is this danger which suggests that an immediate review of the foreign exchange resources is necessary if the Second Five Year Plan is not to be wrecked in its second year.

One remedy to correct an adverse balance of payment is to export more. But, this is not an easy task in the near future or in the short run. Rather I think it may not be a satisfactory remedy at all for a developing economy like ours, because, we need all the resources that we can lay hands on, for our own use, for our own internal economic development. Therefore, I do not think that it will be possible in the immediate future to build up a sound expanding export trade, in view of the fact that it is hardly desirable to divert resources at the present

juncture from development at home in order to increase the export abroad. Then also, this increase of export has one dark aspect which also we must consider. It is an inflationary expedient. In the circumstances that prevail in the country, an increase in the purchasing power should be avoided at any cost. This expansion of export trade will always have a tendency to increase the purchasing power and add to the inflation, as we must admit that inflationary tendencies have already started showing their ugly heads.

So, the question is, what is the alternative that is left before us. One is raising of loans in the foreign markets. We have heard that an important officer of the Finance Ministry went to study the loan market abroad. He returned a few months ago and rumours were current that his mission had not proved successful. Whatever it is, the situation at present is that we cannot utilise the U.K. money market because it is prohibitively expensive. So, we have to tackle other creditor countries like Switzerland, and West Germany which are at present looking for an outlet for their surplus earnings. Here, the question arises—a very pertinent question—have we been able so far to attract foreign capital as we should have done? I am afraid, the answer is No. It is really unfortunate that we have not, for one reason or another, provided easy cushion for foreign capital to settle in the country. All the responsibility for this goes to the irresponsible talk of my friends in the opposition. My Communist friends, whenever they talk about the Government's encouragement to be given to foreign investment, call it tendentious and it is all the more unfortunate that some friends on my side support them. But, I want to ask them this pertinent question, a straightforward question, what is the other alternative before the country. How are we going to implement the targets—wide targets, ambitious targets—fixed under the Plan? We cannot go very far by printing notes. Already its untoward effect has started to be felt as the rise in prices

has gone beyond the point of correcting earlier slump. And so, it will be very wrong to let go the reins and tug at the tail of the high horse of inflation. We may not tell it in Gath or whisper it in the streets of Ascalan; but the obvious fact is there that inflation has raised its head. This asks us to think twice about our economy before adopting any attitude or resolution. That is why I fear expansion of purchasing power in the country and feel that this must be viewed with great concern. That is why I fall back on the foreign market for loans to finance our import of machinery and capital goods. There is no alternative except for getting capital goods and machinery from other countries. But, for attracting the lender, you must abide by the wishes of the lender and not impose the wishes of the borrowing country. Government have certainly done a great deal to make the Indian industrial and economic conditions stable for foreign capital and persons like Mr. Garvin have been deeply impressed by the stability. But unfortunately, others have chosen to differ from Mr. Garvin and the first in the opposite list, came the World Bank Mission, which was one of the most important economic missions which visited this country. Unfortunately, they were inclined to think that the climate was not very suitable for foreign investment in India. It is not a matter of mean importance that impressions such as those conveyed by the World Bank Mission should be allowed to go uncorrected. Therefore, I suggest that we must pursue a stronger policy in regard to encouragement being given to foreign investment in India because I am sure if once we establish a sense of confidence among the lender nations, there will be no problem of financial resources.

The second point that I would like to mention, which has also been mentioned in the Industrial Policy statement and about which statements have also been made by our Prime Minister and by our Finance Minister, is that we should at once assure the foreign investors that the Indian investments are directed towards new enterprises

rather than being used up in a change of ownership of existing enterprises from non-Indian to Indian hands. I think that if this confidence is created among the foreign investors, there will be no dearth of foreign resources.

The other point to which I would like to draw the attention of the Government is whether, in view of the difficult position in regard to our foreign resources, we can start our purchases in the international market on the basis of deferred payment, or you may call it hire purchase system. This can stop the immediate heavy drain on currency by distributing the burden of purchasing over a number of years. I think we must give serious consideration to this and find out as to how far a solution of our foreign resources difficulties lies in the encouragement of international deferred payment system or international hire purchase system. I am sure if we start negotiating with some countries from which we import machinery, on this basis, there is no reason why we should not be successful. If we succeed in this, it will remove one of our biggest headaches in the Second Plan.

Apart from the difficulty of foreign resources, we have our internal difficulties regarding the Plan. I do not want to draw a pessimistic picture at all. But, I do realise that without a rigorous tailoring of our resources by fixing priorities, we will never be able to fulfil our basic requirements. I am very glad that the Finance Minister himself has started realising this and I hope he will very soon take steps to see that a list of priorities is fixed. I think it is high time that we launch our Plan and work it on the basis of war economy. We have seen the working of war economy in our country. When our country was dependent on a bigger country like the U.K., we saw how the Indians worked, how they were geared up in the working of the war economy. We worked for others, for their victory, not for our own national victory. I am sure that if we also start thinking that this Plan has to be worked out on the basis of the

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working of the war economy, there is no reason why we should not fulfil our targets in the Second Plan or in the coming Third Plan. For this, we must start preparing the country by vigorous propaganda that they should cut their entire expenditure on the non-essential sectors. We must have a rigorous austerity programme for the coming few years. Otherwise, looking at the economic trends and prices, I feel that the whole Plan will be upset when it will be going in its full tempo.

Coming to another aspect of internal economy, I think priority of consumption should also be fixed immediately except on foodstuffs and cloth. I think control on foodstuffs and cloth would be precarious and will not be advisable at all. Except for foodstuffs and cloth, the consumption of every other item should be controlled. We must not hesitate to take drastic action for cutting down expenditure in the country. For example, it may appear very strong, but if Government bans completely construction of private houses and buildings except in the labour colonies, we shall be able to save a lot of cement and iron which can be utilised for other more useful public purposes. I also think that more vigorous check should be exercised on the consumption of iron and steel by private consumers. In this way, there are hundreds of small items on which we can exercise control and we know that it will not affect the basic need of the poorer classes. I think the middle and richer classes can sacrifice these things for the welfare of the country and for the implementation of the Second Plan.

Even in the case of the consumption of foodgrains a serious propaganda should be launched to encourage people to consume less of cereals and more of other foodstuffs. We have done this before. When there was famine all over the country, we did this and we succeeded in our propaganda. So many restaurants and Government agencies were running these non-cereal cafes and people responded to

that propaganda of the Government. So, I think it is high time that we launch upon a serious and vigorous propaganda to discourage people from eating cereals and to encourage them for eating non-cereals. Since we succeeded before, there is no reason why we cannot succeed again.

Now I would like to refer to the monetary and fiscal policy to be followed by the country. Monetary control may be of a general or selective nature. It may be said regarding the general control that this control of credit would interfere with the Government's operations to finance our Plan programme, but as far as I understand, selective control only affects the use of credit and not the plan finances. If it is worked out efficiently, I think it will actually supplement the finances for our planned programme. Therefore, we must start thinking in terms of having a selective credit control in the country, and for evolving a sound credit policy in the country a credit control committee should be appointed by the Government with immediate effect. This committee should be given power to screen the loans advanced by all the banks including the co-operative and non-scheduled banks and to discipline those institutions which fail to co-operate fully. This committee should be composed of the representatives of the important banks in the country as well the representatives of the Government. I hope this committee with the full co-operation of the members will be able to check in future loans drifting to non-essential channels. I hope this suggestion will be given due consideration.

There is another aspect which I would like to touch. It is high time that compulsory saving is started at least in the labour class both in the private and public sectors, as also among the Government employees, in order to channelise savings and to check the increase of purchasing power in the country. It is one thing to give employment, but

it is quite a different thing and risky too to allow the purchasing power to move round in the country unhampered, as it will be a serious obstacle in working out the Plan. Therefore, it is my humble opinion that Government should immediately start this scheme of compulsory saving.

There is another thing which I want to point out which has, I am afraid, a little tinge of unpopularity in it, but facts are facts. I think my Communist friends will make a hue and cry over it, but this wage increase in recent years has heavily added to the cost of production in industries. It is an open fact that this wage increase has given birth to cost inflation. And one of the factors contributing to the rise of prices is the increase in cost inflation. Therefore, I think, for the coming two or three years it will not be advisable to have wage increases in the labour class. I am suggesting this only as an emergency measure. It is not my intention at all that labour should not get better pay or better conditions of living, but as emergency planning it can be resorted to. It is like a measure in a war economy and should be resorted to for the next two or three years till we feel that our economic position has improved, inflationary trends have shown a decline, our economic life is going on very smoothly and will go on smoothly in the coming few years.

With these few words, I again thank the President for his gracious Address and I thank you for giving me this opportunity of seconding the motion.

Mr. Speaker: Motion moved :

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

"That the Members of Lok Sabha assembled in this Session are deeply grateful to the President for the Address which he has been pleased to deliver to both

the Houses of Parliament assembled together on the 18th March, 1957."

The motion has been moved by Shri V. B. Gandhi and seconded by Shrimati Tarkeshwari Sinha.

Now I come to the amendments. Shri Deogam is absent.

I am afraid amendment 15 by Shri Pocker is out of order for this reason. The amendment reads:

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

'but regret that no steps are taken by the Government for protecting the interests of the minorities particularly in the matter of giving due representation to the minorities in the Legislatures and local bodies such as providing reservation of seats, multi-member constituencies and cumulative voting by which alone minorities can ventilate their grievances'".

We are supposed to be working under a Constitution. There is no good censuring the Government for not modifying the Constitution. Therefore, I disallow this amendment.

Also the last portion of amendment 16 by Shri Pocker is out of order. Therefore, I shall omit the words "by amending the Constitution if necessary or otherwise".

So, all the amendments in the Order Paper, including amendment 16, as amended, except amendment 15 and those in the name of Shri Deogam may now be moved.

Dr. Lanka Sundaram: I beg to move:

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

"but regrets that there is no indication of Government's decision to withdraw from the Commonwealth, in view of the unprovoked and unjustified hostility shown by the United Kingdom on the Kashmir question".

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

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

“but regret that reorganisation of the States on linguistic basis has not been completed by forming, (1) Samyukta Maharashtra including Bombay City; and (2) Maha Gujerat”.

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

“but regret that the Government has failed to take any specific steps to bring down soaring prices of foodstuffs and other essentials”.

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

“but regret that no specific proposals have been made in the direction of setting up a socialist pattern of society”.

Shri Veeraswamy (Mayuram—Reserved—Sch. Castes): I beg to move:

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

“but regret that the Address has failed to mention the plight of the Indians in Ceylon and the steps to be taken to rehabilitate those who have been forced to come to India”.

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

“but regret that the Address has not referred to the position of the State of Pondicherry and the steps to be taken for *de jure* transfer of that State of India”.

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

“but regret that the Address has not expressed any concern over the growing beggar problem and has shown no way to solve this human issue”.

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

“but regret that the Address has failed to emphasise the necessity of increasing the scales of pay of State Government servants to the level of the Central Government servants”.

Shri T. K. Chaudhari (Berhampur): I beg to move:

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

“but regret that it has not been possible so far to take practically any effective steps for implementing the policy of liberating Goa and other Portuguese colonial outposts on the soil of India from the colonial domination of Portugal and enabling thereby the people of Goa and of other Portuguese territories in India to share in the freedom of rest of India.”

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

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

“but regrets that the Address while admitting that passions were aroused on account of States Reorganisation has failed to announce that separate States of Maharashtra and Maha Gujerat will be formed in place of the present composite Bombay State”.

Shrimati Renu Chakravarty (Basirhat): I beg to move:

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

“but regrets that there is no mention—

(a) of the necessity of severing our connection with the British Commonwealth of Nations particularly in view of the attitude taken by Britain in recent times over Egypt, Kashmir and the Middle-East issues;

(b) of the hardship caused to the people due to Government's failure to check the alarming rise in prices of essential commodities;

(c) of the increasing burden of taxation on the poorer sections of the community and the inability of Government to raise resources by checking tax-evasion or to tax high profits beyond a prescribed limit and to tap surplus wealth from other sources;

(d) of Government's failure to check the growth of unemployment among the educated as well as other sections of the community, to stop retrenchment, rationalisation, and eviction from land, which is adding constantly to the rising figures of the unemployed; and

(e) about the utter failure of Government to take any concrete measures to reduce the existing wide disparities in incomes."

Shri Pocker Saheb (Malappuram):
I beg to move:

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

"but regret that the Government has not taken any steps to facilitate the imparting of religious instruction to the children studying in schools".

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

Hon. Members will take 15 minutes except the spokesmen of groups who will have 20 to 25 minutes.

Shrimati Renu Chakravarty: Participating as I do in the last occasion on the Presidential Address to be held in this first Parliament of India, I feel I must pay a tribute to the striking political consciousness which has been amply displayed by the great electorate of our country which has just gone to the polls. Such a big electorate has hardly

gone to the polls anywhere else in the world, and there has been hardly a ripple on the surface although very deep political verdicts have been given by the people in various parts of the country. New political patterns have emerged as a result of these elections, the emergence of the new being very visibly seen in the little State of Kerala. We hope that this State and its people who have very clearly given their verdict for a stable government after so many months of difficulty will find the fullest co-operation from all quarters and especially from the Central Government.

Certain other political verdicts have been very clearly given by the people of certain other States. For example, I should like to place before the House, and especially before the ruling party, the verdict which has been given over the question of the linguistic States. Passions had been roused in the past. Often these passions were pointed out as being very unworthy and undesirable, but they have risen out of very deep longings of the people for linguistic States, and once again Maharashtra with Bombay has shown very clearly the verdict of the people on this burning issue which has been the most potent issue before them, relegating to the background even such important matters as foreign policy. If the figures are any indication, then on this linguistic States issue of Maharashtra with Bombay, one on which the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti has fought the election battle, the Samiti has won 90 seats, while the Congress has won only 38 seats and others 3 seats. Besides, there are also indications, as they have come even from a hundred-per-cent Congress State like Gujarat, where the Prishad has won as many as 31 seats.—while in the last elections, I think the Congress had almost a ninety to hundred per cent. majority—in the victory of Shri Indu Lal Yagnik who has made it very clear that his victory is not a personal victory but the victory of

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the linguistic States issue. I would urge Government, therefore, to consider very seriously this entire matter once again and go by the verdict of the people, which they have placed before the country with so much sobriety. We would urge them to concede the demand, and we would like them to take note of the verdict which has been given in another manner in the Kerala State by the emergence of the Kerala State on the linguistic States issue, which has been followed also in the State of Maharashtra.

I would also like to point to another very important political verdict that has been given by the electorate. In this connection, I would like to answer just one small point that was made by the eloquent speaker who has just finished, on the question of the labour verdict.

The verdict which has been given by labour throughout the length and breadth of India has shown very clearly that the policies which have been enunciated by Government and by the organisation which has been sponsored chiefly by them, namely the INTUC, have been defeated by overwhelming majorities. Within the short time at my disposal, I shall point out the remarkable victories which have been achieved in places like the Kharagpur railway centre, which only a few months ago was pointed to with a hand of ridicule by Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri, and there the election has been won by a member of the Communist Party, which party was pointed to by Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri as being traitors.

Another remarkable victory is the victory won by the Communists in Jamshedpur, the home of Tatas, the home of steel. The same thing has happened at Burnpur and Kulti also, the two other places where steel is made. In these three places, namely Jamshedpur, Burnpur and Kulti,

where the two big magnates, the big monopoly bosses, namely Tatas and Sir Biren Mukerjee gave liberally to the Congress funds, whilst at the same time they had refused the workers their legitimate demand for production bonus and increase in the emoluments, stating the same argument which was advanced by my hon. friend who spoke before me, namely that prices would go up if such liberal donations were made to the workers' pockets, the labour has given its verdict. So is the position in Ahmedabad and Indore as well. Lastly, I would like to point out the victory of a young humble clerk of the State Bank of India with a salary of Rs. 150 a month, Shri Prabhat Kar, over two of the most affluent people in my State of West Bengal. I feel that the middle-class employees have in this victory also shown that today the labour policy of the Government of India has not the backing of the majority of labour.

Having made these points, I should like also to point out certain other disconcerting features that have come before our eyes during the course of these elections. One such feature is the large amount of moneys which have been paid to the Congress funds by big monopoly business. I should like to repeat before this House the judgment which was given by an eminent judge of the Calcutta High Court, Justice P. B. Mukerjee, on 28th February 1957. He gave his judgment on the application of the Indian Iron and Steel Co. owned by Sir Biren Mukerjee and Sir Leslie Martin to amend their memorandum of association to enable the firm to contribute to political parties. The demand was that they should be allowed to contribute to the funds of political parties which would advance policies conducive to the interests of the country. The honourable judge, while giving his judgment, stated that there was nothing in the Constitution or in the Companies Act to prevent anybody from paying such contributions.

[Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER in the Chair].

In this connection, I would recall that during the discussion on the Companies Bill, we had brought forward an amendment, which we thought was very important, to the effect that no company should be allowed to pay any moneys to any political party for any purposes, because we felt that that would be a very dangerous precedent. Unfortunately, the ruling party with its big majority of votes voted it down. But, today, we find that what we had feared has come true, and the learned judge has demanded that there should be legislative enactment against such donations, and he has further said:

'It is necessary to keep the springs of democracy and administration reasonably pure and unsullied, before it is too late to control the dangers and mischief inherent in the situation.'

He had further pointed out that:

"Any such contributions would enable the company which would be the highest bidder to secure advantages to the ruin and detriment of smaller business firms, and also it would allow the voice of big business in political life and in the life of the political parties of the country."

When we find that Tatas have given Rs. 15 lakhs to the Congress election funds, Shri Singhania of Kanpur, the British tea planters of Assam, the sugar magnates of Uttar Pradesh as well as Sir Biren Mukerjee with his Rs. 2½ lakhs contribution have come forward for the first time very openly to contribute to the funds of a party, which, according to them, will advance the policies conducive to the interests of these big magnates, we feel we have to cry halt to this, because we really want that democracy should be fostered, and that the big business interests, the big monopoly interests should not have an undue weightage and influence over the policies of political parties.

I should also like to point out that there has been a good deal of the rousing of communal passions during these elections. I would like to draw the attention of the House particularly to the issue which has been raised in Calcutta, where the Chief Minister actually visited the Nakoda mosque, which he had never so far visited in his life. It is not that we are objecting to his visit to the mosque, but what we are objecting to is the way in which it was propagandised, and pictures were taken, and prayers were said for him, and the news was flashed all over the city of Calcutta. Now that the election results are out, it has been widely publicised that the Muslims had voted for the Leftist candidate, and as such a remarkable thing has happened; only yesterday we read in the papers that the editor of a particular Muslim paper, because he had published an early edition saying that Mahommed Ismail was winning, has been put in jail, a thing that has been unheard of, and that has surprised even journalistic circles.

This canker of communalism has to be stamped out. I am afraid during the course of the election in our constituencies, we have found that again and again this communal reaction and communalism has been roused in many instances by the Congress Party. Also official machinery has been very widely used. In my constituency, I have already brought to the notice of the Election Commission two very flagrant examples where Deputy Ministers were using their official launches in order to go and address meetings which were essentially meetings in connection with the elections. I have also sent pictures where big bungalows, which are actually public property, have been used for two months on end as a Congress election office. I just received, unfortunately, a curt note saying 'The contents have been noted'.

Dr. Lanka Sundaram: By whom?

Shrimati Renu Chakravarty: By the Election Commission. It has been received; that is all they have said.

I should just like to refer to one other rather unfortunate statement made by a very eminent and important member of the Cabinet, Pandit G. B. Pant, on February 7, in Nagpur. Unfortunately, the Congress Party in some places tried to raise the issue of Kashmir as an issue for or against the Congress. Unfortunately, Pandit G. B. Pant stated:

"Every vote cast against the Congress in the coming elections will be an expression of no confidence in the Kashmir policy of our Government".

Our Party leader has made it very clear that the issue of Kashmir stands above party politics; it is a national issue. I would like to point out to the ruling Party that such statements once made in the heat of the election fever may sound very nice at that very moment, but later on they may be used against us, against our national interests, by our enemies. Today, if foreigners who are inimical to us turn round and ask, 'Have the people of Kerala, who have voted against the Congress, voted against the policy on Kashmir?', what are we to say, except that we will say in clear and unequivocal terms that we stand four-square behind the policy of the Government on the question of Kashmir?

In regard to foreign affairs, on the question of Kashmir, now that the Jarring Mission will be in India, we have no objection to anybody coming to India, but we would like to make it very clear—and we want that the Prime Minister reiterates it in the clearest possible terms what has already been stated in the Security Council in very able words by Shri Krishna Menon—that we are not prepared to reopen the question of the integration of Kashmir with India. That is an accomplished fact. Kashmir is a part of India and we will allow no third party from any source

to reopen the question, however eminent he may be. We would also like to make it very clear that all parties stand four-square behind the Government on this issue; I do not think there is any party in India which, on the question of Kashmir when foreign intervention is being sought to be introduced in Kashmir by various resolutions and by various ruses under various garbs and devices, will not reiterate and support what has been stated by our representative in the Security Council. At the same time, we would like our Government, if possible, to make Mr. Jarring not waste his time in raising questions of the various resolutions that have been there before the country and the world for the last so many years, and certainly not base ourselves on the Resolution that was passed by the U.N. Security Council in January 1957. If anything, we want a settlement of the question. We have always wanted a settlement of the question. Such a settlement has to come through direct negotiations between Pakistan and ourselves. If Pakistan is prepared for that, we shall hold out our hand of friendship, we shall sit across the table and we shall try and work out the destiny of our peoples without interference from other quarters. We believe in this and that is why we say that we would like Government to have a clear idea as to what has been going on behind the scenes all these years.

We have to be clear as to who fomented and organised the invasion of Kashmir by the raiders within a few weeks of our independence. It was the British officers and agents who egged on Pakistani nationals in 1947 to invade Kashmir; it was the British Governor-General, Mountbatten, who had desperately tried, and actually delayed, the despatch of our troops during the critical days when the invaders came up to Uri in 1947. It was again the manoeuvres of Earl Mountbatten that committed India to a plebiscite under U.N.

auspices. We were made to say that we were prepared, when peace and law and order had been established, to have a referendum held under international auspices like those of the United Nations. We cannot also forget that throughout these nine years at every critical stage in the long-drawn-out case, it was the British and the Americans in the U.N. who not only incited Pakistan but at times themselves came forward with dangerous proposals, with proposals of demilitarization at one stage, of United Nations police force at another stage and of partition at a third stage. In 1951, it was they who raised the objection to the convening of the Kashmir Constituent Assembly.

Sir, it is good to remember these facts; sometimes we tend to forget them. This year too, it was the British backed by the United States, who provoked the present crisis. The index of this seriousness is to be seen in the fact that even a person like Shri Krishna Menon has had to say that India's relations with Britain have been strained by the British venture in the Middle East and now by her venture in Kashmir.

It is in this context that I would again urge what we have been urging for a very long time. We would like that wisdom should prevail upon our Government now. It is better to be late than never. The nation has a right to demand of the Government that India must secede from the Commonwealth. Despite all the impassioned speeches which have been made by our Prime Minister, trying to prove to the world the benefits that have accrued to us by our partnership in the Commonwealth, we feel—and the people of India feel—that this has not been so. Our link with the imperial chain has not been to our advantage. Not only has our country grown in moral and political stature, which makes us unfit to be in the Commonwealth—which, to my mind, is a thieves' kitchen—but our national interests indicate that the continuation of this

unholy partnership jeopardises the nation's case before the world. That is why during the last elections, almost every party had raised this question and posed it before the electorate—the question of our coming out of the Commonwealth. In a message to the people, they have demanded that we should leave the Commonwealth. It is now up to the Congress Party to take heed before it is too late.

In this connection, I should also like to commend the statement made, though made in halting manner but for the first time, by Pandit G. B. Pant when he said: 'Yes, our connections with the Commonwealth are not irrevocable'. We hope that now that not only our national prestige but our national interest demands it, we shall answer to the verdict of the people and come out of the Commonwealth.

I should now like to just make a few remarks about a rather unfortunate incident which has taken place, as I feel that this is the appropriate place to make them. That is the rather indecent haste with which our Prime Minister rushed to tender an apology on behalf of the Government for what had appeared in a particular party journal, although that party may be the same party to which he belongs. All that was necessary was for the editor to tender an apology saying that the statement attributed to the Queen of England was wrongly attributed to her. That was all that was necessary. But when we find that the head of the Government, the Prime Minister, not only comes with an apology but also immediately instructs the High Commissioner for India in London—who is not a party agency, but a governmental agency—to tender apology on behalf of the Government of India, we think it is a matter of indecent haste. It was not necessary. Even a paper like the *Manchester Guardian* has pointed out very clearly that this was not necessary at all. I can give quotation after quotation

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as to the type of statements that appeared against us in the British Press. During the last few months it has been vociferous in its condemnation of India. For instance, the *Manchester Guardian*, writing about Kashmir says:

"If Monaco, why not Kashmir?"

Its editorial attacks Prime Minister Nehru on having "taken on the bizarre role of the champion of sacro-eguism."

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The *News Chronicle* describes Mr. Menon's speech in the Security Council as "twelve hours of numbing oratory establishing this brilliant man as the bore of the century." It compares the situation in Kashmir to "that on either side of the Czech Sudetanland in 1937". If I were to give all the rantings in the British Press and if we were to demand an apology for all the indecent things that have been uttered in the Western Press, especially the British Press, there would be no end to it. That is why I feel that while we stand behind the policy enunciated in the Security Council by Shri Krishna Menon on the question of Kashmir, whilst we demand that there shall be no further reopening of the question of Kashmir's integration and accession to India, and whilst we demand direct negotiations for a settlement of the dispute, we also feel disconcerted when such actions are taken by the head of our Government.

The situation in the Middle-East also has given rise to grave misgivings. The time at my disposal is limited; otherwise I would have dealt with this question at much greater length. The military pacts, beginning with the U.S.-Pak. Pact, going to the Baghdad Pact and forward to the SEATO Pact, have increased tension in the Middle and the Far East. I would like the House to notice that what America is doing by the SEATO Pact is to hoodwink the

people by saying that they are going to give economic aid. This is nothing but hood-winking the people. Here it is very clearly stated by the *New York Times*. It says very clearly that the United States administration has still faith in the SEATO as a military pact and that there is little likelihood of any change in the Pact's military conception, "Although the Administration still has faith in the efficacy of economic aid as a preventer of communism in under-developed countries, there is small likelihood of any significant increase in existing aid commitments this year."

The SEATO Pact is only going to bring war materials in increasing quantities to Pakistan in order to bring the hot war right to our doorsteps. That is why we feel that this question has become so serious for the whole of Asia, for the whole of the Middle-East, especially for all the countries which have recently become independent. I therefore make a suggestion, one which has been made again and again and which has become very, very important now to be considered by Pandit Nehru, for the convening of the Second Bandung Conference, or the Second Conference of Asian Powers. Large issues are at stake and the independence of Asian nations is being threatened by the promise of economic development which is being held out and as a result of which great dangers are looming large on the horizon of Asia. It is, therefore, time that the Second Conference of the Bandung Powers should meet again. The manoeuvres of the imperialist powers are not only threatening the political independence, but also the economic independence of the nations of Asia. Our development policy and our economic situation have to be reviewed in the light of these developments.

I now come to the important question of prices. Within the last six months we have heard two startling statements made by two Ministers in this House. About August we were

told by Shri Ajit Prasad Jain, Minister of Food and Agriculture, that something startling was up his sleeves and that within a fortnight prices would come down with such a bang that the whole country would be taken aback. Unfortunately, that turned out to be a boomerang. Nothing happened. Rather, today in answer to a question we were told that prices of food-stuffs are rising. Last session we were given a startling surprise by Mr. Krishnappa who told us that the price of rice in Mysore and in the State of Madras was falling to such an extent that apparently people would be clamouring that there should be a floor on prices, as far as the new rice crop was concerned. In this instance also we found that Government did not know how to analyse the situation. The price of food items prevailing in West Bengal in June last was lower than the prices today when the harvested grain has come into the market. In my State, mustard oil which is an essential commodity still continues to sell at the alarming rate of Rs. 2/8/- to Rs. 3/-/- a seer. The price of cloth and the other essentials of life has also gone up. Yet, we find it is stated that steps are being taken to check the prices. Such statements do not do much good to console the people, especially when they are becoming poorer every day, on account of increasing taxation. At such a time for essentials to go up to such an extent, is something which cannot be forgiven. That is why the statement made in the President's Address is no consolation to us. If Government is unable to check this, people are bound to reiterate: if this is development, such development is not people's development but the development of a few rich people.

I wish to say a few words about agricultural production. It has been very clearly stated that agricultural production has fallen.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Seven minutes ago the hon. Member realised that she had not much time, but she is

continuing. She might take two or three more minutes.

Shrimati Renu Chakravartty: I would not be able to finish all my points. As far as agricultural production is concerned, the first Five Year Plan was supposed to have led to increased agricultural production. Today we are told that agricultural production has decreased. Unless the eviction of the tiller of the soil is stopped, and the question of giving larger loans to agriculturists for cultivation in time is taken in hand and better provision is made for rural credit, I am afraid agricultural production cannot be increased.

The unemployment situation too has become very serious, but nothing has been done. As a matter of fact educated unemployment is the highest in my State, but the unemployment survey conducted in Calcutta gives no scope for hope. It says that for every hundred educated middle class, 70 are unemployed. Prof. Sidhanta, Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University has stated that out of every three educated, two are unemployed. What does the Second Five Year Plan promise the State of West Bengal? In West Bengal the total number of unemployed is 12,50,000. In five years' time it will stand at 18,50,000. The Second Five Year Plan promises us employment potential of 2,82,000. Can we not therefore say that the Second Five Year Plan holds out little hope for us? Government should also take into consideration the fact that new armies of unemployed are being added to the already large number of unemployed. Retrenchment figures of workers in West Bengal are alarming. In 1951 workers in factories were 6,47,900; in 1955 it was 5,92,000, which means that 50,000 workers have been retrenched straightway. If this is what is happening, how is the problem of unemployment going to be solved?

I would like to end by saying that it is time that Government considered a revision of their taxation policy. I would not be able to answer many of

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the points raised by the previous speaker about resources. But we have to consider the urgency of reducing the disparities in income. In that context the question of national wage does come forward. After all it is the workers and employees that form 80 per cent. of our people and it is only natural that they should demand that there should be a national minimum wage. When we refuse to put a ceiling on profits and on the higher levels of income, it is only natural that the lower strata, the lower middle classes should demand a minimum national wage.

These are all national issues of very great importance to every political party in India on whom the people of India have placed the responsibility for carrying out the task of bringing these issues to the front as it will lead them to a better, a fuller and a prosperous life and to raise them from the poverty, the ignorance and the want they have suffered so long. In this great and noble task let us extend the hand of co-operation to eradicate and remove the disparities of abject hunger and the enjoyment of luxuries, by curbing the growth of unemployment, by curbing the growth of monopoly capital. Let us give security to the tiller of the soil, the worker, the middle-class employee and others by wiping the tears of millions of mothers and wives who today suffer the pangs of seeing their children starve and their families starve. And, let us enable a new pattern of economic and political life to emerge. Let not future generations say that pettiness and shortsightedness have barred the way to the onward march of a new India.

Shri Gadgil (Poona Central): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, it is not unexpected that the background for the discussion over the Address of the President should be the election results. I am glad to find that the Communist party had developed a democratic

outlook inasmuch as references were made by Shrimati Renu Chakravarty to the successes secured by the candidates of that party. I hope she will extend the same tolerant attitude when she learns about the reverses and when the entire picture is before the country.

She referred to a certain instance in which it was alleged that Government property was used for the propaganda of the Congress Party. My experience in my region has been the contrary. Our meetings were disturbed, every one of them. Personally I addressed 116 meetings. Excepting a few, every meeting was disturbed. On the other hand not a single meeting of the opponents was disturbed. Although the Police were there they never came to our help. And, as to the attitude of the government machinery and government servants, let me tell my hon. friend that when the postal ballots were counted, 60 per cent. of them were in favour of the non-Congress candidates. Anyway, it is no good complaining about the method and manner in which elections were conducted. I think it is a matter of great satisfaction, in fact, of congratulation to our country that this great experiment of democratic government has succeeded to a considerable extent.

Shrimati Renu Chakravarty also said something about Dr. B. C. Roy going to a masjid and appearing to pray. So far as my region is concerned, I assure her that voting went on absolutely on non-communal lines and not less than 10 seats for the Bombay Assembly and about 4 seats for Parliament have gone to the members of the Scheduled Castes, an indication which shows that, at any rate, in my region people are thinking in terms of political ideals and parties and not in terms of communities and castes. But, if there was any party responsible for encouraging communalism it was the party to which my hon. friend there has the honour to belong, because they compromised with the communalist parties like the Hindu Maha Sabha and the Jan Sangh just to

defeat the Congress, not on any major issues as I could conceive but on something which was conceived in overstrained emotionalism.

The Address of the President covers the entire field of policy, both internal and external. So far as the external policy statement is concerned, I think, this hon. House will have greater opportunity and a fuller opportunity when that specific question will be discussed. Therefore I do not propose to say anything on that.

So far as Kashmir is concerned, I welcome the firm attitude of the Government as expressed in the Address of the President. Let us, every citizen of this country, understand the full implication of the fact that Kashmir has become a part and parcel of our community and of our State. It means that the responsibilities of defence and development are on everyone of us. And, as the Prime Minister has rightly pointed out in one of his speeches, we are not out to have even an inch of ground which does not belong to us. At the same time, we will defend with all our might and men what is undoubtedly ours. Our country is great; our country is known for its hospitality. But, if anybody thinks of coming on our land with an aggressive intention, all I can say is he will have as much land as is necessary for his burial; that means 6 ft. by 2 ft. by 3 ft. and not an inch more.

The next question was about India's continuance in the Commonwealth. When this great decision was taken I was in the Government. It is not possible for me to say everything because of certain conventions and the oath of office. But we must consider this on merits. We can end it without notice and by taking a unilateral decision. The Commonwealth has been described by one of the eminent political writers in England as just a political club. We meet; we discuss; we always agree to disagree and nothing is binding. There is no oath of allegiance. Therefore we have to see what are the advantages in its continuance in the field of culture, in the field of commerce, in the field of

industry, in the field of diplomacy and foreign affairs. Today because of particular events taking place in England, naturally, our emotions have been roused. It is just possible in another year or so the present Conservative Party may be thrown out of office and the Labour Party might come in. Then the situation may substantially change. But, as was said very rightly by the hon. Home Minister yesterday in the debate on the Foreigners Act, there is no binding tie for the continuance of this country in the Commonwealth. We can end it. But, let us not take that decision in an atmosphere of emotionalism; let us consider like shrewd businessmen whether it is advantageous to be there. If it is, then continue; if it is not advantageous, let us walk out. There is no sentiment on the part of India that would compel her to remain in the Commonwealth.

Reference was made to Bombay and Gujarat. I appreciate what my hon. friend has said. The full picture is not yet out. It often happens that marginal events just affect the full picture and might even affect its quality and the intensity of the situation. But such outlines as are there clearly show that the enthusiasm shown by this hon. House in August 1956 was misplaced. This hon. House was anxious to give a solution but not anxious to give the right solution. Those 282 great and good Members of this hon. House practically forced the hands of Government. And, because it became the law of the land, we bowed to that decision. Events have proved that it was not a wise decision. Therefore the verdict of the people if it is expressed through the ballot box must be properly understood and must be properly appreciated. What should be done, when it should be done and how it should be done are matters for Government. The art of politics has been defined by Lord Morley as rather consisting in knowing when, where and how what is possible to do. That is a matter for Government. All I can add is that Government should see that the faith in the democratic method is developed and maintained. And that

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faith is the foundation of democracy. If that faith is affected and if the ballot box proves to be inefficacious and is not respected, it ceases to have any attraction, and the results will be unhappy both for the citizens and for the State.

So far as the decision of the bigger bilingual State for Bombay is concerned, I think that the verdict of the people will not be lost on those in whose hands the destiny of this country lies. The government that will come, after the present government resigns formally, will, I am sure, certainly take notice of this, and there, I hope, constructive statesmanship will step in and come out with a solution, if not in the near future, at least in due course in an appropriate manner that will make the entire situation much easier and in that way make the country strong so that it may be strong abroad.

Lastly, about the economic situation, I have been a critic of this Government, a constructive critic, and I know that what has been achieved so far is not to the expectation of many. But to be frank and just, whatever has been achieved is not altogether incredible, not altogether inconsequential; though the achievement may not claim a high rate of dividend on aspirations entertained and efforts undertaken, yet we must give the Government the credit for its sincerity and best efforts shown in the course of the last five years. What is of greater importance is the future. Age-old poverty and ignorance and other economic circumstances to which eloquent reference was made by my hon. friend here do require not only every effort on the part of the Government but also every effort on the part of every citizen in this country. And I particularly appreciate Shrimati Chakravartty's appeal for cooperation with the Government and if that appeal becomes a reality in the course of the next five years, I have not the slightest doubt that the great Indian community, the great Indian country which we have visualised in the future

in the Preamble of our Constitution will be an accomplished fact. Our ancestors considered that every citizen of this world entertained an ambition to become a citizen of Bharat.

भारतं दुर्लभं जन्म

It is very difficult to have birth in Bharat because it is a land of great people, great traditions, noble people and noble traditions. Let us keep that great ideal before us, and by co-operating in whatever good the Government does and in respectfully, firmly and effectively pointing out where the Government goes wrong, let us agree to the fundamentals of democracy, those institutions which are of a fundamental character. Let us respect them and whatever be our differences, those differences must be confined to the methods through which, and the ways by which the ideal has to be accomplished and not do something which will disturb the entire foundation of our democracy. From that point of view I was very glad to see only yesterday a statement by the communist leader that when called to form a government in Kerala, they would respect the Constitution. That is a good sign—I do not say a sign which promises everything in the future, but to begin with, it is a good promise and a good indication and that will give an opportunity for them to show that there is an alternative to the socialism preached by the Government to see it accomplished in this country.

Therefore, I respectfully submit that the new pattern to which she made reference will be coming into existence in the most democratic and peaceful manner.

Lastly, old order changeth and new order is coming. But let us have some respect for the old order and the old men who will no longer be here.

Dr. Lanka Sundaram, Mr. Deputy-Speaker, my hon. friend, ~~Kaka-Sabri~~ Gadgil, who has just spoken with such emotion towards the end of his

speech, has spoken rightly when he said that the old order changeth but laid there be respect for the old order. The inevitability of gradualness has been stated to be the principal ingredient of parliamentary democracy as the British have experienced and as the British have given it out to us when they transferred power. But is there inevitability of gradualness in our midst these days? I regret to say there is not: I wish there is. One very important illustration of this statement of mine is supplied by the Presidential Address itself which this hon. House is discussing || this afternoon.

The Mover of the Motion of Thanks, my esteemed friend, Shri Gandhi, is not here at the moment, but speaking with the authority of the Chairman of the Public Accounts Committee, he has tried to fill up a number of gaps in the Presidential Address. The Seconder of the Motion, Shrimati Tarkeshwari Sinha, has gone a step further and not only tried to further fill up the gaps left in the Address but also made a number of very constructive suggestions to ensure that the policy of the Government, both in the national and in the international spheres, is put on a high pedestal, at any rate to such an extent that it will satisfy the requirements of the people in this country.

Reviewing the debates so far, Shrimati Renu Chakravarty, especially towards the end of her speech, spoke with the strength of authority available to her as one of the principal spokesmen of the Communist Party of this land and said that there will be co-operation available between the Government, the ruling party for the time being here, and her own party especially perhaps with reference to the future of Kerala.

The debate, as I have seen it developing, more than justifies my complaint in the very first session of this Parliament when I had the privilege of opening the first foreign affairs debate, the complaint being the growing, persistent imbalance of ap-

proach on the part of the Government to national and international affairs. If we analyse the whole Address of the President, we will find that more than 65 per cent. of the space devoted to the Address was devoted to foreign affairs. I remember, Mr. Deputy-Speaker,—you were here when I opened the first foreign affairs debate five years ago—saying that we must look more inwards than outwards. I regret to say that even after five years' experience—sometimes excruciating, sometimes really happy—we have not been able to learn the dictum and we are still pursuing the same policy, namely, the one laid down by the great British Proconsuls who used to address from this particular chair in the years gone by when they spoke of foreign policy in preference even to domestic policy; in other words, we still continue to be the victim of the method handed over to us by the departing British, namely, by giving undue importance to foreign affairs and no importance at all, at any rate, to that which is deserved, internal affairs.

There is an amendment in the Order Paper in my name which I had the honour to move this morning to the Motion, namely—

“but regrets that there is no indication of Government's decision to withdraw from the Commonwealth in view of the unprovoked and unjustified hostility shown by the United Kingdom on the Kashmir question.”

As far as foreign affairs goes, my own reading of the situation is that unless and until we solve the question of Kashmir, there cannot be any possibility of our placing our foreign policy on a sound, enduring and honourable basis.

Reviewing the history of the entire Kashmir question, you will recall that this House had the opportunity only once, of discussing Kashmir as a separate entity, as a separate problem. There was a Kashmir Affairs Debate immediately after the Abdullah-Nehru Agreement—that

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was about 2½ years ago. I have chosen to put down this amendment in the language in which it is drafted specifically to direct the attention of the Government to the imperative need for an immediate withdrawal from the Commonwealth.

I was surprised to listen to my hon. friend, Kaka Sahib Gadgil, a little while ago when he spoke about the necessity for an average Indian to function as a shrewd businessman, to strike out a balance sheet of our losses and gains of our continued membership of the Commonwealth. There are two important factors which could not be missed in the present context. One is the continued existence of the Imperial Preference. Times out of number, I and a number of my colleagues in this House have drawn the attention of the Government to the necessity for the publication of a balance sheet. But what I actually got as a result of private correspondence, was a sort of a summary of the enquiry into the operation of the Imperial Preference.

Each time Government takes up the position that continued membership of the Commonwealth is necessary from the economic and military points of view. One hears so each time when a demand is made. I hope I will have another opportunity of reverting to it in greater detail. Opportunity was always denied to this House to discuss the implications of the membership of India in the Commonwealth of nations. There were repeated demands but they did not result either in the supply of the data necessary to understand whether Imperial Preference had been to our advantage or whether in the so-called military sphere, where India's co-operation or England's co-operation was very necessary, it was to our advantage.

The facts are absolutely different. I digress on the main point of my amendment only to show certain facts. Whenever a demand is made for the severance of the connection of India

from the Commonwealth, the argument is that the balance sheet is in our favour. In any case, I stand by one statement made here by Shri T. T. Krishnamachari who was formerly the Minister of Commerce and Industry that it was not to the disadvantage of India. That seems to be our balance sheet. But I will let it pass.

Coming to the Kashmir question, I have before me a record of what the hon. Home Minister said yesterday in replying to the debate on the Foreigners' Laws (Amendment) Bill. He said:

"I do not say that no time will ever come when we have to give thought to the problem. It may be necessary to reconsider and re-examine the position when circumstances require us to do so."

I regret to say that this particular announcement of no less a person than the Home Minister, whose parliamentary gifts and mastery of the English language are well-known will not be accepted as satisfactory by this country. The time has come when a decision must be taken. It should be enforced forthwith. I do hope that as a result of this debate, and also possibly as a result of another debate likely to be held in this House on foreign policy proper, the Government will make up its mind and announce its decision. Such a withdrawal from the Commonwealth has been demanded by this country almost unanimously.

I consider that, apart from the Kashmir question, Britain has taken it upon herself to thwart India's peaceful efforts with reference to the Goa question. I am glad that the President has, in the Address given to us, made a reference to it. I am briefly quoting what he said:

"My Government deeply regret that Goa still continues to be an unhappy colonial outpost of the Portuguese Government, where every kind of liberty is suppressed and economic stagnation prevails. It is the firm policy of my

Government that Goa should become free from colonial domination and should share in the freedom of the rest of India. 1

These two sentences are couched in very noble language but, I regret to say, not in a language which is sufficient to meet the requirements of the situation. I see here my hon. friend Shri T. K. Chaudhuri who has come out of the Goa jails, and I dare say he will contribute his own to a discussion of this Goa aspect of our foreign policy for I see on the Order Paper an amendment in his name which I heartily endorse. This particular amendment, to my mind, is most timely. With some knowledge as to what is happening with regard to the movement with reference to Goa liberation, I feel that there is a complete sense of frustration all over the country as regards the manner in which the Government had handled the Goa situation so far. I may here say and admit that the Dadra and Nager Haveli issues are before the International Court. I am also prepared to accept the possible development whereby the Portuguese Government may prefer another complaint against us with reference to certain deposits in certain banks in India. But apart from these two admissions, I have to say that the people of Goa have been neglected completely.

I have been hoping that as a result of the Prime Minister's visit to the U.S.A. and his talks with the U.S. President in particular, the Goa issue would be taken up in right earnest in that way. I am sure he would not say to us that President Eisenhower told him—I am only using my imagination—"but Dr. Salazar is an intractable fellow and nothing could be done". That should not be the purpose for which the visit had been undertaken. The highest possible hopes were entertained. He went to the United States in the light of what had happened earlier, in terms of the statement made by John Foster Dulles eighteen months ago on the Goa issue. But I find that our foreign policy

with respect to Goa has entered a ~~cul de sac~~ and it is time that a bold reorientation of our policy towards Goa is undertaken, especially on the domestic front.

I will not have time to go into the details on this issue but I would like to spotlight two issues of considerable importance. There are still some Indian prisoners in Goa whose release is stated to be imminent. But what about the vast number of Goanese prisoners inside the Portuguese jails? Where do we come into the picture? What is the role of the Government of India in regard to the liberation of those prisoners who are nationals of Goa proper? I use the word 'national' rather carefully for the purpose of contra-distinction of Indians inside Goa jails and Goans inside Goa jails. I regret to say that, up to the moment, nothing has been done to ensure that those great patriots, men and women who have been imprisoned and brutally treated in the persons of Portugal, not only in Goa but in other places also, are released. This issue has not been taken up by the Government of India with the result that the people inside Goa are burning with a sense of frustration and are indignant against India's inaction in regard to this vital question. I do hope that this aspect of the matter will be taken up very soon.

I had occasion, in the last session of the Parliament, to say a few words about Dadra and Nager Haveli and also about the need for a provisional Government. Recently, I had occasion to meet in Bombay representative spokesmen of more than ten Goan associations. I am here to say without fear of contradiction that the vast majority of the people who claim to represent the public opinion, the opinion of the people of Goa—most of these are migrants or people who have been let out of the jails by Portugal and residing in Bombay these days—feel that a provisional Government is an absolute necessity. The Government should ensure that this provisional Government comes into being. I am not happy at the

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manner in which the administration of Dadra and Nager Haveli is being carried on. Ostensibly, there is Dr. Antonio ~~Estado~~ who is running the administration. I am prepared to say without contradiction that some minion of the Bombay Government is, at the back of this puppet show. Either the Government is through the representatives of the people functioning according to the will of the people or it is not. Surely, it could not be the desire of the Prime Minister to treat these areas as a colony of the Government of India. I know and I can say with the utmost confidence that Prime Minister Nehru would not encourage colonialism, even *chota* colonialism, as far as India is concerned. I am sorry I have to put it in this language in order to draw the pointed attention of the Government of India so that efforts may be made to establish a provisional Government. In fact efforts are being made by the Goan public leaders to establish a provisional Government, but unless these efforts are assisted by the Government of India, they will be thwarted. I consider Kashmir and Goa are the real touchstones of our foreign policy and to that extent I must say regretfully that we have not succeeded.

There are only two other points, Sir, and I would have done. I made a complaint earlier in my speech about the growing, persistent imbalance of approach in the policy of the Government towards national and international questions. I have analysed the President's Address and I find a few lines were deemed sufficient to dispose of the entire question of economic policy to which we have pitched our wagon, the wagon of our destiny so to speak. I regret this should not have been the manner in which the vast questions of national reconstruction are sought to be disposed of in the last Address of the President to the first Republican Parliament of India.

I remember four years ago, when this House took up discussion on the

First Five Year Plan Report—I had also the privilege of opening that debate—trying to direct the attention of the Government, and in particular the Prime Minister, to the need for the mobilisation of public opinion behind the Plan. At that time I remember having said,—and I recapture the same mood because I feel it is vitally necessary as we are going through the first year of the Second Five Year Plan, and as this Parliament is handing over the torch to the next Parliament in a few weeks to come—“Let the Prime Minister resign his Congress presidency or even his portfolio of External Affairs and become the Director of Manpower Mobilisation”. I remember there were smiles even from the Prime Minister. I would not say he is cynical himself but there were cynical smiles from a certain section of this House. I am recapturing this mood only to emphasise the point that the five year's running of the First Five Year Plan and also the ten or twelve months of the Second Five Year Plan have not convinced me that the people are behind the Plan. There is a growing isolation of the ruling party from the emotions of the people in so far as the implementation of the Five Year Plan is concerned.

What happened to the Committee of Public Co-operation which the Prime Minister set up five years ago? Only one sitting was held and the Committee of Public Co-operation representative of all political parties has been abandoned. Since then nothing occurred to ensure that the ruling party and other parties and individuals in this country will agree to work together as far as the Second Five Year Plan is concerned.

After several years of fighting in this House the District Development Committees all over the country have been reconstituted. I happen recently to have attended a couple of sittings of the Committee of my own district. But here again I say the same old system of nomination of members continues with the result that the Five

Year Plan is only a Plan enforced by the officials and nothing more and nothing less. I do not have time to go into the details as far as the Plan is concerned, but I do say this, that after five years of the First Year Plan and nearly one year of the Second Five Year Plan there is greater unemployment in India, today, lesser production of food and greater price inflation. These are only symptoms of a deep malaise which might engulf the Second Five Year Plan, and if one reads between lines the statement made only yesterday in this House by the Finance Minister it will be seen that the Second Five Year Plan is now on the rocks. I do hope even at this late stage there will be an effort made by the Government to harness the mind and effort of the people, not on any party basis but on a national basis. I regret to say, whatever is visible in the country, as far as operation of the Second Five Year Plan is concerned, does not give me confidence that such a national approach is being sought to be pursued by the Government, and I do hope that as a result of this appeal, which I am making again four years after I opened the debate on the First Five Year Plan, a change will be made and that these words will not fall on deaf ears.

Swami Ramananda Tirtha (Guilberga): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, the President's Address delivered before the joint session of both Houses of Parliament, and the last one, is couched in humble, sober and, if I may use the word, few expressions. We are standing on the anvil of a second phase of our democratic life and, naturally, growing as we are in stature, the enumeration of our achievements during the last five years has to be in as humble terms as is humanly possible. At the same time, we can deprive ample satisfaction for the achievements which we have made during these five years.

The vast electorate of this greatest democracy of the world has shown that it can exercise its democratic right judiciously, with perfect understanding and with a sense of sifting

the seed from the chaff. It is a glowing tribute to the wisdom and the political consciousness of millions of voters in this land that they have conducted the elections in a very free and fair manner. The peaceful way in which the electorate behaved is bound to strengthen the faith of the people in the efficacy of democratic method of functioning. Sir, I once again pay my humble tribute to the vast millions of this democratic India who have proved by their judicious vote that they do not lag behind in democratic functioning any advanced democracy in the world.

I have to say a few words about the manner in which the administrative machinery has functioned during the elections. Complaints have been made by my friends opposite. My experience and the experience of those who contested the elections has been different. The administrative machinery during the second general elections, which we have just completed, has behaved more impartially and it has very little to do with the political affiliations of the various parties. As experience grows this impartiality on the part of the administrative machinery will also grow. But let us remember that the administrative machinery has been functioning under the stress of political parties, and it is certainly to their credit that they have kept themselves aloof from all political impacts as much as was humanly possible. Therefore, the faith of the people in a democratic way of life has been strengthened. Let us not minimise the import of its conduct.

We are standing, if I may say so, at crossroads. The Second Five Year Plan has already run one year's course. We were listening to the speech of the Finance Minister yesterday afternoon. He is cautious and seems to be alive to the risks involved and also the steps to be taken. But one thing which I would like to emphasise is that the success of the Second Five Year Plan depends above all upon one very important factor,

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and that is the employment potential which it is going to afford. I do not know what the next four years are going to reveal to us, but from the experience which many of us have gained by our close contact with the masses I can say that if the manner of implementing the programmes and the various schemes of the Plan is continued as before, there is a bleak prospect for a growing potential for employment. I say this with all the responsibility that I command. It is not so much the co-operation on the part of the people that is lacking, but it is very sad to see that in spite of all the emphasis laid upon the patriotic content of the administrative machinery, it has not still been geared up to that level where it can secure the co-operation of the people on its own accord. It is not the people who should go to the Government; it is the Government and its administrative machinery that should go to the people and rouse them in the implementation of the Five Year Plan. There would be ample time for discussing this particular aspect of the question when discussion of the second Five Year Plan and the General Budget takes place, but I would only say at this stage that great vigil is called for in the manner in which the second Five Year Plan will be implemented. The pace of industrialisation, as I said must be commensurate with the employment potential, and the second Five Year Plan will stand or fall only on these tests.

Reference has been made to the question of Kashmir. I do not want to add my own arguments. It is not necessary for any Member of this House to reinforce the arguments. The President has been so sure and clear on this point, and let us make it clear to those who want to play with the political destinies of millions of people. Let us say to them: "Well, if you want to be fair to yourselves and to the democracies of the world, then, is there any sense left in you when you do not accept the accession signed by the Maharaja of Kashmir as valid,

constitutional and final?" If 600 odd States of India could be constituted to form an integral part of this great republic of India, why not Kashmir? How can it be put in some other category, and how can the validity of its being an integral part of this country be questioned? I do not understand how this verdict is being challenged, but extraneous influences and vested interests all over the world are plying their own game on this beautiful land of Kashmir. Well, let us say with all the emphasis at our command that India is strong enough in its just and democratic cause, and it will stand firm in spite of all the machinations which many of the countries of the world are engaged in.

There was some reference made to our tie with the Commonwealth. I do not quite appreciate the views expressed by some Members that we should sever our connection with the Commonwealth. If we want to, we could do so within no time. It is not an important matter at all. But let us see if they have behaved in a particular way on the Kashmir issue. Now, it cannot be the cause of our severing our connections with the Commonwealth. Anyway, as the Prime Minister has often stated and as the Home Minister has said yesterday that the Government will certainly consider the various impacts of the situation which we have to face as a member of the Commonwealth, in the ripeness of time a right decision will be taken. Nobody in this House or nobody in this country is enamoured of the contact or relationship with the Commonwealth.

Something has been said about the reorganisation of the States. As the debate develops, perhaps we may stray into areas which are not necessary for us at this stage to go into. But there is one thing. Whatever be the verdict of the people, the manner in which it is exercised, it is too early to say. Anyway, we have to take cognizance, and this House and the Government also have to take note of the opinions expressed. They may be

hasty; maybe emotional in certain respects, but after all, they are the opinions expressed by the people of a particular area; and the House, which is a sovereign body and which has to deal with all aspects of the Indian democratic life, will have to take due note of what the people have felt, whether it is in Maharashtra or Gujarat or Kerala or in any other part of the country.

I express my gratitude to the most revered President of this republic for having put new life into the heart of the teeming millions of India when he states and reminds them:

"...there is no resting place for any of us and the great story of the building up of a new and prosperous India will continue to unfold itself, bringing happiness to all our people and serving the cause of world peace and co-operation".

Let us hope that this aspiration is fulfilled and India grows into a prosperous and progressive State.

Shri T. K. Chaudhuri (Berhampore): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I am having the privilege of addressing this House after an enforced absence of 19 months. I would beg of the House and you to bear with me a little. I shall try to be as brief as possible. I feel deeply thankful for the opportunity provided by the reference contained in the President's address to the problem of Goa, and to the fact that Goa still continues to be an unhappy colonial outpost of the Portuguese Government. I should like to draw the attention of the House to the actual state of affairs obtaining in Goa today and also to the cost in terms of human suffering and sheer physical repression undergone by the people and the heroic freedom-fighters of Goa paid by our Goan brethren for the cause of national freedom. This is the price that they are paying for their loyalty to the ideals of democracy and national freedom and for their loyalty to the ideals which India of the past and India of the present represent to them.

14 hrs.

The question that confronts them and us as well, is what we are going to do about it. I am afraid that this question has very often been discussed more from the point of view of a diplomatic tug-of-war between India on the one side and Portugal and the big powers on the other side and less from the point of view of the efforts that are being heroically put forth by the Goanese people themselves for winning their freedom and for coming back to the bosom of free India. As circumstances would have it, I am a free man today; not only me, but all our colleagues who were there as satyagrahis, excepting some six or seven of them about whose nationality there is some dispute. We have all come back and we are now free to resume our normal activities in the everyday life. But, my mind still harks back to the Aguada Fort, the military prison where some 200 Goan political prisoners are undergoing savage sentences ranging from 6 to 28 years. The maximum sentence that can be awarded under Portuguese law is 28 years and so nobody has been sentenced for more than that period. On the average, however, one might say that most of the people are undergoing sentences from 10 to 20 years; that is the normal average.

There are nearly one hundred more prisoners in the Fort of Reis Magos undergoing the same kind of savage sentences. The day on which we were released, there were more than 500 political suspects in police lock-ups. There are nine lady political prisoners and I cannot forget the fact that one of them, Mrs. Sudabhai Joshi, has been awarded a sentence of 13 years plus 3 more years, i.e. 10 years on the whole. Although she is a Goan national, she is the wife of an Indian citizen, the eminent Maharashtra literateur Shri Mahadev Shastri Joshi. I do not know—Heaven only knows—when she will come back.

Apart from these, during the course of the last three years, at least 10,000 people have been arrested merely on

[Shri T. K. Chaudhuri]

suspicion and kept in police lock-ups for periods ranging from 6 months to 1½ years, with periodical beatings. This beating is a regular system under the Portuguese police administration. It is not the normal kind of beating which is resorted to in the course of a scuffle with satyagrahis or at the time of arrest. You are arrested on suspicion, taken to the police lock-up and kept there for months without any trial. You are not produced before any magistrate. There is no system of producing suspects before magistrates and getting them committed to police custody. You are kept in the police lock-up as long as the police authorities are pleased for an indefinite period and regularly beaten once a week or at least once in ten days. They have a special method of beating. There is a special kind of instrument for beating, something like a cricket bat. It is a wooden plank 20 to 22 inches long made out like a cricket bat, but flat on both sides. The Portuguese colonialists in Africa used to have a perforated table-tennis bat-like instrument for beating as John Guather has testified, but here they use an instrument like a cricket bat and only take care to see that no bones are broken. Once a week you are taken to a special beating room, beaten there black and blue all over the body and again brought back to your cell. That is the system, and it goes on for months together. Even on the day you are released, you are beaten for the last time. That is the kind of physical repression against which they are fighting.

I am not exaggerating a bit; 10,000 people have been arrested in the course of the last three years, and beaten in police lock-ups as I have described and let out. Every village and every taluk has been searched. We might be thankful to the Chief of the Goan Secret Police, Casimir Monteiro, for carrying on this kind of oppression, because to a certain extent it helps the movement and makes the people bitter. That is the picture that you have to envisage to understand

what is happening in Goa today; and to realise what the Goan people are up against.

I have seen in the Portuguese Press and also in pro-Portuguese foreign Press a vociferous propaganda being carried on that there is no movement in Goa. I do not know and I have not yet had time to acquaint myself with the steps that the Government of India are taking to counteract this kind of propaganda, but the Portuguese Press is very vociferous in asserting that there is absolutely no movement inside Goa. Already I have said that there are 300 political prisoners undergoing savage sentences running from 6 to 28 years. There are 500 political suspects in different police lock-ups all over the Portuguese Goan territory. 10,000 people have been arrested; and, what for? What does this indicate? It only indicates that there is a virulent mass movement there. Of course, I grant and I recognise that conditions are such that no open movement is possible. The elementary civil liberties, to which we have been used here even in the British days, are entirely absent. The legal system is absolutely different. The total control of the country is in the hands of the State Defence and International Police, the special police of Dr. Salazar. Even ordinary police constables have been brought from Portugal, because they do not trust the Goanese police. That is the state of affairs which the people of Goa are fighting against. I do not know to what extent things are known in this country. I have had the unique opportunity of living with our Goan brethren, Goan patriots, inside a military prison for the last 19 months and I have also had the unique advantage of studying the entire Goan situation from inside. The plain fact today is that we have failed to provide any solution to the Goan question.

I have heard it said: What can the Government of India do? After all it

is in Portugal's possession. They have certain recognised rights under international law. The problem of Goa comes under the purview of international relations and nothing perhaps could be done unless we go to war. To avoid any misunderstanding, I would like to make it clear that even before I went into Goa, I did not advocate military action or war over this question and I am not convinced, even today, that 'war' is the only possible solution. But my complaint against the policy pursued by the Government of India, is that it is neglecting avenues, short of war, which can produce results. Unfortunately our Government have stopped the satyagraha movement, stopped our people from going inside Goa, because the results that confronted us on the wake of the Satyagraha movement were too disastrous to be countenanced easily by them. At the same time, we are saying it openly, it is an open political commitment that we are not going to war. What then is the alternative? The Government must provide a practical alternative, and more so because from the Floor of this House both from the opposite side of the House and also from this side of the House assurances were held out to our Goan brothers and sisters that we shall stand by them. The Prime Minister's brave words are still ringing in my ears that Goa can be taken in a trice. He said that even if the Goan people do not like, we do not want the Portuguese people to remain on the soil of India. On behalf of Goan brothers and sisters, I ask what has been done to implement our assurances? It is no use simply saying that we cannot bring in sufficient international pressure in our favour to get this question solved peacefully and democratically. What has been done in that direction? Unfortunately the reference to Goa contained in the Presidential Address merely states the bare fact that Goa continues to be an unhappy colonial outpost of Portugal and he then goes to reiterate the policy of the Government of India that it believes in the liberation of Goa; it believes in bringing back Goa within the ambit of democratic free-

dom that we all enjoy here in Independent India. But how is that to be done? What concrete and tangible promise in this regard could we hold out to the people of Goa who are suffering so much? Of course, I do not have the time to describe in detail the actual physical repression that they have to undergo. Please do believe me, when I say all this. I am not unused to jail repression. I have spent nearly 16 years in British Jails. I have known what the imperialist repression is. I have known police beatings, but I tell you that these terrible 19 months that I have spent will be indelible from my memory. I can never imagine that men could inflict repression of such brutal and bestial nature as I have seen perpetrated before my own eyes. Unfortunately I do not have the time to describe those things. But these are facts which we have to contend against. What hopes can we provide to Goan patriots? Simply saying or reiterating, as has been done in the Address of the President that our policy continues to be liberation of Goa has no meaning. The Goan people have started suspecting that perhaps nothing will be done. I know there are other questions more important to us perhaps; the Kashmir question is there; the Suez Canal question is there; the question of South African Indians is there; the question of Ceylon Indians is there. I grant the Government of the day has the right to fix priorities with regard; it may be that they may take up the question of Goa later on, but the country and the Goan people who are our own brothers, have a right to know what is being done and what hopes they have, what practical hopes they can have to get their problem solved, to get freedom and to return to the bosom of Free India. That is the sole question which I wanted to emphasize today. This is the fag end of this Parliament, but even then I was anxious that I should come here and say a few words on this problem. India has a great moral responsibility which she cannot shirk very easily. It was our Prime Minister who said—it was a correct statement no doubt—that the struggle for

[Shri T. K. Chaudhari]

freedom for Goa is primarily the concern of Goan nationals. The Goan patriot took that statement as a challenge to his sturdy patriotism and came out in the streets to fight Salazar's colonialism. I had already given an indication of the kind of repression that the people of Goa had to face. Goa is a small place, entirely isolated from India. 10,000 Portuguese military personnel are guarding Goa. 5,000 of them are Portuguese Whites; 5,000 are Negroes brought from Portuguese East Africa itself. Just compare the situation of Goa with the situation of any Indian district in the British days. In how many districts can we say that we had sent 300 people to prison under such conditions? Beatings we had known in British days. But this systematic beating which I have just described is something unknown and unprecedented. People were beaten to death and then in Government newspapers in Portuguese India it was stated that those people were trying to escape and fell down from the wall or they broke their neck or their spinal chord or they had heart failure and so on. We have known all these things because their prison system is such that there is no distinction between an under-trial and a convict and all prisoners are kept together and things get known. So, we came to know of many things in course of time. I will take other opportunities to place these facts before the country and if necessary, before the Government. But, the dreadful situation is that these people, helpless and unarmed, are fighting against a totalitarian dictatorship only in the forlorn hope that something will be done by India. I want a clear-cut declaration from the Government about what they feel about the actualities of the situation in Goa and what they feel to be the actual prospects of resolving this problem in the near future. That is all I want to say today.

Shri Barman (North Bengal—Reserved—Sch. Castes): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, five years back, this House came into existence and within a week

or so, it will be replaced by a new House. In taking stock of the activities of this House, the President has congratulated it on the great tasks that have been accomplished and, at the same time, has said:

"But there is no resting place for any of us and the great story of the building up of a new and prosperous India will continue to unfold itself, bringing happiness to all our people and serving the cause of world peace and co-operation."

In his Address, the President has mentioned certain things which remain to be done and has congratulated this House generally on things that this House has accomplished.

On behalf of the State of West Bengal, I specially express my gratitude to the President for giving a place in his Address to the serious condition in which that unhappy State is placed on account of the influx of refugees from East Pakistan. The President has said:

"...over four million people have come from East Pakistan to India and these persons have cast a heavy burden on our country and, more especially, on the State of West Bengal."

I presume that the President, by mentioning this, has stressed upon this House and the new House that is coming into being the heavy responsibility that it has to bear on this question. It is very unfortunate that on an average 20,000 people are coming over every month. While we do not know how to rehabilitate those who have already come, the pressure of rehabilitation is going up due to fresh influx. Forty lakhs of people have already come. If things continue in this way, another seventy lakhs are likely to come. How to tackle this problem is the great task before this House and before this country. I specially mention this matter before this House: the serious state of affairs in West Bengal is a responsibility which will have to be taken up by the whole country. Otherwise, it is

not only the West Bengal Government that would break under the pressure, but it may be too late for the whole country to recover from the position in which it will be placed if matters go on in this way. I do not cast any reflection on the Rehabilitation Ministry either of the Centre or of the State. They have tried their utmost. But, it has been proved, in the words of the President himself, that the measures that have been taken up till now are not adequate to tackle this problem. There is no place in West Bengal to settle those who are agriculturists. Those that have been sent to other States for rehabilitation,—it is unfortunate—have, after the lapse of six months or one or two years, come back to West Bengal. The problem may be intricate. It may be that it is due to some psychological deficiency or economic difficulties or the deficiency of the Rehabilitation Department in making the place suitable for rehabilitating the people economically. The point that I want to urge upon this House is that something has to be done and it is not right to carry on the matter in the usual way. The usual way has failed. It is for the President's Government to find out why this problem could not be tackled in the proper way during these eight or nine long years. We have seen that when the Jews were driven from Europe, they were settled in Palestine. We have read that the land was not good. By the efforts of the Government and by other methods, it has been improved in such a way and many economies have been devised so that it is now a resourceful land and the Jews are well settled there. India is a vast country and there are places which are not thickly populated. There is enough land. The question is how to make that land fit enough so that people following different avocations in life may be settled throughout this land of our. My only submission is that we cannot go on in the usual way in the matter of re-settling or rehabilitating the refugees. We have to think over this matter, find out what are the defects, either in the Rehabilitation department or in the refugees themselves and devise

a way so that this rehabilitation question may be properly tackled. It is a difficult problem, no doubt. We expect that those who still remain in East Pakistan will remain there. But, the circumstances have proved that unless things in the political sphere change, they will be coming as they are coming, 20,000 every month. Therefore, I am grateful to the President for giving expression to the serious situation that has been caused by the influx of refugees from East Pakistan.

Next, I would like to emphasise the point referred to by the President in para. 28 of his Address. The President has congratulated this House on the success in many fields. The President has also reminded us that there are still things which remain to be done. My humble submission is this. Many things have been done in two fields which are very necessary for building up the unity of the nation. One is the social sphere and the other is the economic sphere. We have promised in our Constitution that in India, every citizen will have equality of opportunity and equality of rights. This equality can come in the social sphere when the hundreds and hundreds of castes will go. So long as these caste distinctions remain, Indian unity will not be forthcoming. For that our Parliament has legislated in many fields. One of them is the Removal of Untouchability Act and the other main legislation is on the Hindu Law. These are processes and in course of time, they will bear fruit to a very great extent. The new Parliament will have to think over this matter afresh and devise means by which this cause of disunity in the nation is removed in the proper way.

The other thing is the economic equality of the citizens of India. For that many measures have been passed, and certainly the House can congratulate itself on the passing of those measures. No doubt, in one field, that is in the sphere of land possession, we have advanced so much, we have abolished zamindari, we are taking away lands from those who

[Shri Barman]

possess them over a certain extent and by that process we have levelled down those who are big and levelled up those who are the have-nots in the rural area. But in another field where this inequality remains, in my humble submission we could not do much, and it is already a bitter complaint of those who have invested their wealth in land that though the Government, in consonance with its policy of bringing about equality of status, have taken steps towards levelling down those who possess land, they have not done enough in levelling down those who possess wealth in other spheres of business and life. The new House, I hope, will give serious consideration to this. Otherwise, this complaint in the rural area will do great damage to our national unity and prosperity.

I again express my gratefulness to the President for giving us this Address which reminds us of our successes as well the deficiencies which we have felt in various spheres.

श्री बि० च० देशपांडे : : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, प्रथम संसद् के इस प्रतिम मंत्र में मेरा यह प्रतिम भाषण है। धन्यवाद का प्रस्ताव सदन के सामने रखते हुये श्री बी० बी० गांधी ने एक घटना की धीर सदन का ध्यान आकर्षित किया है। उन्होंने कहा कि बम्बई राज्य में ग्राम निर्वाचन के जो परिणाम प्राये उन परिणामों की धीर सदन को ध्यान देना चाहिये धीर उन्होंने कहा कि श्री कृष्ण मेनन की चुनाव में विजय से भारत की विदेश नीति की विजय प्रस्थापित होती है। मुझे पता नहीं कि भक्ते श्री कृष्ण मेनन की विजय से भारत की विदेश नीति की विजय प्रस्थापित हो सकती है या नहीं परन्तु यह निश्चित है कि बम्बई राज्य में कांग्रेस दल को जो अग्र्य महत्वपूर्ण असफलताओं का सामना करना पड़ा है, उस परामर्श से कांग्रेस की राज्य पुनर्गठन की विषय में जो नीति रही है उसका बराबर बिल्कुल स्पष्ट हो जाता है। भक्ते राष्ट्रगान में कांग्रेस

को वोट मिलने से भारतवर्ष की वैदेशिक नीति की विजय प्रस्थापित होती है, ऐसा कहा जाता है, लेकिन ए० से लेकर डेढ़ तक श्री गाडगिल, श्री पाटस्कर आदि महाराष्ट्रियों के चुनावों में हार जाने से क्या यह सिद्ध नहीं होता कि कांग्रेस की बम्बई राज्य के सम्बन्ध में जो द्विभाषी राज्य बनाने की नीति थी, उसको जनता ने पसन्द नहीं किया और उसका पराभव सिद्ध होता है।

श्री हेडा : बम्बई में मेजरिटी तो कांग्रेस की है।

श्री बि० च० देशपांडे : Even though vanquished, he could still argue.

बीच में दखल देने की श्रादत क्यों नहीं छोड़ते, मुझे पता नहीं लगता। मेरा कहना यह है और जैसा कि मैंने अपने संतोचन में भी कहा है कि यदि बम्बई राज्य में कांग्रेस की चुनावों में मिली असफलताओं को ध्यान में रखते हुए जनता की भावना की कद्र करना है और प्रजातंत्र की इस देश में पक्की नींव डालनी है तो कांग्रेस सरकार को यह घोषित करना चाहिए कि बम्बई राज्य के विषय में हमारी जो द्विभाषी राज्य बनाने की नीति थी, उसको जनता से समर्थन नहीं मिला और मैं कहूँगा कि भारतवर्ष के राजनैतिक इतिहास में बम्बई राज्य का चुनाव एक बड़ी महत्वपूर्ण घटना है। मैं नहीं समझता हूँ कि पिछले १५, २० वर्षों में इतने बड़े परिमाण में किसी एक राजनैतिक विषय। विषय पर जनता ने अपना मत इतने स्पष्ट और असंदिग्ध शब्दों में व्यक्त किया है। काका साहब गाडगिल जो एक बड़े संसदीय पटु है जिन्होंने कांग्रेस की बड़ी सेवा की है और पूना में जिनकी कि लोकप्रियता मान्य है, वे धीर श्री पाटस्कर जो चुनावों में हारे हैं, उनके लिए यह कोई नहीं कह सकता कि वे बैराक्त दुर्गुणों के कारण हारे। हमने देखा कि महाराष्ट्र प्रांतीय कांग्रेस कमेटी के अधिकार क्षेत्र में जिनने उम्मीदार लोकसभा के लिए खड़े थे वे सब हार गये और अब उसके पश्चात् महाराष्ट्र की जनता

का मत क्या है, यह बिलकुल स्पष्ट हो गया है। बम्बई में भी हमने देखा कि घोबरपाल मेजारिटी संयुक्त महाराष्ट्र समिति को मिली है। उनकी धीरे से यह कहना कि इससे क्या हुआ हमें सब जगह बिलाकर तो मेजारिटी मिल गई है, मराठवाड़ा, महाविदर्भ, सौराष्ट्र और गुजरात को मिला कर तो हम मेजारिटी में हैं। मेरा कहना यह है कि अगर आप यह समझते हैं कि इन चुनावों में आपकी द्विभाषी राज्य बनाने की नीति को मेजारिटी मिली है तो मैं कहूंगा कि प्रजातंत्र की दृष्टि में आप उन लोगों से जो सौराष्ट्र से, विदर्भ से कांग्रेस के टिकट पर चुन कर आये हैं उनसे पूछें कि क्या वे द्विभाषी राज्य के पक्ष में हैं? मैं समझता हूँ कि महाराष्ट्र के लोग धीरे विदर्भ और सौराष्ट्र के लोग जो कि कांग्रेस टिकट पर चुन कर आये हैं वे कहेंगे कि हम द्विभाषी राज्य की नीति के विरुद्ध हैं। हमारे प्रधान मंत्री महोदय का कर्तव्य है कि जो हार गये हैं उनको वे न बलायें लेकिन जो लोग नये चुन कर आये हैं वे किसी भी दल के हों, उनकी एक राउंड टेबल कांफेंस बुलायें और उनके सामने यह बम्बई का प्रश्न प्रोपन क्वेश्चन की तौर पर फैसले के लिये रख दें और महाराष्ट्र और महा गुजरात की दो स्टेट्स किस तरह बन सकती हैं, इस पर बड़ा विचार किया जाय और मेरा यकीन है कि ऐसा करके आप जनतंत्र के सामने सिर मुकाबले में जो कि सर्वथा वांछनीय है।

अहमदाबाद और बम्बई की जनता पर अज्ञानपूर्ण गोणिया चलाई गई और उनकी प्राबाध और मांग को पुलिस और फौज की गोणियों की मदद से बड़ी बेरहमी से दबाया गया और जब जनता ने उस फ़ाहरिंग के संबंध में जांच की मांग की तो उसकी तरफ कोई ध्यान नहीं दिया गया। मुझे तो यह बतलाते हुये बड़े दुःख होता है कि गुजरात प्रांत का एक शिष्ट मंडल पंडित गोविन्द बल्लभ पंत से मिलने गया था, उस शिष्ट मंडल के साथ मैं भी गया था। उस शिष्ट मंडल की धीरे से पंत जी को कहा गया था

कि अहमदाबाद में जो गुजराती पुलिस की गोणियों से मरे हैं, उसके बारे में जांच कराई जाये तो हमारे पंत जी ने यह जवाब दिया कि एक बात को तो आप स्वीकार करें कि मुरार जी देसाई ने इस संबंध में बड़ी निष्पत्ता का सबूत दिया है, अगर एक ओर उन्होंने बम्बई में लोगों को भरवाया तो दूसरी ओर अहमदाबाद में गुजराती जनता पर भी गोणियों की वर्षा की। मुझे पंत जी के इस उत्तर से बड़ा दुःख और क्लेश हुआ। मैं तो कहूंगा कि अगर हमारी कांग्रेस सरकार जनतंत्र के सामने झुकने को तैयार हो तो उसकी दो बातें करनी चाहिये। पहली तो यह कि बम्बई और अहमदाबाद इन दो शहरों में जो फ़ाहरिंग हुई उसके विषय में एक न्यायालयी जांच समिति नियुक्त करे और दूसरे संयुक्त महाराष्ट्र और महा गुजरात का निर्माण करे और इसको करने के लिये जितने नये लोग चुन कर आये हैं उनकी एक कांफेंस प्र. इम. मिनिस्टर माहब बुलायें और एक निश्चित योजना के अधीन इन दो प्रांतों का निर्माण क। यह दो बातें यदि हम करते हैं तो हम प्रजातंत्र का निर्माण करते हैं, यह मैं समझूंगा। देश के अन्दर इन निर्वाचनों ने बता दिया है कि जहां जहां राज्य पुनर्रचना में हम ने जनता की तरफ ध्यान नहीं दिया — पंजाब के नगर विभाग में, अरबन एरिया में, जनतंत्र की ओर ध्यान नहीं दिया गया — कांग्रेस हार गई। उड़ीसा में हम ने जनता की मांग को स्वीकार नहीं किया, वहां कांग्रेस हार गई। यह जो सब कुछ दीवार पर लिखा हुआ है वह आप को पता लगा होगा। भयवान ने कोई आप को अमर पट नहीं दिया है, आप भी बदले जा सकते हैं। जनता जब कुछ होती है, जनता में जब असंतोष होता है, तब सरकार बदली जाती है। लेकिन इसके साथ ही साथ पार्लियामेंट की मेजारिटी, पार्लियामेंट की बहुसंख्या इस प्रकार से लोगों को दबाने वाली न हो कि यदि प्रांत के लोग एक विशेष विचार के हैं इस कारण वहां के गुजराती लोगों और महाराष्ट्र के लोगों, दोनों के माराध हो

[श्री वि० च० देवपॉट]

श्री उनके शिर पर कोई निर्णय थोप दिया जाये। ऐसा करना प्रजातंत्रवाद के विरुद्ध होता है। जाते वक़्त मैं आप को एक सूचना देना चाहता हूँ, इसका देना चाहता हूँ कि यदि आप यह समझते हैं कि पहले दोनों पक्षों के एकदोनों लोगों का कत्ल करने के पश्चात् केवल रॉबिन्सन जी के व्याख्यान से सब लोग शांत हो गए, तो यह आप का विचार गलत है। आप यह न समझिए कि दो बार साल में लोग इस बात को भूल जाएंगे। बार बार सूचना देने के पश्चात्, वाणिज्य बँक होने के पश्चात् यदि आप जनता को दबाते रहे, मैं भगवान से प्रार्थना करता हूँ कि उस का परिणाम अधिक भयानक न हो, लेकिन यदि देश में प्रसन्नता बढ़ता रहा और इस प्रसन्नता के प्रजातंत्रवादी प्रकार का स्पष्ट दर्शन होने के पश्चात् भी आप बीमारी का इलाज नहीं करते, तो उसका दुष्परिणाम देश के लिये बहुत बुरा होगा। इस राज्य पुनर्रचना के विषय में मैं इतना ही कहना चाहता हूँ।

दूसरे विषय पर बोलना मैं अपना कर्तव्य समझता हूँ। जहाँ पर और देश के सामने जहाँ तक हमारी विदेश नीति का प्रश्न है, मेरा यह निश्चित मत है कि भारत की वैदेशिक नीति असफल रही है। अत्यन्त असफल रही है। इस के बारे में हम आत्म बर्खास्त, सेल्फ-कॉन्सेलेशन करते कभी नहीं सकते। इसका मतलब यह नहीं है कि हिन्दुस्तान का पक्ष जोपहुँकूँ प्रत्याय का है। मैं मानता हूँ कि कश्मीर के विषय में हिन्दुस्तान का पक्ष गलत है, फ़ेयर है, बहुत अच्छा है। हिन्दुस्तान का पक्ष अत्यन्त न्याय का है। पाकिस्तान का पक्ष प्रत्याय का है। मैं यहाँ पर यह बतलाना बहुत आवश्यक नहीं समझता, लेकिन फिर भी हमारी नीति असफल रही है, इसका एक ही प्रमाण है कि इस्लामी अर्थशास्त्र के होते हुए भी दुनियाँ के सब देश हमारे खिलाफ गए। इतना अच्छा कैसे होते हुए दुनियाँ के जितने राष्ट्र हैं वह पाकिस्तान के

पक्ष में गए। मेरा यह कहना नहीं है कि हमारा कसब सराब बा, मेरा कहना यह है कि हमारा पक्ष न्याय का होते हुए हब इत काम में हिन्दुस्तान को कायदाब नही बना सके। मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि पिछले दस साल में हिन्दुस्तान ने एक के बाद एक गलती इस कश्मीर के विषय में की। पहले आप ने जेबिसाइट काट दिया, वह पहली गलती थी, उसके बाद यू० एन० भी० में आप गए, यह दूसरी गलती थी। आप ने अकबुल्ला को गद्दी पर बिठाया, उस पर आपने इतना विश्वास किया कि आप ने पयाना प्रसाद मुक़र्ची का बलिदान अकबुल्ला को लुप्त करने के लिये उचित समझा। कश्मीर का हिन्दुस्तान में मिलना न्याय और अतिरिक्तनीय है, लेकिन ऐसी माँग करने वाले लोगों को आप सम्प्रदायवादी और गद्दार कहते हैं और शोरे कश्मीर के नाम से जो लोग पाकिस्तान के साथ मिलते रहे उन की तारीफ़ करते आप कभी थकते नहीं थे। मुझे याद है कि इस जेबिसाइट के बारे में हमारे प्रधान मंत्री खड़े हो कर कहते थे "I am morally committed I shall never change."

आप इस प्रकार की बातें करते रहे और आखिर में आप ने देखा कि हम अपने मन में बड़े लुप्त हुए कि बुल्गानिन साहब यहाँ आए, और जैसे एक बच्चे से कहा जाता है कि रात में डर मालूम हो तो गँवरी पर झाना और आवाज देना। हमारे बुल्गानिन साहब ने कहा कि कश्मीर की पहचानी पर झाना और आवाज दे देना, हम चले आयेगे। हम ने कहा, चलो अच्छी बात है, बहुत बड़े बड़े लोग घा रहे हैं, हमारी मदद करेंगे। अचरीका में हमारा नाम है, इंग्लैंड में हमारा नाम है, हमें पता था कि हिन्दुस्तान का नाम दुनियाँ में ऊँचा रहा, इसके लिये अगर योषा में सिद्धि चौधरी मरता है तो कोई बात नहीं, एक सीट दे दो, लेकिन योषाचें वहाँ मार जाता है तो उस की तरफ़ कोई ध्यान नहीं देता, वहाँ और सिकड़ों कावकी मरती हैं, उनकी

तरफ ध्यान देने की आवश्यकता नहीं, अगर कोई इंटरनेशनल प्रश्न उठा तो दुनियां हमारा साथ देगी। कश्मीर का प्रश्न जब दुनियां के सामने आया तो एक ने भी हमारा साथ नहीं दिया। अमरीका में हिन्दुस्तान की इतनी तारीफ हुई, इंग्लैंड में उस की इतनी तारीफ हुई, कृष्ण मेनन इतने दिन वहां रहे, वह रूस के इतने बड़े दोस्त, लेकिन वही इंग्लैंड और अमरीका वहां हमारे खिलाफ गए। उसके बाद रूस आया, लेकिन उस ने बोट नहीं दिया। इसके बाद अब आ रहे हैं यारिंग साहब, मुझे तो यह विचार ही बड़ा भद्दा लगता है, यारिंग मालूम होता है, यारिंग साहब क्या करेंगे, हमें पता नहीं। इस लिये मैं यह मानने के लिये तैयार नहीं हूँ कि हमारी विदेश नीति सफल रही है। एक बात ठीक है, कश्मीर के प्रश्न में पाकिस्तान के साथ कोई न्याय नहीं है। आज हम पाकिस्तान की यह विजय समझते हैं, पाकिस्तान भी अपनी विजय समझता है कि उसने दुनियां के सब देश अपने साथ कर लिये। हमारी विदेश नीति क्या अच्छी रही, यह मेरी समझ में नहीं आता। हमारी सद्भावना और सद्विच्छा दुनियां में सबके लिये रही। हमारे एक मित्र ने कहा कि इजिप्ट की सिफारिश करने के लिये अगर पंडित जी और कृष्ण मेनन न होते तो उसके साथ बड़ा अन्याय होता, अच्छा हुआ, इजिप्ट को श्री नेहरू द्वारा मदद मिली, दुनियां के सब देश बच गए, गोवा में खाली वह कुछ नहीं कर सकते हैं। कश्मीर का संकट बच नहीं सकता, हमारे बारे में जो कुछ होता है, उस में हम कुछ नहीं कर सकते, लेकिन दुनियां में जो कुछ होता है, वह हमारे पंडित जी और कृष्ण मेनन के व्यक्तित्व के कारण, इन्हीं दो व्यक्तियों के कारण दुनियां आराम से चल रही है, शांति से चल रही है।

आगे चल कर मैं यही कहना चाहता हूँ कि अपनी विदेश नीति में हमने आज तक एक ही बात की कि जो हमारे मित्र हो सकते थे उन्हें जबर्जस्ती दुश्मन बनाया और जो

हमारे दुश्मन चले आ रहे थे उनका पत्सा पकड़ने की भ्रूट कौशिल्य की। यही हमारी विदेश नीति रही है। अपने प्रेजीडेंट साहब के बारे में तो हमें बोलना नहीं चाहिये, लेकिन उनका जो भाषण है वह तो शायद मंत्रिमंडल के द्वारा ही बनता है। उसमें एक बड़ी बात कही गई कि आज जब विश्व में हम देखते हैं कि युद्ध का वायुमंडल बहुत गरम है तब आवश्यकता किस चीज की है? गौतम बुद्ध के उपदेश की है। गौतम बुद्ध का जो शांति का उपदेश मिला, उस से ही हम बचेंगे, इस प्रकार की भाशा की जा रही है। हम ने देखा कि अमरीका को हम ने हंगरी के प्रश्न पर नाराज किया, इंग्लैंड वर्ग सब को नाराज किया, लेकिन हमें कामनवेल्थ से निकलने की जरूरत नहीं। मुझे याद आती है भगवान शंकर की बात जिन्होंने मदन को जलाया अपनी आंखों से। मदन दुनिया में नहीं रहा, लेकिन वह पार्वती के प्रेम पाश से निकल नहीं सके। जिस ने स्वयम् कामदेव को भस्म किया वह पार्वती के पंजों से नहीं निकल सका। वैसे ही इंग्लैंड हमारे खिलाफ है लेकिन हम कामनवेल्थ के पंजे से बाहर नहीं निकल सकते। यह प्रेम किस प्रकार का है यह मेरी समझ में नहीं आता। दुनियां में युद्ध छेड़ने वाला, ऐंशेशन करने वाला इंग्लैंड है, उस से हम लड़ते हैं लेकिन कामनवेल्थ से भारत नहीं निकलता। इस प्रकार परस्पर के विरोधी और असंगत कार्य करके उनका देश प्रेम हम ने देख लिया। उसे देखने के बाद और युद्ध होने वाला है इसे जानने के बाद हम बात कर रहे हैं शांति की। बात करना हम समझ सकते हैं, लेकिन हमारे यहां एक मराठी कविता है जिस का अर्थ है जो बोलते हैं वैसे ही करते हैं। खाली बोलते ही नहीं है, निश्चय भी यही है। हम ने दो फाइव इयर प्लैन बनाई, लेकिन उनमें डिफेंस ब्रंस्ट्रीज को चला कर सुरक्षा का कोई प्रबन्ध हमारे देश में हुआ है ऐसा मैं नहीं समझता। यदि दूसरा विश्व युद्ध होने वाला है, याद कश्मीर युद्ध होने वाला है, तो मैं इस सरकार

[श्री बी० जी० देशपांडे]

से पूछना चाहता हूँ कि इस देश के बचाव के लिए क्या आप कोई योजना बनाई है, कोई फौज बनाम का प्रबन्ध किया है, या कोई कारखाना आप ने कायम किया है। मैं यह माँग करूँगा कि दूसरी पंच वर्षीय योजना में कभी करन की आवश्यकता हो, यदि १०० करोड़, २०० करोड़ या ५०० करोड़ रुपया भी खर्च करना पड़े, तो आज नहीं कि साल साल में दोगे, और दुनियाँ में युद्ध छिड़ने वाला है यह समझ कर इस देश में युद्ध की तयारी की जाय मैं जब युद्ध की बात करता हूँ तो लोग नाराज होते हैं कि यह मिलिटैरिस्ट है, साँची दुनियाँ में खून खराबी करना चाहता है, यह पाकिस्तान के खिलाफ युद्ध छेड़ना चाहता है। यह भी कह देते हैं कि इसके पास कोई कार्यक्रम नहीं है पाँच साल के लिए। इसलिये मैं इस भी को दूसरे लोगों को बतलाऊँगा कि देश के अन्दर आप के पाँच साल की हकूमत या पंच वर्षीय योजना का कोई कार्यक्रम देश को बचा नहीं सकता। मुझे यहाँ पर एक कहानी याद आती है। एक प्रोफेसर साहब नदी के पार जाना चाहते थे। एक नाव थी, नाव वाले ने उन को नाव में बिठा लिया। प्रोफेसर साहब ने नाव वाले से अनेक प्रश्न किये। उन्होंने नाव वाले से पूछा कि तुम साजिक जानते हो? नाव वाले ने कहा : यह किस चिड़िया का नाम है, मैं नहीं जानता। तो कहा कि तुम्हारा एक चौथाई जीवन व्यर्थ गया। उसने मान लिया। फिर पूछा कि तुम पंचशील का तत्वज्ञान जानते हो। उसने कहा कि यह कौन जानवर है मालूम नहीं। प्रोफेसर साहब ने कहा कि तुम्हारा आधा जीवन व्यर्थ गया। फिर पूछा कि क्या तुम पंच वर्षीय योजना का अर्थ-शास्त्र जानते हो, तो उसने कहा कि यह भी नहीं जानता। इस पर प्रोफेसर साहब ने कहा कि तो तुम्हारा तीन चौथाई जीवन व्यर्थ गया। उसने यह मान लिया। इतने में नाव ट गई और उसमें पानी भ्राने लगा। सब नाव डूबने लगी तो प्रोफेसर साहब चुप हो

गये और नाव चलाने वाले ने कहा कि आपने कई सवाल पूछे और मुझे बतलाया कि मेरा तीन चौथाई जीवन व्यर्थ गया। नाव वाले ने कहा कि मैं आप से एक सवाल पूछना चाहता हूँ कि और वह यह कि क्या आप तैरना जानते हैं। प्रोफेसर साहब ने कहा कि मुझे तैरना तो मालूम नहीं। नाव वाले ने कहा कि मेरा तो तीन चौथाई जीवन ही व्यर्थ गया, पर यदि आप तैरना नहीं जानते तो आपका सारा जीवन अभी व्यर्थ जाने वाला है। इसी तरह मेरे पंच वर्षीय योजना, पंचशील आदि के न जानने के कारण आप मुझे प्रतिगामी कह सकते हैं, प्रातिक्रियावादी कह सकते हैं, खूनखराबी करने वाला कह सकते हैं या हिंसावादी कह सकते हैं। लेकिन मैं आपको बतलाना चाहता हूँ कि लड़ाई होने पर देश का बचाव किस प्रकार किया जा सकता है। किस प्रकार मित्र और शत्रु जोड़े जाते हैं यह शायद आप नहीं जानते हैं। आप जो बातें कहते हैं वे बड़ी बड़ी बातें हैं और दुनिया में इनकी तारीफ हो रही है लेकिन इन बातों से देश की सुरक्षा नहीं हो सकती। इन बातों के लिये आप अपने जो बधाई देते हैं और अपनी पीठ थपथपाते हैं। लेकिन आपको अपनी विदेश नीति में परिवर्तन करना होगा और देश की रक्षा के लिये बड़ी योजना बनानी पड़ेगी तभी देश की सुरक्षा सम्भव हो सकती है और ऐसा करने से देश का औद्योगिक विकास भी होगा और कुछ हद तक बेकारी का प्रश्न भी हल हो सकता है। इसके लिये देश में अनिवार्य सैनिक शिक्षा होनी चाहिये, और युद्ध का सामान बनाने के कारखाने खोलने चाहिये। देश की सेना के तीनों अंगों यानी वायुदल, भूदल और समुद्र दल का पुनर्गठन करके देश की सुरक्षा के लिये एक विशाल योजना बनानी होगी। यह अत्यन्त आवश्यक प्रश्न है और यह प्रश्न दस, बीस या पचास साल बाद हल करने वाला नहीं है। देश की प्रगति सुरक्षा के साथ अनिवार्य रूप से बढ़ होने के कारण यह अत्यन्त महत्व का प्रश्न है।

दोनों पंचवर्षीय योजनाओं के बारे में बहुत कुछ कहा गया है। प्रथम पंच वर्षीय योजना समाप्त हो गयी और यह कहा गया कि यह अत्यन्त सफल रही और कहा जाता है कि दूसरी योजना भी उसी प्रकार सफल होने वाली है। मैं समझता हूँ कि आज सभी सदस्य चुनावों के सिलसिले में देशों का भ्रमण कर चुके हैं और वहाँ की अवस्था को देख चुके हैं। उनको मालूम हुआ होगा कि गाँवों में कितनी समृद्धि हुई है। हमको कहीं भी समृद्धि दिखायी नहीं दी। हमने जगह जगह देखा कि गरीबी है, दैन्य है और भुखमरी है। मेरे निर्वाचन क्षेत्र में तो मुझे एक दो जगह पर ही पंच वर्षीय योजना का पता चला। वह इस तरह कि एक गाँव था, उसमें जलकण्ठ निवारण के लिये एक हजार रुपया दिया गया था। वहाँ की सरकार ने यह जांच करने के लिये एक कमेटी बनायी कि यह रुपया ठीक प्रकार खर्च हुआ है या नहीं। जांच करने पर मालूम हुआ कि पहले तो उस गाँव में जलकण्ठ ही नहीं था, उसके पास बारहों महीने बहने वाली एक नदी बहती थी, दूसरे यह मालूम हुआ कि वहाँ पर कोई कुआँ नहीं खोदा गया, तीसरे यह मालूम हुआ कि उस गाँव का नाम केवल रेवेन्यू रजिस्टर में था, वैसे उसका कोई अस्तित्व नहीं था और न वहाँ कोई रहता ही था। यह विकास कार्य की बात में उस कमेटी की रिपोर्ट के आधार पर कह रहा हूँ। मैं यहाँ पर किसी का नाम नहीं लेना चाहता क्योंकि वह आदमी यहाँ का सदस्य नहीं है लेकिन मध्य प्रदेश गवर्नमेंट के सामने यह बात जायेगी तो उनको नाम मालूम हो जायेगा। इस प्रकार से पैसा अपनी पार्टी को मजबूत करने के लिये खर्च किया जाता है और इस प्रकार का भ्रष्टाचार हो रहा है। इस प्रकार जनता का करोड़ों रुपया खर्च हो रहा है और देश में गणित श्रेणी से बेकारी बढ़ती चली जा रही है। प्रथम पंच वर्षीय योजना का यदि कोई फल हुआ है तो वह यही कि यहाँ बेकारी बढ़ी है। और कोई फल तो मुझे मालूम नहीं होता।

इस योजना के बाद यहाँ केवल बेकारी बढ़ी है, सेल्स टैक्स बढ़ा है पर जनता की जीवनोपयोगी परिस्थितियों में वृद्धि नहीं हुई है। जनता का जीवन स्तर नहीं सुधरा है। इतना ही इस योजना का फल मुझे मालूम है। दस साल, बीस साल या पचास साल के बाद क्या होगा इसका मुझे पता नहीं। भविष्य की तरह तरह की आशायें दी जाती हैं जैसा कि हमारे, धर्मगुरु कहते हैं :

"Blessed are the poor because the kingdom of heaven will be theirs".

मैं नहीं कह सकता कि कितने लोगों को प्रथम पंचवर्षीय योजना के फल स्वरूप रोजगार मिला है। फिर भी मैं इस योजना को पूर्ण रूप से डिफाई नहीं करना चाहता। इसमें कुछ अच्छे काम भी हुए हैं। देश में कई स्थानों पर बांध बने हैं। लेकिन इस योजना के बाद भी जनसाधारण की आर्थिक स्थिति में अन्तर नहीं आया है और न उनका जीवन स्तर ऊँचा हुआ है। इस प्रकार सरकार की आर्थिक और विदेश नीति सफल नहीं रही है। चाहे सरकार अपनी विदेश और आर्थिक नीति पर प्रसन्न हो ले पर कोई निष्पक्ष व्यक्ति यही कहेगा कि इसके फलस्वरूप न तो जनता की आर्थिक स्थिति में कोई सुधार हुआ है और अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय जगत में हमारी प्रतिष्ठा बढ़ी है। पर मैं आशा करता हूँ कि भविष्य में आने वाली पालियामेंट अधिक यथार्थवादी होगी और अधिक दृढ़ नींव पर देश की नीति को रखेगी और इस प्रकार देश का कल्याण करेगी। यही आशा करता हुआ मैं अपना अन्तिम भाषण समाप्त करता हूँ।

Shri Veeraswamy: Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, this is the first presidential address after the completion of the general elections more or less all over India except the Union Territory of Himachal Pradesh. The general elections, the second in free and Republican India having been over all over the country, it is now up to us to speak about the elections

[Shri Veeraswamy]

and think over the development of democracy.

Nobody can say that the elections have been held impartially in the country. I need not say that in so many words because the Party in power has done its best to manoeuvre to annex almost all seats in every State and to come to power through any means. Because the Cabinets were functioning during the course of the elections, there is every reason to suspect the genuineness of the elections.

[PANDIT THAKUR DAS BHARGAVA in the Chair]

It is in consonance with democracy that the Cabinet should have been dissolved. Unless the Cabinet is dissolved during the time of the elections, we cannot expect any kind of impartiality in the conduct of the elections.

Shri A. M. Thomas (Ernakulam): Where is it done?

Shri Veeraswamy: Therefore, I as a citizen of this country interested very much in the proper development of democracy, would like to make a suggestion to the Government out of sincerity, in all seriousness and with grave concern, that the Cabinets, both at the Centre and in the States, should be dissolved before the conduct of the elections. I need not say that when Ministers go on election tours, they will be received by the people and officials with so much enthusiasm, because the Ministers are an attraction to the People. The other candidates are very greatly affected by the tours of the Ministers during election time because they come on tour with all the paraphernalia of Government and the voters receive them and the atmosphere in the election field is changed. I emphasise this point. I appeal to Government to think over this suggestion in all seriousness and with a genuine interest in the development of democracy on proper lines in our country

so that there may not be any partiality in the conduct of elections.

15 Hrs.

Our democracy is very young and it is very defective. Our Constitution has given to the people only the right of vote and not other rights like initiative, referendum and recall. Therefore, at least to elect the proper representatives of theirs the people should be given full freedom without any interference from Government. I do hope that this suggestion of mine will be considered in all seriousness by Government and they would not ignore it simply because it has emanated from an ordinary Member like me, a Member sitting in the Opposition.

The President's Address has eulogised the implementation of the first Five Year Plan and the results of that implementation. It is true that the first Five Year Plan has developed the north but not the south. Not only that; the first Five Year Plan has not even touched the fringe of the problem of the Scheduled Castes and the Backward classes. The first Five Year Plan has spent about Rs. 37 crores on the Scheduled Castes and the Backward classes but we do not see any visible improvement in the life of these people. Unless Government give priority to the problem of the Scheduled Castes, the people who are in the lowest rung of the social ladder and who are abjectly poor and who constitute the illiterate population of this country, I do not think they will achieve any improvement in the life of these people even after the implementation of so many Five Year Plans.

In this connection I would suggest a separate plan to be drawn up for the welfare of the Scheduled Caste people. Not because I belong to the Scheduled Castes that I make this suggestion but because about 8 crores of them have been oppressed in this country for the past so many generations. They are living in *cheris* and in huts; they are daily labourers and

they are poverty-stricken. Is it not the duty of a responsible Government which it is being said is going to establish a socialistic State to take all possible steps to ameliorate the conditions of the poorest of the poor in this country? It is my fervent hope that at least during the second Five Year Plan, some genuine interest will be shown to improve the lot of the Scheduled Caste people so that they might also come a bit nearer to the people who are better-off in society.

The south has been completely neglected in the first Five Year Plan; and even in the second Five Year Plan, we do not have any encouragement from the Centre. The Madras State Government approached the Centre for Rs. 400 crores but the amount allotted under the second Five Year Plan is only Rs. 170 crores. It is deplorable that the Madras Government have not persisted in getting the amount of Rs. 400 crores under the second Five Year Plan for that State. Industrially, the south, especially Tamil Nad is very backward and because it is industrially backward there is so much of unemployment and the educated youths are wandering about without any job or source of income. In the course of the last 4 or 5 years, after the inauguration of this Parliament, we have come across so many youths having committed suicide because they could not get any employment. Therefore, the unemployment problem is very acute in the south because it is industrially backward.

The President's Address has not expressed any concern over the beggar problem prevailing in our country. We have given the right of the vote to the beggars also but they have not become real citizens of the country. They have to roam about for their livelihood, without any shelter, without any food, without any clothing and without any source of income except begging. I want to put a simple question to Government. Is it not the duty of the Government to abolish beggary in this country? How are we going to establish a socialist

State when there are so many hundreds and thousands of beggars. It is said very proudly that we are going to spend about Rs. 6,000 crores under the second Five Year Plan. I am very much ashamed of being a Member of Parliament when I see our brothers and sisters roaming about in the streets, lying in the open, living near the gutters without any food or shelter of their own. Do you want to see some people as beggars living in this wretched condition in this country? Can we not spend a portion of the amount that is being allotted in the second Five Year Plan for the rehabilitation of the beggars? Before rehabilitation this Parliament should pass a law to the effect that nobody should beg for his livelihood. One can beg for the welfare of the people as a whole, for some institution, for some college or any other such establishment but not for his own belly. Even if during the time of our Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru who has sacrificed everything for the sake of the nation there is beggary, who is going to abolish it from our country and who is going to rehabilitate the beggars? When Government spends crores of rupees on the rehabilitation of the displaced persons and refugees, why cannot they spend a few lakhs of rupees in every State for establishing beggar-relief centres and for giving the beggars works?

The position of Pondicherry in India is rather precarious. It has been transferred *de facto* to India but not *de jure* transfer has been made. Recently, as you know very well, in France the Parliament or some Council has passed as resolution rejecting the *de jure* transfer of Pondicherry to India. And nothing is known about the steps which have been taken by the Government for effecting *de jure* transfer of Pondicherry to India. This is a very important question. When we have conducted the second general elections in free India, no elections have been held in Pondicherry, and, therefore, it is a very serious matter for the Government to look into this

[Shri Veeraswamy]

question and see that steps are taken as early as possible to transfer Pondicherry to India *de jure*.

We express our very grave concern over the plight of Indians in South Africa and on the policy of the South African Government towards the people of Indian origin. The President's Address has expressed this matter, but nothing has been said about the plight of the Indian people in Ceylon. For the past so many years, Indians in Ceylon are being driven out of Ceylon, and lakhs of people have come to South India. Indians in Ceylon are none but Tamilians, and because they are Tamilians, the Central Government, I am sorry to say so, have not shown any sympathy towards those people who have been driven out of Ceylon and who have come to India and are living in a wretched condition. The Government have not taken any steps to prevent the people of Indian origin from being driven out of Ceylon.

Another matter which I want to bring to the notice of the Government is the scales of pay of the State Government servants. The States are the component parts of the Centre. There should not be much difference between the Centre and the States. When India is one and when both the Centre and the States are component parts of the some republican India, why should there be any difference in the scales of pay of the Central Government servants and the scales of pay of the State Government servants? It is high time for the Central Government to equalise the scales of pay all over India because there has been agitation in many parts of the country, especially in Tamilnad, for the past several years for increasing the scales of pay to the level of the Central Government servants' scales of pay. In this connection, I would say that there are no two markets, and things are not sold at two different prices. The conditions of living are the same; the cost of things is the same. Therefore, the disparity existing between the scales of pay of the State Gov-

ernment servants and the scales of pay of the Central Government servants should be removed as early as possible. In the British days, they wanted to create an impression in the minds of the people that the Imperial Government servants were superior to the State Government servants, who were treated as slaves. Now all are equal in the law of this nation and, therefore, for equal work, equal amount of remuneration should be paid.

It is gratifying that the President's Address has mentioned the greatest event in the history of free India, that is, the Buddha Jayanti celebrations which took place in our country recently. Let us think in terms of Buddhism and work on the lines of the principles of Lord Buddha and see that our country flourishes and shines in the world, giving a lead not only now but also in the future to the whole world so that there may be perfect peace and tranquillity all over the world and war on any account avoided in order to prevent the sufferings of the people.

राजमाता कमलेंद्रमात शाह (जिला गढ़वाल—पश्चिम व जिला टिहरी गढ़वाल व जिला बिजनौर—उत्तर) : सभापति महोदय, सब से पहले तो मैं राष्ट्रपति जी को उनके अभिभाषण के लिये धन्यवाद देती हूँ। उन्होंने हमको जो बहुत सी बातों से प्रवगत कराया है उसके लिये वे हमारे धन्यवाद के पात्र हैं।

उन्होंने हाल ही के ग्राम चुनावों के बारे में भी कुछ कहा है। इसके विषय में मैं भी अपने कुछ विचार प्रकट करना चाहती हूँ। मेरा निवेदन यह है कि चुनाव लड़ने का जो दंग हो वह वर्तमान; दंग से कुछ भिन्न होना चाहिये। चुनावों के संबंध में मैं जो सबसे पहला सुझाव देना चाहती हूँ वह यह है कि जो भी उम्मीदवार या संस्था चुनाव लड़े उसे अपना घोषणा पत्र पांच छः महीने

पहले बना लेना चाहिये। संस्थायें चुनावों में जिस जिस उम्मीदवार को सड़ा करना चाहती हैं और जिस जिस इलाके से सड़ा करना चाहती हैं उसका पूरा पूरा विवरण उस घोषणा पत्र में लिख दिया जाना चाहिये। इस घोषणा पत्र की प्रतियां प्रत्येक गांव में, प्रत्येक गृह में बांट दी जानी चाहियें। इससे यह स्पष्ट होगा कि जो मतदाता हैं वे उम्मीदवारों से भली भांति परिचित हो जायेंगे और वह संस्था क्या कुछ करने का विचार रखती है इससे भी मतदाता परिचित हो जायेंगे। इसके साथ ही साथ जो उम्मीदवार है या उनके कार्यकर्ता हैं उनको जो कुछ भी कार्य करना है उसे उन्हें पांच छः महीने पहले ही कर लेना चाहिये, उसके बाद नहीं। आखिरी पांच छः महीनों में जो सरकारी कर्मचारी हैं, जिनको चुनावों का प्रबंध करना है, उनको ही कार्य करने की छूट रहनी चाहिये और जो उम्मीदवार हैं या उनके कार्यकर्ता हैं उनको कहीं भी किसी प्रकार का भी प्रचार करने की इजाजत नहीं होनी चाहिये। उन्हें जितना प्रचार भी करना है वह पांच छः महीने पहले तक कर सकते हैं। इससे यह फायदा होगा कि जिस व्यक्ति ने चुनाव लड़ना है वह दो तीन वर्ष पहले जनता के बीच जायेंगा और उसकी सेवा करेगा और उसको अपनी सेवा से प्रसन्न करने की कोशिश करेगा। इसमें जनता का भी लाभ है और चुनाव लड़ने वाले का भी। इस तरह से वह निःस्वार्थ भाव से काम करेगा और अच्छा काम करेगा। कहने का तात्पर्य यह है कि चुनाव के पांच छः महीने बाद या चुनाव के समय कोई भी उम्मीदवार या उसके कार्यकर्ता कोई भी काम न करें और इन दिनों में जो भी काम करना है वह सरकारी कर्मचारियों को ही करना चाहिये। इसका एक लाभ यह भी होगा कि उम्मीदवार या उसके कार्यकर्ता भी न बढ़ बढ़ मचाते हैं, दूरी भली बातें करते हैं, भांति भांति का प्रचार करते हैं, वह नहीं हो पाएगा। इससे घाप चुनाव के अपने वर्ष में कमी भी कर सकें और इस

तरह से जो रूपया घाप बचायेंगे उसे प्राप्त अच्छे कार्यों में लगा सकेंगे। इसके लोगों को झूठा तथा अनुचित प्रचार करने का उत्साह नहीं मिलेगा और किसी प्रकार की बांधलेबाजी नहीं हो पायेगी।

दूसरा सुझाव ये भी देना चाहिये है वह यह है कि किसी मतदाता पर मत देने का जबरदस्ती का बोल नहीं उठाया जाना चाहिये। मतदाता जिस को भी मत देना चाहेंगे और जिस को न देना चाहें न हों, जिस की बर्ती है वह मत देने घाए और जिस की बर्ती नहीं है, वह न घाए। इससे एक प्रश्न यह उठ सकता है कि जो अनपढ़ लोग हैं, उन तक खबर नहीं पहुंचेगी और वे उम्मीदवारों के विषय में नहीं जानेंगे तब उत्तर में मुझे यह कहना है कि जो उम्मीदवार हैं वह मतदाताओं के पास पांच छः महीने पहले जा सकता है और उनको हर बात से परिचित करा सकता है। साथ ही साथ घोषणा पत्र भी जायेगा और देखो द्वारा भी प्रचार होगा। इस वास्ते मेरा विश्वास है कि किसी भी मतदाता के साथ किसी कार की भी जबरदस्ती नहीं होगी चाहे और मतदाता जिस किसी को भी चाहें, उसे ही उनको बोट देने की छूट होगी चाहिये।

मेरे कहने का आशय यह है कि इस प्रकार का चुनाव कार्यक्रम रखने से घारे राजनैतिक दलों को और दूसरे जो विरोधी दल वाले हैं, उनके लिए एक चुनौती होगी और सब लोग एक दूसरे से होड़ लगायेंगे कि जनता और देश के हित का कार्य कौन ज्यादा अच्छी तरह करता है। इससे यह होगा कि जो प्रयोग्य व्यक्ति होंगे वे पहले ही अपनी नाज-जदगी का कागज नहीं देंगे और दूसरे घण्टे देंगे भी तो चुने नहीं जायेंगे क्योंकि जनता उन्हें चुनेगी नहीं।

इन धारणियों को कौन चुने तो उनके घारे में मेरा यह निवेदन है कि हर एक हलके में जनता को एक सर्वोत्तर भोज कर चुक गया

[राजभाषा कमलन्वयति शाह]

जाय कि उसे कौन धादपी पसन्द है । मैं समझती हूँ कि हर एक जिले में और परगने में जनता यह बता सकती है कि उसे कौन व्यक्ति पसन्द है । मैं चाहती हूँ कि यह प्रस्ताव धर धर जाकर करनी चाहिए कि वे कौन सा व्यक्ति पसन्द करते हैं क्यों कि यह हो सकता है कि अगर डिस्ट्रिक्ट मजिस्ट्रेट और ऊँचे बोर्डों वाले अफसरों पर उम्मीदवारों के चुनने का भार डाल दिया गया तो वे उच्च अधिकाधीन उन व्यक्तियों के नाम देगे जिन्होंने उन की सुचामद करके उन्हें प्रस्ताव किया है और इस तरह जनता के सच्चे प्रतिनिधि वहाँ पर नहीं पहुँच सकेंगे और परिणामस्वरूप फिर वही धाधली शुरू हो जायगी जो कि इस चुनाव में हुई है । मैं अपने जिले की बात बता सकती हूँ कि मेरे वहाँ कोट खरोदे गये हैं और माननीय सदस्य गण भी इस बात से बेखबर नहीं होंगे कि अन्य जगहों पर भी कैसी गड़बड़ियाँ हुई होंगी । मेरा यह भी अनुरोध है कि प्रजातांत्रिक शासन प्रणाली में एक विरोधी दल का होना बहुत ही आवश्यक है । अब कौन कौन विरोधी दल में हों, उनके नाम यहाँ पर बताने की शायद मुझे आज्ञा भी नहीं है । लेकिन मैं यह जरूर कहूँगी कि सत्ताधारी सरकार को विरोधी दल अवश्य बनाना चाहिए और अपने बीच में से ही प्रयत्न विरोधी दल के अच्छे अच्छे और योग्य प्रादमियों को चुन कर विरोध में रखे और निर्विरोध चुने जाने दें । इस से यह लाभ होगा कि सरकार उन योग्य प्रादमियों का मान करेगी और उनके सुझावों का समुचित धादर करेगी और सत्ताधारी पक्ष कभी नाफिल नहीं रहे पायेगा । मेरा सुझाव है कि विरोधी दल सरकार द्वारा चुना जाय । श्री कुपलानी जी व टंडन जी सरीखे हमारे महानुभावों को विरोधी दल के वास्तव चुनना चाहिए, समर्थित महोदय जो इस समय कुर्सी पर विराजमान हैं वे भी इसके लिए उपयुक्त व्यक्ति हो सकते हैं । मुझे पूर्ण विश्वास है कि इस तरह के बोध और निस्वार्थ महानुभाव बड़ा अच्छा

विरोधी दल बना सकते और वे सरकार को उचित और अच्छी बताह दे सकेंगे । और सरकार को यत्न रखते पर जाने से रोक सकते में समर्थ हो सकेंगे । मुझे अफसोस है कि कई हमारे अच्छे और योग्य भाई नई पार्लियामेंट में चुन कर नहीं आ रहे हैं, अभाव्यवध से हार गये हैं, अगर सरकार ऐसे योग्य और निस्वार्थ व्यक्तियों को बाई एलेक्शन द्वारा पार्लियामेंट में ला कर विरोधी दल बना दे तो विरोधी दल काफ़ी मजबूत बन सकता है और वह बहुत अच्छी तरह काम कर सकता है । मुझे विश्वास है कि सरकार मेरे इन सुझावों पर विचार करेगी । यह कहना कि मेरे यह सुझाव प्रैक्टिकल नहीं हैं और यह केवल ऊँचे प्रादम मान हैं, कुछ उचित नहीं है क्योंकि यदि हमें अच्छा बनना है तो अच्छे तो हम तभी बन सकते हैं जब हम अच्छी अच्छी बातें सोचें और सोचने के बाद उनको कार्यान्वित करने की कोशिश करें । यह कहना कि विलायत में भी ऐसे ही होता है और वहाँ पर भी चुनावों के दौरान बड़े झंड़े लेकर निकलते हैं और चुनाव प्रादोत्तन होता है और खूब प्रचार होता है और इसलिए यहाँ भी ऐसा ही करना उचित है, मुझे कुछ ठीक नहीं जंचता । अगर प्रचार करना है तो अपनी अच्छी सेवाओं को जनता के सामने लाकर इस प्रकार हमें प्रचार करना चाहिए, खाती चुनाव के समय जनता को मीठे मीठे स्वप्न दिखाना प्रचार नहीं है ।

जहाँ तक हमारे प्रधान मंत्री नेहरू जी का ताल्लुक है मुझे यह कहने की जरूरत नहीं है कि उन्होंने कितनी योग्यता के साथ अपने कर्तव्य को निबाहा है और हिन्दुस्तान की इज्जत और मान निरख में बढ़ाया है और वे ईश्वर से यही प्रार्थना करती हैं कि मेरी उख उनको सगे और वे विदाय हों ।

हमारे देश में पंचवर्षीय योजना के संबंध में जो कार्य हो रहे हैं उनमें जितनी प्रगति होगी

चाहिए थी वह दृष्टिकोण नहीं होती थीर मैं तो समझती हूँ कि आज जितना निर्माण कार्य हो रहा है उससे दस गुना कार्य अधिक होना संभव हो सकता था यदि ठीक प्रकार से और भ्रष्टाचार से मुक्त हो कर कार्य किया जाता लेकिन भ्रष्टाचार फैला रहने के कारण उसका दो प्रतिशत काम भी नहीं हो पाया है। यह सब पर जाहिर है कि हमारे देश में भ्रष्टाचार का बोलबाला है और उसके रहने से जितनी उन्नति हमें करनी चाहिए उतनी उन्नति हम विभिन्न क्षेत्रों में नहीं कर पाये हैं। अब भ्रष्टाचार को रोकने के लिए क्या उपाय हो सकता है, यह मुझे से ज्यादा सरकार जानती है लेकिन एक बात बिल्कुल साफ है कि अगर हम इस भ्रष्टाचार को नहीं हटायेंगे तो हम किसी तरीके की उन्नति अपने देश में नहीं कर सकेंगे और अपने देश और समाज को आगे नहीं बढ़ा सकेंगे। चुनावों के सम्बन्ध में भी हमको सबको मालूम है कि कितनी गड़बड़ी और भ्रष्टाचार हुआ है। मैं तो कहूँगी कि चुनावों के समय प्रचार बिल्कुल न हो और प्रचार कार्य अगर हो भी तो वह तीन, चार महीने पहले किया जाय और उसके बाद प्रचार बिल्कुल न हो।

हमारे देश में काफी नेचुरल रिसोर्सेज भरे पड़े हैं और हम उनके बारे में खोजबीन कर के अपने देश की धन सम्पदा में काफी वृद्धि कर सकते हैं। मेरा नेचुरल रिसोर्सेज के मंत्री महोदय से निवेदन है कि वह इस ओर ध्यान दे कर देश के इन खिपे खजानों को इंडू निकालने का प्रयत्न करें और इस तरह देश की धन दौलत को बढ़ायें और स्मृद्धि शाली बनायें।

इसके अतिरिक्त सरकार को पहाड़ी जिलों में यातायात सम्बन्धी सुविधाओं की ओर भी अपनी दृष्टि करनी है और वहाँ जरूरी यातायात की सुविधायें देने के लिए जरूरी क़दम उठाने चाहियें।

अभी आज सदन में एक सवाल के जवाब में मंत्री महोदय का यह उत्तर सुन कर मुझे बड़ा दुःख हुआ कि पहाड़ी भाग की ओर यातायात की सुविधा देने के वास्ते कोई निश्चित कार्यक्रम नहीं रक्खा गया है जब कि मेरे भू भाग में यातायात की बहुत अधिक आवश्यकता है और इसके लिए मंत्री महोदय को ध्यान देना होगा।

जहाँ तक निर्माण विभाग के कार्यों का सम्बन्ध है, मेरा कहना है कि निर्माण सम्बन्धी जितनी भी योजनाएँ देश में चल रही हैं वे जिस तरह से चलनी चाहिए, नहीं चल रही हैं क्योंकि निर्माण के वास्ते यह जो ठेकेदारों को ठेका दिया जाता है उसके कारण बड़ी गड़बड़ी होती है और इन ठेकेदारों की बदीलत सारे पी० डब्ल्यू० डी० विभाग में रिस्वतखोरी चल रही है और जितना रुपया मंजूर होता है उतने का काम नहीं किया जाता है और इस तरह राष्ट्र के रुपये का अपव्यय हो रहा है। जैसे कि मैं पहले भी निवेदन कर चुकी हूँ और इस अवसर पर फिर मैं जोर देकर कहना चाहती हूँ कि यह ठेके का काम बिल्कुल बंद होना चाहिए। मुझे पता है कि दिल्ली में जो एक बड़ा भारी होटल बना है और जहाँ से मैं अभी आ रही हूँ, उसके निर्माण में ३५ प्रतिशत से ज्यादा नहीं लगा है और बाकी ठेकेदारों और इंजीनियरों के बीच में बंट गया है। इसलिए मेरा सुझाव है कि यह ठेके का काम बिल्कुल बंद होना चाहिए।

मेरा यह सुझाव भी है कि जो गरीब नौकर लोग हैं और जिनकी कि तनख्वाहें कम हैं, उनको प्राविडेंट फंड की सुविधा जरूर देनी चाहिए।

बित्त मंत्री महोदय से मेरा यह अनुरोध है कि दूसरी बार जब वह नई पालियामेंट में अपने कर सम्बन्धी प्रस्ताव लायें तो वे और करों का भार न बढ़ायें, करों का बोझ पहले से ही काफी है और हम देख रहे हैं कि इन करों का भार ज्यादातर गरीब जनता पर

[राजमाता कमलान्युमति शाह]

ही पड़ रहा है। इसलिये मेरा उनसे अनुरोध है कि वे और अतिरिक्त कर जनता पर न लगायें और इसके बदले यह देखें कि कहां कहां रुपये की बचत हो सकती है और राष्ट्र के धन का अप्रत्यय रोका जा सकता है, उस रुपये को बचायें।

बस मुझे आज इस अवसर पर सदन के समक्ष यही कुछ निवेदन करना था।

Dr. Rama Rao: Mr. Chairman, Sir, I want to refer to a few points other than those referred to by other speakers. I would like to avoid any reference to the elections particularly because I am one of the 'lame ducks'. But still there is one point to which I would like to refer. Apart from the personal element it is a point which I want the Government to consider very seriously though it will help them to get votes.

I am referring to a situation in Andhra where the well-to-do landowners prevent the Harijans from going to the polls. The Government does not stop this because it knows that the working class would not vote for it. The economic position of these people in some villages is so bad that they do not dare go against the wishes of the landowners. Therefore the owners of land in a body ask the working people not to go to the polls. This has happened in 1955. This has happened during the present elections in my presence and in the presence of the police. Of course, the law is sufficiently good. I have no complaint against the law. But the practice of the section of people who own land is very objectionable. My complaint is not because of my having lost a few thousand votes. The margin is so great that I do not say I have lost only on this account. But to prevent a section of people from exercising their right to vote is a very serious matter. The Government must take it not as a party question but as a matter relating to the fundamental

rights of the people. The landowners do not beat these people or threaten that they would be killed if they go to the polls. They only say that if these people go to the polls the next day they would not be given any loans, they would not be allowed to work in their fields and so on. These people are entirely dependent on the landowning section for getting work, loans and other things. All of them gathered in the presence of police men and I could see that they were anxious to exercise their right to vote. But in my presence the landowners threatened that if they gave their votes they will have to look after themselves from the next day.

Shri B. D. Pande (Almora Dist.—North-East): Did you report the matter to the Presiding Officer there?

Dr. Rama Rao: Yes. But these people do not defy the law as such. They are too clever to get into the clutches of law. So the police and the authorities are helpless. In one village the police came and about 70 voters voted. Anticipating this complaint they took evidence from these voters to the effect that no pressure was brought on them. But the other people who were prevented from voting did not give any evidence. I cannot suggest any remedy, but I would ask the Home Minister to send his 'Intelligence' men to get information on this point. This is a basic point relating to the fundamental rights of our Harijan citizens. I repeat I would not have mentioned this but for the fact that I saw the feelings of these voters who were prevented from voting in such a way that the police were helpless. I do not blame the authorities for this.

I now come to some of the points raised in my amendments. My first amendment refers to the formation of Samyukta Maharashtra including Bombay City and Maha Gujerat. Other speakers have already dealt with it. I only want to appeal to the Government not to stand on false

prestige. Here is a verdict. Here is an opinion for which we consistently fought for the last five years. The Government had to yield to the formation of linguistic States against their narrow prejudices. But in the case of Samyukta Maharashtra and Gujerat at the last minute the position was changed. Now the people of Maharashtra and Gujerat have expressed definitely in favour of the formation of Samyukta Maharashtra with Bombay City and Maha Gujerat by defeating important Congress candidates like Shri Khandubhai Desai, Secretary of the Gujerat Provincial Congress Committee and others. This should not be simply written off saying that linguistic passions can be roused. It is a very sane calculated vote against the grave blunder committed by the Government. The Government should not stand on false prestige and should reopen this question of formation of Samyukta Maharashtra including Bombay City and Maha Gujerat. I do not want to say anything more about that.

My next amendment is with regard to soaring prices of foodstuffs. This has also been mentioned by other speakers. Very dubious and evasive replies have been given to questions about soaring prices of foodstuffs. In Andhra some of the Congress Ministers have, in fact, made fantastic speeches justifying the rise in prices saying that only 5 or 10 per cent. of the population is inconvenienced by paying high prices. Today the prices are so high that a majority of the people are put to difficulties. Therefore, Government must take some definite steps. Of course the President's Address mentions that some steps will be taken, but nothing definite is indicated. When I look at the mentality of the Ministers and the evasive replies given by them I am not very hopeful. I would suggest that the bank credits for storing of paddy must be cut down. In Andhra it is the middle-class people who are hoarding paddy, who not only hoard their own stocks but also hoard paddy bought with the credit allowed by the banks. If you see that

the bank credit is cut down, there will be plenty of paddy in the market.

Then I come to the socialistic pattern of society. Unfortunately the President's speech makes no mention of it anywhere. Still I am glad that the Government and the Congress Party are committed to that pattern. I am, however, very doubtful about the successful implementation of the socialistic pattern. There are many ominous signs that the socialistic pattern is going to be a simple dream and it is not going to be realised in the near future. For instance, Shrimati Renu Chakravartty mentioned about the contribution of Tatas and the Indian Iron and Steel Company to the Congress funds. My objection is not to the Congress getting funds. The Congress have been always getting funds from the rich people. My point is that the big business is getting a grip more and more on the Congress. It is very dangerous especially in view of the proclaimed objective of the Government to build a socialistic pattern. Consciously and in a calculated way big business is getting the Congress in its grip. We know, and it has been published in the papers, that the Tata Iron and Steel Company were to change their Memorandum and Articles of Association to allow them to contribute to any political party. It was published in the papers that the Tatas gave Rs. 20 lakhs; some papers said that it was only Rs. 15 lakhs. I would request the hon. Minister to state categorically how much was contributed to the Congress funds by the Tata Iron and Steel Company and the Indian Iron and Steel Company.

Shri A. M. Thomas: Can the Communist Party disclose its sources from Bombay and other places?

Dr. Rama Rao: Certainly. False and malicious charges have been made that we get funds from abroad. Recently one important person made a statement like that and it was later on withdrawn. I have already stated that my objection is not to Congress getting funds. When the Congress was fighting against the British all

[Dr. Rama Rao]

honour to those rich people like Jamnalal Bajaj and Godrej who gave lakhs to Congress funds. My hon. friend did not get my point. My point is that these vested interests, these capitalists want to sabotage the socialistic pattern which the Congress wants to build. I hope my hon. friend Shri Thomas is one of the sincerest believers in a socialistic pattern of society. I only want to point out that this big business wants to sabotage the socialistic pattern.

I want to refer to another aspect and that is about this forum of free enterprise. It is a calculated multi-point attack on the Congress scheme to bring in the socialist pattern of society. For instance, Mr. Shroff, in his speech, says that the formation of the State Trading Corporation was a most sinister form of attack on private enterprise. They do not want it, because the others want to corner all the millions of rupees into their private pockets. They do not claim it, and I can understand that. "The socialist methods would do more harm than good to the country's economy". Then it says: "Mr. Shroff categorically denied the charges that the Forum was either foreign inspired or foreign financed. The businessmen who could find crores of rupees for a leading political party to run its election campaign would certainly finance the Forum". That means he did not get money from America, but we know that American and British firms are hand in glove with the Indian companies and they will be very much interested in sabotaging this socialist pattern. But I am only anxious to support that pattern for which the Congress stands. But then the Congressmen who believe in the socialist pattern of society must open their eyes and see this growing danger from big business.

Next, I would refer to a few statements made by the hon. Member who supported the motion of thanks this morning. I am a little unnerved by those statements. If she has been

selected by the Congress party to support this motion and if her expressions of opinion generally represent the general opinion of the Congress, well, woe unto the socialist pattern.

First, she said this morning thus: "Wage increase has given birth to cost inflation". Of course, my quotations may not be correct. She added that it is not advisable to have wage increase for the next two or three years. But she did not say even one word about the prices of food stuffs. The prices of foodstuffs are growing higher and higher. Further, she said that the expansion of purchasing power in the country should be viewed with anxiety. If she means surplus funds, I can understand it, but here, the working classes are not able to meet their necessities of life and yet, the representative of the Congress speaks of a wage freeze and all sorts of things and also about compulsory saving of labour. When labour has not enough to buy food, our Congress members want compulsory savings from labour. Of course, those who can save are welcome to save, but this sort of thinking is anything but consistent with the socialist pattern of society.

Next, I come to her views about foreign investment. I had occasion to speak in this House before, opposing foreign investment. When I say investment, I make it clear that I do not refer to the foreign loans or foreign assistance. Take foreign loans even at fantastic interests if you like. Foreign assistance is also welcome. I am opposing wholeheartedly and fully this foreign investment and foreign exploitation of India. It has been increasing now. But the lady Member wants a stronger policy to encourage foreign investments. I do not know what stronger policy she wants. She said that irresponsible talk from Communists was partly responsible for foreign capital being shy to come to India. Well, by stronger action I do not know whether she wants our mouths to be gagged. Anyway, as a nationalist and as a firm

believer in the socialist pattern of society, I firmly oppose this foreign investment in India. If we are short of foreign capital, other means must be found. We do not want our money to be drained. We do not know exactly how much has been drained now. If we calculate it, it may be anything from Rs. 100 to Rs. 150 crores.

The House knows that on a previous occasion, I had given figures about foreign investment. Foreign investments have actually increased after the attainment of freedom. We had then boycotted and picketed foreign shops. We had done propaganda saying "Buy Indian, boycott British" and all that. Are you now to beg these British and American and other foreign companies to come and exploit India? No, Sir. We do not want this foreign exploitation especially when there is now the political aspect.

The hon. Member referred to Pakistan. I can understand that. Pakistan is carrying on vicious propaganda against India because it is interested in certain things. But I cannot understand the United Kingdom and America not only listening to them but giving publicity and adding to that propaganda in the most objectionable terms against our Prime Minister and our country. The representative of the Congress, speaking in this House, referred to the credulous western mind. She does not blame the British people who are credulous and are deceived by the Pakistan propaganda. That is a very dangerous attitude towards the imperialists and the anti-Indian outlook that has developed in England and America.

Now, these anti-Indian captains and anti-Indian vested interests of America and England are welcomed to India to spread their tentacles in all the four corners of the country and to enter into the economic life of the country, exploit us and do damage. We want the foreign investments to go, but the hon. Member, speaking on behalf of the Congress, has pleaded for foreign

investments. She had made it very clear. With all the emphasis at my command, I firmly oppose this foreign investment, for not only the economic danger and financial danger but also the political danger that comes in its wake must be remembered.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair] 15.45 hrs.

Further, the British capitalists have not proved to be our friends in the recent past.

Lastly, I come to Kerala. The elections have made history in India. The people of Kerala have been good enough to return the Communist Party in a majority.

An Hon. Member: Not yet.

Dr. Rama Rao: I think the final result will be known today. There is only one more seat for getting the majority, and we will get that seat. In any case it is very significant. It is also very significant that a considerable part or number of the non-Catholic Christian votes—I am not quite clear about the facts—has gone to the Communist Party in Kerala. That is my guess.

An Hon. Member: Yes; you can only guess.

Dr. Rama Rao: That is what I have already said. That is my guess.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The objection is that the hon. Member should not base his arguments on guesses only.

Dr. Rama Rao: The people of Kerala including non-Catholic Christians, have voted for the Communist Party. The point that I am driving at is that they are not Communists but still, they believed that the Communist Party is the proper party to be put on the saddle there.

Shri C. D. Pande (Naini Tal Distt.—cum-Almora Distt.—South-West-cum-Bareilly Distt.—North): They will regret their choice now.

Dr. Rama Rao: They would not. Anyway, whether our friends like it or not, the fact is there. The people of Kerala have made history. There are so many rumours in the air, but I believe that saner counsels will prevail, and I hope the Governor will call the Communist Party to form the Government there. I admit that the Communist Party in Kerala will certainly work within the framework of the Constitution and within the recommendations of the Planning Commission. All the propaganda, mischievous and malicious, that has been carried on against the Communists that they will burn down the churches and kill all the old people, is wrong, and nobody can believe in it. I admit that it will be a test for the Communist Party in Kerala. It will be not only a test for the Communist Party but it will be a test for the Central Government, particularly our Prime Minister. Whether the Prime Minister and the Central Government will give a fair chance and fair co-operation and fair assistance to the Communist Government of Kerala is yet to be seen. I hope the Prime Minister will not yield to narrow-minded and reactionary Congress advice against the generous and democratic attitude to be shown towards the Communist Government in Kerala. In fact, it is an opportunity for the Prime Minister to try his socialist pattern of society in that new State within the limits and limitations set by the Planning Commission. Many State Governments—I can speak for Andhra at least—did oppose the socialist pattern of the Central Government. They are opposed to land reform. If at all they do anything, it is just to white-wash. But, if the Prime Minister is anxious to put the socialist pattern into practice, here is a chance for him to have a socialist pattern at a speed and rate which he likes and not at a speed which I desire. Let him try it in Kerala and I am sure the Kerala Communist Government will carry on very carefully, very moderately and very slowly.

Shri A. M. Thomas: The tone is very much changed.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Responsibility always brings about the change.

Dr. Rama Rao: If the Prime Minister is a believer in socialist pattern we will carry it into practice.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: He is expressing their satisfaction.

Dr. Rama Rao: Of late, the Prime Minister has expressed his opinion about co-operative agriculture. Probably he was most impressed by his own experience in China and much better impressed by the very good reports he has received from the official committees he sent to China. Here is an opportunity for him to try real co-operative agriculture and not half-hearted bogus co-operative agriculture we have got in some places. I for one would like that an experiment should be made in one or two villages in each district, where all the land is acquired by the State and given to those people who work on the land. I would welcome it. Kerala is a very interesting State, where literacy is very high and unemployment also is very high. Why not introduce a moderate socialist pattern by starting some agricultural co-operative farms according to the wishes of the Prime Minister in one or two villages in each district, by industrialisation and by taking some specific steps to bring down the prices of foodgrains? They can reduce unemployment by starting some industries immediately.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The hon. Member is unfolding the whole Plan.

Dr. Rama Rao: If the Central Government gives the necessary reasonable assistance to the Communist Government of Kerala, I am sure the Communist Government of Kerala will be able to do at least something for the people and that will be a good thing in the history of India.

Shri Raghavachari (Penukonda): I rise to offer a few comments on the address delivered by the President to Parliament the other day. I am aware of the suggestion made by the Speaker

from the Chair that much of the observations on foreign policy and other matters may as well be left over for discussion when the foreign policy and external affairs come up before this House. Therefore, I do not want to say anything about that. Although that is the attitude I take, the address is so full of statements about our relations with foreign countries and the visits of foreign dignitaries to India.

There has been some amount of advertisement and parade about India's position after independence and many people are naturally anxious to visit our country. Oftentimes we are also invited to their countries and there is mutual admiration and a desire to visit each other, but this is really costing this country terribly. Of course incidentally it gives us some advertisement and it gives satisfaction to their curiosity to go round and see. But I wish they actually saw the real conditions, namely, the poverty, illiteracy, ignorance and such other things that prevail in our country. The traditional hospitality is very much expressed in our State banquets, and royal receptions in State capitals; they are conducted in tours here, there and everywhere and finally, we get some certificates which we can parade to the outside world and say our country has progressed. I am not very much averse to or critical of those things beyond this fact that all these cost us many lakhs of rupees. What is the real advantage to the poor man who has to foot the bill ultimately, namely, the tax-payer? Advertisement of a country is also a matter which the poor man may be satisfied with, because his country is talked of very well in other parts of the world. But I for one think that much more useful might have been done rather than invite foreigners and express our hospitality in these costly generous terms.

There has been some reference to elections. I do not wish to get into that very tempting subject in which

each individual has his own experiences and impressions. Nevertheless, I only wish to stress one particular and peculiar feature of the elections in my part of the country, the old Andhra. I am referring to it for this purpose. Shri C. Rajagopalachari, a great statesman, of experience referred to the advisability of the Government not being in office during the time of the elections. I am aware that under the Constitution, it is perfectly legal and there is no need for the Government to resign. I am not putting it on that ground. Nevertheless, considering the peculiar condition of India and the position of our voters, a Government entrenched in office has many advantages to tilt the balance in their favour. That is a thing which no man can deny. But the unfortunate or the peculiar thing that happened in Andhra was that there were no simultaneous State elections at all. That means the Ministry is entrenched in office for a period of five years to come till their elections come in 1962. So, these Ministers who are in office and who will continue to be in office for a period of five years go and do propaganda for the other part of the elections, namely, elections to Parliament. This is bound to tilt the weight in favour of the ruling party. Of course, I never intended to contest, but I consented to stand and I have failed; I am not sorry for the result. But as one of the candidates in this country for the elections, I am concerned with the disparity and disadvantages of a party, particularly of the Opposition, when the Ministers in office go and do propaganda against them. They say to a big man "I will give you a contract for Rs. 2 lakhs" and the big man and all his supporters go that way. A man applies for licence and it is granted; a group of Municipal Councillors want a particular Commissioner to be transferred and immediately on telephone the transfer order is considered. It is a most absurd abuse of the powers of the Government. But our Prime Minister and leaders of the Congress say, "Do your propaganda on an

[Shri Raghavachari]

honourable level. Do not accuse persons" and so on. Do you find any of these things in their propaganda? It is just the opposite. I am ashamed to say that a Minister comes to my constituency and does some propaganda against me. I am just giving you a sample of it. It is this. The Minister asks the other gentleman, a leader of Congress: "Does Mr. Raghavachari put on *Namams* or *Vibuthi*?" That is a question put by the Minister on the platform and the other gentleman says: "He puts on *Namams*, i.e. the caste mark. . . .

16 hrs.

An Hon. Member: We do not know about this.

Shri Raghavachari: I am ashamed to mention about this, but what I said was intended to show the depths to which the ruling party, the leaders and the ministers have sunk. I am not, as I said, worried about the result. Then the next argument is this: The man who puts on the caste mark, his business must be to worship God in a temple. What business has he to keep busy with politics? Then he has a thread of three strings. This is the kind of propaganda that is carried on. I ask: Is this fair criticism of me or my party? The reason why I refer about Andhra is that the ministers who are entrenched for a period of 5 years in office go round and do this kind of propaganda and that propaganda buttressed by the distribution of orders, favours, licences and things like that, offers of transfers, appointments and promotions is terrible. Most objectionable methods are being resorted to. Therefore, there is need for the country to consider whether this kind of exception should have been made for Andhra.

We know why that exception was made in the case of Andhra, because they were terribly afraid that the Communists may again get the majority and that is why this exception was made; the election chances have proved this in Kerala, the adjacent

part; Andhra might have as well gone that way. I am not going to that aspect of the matter. But so far as the election affairs are concerned, this kind of thing will have to be seriously thought of by the country, i.e., that such advantages should not be afforded to a particular party; you see that in Andhra the opposition is wiped out, it is part of South India in other parts some of the opposition members have not been defeated; some of those causes I have mentioned must have seriously contributed to that. Apart from that, I am concerned with more substantial things.

The President has very wisely referred to those people who might not be returned to Parliament. This is what he has said: "Some of you will come back and some of you may not return." Whatever their field of work may be it will be dedicated to the great task of building this country. That portion of it is very desirable. But my only fear is that this election propaganda has created bitterness in such of those who may not have returned back to Parliament that they may not give their co-operation in the great task that the country calls for. Government and the representatives of Government must welcome their cooperation to advance the real interests of the country. This is very essential for, after all, we are as much interested in the welfare of the country as any other and this Parliament is not the only place where people can serve and there are greater opportunities for service outside also.

The next thing I wish to refer to is the crisis about the food situation in the country and connected with it is the Community Development and the National Extension Scheme and all that. I am not blind to what is being done by the Government in this respect but my conviction is that much of the money is being wasted extravagantly and the results are somewhat poor as compared with the amount invested. We know that in all these activities of the Community projects and the N.E.S., more than

three-fourths of the amount allotted is consumed by the pay of the employees themselves.

Shri Veeraswamy: It goes into the pockets of private individuals.

Shri Raghavachari: This is bound to happen in every organization. But out of the 25 per cent. left over only very little reaches the rural population because of the exaggerated schedule, contractors' percentages and so on. It is really a pity that constructions have come up which are priced under the schedules is for Rs. 5,000, or 6,000 or 10,000 which could be well built for half the amount for which they have been built for. All this is being done because the officers must show that the budgeted amount is spent and something is constructed. If people do not come forward to contribute for this kind of work, it is because of their poverty. The officers' anxiety to show something achieved is responsible for this extraordinary expenditure.

The real point that I want to urge is that the First Five Year Plan wanted to stress on the production of increased food in the country and the Second Plan also continues to emphasize this. Has this Plan which is supposed to have succeeded, the First Five Year Plan, produced more food? Cement is produced, cloth is produced and they have figures. Has the poor man got the use of them?

An Hon. Member: Because the children are produced also.

Shri Raghavachari: The prices of everything have gone up terribly because of that, the increased production of food is not sufficient. That is one way of saying it. The truth comes out in the statements issued by the Food Ministry in which they say that the prices have gone up, not because of more mouths' eating, but because of less production and because of inflation. They are admitting that the increased production of food is not really there and the real reason is other than what they believed so far to be.

In a poor country, in an agricultural country, it is essential that there should be more production; there will be more production only if proper co-operation of the agricultural classes and the plans of the Government coincide. Unfortunately, that is not there. Therefore, the increase in the prices causes the greatest alarm to me. I am afraid, as time passes, there will be further rise and the trouble will be much more serious than we contemplate at present. It is really a matter for serious consideration that the Government which claims to have solved the food problem and produced sufficient food in the country because of the Plan and irrigation projects, is now compelled to import from outside, to raise loans in foreign lands in the shape of credit advances for food supplied to India. Imagine what should happen if the political tension which is serious flares up and we have to face bullets. Are we to live or are we to die? Where do we get food from? What will be the position? The situation will be threatening unless food is produced within the country sufficient for the nation. This kind of patch work, begging and bringing in would not help us. I would emphasise this aspect and earnestly suggest to the Government that more attention should be given to production of food and consumer goods in the country.

[SHRIMATI RENU CHAKRAVARTY in the Chair.]

16-22 hrs.

Unless this is done, it is not going to solve the problem. As the President has stated in his Address, he is aware that the rise in prices is not entirely due to increase of mouths to eat, but that it is due to inflationary tendencies and other circumstances. He is anxious about this. He hopes that the Government will be able to control and bring the prices down. This hope, this promise that they will be able to control the prices and bring them down has been before the public for the last two years. Nevertheless, things are going on. I fear that

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the expected re-introduction of controls which oftentimes they hint and to which possibly they may resort, is sure not to reduce the misery in the country, but to increase it three-fold or four-fold. We have not forgotten the situation that existed when food controls were there. Corruption will simply walk stark naked in the country. Therefore, the expected solution of re-introducing controls is not going to help the people. It is going to seriously affect the welfare of the poorer sections of the people.

The real solution for all this will be to give up these extravagant methods of planning and satisfying ourselves that so many crores of rupees have been provided for this and that; we have to reduce the expenditure and bring it within our means, to what we can possibly achieve, and not merely say, here is the target, I must spend the money. It is a dangerous thing. I shall give an example. Suppose I sleep over the matter and eight days before the marriage, I determine that a marriage has to be celebrated on such and such a date. I have set apart Rs. 10,000 for that. I am prepared to spend the sum of Rs. 10,000 and make arrangements. The result will be, the sum of Rs. 10,000 would have been spent, but the same arrangements could have been made with a fewer thousands. The other thousands would have been mis-spent or wasted. That is how our plans are made very big and thousands of crores of rupees are provided. This expenditure must be scrutinised carefully and extravagance should be avoided.

Shri Kamath (Hoshangabad): Chairman Madam, this last session of the first Parliament is meeting under the shadow, the lengthening shadow of great changes, significant changes in our neighbourhood. In Indonesia democracy is in eclipse. West Asia has been caught up in a political and perhaps a totalitarian maelstrom. It is difficult to foretell the course of events in the east and west of our country. But, it behoves us to take stock of the situation

in side our country when such grave changes are happening all around us.

The saddest thing about India itself is that our country is still, ten years after 1947, not completely free, not even politically free completely. A part in the north and a part in the west are still under colonial and political subjection. The next Parliament is due to be summoned. The synchronisation is curious; it will synchronise with the centenary of the first shot fired 100 years ago in the first battle for Indian Independence, that is, on 12th May, 1857. I do not know what the rest of the year has in store for us. But, this is significant in itself that the next Parliament will be summoned almost to the very date on the centenary of the First War of Independence. As I said, India is not completely free.

I was glad to see the President's belated admission—by President's I mean Government's—of the fact about Kashmir. Had the Prime Minister recognised this fact earlier enough, in 1947 itself, when he made the stupid offer of plebiscite—I deliberately use the word stupid—stupid offer of plebiscite, carried off his feet in an emotional speech at Srinagar, had he not made the offer of plebiscite in 1947,...

Acharya Kripalani: (Bhagalpur cum Purnea): Exuberance.

Shri Kamath: I stand corrected; exuberance of emotion to which he is time and again subject—this situation today would not have arisen. The President here says:

“The Government of India's position has been stated in clear and unambiguous terms..

When? Never stated before. Otherwise, there would not have been this stupid offer of plebiscite in Kashmir.

“...the Jammu and Kashmir State is and has been a constituent State..”

This is the first time that the President has made this categorical statement. He did not make it in 1947, not in 1951 or 1952. Today in 1957, the President has been practically I believe made to make the statement by the Government. I do not blame the President because he is practically, if I may use the word—it has been used once before—the mouthpiece of the Government so far as this matter is concerned. I wish that this fact had been stated by the Prime Minister some years ago and not as late as 1957. The problem of Kashmir is a problem of the Government's own making. The Government has blundered, the Prime Minister has blundered. The punishment for the sins of statesmen—it happens so in every country—is visited upon the people. Statesmen make mistakes; statesmen go to war. The people suffer. It is true that all of us stand as one man for Kashmir. But, we must proclaim from this House that it is due entirely to the blunders committed by the Prime Minister and the Government that the problem of Kashmir today is what it is. The offer of plebiscite and the reference to the United Nations was a big blunder which should not have been committed. Blunders have been committed. This is in regard to Kashmir.

Coming to matters nearer home, nearer elections, Kashmir, again, was exploited during the elections. The leader of my party has referred to it in many of his speeches. Kashmir was exploited. "A vote for the Congress is a vote for Kashmir"—that was the slogan everywhere, as also in my constituency, as if it was a party issue, as if the whole nation is not behind the Government on the Kashmir issue. The slogan was raised in towns and villages, it was a disgrace. They have reduced Kashmir to this farce and now come out with this slogan to win the election.

I was rather astounded to hear—I cannot vouch for the truth of the statement, but I read it in some paper

that President Nasser of Egypt, in view of the services rendered to his country, sent a message or appeal to the voters of Bombay to vote for Krishna Menon. If it is a fact, it is interference by a foreign country in the internal affairs of an independent country. We have always protested and rightly against foreign interference in Indian affairs, and I believe the Prime Minister has said somewhere that Soviet interference in Indian affairs must go.

I am glad the party to which you have the honour to belong—off the Chair, not while in the Chair—is coming to power in a few months time in one of the States of the Indian Union. I hope that will put the Congress Party on its mettle, and also cure the Congress Party of certain tendencies to which it has been prone very recently. One of my hon. colleagues, not in the House but outside, Mr. Satya Prakash Narayan said some months ago that the best way to cure the Congress tendency to dictatorship would be to kick the Congress out of power in two or three States and have a considerable Opposition in Parliament. It is too early to say what the strength of the Opposition will be in the Lok Sabha, but I am glad at least in two States the Congress is on its way out, and I am glad some other party or may be a coalition will at the helm of affairs in those States.

I was referring to foreign affairs. I would not like to dwell too long upon it because we are going to have a separate debate on international affairs. But in passing I must refer to Goa. There is not a word except platitudes as to how the economic sanctions have functioned. We were told in the last session that Government had imposed some kind of economic sanctions, but the Government have evaded replying to repeated questions on this point as to how it has functioned, its effect on Goa, Portugal; every time the Prime

(Shri Kamath)

Minister has evaded answering the question. Again, there is nothing in this address to show how far Government's action has succeeded in its objective. We will revert to that later on when the House discusses international affairs.

As regards Hungary too, I fear the Soviet grip on Eastern Europe has tightened, whatever some other knowledgeable persons may say to the contrary, and India's voice which has been so strident with regard to certain other matters has been feeble with regard to Russia's withdrawal of her troops from Hungary.

Shri N. R. Muniswamy (Wandiwash): Why?

Shri Kamath: I do not know why, but that is a fact. And the victory of Shri Krishna Menon at the polls has been hailed as the victory of the foreign policy of the Congress when 1,25,000 people have voted against him. It is not a small figure though you may tom-tom the victory of Congress candidates through the press. The press is more or less the stooge of the Congress Party with honourable exceptions. They always do it, they want some *quid pro quo*. The fact that 1,25,000 people voted against him as against 1,70,000 who voted for him shows that over 40 per cent. of the people voted against this foreign policy. The Prime Minister was wrong in saying that this was a crucial, prestige election, foreign policy test election. All this was nonsense, it was very unfair. In spite of all the film stars and actresses coming out to canvas for Krishna Menon,—it is not a story; all the film stars or most of them came out and actually canvassed for him—in spite of all this, 40 per cent. of the people of Bombay voted against him, in spite of the gigantic machinery of the Congress, in spite of the official machinery. If this is not a vote

against foreign policy, I do not understand what is, what can be. I will leave that for the present and wind up in two or three minutes.

My hon. friend Shri Raghavachari rightly referred to the very high-sounding advice given by the Prime Minister, the Congress President Shri Dhebar and some other big-wigs of the Congress, that the propaganda campaign should be fought on a very high level. I wish they had adhered to that at the lower levels and even at some of the fairly high levels. They did not unfortunately. And the ball was set rolling in this smear campaign against the other parties by the worthy daughter of the worthy Prime Minister—by the worthy daughter of the worthy father herself against the party to which I belong, charging us with getting foreign aid. Ultimately she was brought to heel, that is a different matter, but the damage had been done. It was taken up by unscrupulous persons saying that the party was getting foreign aid.

Shri N. R. Muniswamy: Was there not a denial?

Shri Kamath: A half-hearted denial, a statement which appeared in the press.

This was very malicious, vicious and venomous, this sort of propaganda against an Opposition party when there was no proof or evidence of the charge that she was levelling against it. I do not know who took her to task; whether the father took her to task or the President or whether our Chairman's legal notice to her brought her to heel is a different matter, but the damage had been done, and I am told she repeated the charge in a second meeting which made it worse.

Shri N. R. Muniswamy: She is not here to defend herself.

Shri Kamath: But her father will be here now. Her father also made a statement.

But a lie uttered by a big person does not become a truth. As the Sanskrit saying has it—

घासाद्विह्वलस्थोऽपि काको न गरुडायते

a crow sitting on the top of a palace does not become a *garuda*. But in our country there is a tendency of not merely hero worship but *vragti pooja* or deification which is deep-rooted, against which Dr. Ambedkar warned in his last speech in the Constituent Assembly, which has had very bad repercussions during these elections. I do not know how long it will take the people to get cured of this deification of certain persons, but unless that happens there is no future for democracy in our country. Of that I am quite sure.

I will end with a reference to the depths to which the ruling party descended in the Narmada Valley track of Madhya Pradesh wherefrom I was contesting. I am glad the leader of my party is present to bear me out and I am grateful to him for the information he has sent to me just now. The Congress Party broadcast, distributed in thousands and hundreds of thousands a leaflet which appeared over the name of Shrimati Sucheta Kripalani, which I now find from my hon. leader is a complete fabrication,—may be prefabrication but certainly a fabrication—a forged document.

The document appeared in the name of....

Shri N. E. Muniswamy: Place it on the Table.

Shri Kamath: If the Chairman so orders me, I shall do so, but this is the only copy I have got and need it for my election petition. I will give it to the Secretary for reference, but then I would like to keep it because next month a petition will be filed and I need it for that purpose.

This document which appeared in the name of Shrimati Sucheta Kripalani said:

“मैं अपने चुनाव में फंसी रहने के कारण प्रायकी सेवा में पहुँचने में असमर्थ हूँ लेकिन राष्ट्र की भलाई के लिए..”

Even when I read it I doubted whether she would have made this charge that I was not working for the nation's good.

“प्रायमें कहनी है कि प्राय भारत के हृदय सम्राट..”

It is difficult to translate, it means India's king of the hearts, but I suppose I need not dwell too much upon that because I know her king of hearts is somebody else.

“पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू को नाकाबिल प्रधान मंत्री कहने वाले कामथ को वोट न दें। कामथ द्वारा..”

This is the best part and juiciest part of it.

“नेहरू जी का विरोध राष्ट्र घातक है..”

That is, Kamath's opposition to Nehru is anti-national.

“और देश की स्वस्थ परम्परा के विपरीत है।”

It is against the traditions of the nation.

This was distributed a day or two before the polls.

There was no time even to issue a contradiction. We tried to contact Shrimati Sucheta Kripalani, but she was not available on the phone in Delhi. But, the prize, I suppose, must go to another document published in the same constituency, that is, my constituency, over a Congressman's name, that is, the name of a local Congressman who had contested the municipal president's election a year ago and had lost to our partyman. He said that:

शोपडी छाप के प्रचारक

शोपडी you know, Madam, is the PSP symbol.

[Shri Kamath]

यह हिमाकत कर रहे हैं कि देश के महान नता पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू को भारत की घमकी देते हैं।

भाग च 1 कर प्राप्त कहते हैं प्रजासमाजवादी पार्टी पाकिस्तानियों से हाथ मिला रही है।

Shri N. E. Muniswamy: In English please. We must also appreciate it.

Shri Veeraswamy: Please give us the English translation.

Shri Kamath: I hope, Madam, you would not mind if I take two or three minutes more and translate it at the request of my hon. friends.

The free translation of that is this, namely that the PSP workers are threatening to shoot Nehru and kill Nehru. Another thing is that 'the PSP is joining hands with Pakistanis', and he was specially named Mir Jaffar, Jai Chand and Mohammed Ali Jinnah. This was the sort of calumny, foul calumny disseminated. And they have got their machinery. The official machinery also in many villages, patwaris, patils and mukadams also lent their hand to the campaign of vilification and the smear campaign. And when I saw all this, I did not wonder that I had lost, and I still wonder that I got so many votes; in our country, situated as we are, and the people being constituted as they are, in spite of their being told that we are trying to kill Nehru, and that we are trying to help Pakistan, and that we are Mir Jaffars and Jai Chands I got as many as 60,000 votes. So, I think, speaking for myself—whatever others might think about it—mine was not a bad performance. I would not have been surprised after this campaign, if I had even lost my deposit, but that did not happen. I polled about 45 per cent. of the votes.

That brings me to the close of these few remarks that I am going to make on the President's Address. There are other occasions—there is still one week more—for me to offer certain other observations. I would

only end by saying that so far as the general elections were concerned—I have seen the last general elections, I have seen the second general elections and I have seen a bye-election too—looking to the trend of the campaign in the last general elections of 1951-52 and in these general elections in 1956-57, there was certainly a very regrettable deterioration of standards, deterioration in the standards of campaigning from the point of view of clean and free elections.

I would only say this with regard to this particular aspect of the matter so far as the elections that are being fought in India in every part of the country are concerned, that when we are still not even in our teens,—we are still in swaddling clothes, we are infants still,—this has come to this pass. So far as fair and free elections are concerned, I can only say that compared to what happened in 1951-52, I am constrained to say that the bad order had changed yielding place to worse. I hope that still things may improve.

Acharya Kripalani: Satan will fulfil himself in many ways.

Shri Kamath: I still hope that things might improve, and before Satan fulfils himself, as my leader has just remarked, I hope God will take a hand in the matter and see that the country is put on the right track, that democracy may survive. Otherwise, I am sure that democracy in India will go the way it has gone in Indonesia. They call it guided democracy there. I do not know whether it is guided or misguided democracy, but it is a new democracy. It would not be a democracy of the constitutional pattern that we have conceived, that the people have evolved and espoused; it will be some different kind of democracy with which we are not even acquainted. God forbid that such a turn of affairs should come about in our country.

वंशिल व० बा० वास्वणीय (रायसेन) :

श्रीमती सभापति महोदया, श्री प्रेसी ट के एड्रेस का जो सुत्रियो का प्रस्ताव पेश किया गया उसका जो समर्थन हुआ उसके बारे में मैं यह समझता हूँ कि प्रेसीडेंट के एड्रेस में जो भी कुछ बातें थीं और प्रस्तावक ने जिस प्रकार से उन्हें पेश किया, उनके बारे में समर्थक ने जो कुछ कहा वह उस एड्रेस का मतलब नहीं था। हो सकता है कि वह समर्थक की जाती राय हो। लेकिन जिस लाइन पर उन्होंने अपनी बातें कही हैं उनमें मैं अपने को डिस्तोशियेट करना चाहता हूँ। मैं यह नहीं मानता कि गवर्नमेंट की और कांग्रेस पार्टी की यह पालिसी है कि हम समाजवादी रास्ते से हटें और यह कि जो नीतियाँ हमने अख्तियार की हैं उनको हम गलत महसूस करते हैं, इसलिए कि वर्ल्ड बैंक का मिशन हिन्दुस्तान में आकर उनको गलत महसूस करता है। उसने उन नीतियों को क्यों गलत महसूस किया और क्या दलीलें दीं? उन्होंने जो दलीलें दीं उनका मुख्य कारण यह बतलाया कि हिन्दुस्तान में जो यह नेशनल-लाइजेशन की तरफ कदम बढ़ाया जा रहा है इससे फारिन इनवस्टमेंट को बढ़ा खतरा है और हम जो टेक्सेशन लगा रहे हैं यह गलत पालिसी है और इस कारण फारिन इनवस्टमेंट हमारे यहां नहीं हो सकता। दूसरी बात उन्होंने इनप्लेशनरी टेंडेन्सी का जिक्र करते हुए यह कही कि हमको बेज इनक्रीज की तरफ ध्यान देना चाहिए और हमको बेज इक्रीज नहीं करनी चाहिए। मैं नहीं मानता कि कांग्रेस की यह पालिसी है या उस मजदूर संस्था, इंटर नेशनल ट्रेड यूनियन, का। यह पालिसी है जिसको कांग्रेस ने मान्यता प्रदान की है। इसके अलावा समर्थक ने कहा कि हमको अपनी खाने की आदतें बदलनी चाहिए, और हमको गल्ले पर तो कंट्रोल नहीं करना चाहिए पर दूसरी चीजों पर कंट्रोल करना चाहिए। मैं कहता हूँ कि अगर आप गल्ले पर कंट्रोल नहीं करेंगे और प्राइसेज को नहीं रोकेंगे तो ग्राम लोगों के पास क्या आस्ट्रनेटिव

रहिया। जो पैसा दे सकता है वह तो फल खा सकता है, गोधत खा सकता है और दूसरी चीज खा सकता है। लेकिन जो बेजीटेरियन है उनके पास गेहूँ और चने के अलावा क्या चीज खाे की है। जिस वक्त कि देश में गल्ले की बड़ी डिस्कट पड़ी थी तो किसान और मजदूर शुरुशुरु खाते थे जो खेतों में फसल काटने के बाद अपने आप उगता। उसका मामूली सा दाना होता है। इसके अलावा ये लोग कासीफल या कद्दू को खाकर रहते थे। सीरियस की प्राइस ऊंची होते जाने का मतलब यह होगा कि अपनी खाने की आदत बदले और इसके साथ साथ जो उनका जीवन स्तर ऊंचा हो रहा है वह नोचा किया जावे। क्या यह सरकार की पालिसी है? हरगिज नहीं।

डेफिसिट फाइनेन्सिंग का वह अपोजीशन करती है और वह चाहती है कि फारिन इनवस्टमेंट हिन्दुस्तान में आना चाहिए, चाहे इसके लिए प्रोइबेट एंटरप्राइज को भी बढ़ाना पड़े और पब्लिक एंटरप्राइज को पीछे हटाना पड़े। मैं इसको गलत पालिसी समझता हूँ।

इसके साथ ही साथ अपोजीशन की तरफ से कई बातें कही गयीं। यह कहा गया कि चुनाव के समय गवर्नमेंट को सतारूठ नहीं रहना चाहिए। ठीक है। हम देख रहे हैं कि कम से कम एक स्टेट है जिसमें कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी की गवर्नमेंट फार्म होने वाली है आगे चल कर पांच वर्ष के बाद फिर इलैक्शन होगा। उस वक्त यह स्टैंडर्ड सामने रखा जा सकता है। हो सकता है कि केरल में कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी की हकूमत उस वक्त तक कायम रहे। हम उम्मीद करते हैं कि वह इलैक्शन के वक्त इस्तीफा दे कर दूसरों के लिए मिसाल कायम करेगी। हम बड़ी दिलचस्पी के साथ इस तर्जुबे को देखेंगे। लेकिन इस सिलसिले में मैं यह अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि अपोजीशन पार्टी इस तरीके से नहीं बना करती है। ब्रिटिश गवर्नमेंट ने अपने जमाने में क्या कुछ नहीं

[पंडित च० ना० मालवीय]

किया ? लेकिन यह एक हकीकत है कि कौन-कौन जनता की आवाज को उठाता है, वह आगे आ कर अपने लिए जगह बना लेता है और उस को कोई वहां से हटा नहीं सकता है। कोई भी उस को दबा नहीं सकता है, चाहे कोई मिनिस्टर हो या आफिशियल मशीनरी हो। इस विषय में राजमाता ने भोलेपन में एक बात कही है यानी यह कि मत्ताधारी दल स्वयं विरोधी दल में आदमी बिठा दे। जाहिर है कि यह एक टर्म्पिकटकल बात है।

[Mr. Speaker in the Chair]

16:41 hrs.

जहां तक मैं समझना हूँ, उन का मतलब यह है कि विरोधी दल में अच्छे-अच्छे लोग होने चाहिए। उन का खयाल है कि कृपलानी जी और श्री गोपालन जैसे नायक फायदा आदमी विरोधी दल में होने चाहिए। यह बात ठीक है और इस के लिए जरूर कोशिश करनी चाहिए और एक जैस्चर के तौर पर ऐसे लोगों के खिलाफ कैंडीडेट नही खड़े करने चाहिए। मुझे ख़शी है कि कांग्रेस पार्टी ने ऐसा जस्चर किया और कृपलानी जी और श्री गोपालन के मुकाबले में अपने कैंडीडेट खड़े नही किए। लेकिन हमको इस बात का ख्याल रखना चाहिए कि ऐसा कर के मत्ताधारी पार्टी— कांग्रेस पार्टी—अपना मारगल स्टैंडर्ड जरूर उंचा करेगी और एक काबिले-तारीफ काम करेगी, लेकिन इस तरह से आपोजीशन पार्टी की जड़ें मजबूत नहीं होंगी। अगर कोई आपोजीशन पार्टी आगे बढ़ना चाहती है, तो उस को जनता की नज़र को पहचानना होगा और जनता के लिए काम करना होगा। इस के अलावा यह बात भी काबिले-जिक्र है कि कांग्रेस की हकूमत तो सारे हिन्दुस्तान में थी, तो फिर केरल में कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी की जीत क्यों कर हुई या उड़ीसा में गणतंत्र परिषद ने, जो कि असल में रीपब्लिकनरीज की एक पार्टी है, इतनी सीट्स कैसे हासिल कर लीं। मैं यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि इस में मत्ता का अमर नहीं पड़ता है। जो भी पार्टी जनता की आवाज

को उठायेगी, उस के लिए काम करेगी, जनता उसको जरूर अपनायेगी।

फारन पालिसी के सिलसिले में आज ज्यादा डीबेट नहीं होनी थी, लेकिन ब्रूक सीडेट साहब के एड्रेस के २६ पेरोग्राफ्स में से २० पेरोग्राफ्स फारन पालिसी के बारे में हैं, लिहाजा उसका जिक्र हुए बिना नहीं रहा। देशपांडे साहब ने कहा और एक और साहब ने भी कहा कि हमारी फारन पालिसी नाकामयाब रही है। उन की तरफ में एक गलतगज यह है कि हम लोग कामनवैलथ में क्यों हैं। उन का कहना यह है कि हम उस में गलत तरीके से हैं। लेकिन मुश्किल यह है कि वह कामनवैलथ से हटते भी नहीं हैं। मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि क्या वह मानते हैं कि कामनवैलथ से हट जाना चाहिए। वह नहीं मानते हैं। जिस वकत ब्रिटीश सरकार के जमाने में स्वाधीनता संग्राम चल रहा था, उस वकत कामनवैलथ के बारे में उन का क्या एटीच्यूड था, यह हम जानते हैं। हम यह भी जानते हैं कि वह रूम और चीन का भी नहीं चाहते हैं। उन्होंने कहा कि स्त्रेज पर आक्रमण के अमर पर हम ने, ५० के० की जिन प्रकार निन्दा की, हंगरी के विषय में रूम की उस प्रकार नहीं की। आबिग इसमें नतीजा क्या निकला ? क्या इस का अर्थ यह है कि जिन तरह पाकिस्तान ने किया है उसी तरह हम अमरीका और ५० के० के दुमखल्ले बन जायें ? हम इस बात का विरोध करते हैं और हम किसी भी गिरोह में शामिल होने के लिए तैयार नहीं हैं। हम तो हमेशा मजबूती बात कहते हैं। हमने रूम और चीन के गिरोह में शामिल होने का भी हमेशा विरोध किया है। हम किसी के भी दुमखल्ले नही बनना चाहते हैं। जो कुछ हम महसूस करते हैं, वही हम ने कहा है और वही हम कहेंगे। यही है हमारी डायनामिक और पाजिटिव फारन पालिसी, जिस पर कि हम अमल कर रहे हैं।

काश्मीर के बारे में उन्होंने कहा कि इस समस्या के बारे में शुरू से ही गलती की

गई है और हम ने प्लबिसाइट कराना पहले ही क्यों माना। अगर परिस्थिति से हटा कर किसी बात को देखा जाय, तो वस्तुपरिस्थिति समझ में नहीं आ सकती है। हमारा कहना यह है कि उस वक्त जो कुछ किया गया और कहा गया, वही मुनासिब था। आज वक्त आया है, तो हम लोग यह कहने से नहीं चूकें हैं कि काश्मीर में प्लबिसाइट नहीं होगा, और काश्मीर हिन्दुस्तान का हिस्सा है और फारेन फॉसिज हिन्दुस्तान के टैरीटरी से कदम नहीं रख सकेंगी और दुनिया का जनमत इस के खिलाफ कुछ नहीं कह सकता है। लेकिन अगर हम उस वक्त हमला कर देते और लड़ाई की तरफ कदम उठाते, तो दुनिया का जनमत हमारे खिलाफ होता। अगर हम सच्चाई और ईमानदारी से सोचें तो हम इसी नीति पर पहुँचेंगे कि इस के अलावा काश्मीर के विषय में हमारी नीति और कुछ नहीं हो सकती थी।

अब मैं दो चार बातें इंटरनल पार्लिसी और आर्थिक नीति के विषय में कहना चाहता हूँ। प्रेसीडेंट साहब ने राइजिंग प्राइसिज का जिक्र किया और यहाँ भी कहा गया है कि उन को रोकना चाहिए। मैं भी यही कहता हूँ, लेकिन डम के साथ ही मैं एक और निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ, जिस की तरफ एक आनरेबल मेम्बर ने इशारा भी किया है और वह यह है कि अगर आप एग््रीकल्चरल प्रोडक्शन को बढ़ाना चाहते हैं और एग््रीकल्चरल कामों-डिटीज अधिकाधिक मात्रा में उपलब्ध करना चाहते हैं, तो आप को प्राइस पार्लिसी साफ तौर से निर्धारित करनी पड़ेगी। आज जब कि किसान के खलिहान में गल्ला तैयार हो रहा है, तो यह आवाज उठ रही है कि गल्ले की कीमत बहुत ऊँची जा रही है। पिछले साल चेत वैसाख के महीनों में वह लगभग ६०-६५ मानी के हिसाब में बिका, लेकिन बीच के वक्त में वह ८०-८५ मानी के हिसाब में बिका, लेकिन किसान को वह नहीं मिला। किसान का माल जब बाजार में आता है, तो कीमतें गिर जाती हैं और उस को नुकसान होता है। जिस किसान के बल बत्ते पर आप खेती की प्रोडक्शन

को बढ़ाना चाहते हैं, उस को अपने माल की सही कीमत नहीं मिलती है। राइजिंग प्राइसिज को जरूर कंट्रोल करना चाहिए, लेकिन अगर ग्रैन मरचेन्ट और दूसरे डीलर्स वगैरह गवर्नमेंट पर यह प्रसर डाले कि कंट्रोल कर के गल्ले की कीमत दस रुपए मन कर दी जाय, तो यह बड़ी गलत और खतरनाक बात होगी और काश्तकार के लिए नुकसानदेह होगी। यह शहरों की आवाज हो सकती है, ग्रैन मरचेन्ट्स की आवाज हो सकती है। मैं यह जरूर चाहता हूँ कि कीमतें उस हद तक हों, जहाँ तक लोगों की आमदनी हो। अगर कीमतें बढ़ती हैं, तो लोगों की आमदनी भी बढ़ा देय। लेकिन स्थिति यह है कि जिस को आप पैसा पहुँचाना चाहते हैं, उस को वह नहीं मिलता है आज कम्युनिटी प्रोजेक्ट्स और नैशनल एक्सटेंशन सर्विस ब्लाक्स के ऊपर हमारा जोर है और उन के जरिये बड़ी तरक्की भी हुई है, लेकिन उन के जरिये आप जनता में जो उभार लाना चाहते हैं, वह नहीं आ पाया है। उस की वजह क्या है? डिस्ट्रिक्ट डेवलपमेंट बोर्ड बनाए गए हैं, लेकिन उन का काम सटिसफक्टरी नहीं है और जिस स्तर पर उन को काम करना चाहिए, उस पर वह नहीं कर रहे हैं। जनता के प्रतिनिधियों को इन बोर्ड्स में आने का मौका दिया जाना चाहिए। और उनको इतनी छूट देनी चाहिए कि वे खुद अपना प्लेन बना सकें। अपनी दूसरी फाइव थ्रीअर प्लेन के बारे में हम में कहा है कि हमने उसको डिस्ट्रिक्ट लेवल पर बनाया है, लेकिन मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि यह बात गलत है और यह प्लेन जनता के प्रतिनिधियों के द्वारा नहीं बनाया गया है। हाँ, डिस्ट्रिक्ट लेवल पर कुछ प्राक्सिजर्ज ने उसको तैयार कर के भेजा होगा। जब कि डिस्ट्रिक्ट्स की जनता का यह ख्याल हो कि हम जो फैसला करते हैं, उस को नहीं माना जाता है, तो फिर यह कम्युनिटी प्रोजेक्ट और एन० ई० एम० इलाक के मालवाज होंगे? इस वक्त हमने अपनी सैकंड फ़ारव थ्रीअर प्लेन को शुरू किया है। हम यह चाहते हैं कि हमारा सारा देश नैशनल एक्सटेंशन सर्विस

[पंडित च० ना० मालवीय]

के अन्तर्गत आ जाय। इसलिए हमारा यह कर्ज है कि हम इस को रिवाइज कर और देखें कि हम जिस पालिसी पर चल रहे हैं, वह ठीक है या नहीं। इसी तरीके से हम अपने देश को उठा सकेंगे और एग्रीकल्चरल प्रोडक्शन को बढ़ा सकेंगे।

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

पंडित च० ना० मालवीय बहुत अच्छा।

इन्हीं शब्दों के साथ मैं खत्म करता हूँ।

Shri Debeswar Sarmah (Golaghat-Jorhat): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I thank you for this opportunity which, I suppose, is the last for me to speak on the floor of this august House.

I associate myself with all those who have expressed their hearty appreciation of the Address delivered by our Rashtrapati. When I was listening to a few speeches from the Opposition, particularly the speech of my hon. friend, Shri V. G. Deshpande, I was closing my eyes; I was feeling as if I was not in Parliament House but in an election meeting. Question after question is put: what has been done for the poor people? What have you done for the agriculturists?

Again, the foreign policy of the Government of India has been attacked, unfortunately, in the same terms and in almost the same language that we hear at distant villages in our election meetings. The hon. Member was pleased to say that Shri Menon's victory is not indicative of the approval of the foreign policy of the Government of India. I may assure this House that in my State it was one of the most important planks on which we addressed our electorate. India's foreign policy, Kashmir issue and all that. And, I am happy to be able to say that the people appreciated it.

When it comes to the question of doing something for the peasants or the labourers, I wonder on what was the budget of the N.E.S. Blocks being spent by and large, if not for the

peasants. All the developmental works that have been enumerated here on the floor of this House and elsewhere have directly or indirectly contributed to the welfare of the poorer sections of the people. Have this Government been working for the capitalists, and, if so, in what way? I am happy to be able to say that we have appreciated that aspect of the matter when we said that ours is a policy in which we do not expropriate the capitalists but tax them heavily so that ameliorating conditions may be brought about for the poorer sections of the people. One particular instance is this. When a tea planter owning a tea garden has to take out one pound of tea with a view to presenting it to his friend, he has, at first, to deposit the excise duty on it and then only he can take out the pound of tea from his own factory. Is not this a step taken directly to tax the rich and help the poor? The people appreciated it. I must say that those friends in the Opposition who are talking on these things are perhaps repeating the same slogans to which they are used.

I shall be failing in my duty also if I do not voice another sentiment which our people expressed deeply in the last election. It was about regional development. Regional development is the policy of this Government and we hope and trust that the new Parliament and the new Government will focus their attention to balanced development of the different regions of the country.

With these words I thank you for the opportunity you have given me.

Shrimati Jayashri (Bombay—Suburban): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I heartily congratulate the Government and support the resolution moved by Shri Gandhi and ably supported by Shrimati Tarkeshwari. We all know that every country if it has to progress has to depend on peace and tranquillity in that country. The stability of a country is the most important thing for bringing the developments envisaged in their programme.

We are in this very fortunate position that after independence our Government has kept stability in our country. And the Plan has been successful and has made its progress because of the stability. It is not only that our people are praising our Government for this. But, I quote the words of a very important foreigner like Her Excellency Mrs. Alva Myrdal. She addressed the Indian Conference of Social Workers at Jaipur. She is internationally known for her work in the field of social sciences and social welfare. She was very appreciative of the developmental effort now in operation in India and gave an interesting history of how Sweden had developed from an over populated, poverty-stricken rural country into a prosperous industrial nation complete with all social security measures from cradle to grave. She said that each country should indeed evolve its own time table for the attainment of a Welfare State.

Sir, I am glad that our foreign policy has helped our Government in raising its prestige and other countries are also taking interest in our programme. At present, as we are aware, there are two Blocs in the world and we are friendly with both the Blocs. We have been able to maintain peace by our foreign policy which is trying to be friendly towards all the nations. We were very fortunate in having important international conferences such as the UNESCO and the Buddha Jayanti and others where people from various nations participated and praised our programme and also our policy.

I will only quote the words spoken by Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, President of the UNESCO at the meeting. He had said that it is the greatest paradox in the modern world that while every nation wants peace and talks peace almost all the Governments spent far more on preparation for war than for the maintenance of peace.

We are lucky that our policy of Panch Sheel has so far kept down our

expenditure on armaments and thus we have been able to use this money for nation-building purposes. If we stick to this policy, we are sure that we will be able to maintain the same progress that we have been able to achieve. When Members here are trying to frighten the people raising the cries of war, I would request the Government to tell our people that so long as our policy of peace is maintained no nation can invade us because we are friendly to all the nations. Even Pakistan, though she tries to threaten India, knows that India is a very powerful and big nation and that it is not so very easy to invade this country because she has other friendly nations to support her.

17 hrs.

I would appeal that if we continue to respect this policy, we can live in peace and continue the progress which we have achieved since our Independence. As I said, our achievements are many and all-sided. In the Resolution ably moved by my friend, Shri Gandhi, he had narrated the various things in which we have progressed and made achievements.

I would only lay stress on our spiritual achievements. Here I would point out that our President as well as people like Shri Vinobaji are trying to raise the spiritual standard of our people, and that also has helped India to stick to the policy of Panch Sheel. To other nations this idea is foreign, but our people from their past spiritual inheritance have been able to maintain this, and I am sure our Government also will, in their educational policy, try to lay stress on the spiritual and character-building of children in various institutions.

I am sorry to say that in course of the propaganda carried on during the last election, Members have been saying that Congress is to blame, but I for one had experience in Bombay and can say that even small children were used for making abusive languages against the Congress candidates. I am ashamed to say that some of the

[Shrimati Jayashri]

candidates themselves had written very vulgar things about our women candidates, and these things are bringing a sort of degradation to our nation as these children are going to be our future citizens. If they are taught this kind of a language, it is a shame to our people. Even if they won, I would say that it is not by fair means.

With regard to some legislations, I heartily congratulate our Government for removing the disabilities under which women have suffered for such a long time. It is the Congress Government which has been able to raise the status of the country by passing such legislations as Marriage, Succession and Adoption Bills, which give equal status to women with men. Even the Social Welfare Board, I am glad to say, is trying to improve the condition of women and children in our country. Recently we had passed a law for the suppression of immoral traffic, I am glad to say that Government are giving serious attention to starting homes for those women who have been misled and gone to wrong path. They will be taken care of and provided with houses, and they will also be trained to rehabilitate themselves. In this way, that is, by social legislations also, our Government have been able to improve the condition of women, for which the women of India are grateful to the Congress Government.

With regard to peace, I have already mentioned that in the last paragraph in the Address we find—

"I earnestly trust that the message of the Buddha, whose anniversary we recently celebrated, will ever guide us, and the spirit of the Father of the Nation will continue to inspire us."

I would again say that Gandhiji had said that "each day that passes makes my faith in non-violence brighter and I have come here to bring that faith to fruition and to die in the process if that is God's will". And it seems that God had sent Gandhiji as a messenger of peace. So long as our country follows the path which the Father of the Nation has shown us, we are sure to take the right path, and India will get prosperity and happiness in the world and also be helped in bringing peace to other countries.

I heartily support the Motion.

Mr. Speaker: The hon. Prime Minister wishes to reply to the debate tomorrow. The House will now stand adjourned and meet again at 11 A.M. tomorrow.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Thursday, the 21st March, 1957.