

Shri Jagjivan Ram]

mitted its findings to the Government, these are receiving consideration

The Unity move between the National Federation of Indian Railwaymen and the All India Railwaymen's Federation has not made much progress. With a view to help the Federations in the process of implementation of the unity agreement on matters like scrutinising the lists of membership, holding elections and settling any possible disputes that may arise, I made available to the Federations the services of an independent observer and a retired High Court Judge as an Arbitrator. The Government are anxious to see that railwaymen should unite under one Federation in their own interests, and I still hope that unity would be achieved in the near future. Meanwhile the All India Railwaymen's Federation, who are pressing persistently for a channel being provided for approaching the Railway Board for discussing their demands have had two meetings with the Railway Board

Before I conclude my speech, I would like to make a brief mention of the fact that outside their normal spheres of work, railwaymen have continued to distinguish themselves in the field of sports and other cultural activities. They are the National Champions in Hockey, Volleyball, Weight-lifting and Kabaddi, and individually too some of them have excelled in athletic events. In the cultural field, the Exhibition of Paintings and Handicrafts held during the Railway Week last year at New Delhi displayed considerable talent among railwaymen of all categories and their families, so also in cultural performances like dance drama and music staged at Delhi and other railway centres. All these activities, besides providing a diversion after their duties, help in bringing all classes of railwaymen closer together to build up a cordial fellow-feeling in this very large fami-

ly of railwaymen spread over the whole country

In conclusion, I would like to take this opportunity of placing on record my appreciation of the dedicated manner in which the railwaymen as a whole have tried to discharge their duties. Admittedly they cannot afford to rest on their past achievements. In this critical period of the economic evolution of our country symbolised by the successive Five Year Plans, they have the privilege to play a most significant role, which requires sustained attention, and, therefore, they will have to rise to yet greater heights than hitherto. Considering their performance hitherto in the face of heavy odds, I have no doubts that the House will join me in wishing well by the Railwaymen in the years to come and in the further future ahead.

Mr Speaker. Copies of the Budget Papers will be available in the Lobby. Hon Members may collect them.

13 12 hrs

MOTION ON ADDRESS BY THE PRESIDENT—contd

Mr Speaker. The House will now resume further consideration of the following motion moved by Shri Kailash and Shri Joachim Alva on the 13th February, 1959, namely:

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 9th February 1959.

and amendments moved thereon

Out of the time allotted, 11 hours and 56 minutes have already been taken up and 3 hours and 4 minutes now remain. Normally I distribute the time between the Opposition and Government on the basis of 40:60. Now the Opposition has taken away all the time.

Some Hon. Members: No, no

Mr. Speaker: I have allowed every Group and every hon Member who ordinarily speaks. If the House is willing to sit till 18 00 hours today for this debate, I will call upon the hon the Prime Minister to reply to-morrow

Some Hon. Members: Yes

Mr. Speaker: Then I will try to accommodate as many hon Members as possible. Shri M S Aney

Dr. M. S. Aney (Nagpur) I rise to support the Motion for conveying the thanks of this House to the President for his inaugural Address. But before I deal with it, with your permission, let me make a little personal reference. I am coming to this Parliament after 11 years. So I thought I would be like a Rip Van Winkle here, finding everything strange, new and unfamiliar. But on entering the portals, I find that I am in the midst of friends young in age but warm in their sympathy and affection for me. I am glad to be amongst them. With this personal reference, I now proceed to offer a few observations on the Address which the hon the President has delivered to Parliament on the 9th February.

The Address is sufficiently comprehensive and clear to introduce the Members of Parliament to the general nature of the work and the conditions of the country under which they will have to enter on their labours. That is the main object of such an inaugural Address and I think there cannot be two opinions about the fact that the Address has given the Members a fairly accurate picture of the activities going on in the country and the principles underlying the same.

The second important point is the note of optimism that runs through the whole speech, while there is no attempt to minimise the difficulties that have to be overcome. There is a robust feeling of self-confidence of the ability of our Government to

successfully face them with the co-operation of all the people of the Indian Union. The Address has thus created an atmosphere of hopefulness which is a good incentive for people to make the necessary sacrifice in the interests of the country, willingly and cheerfully.

The first Five Year Plan involved an investment of Rs 2,000 crores and the Second would entail an expenditure of about Rs 4,500 crores. The Third Five Year Plan is in embryo and not even an approximate estimate of its likely investment is possible at this stage. But one thing can be said with a considerable degree of certainty, that it will be much more than Rs 4,500 crores and not less than that. Supposing it is Rs 5,500 crores, the total investment by the end of the Third Five Year Plan may go up to Rs 12,000 crores.

The chief merit of the Presidential Address is in the very clear statement to the effect that

It is hoped that by the end of the Third Plan a sound foundation will have been laid for future progress in regard to our basic industries, agricultural production and rural development, thus leading to a self-reliant and self-generating economy."

Though the preparation of the detailed planning may take a good deal of time the principal objectives which have been accepted are "a substantial increase in national income, rapid industrialisation, expansion of employment on a sufficient scale and a reduction of inequalities of income and wealth."

The President has rightly warned that "food and food prices are the most important factors in the regulation of our economy." It has been the sad experience of Bharat that in the matter of crops, the Indian citizen is the victim of the whimsicality of nature. Therefore, this vital factor is indeed very important. Government hopes to minimise the danger

[Dr. M. S. Aney]

of damages to crops by the adoption of improved methods of agriculture, promotion of agrarian reforms, co-operation and devolution of the functions of the village unit. Let us hope that Government succeeds in creating self-sufficiency in food which alone can produce a satisfactory solution.

The President has most emphatically declared that "Planning is a national undertaking requiring the efforts of the whole nation and the co-operation of all at every stage". I think that the President appeals to the whole nation to co-operate with the Government for the success of the Five Year Plans, and I am sure that the people in the Indian Union will enthusiastically respond to this appeal. These Five Year Plans must be looked at like a war that is being fought by the Government against poverty, illiteracy, ignorance, idleness, superstition and other innumerable evil tendencies that have been thwarting the growth of real manhood in the man in India. When there is a state of war declared by the Government of the country established by law, all parties in the country have to sink their differences and stand like loyal citizens by their Government. A state of war also throws on the Government responsibility to make every effort to win over to its side all those people who feel frustrated for one reason or another and feel disinclined to play their part in the great national effort.

The period of seven-eight years from now is one demanding sustained efforts, great patience and supreme sacrifice on the part of the people. The present generation is called upon to suffer in order that the future generation may have a sure chance of making progress in regard to our basic industries, agricultural products and rural development leading to a self-reliant and self-generating economy. What is to be noted is that at the end of this seven year period of great trial and suffering, we only reach a certain

stage in our own march and not the destination.

13.20 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

What is assured is that the Indian people, after reaching this stage will not require any help from other nations. In my opinion India may be said to have started a golden era on the day when it will have a self-generating economy, when it will be self-sufficient in food and necessary requirements and when it will be self-reliant in its defence in every way.

The Address gives us a brief statement of the many-sided progress that is achieved and is likely to be achieved in the near future. A big industrial revolution is taking place in the country through the functioning and working of a large number of heavy industries started in the different parts of the country like the three Steel Projects, search for oil and natural gas, the discovery of deposits of coal and gypsum. The part played by the National Laboratories in the technological progress also deserves notice.

In order to secure the swift and smooth working of these factories in this period, the Government has succeeded in getting the Code of Discipline, duly ratified by all central organisations of employees and workers. It is our spirit and mutual co-operation that can secure the success of the Plan and not the spirit of class war.

Sir, the whole country will feel delighted by the announcement in the Presidential Address that there has been a substantial increase in the output of the Ordnance factories and there has been a scientific research and expansion of facilities in this respect. This has enabled progress in the indigenous production of material required for the manufacture of defence equipments. Thus the

stage is being properly set for the display of the comedy of the great bloodless revolution in this country. The citizens of Bharat must now prepare themselves to play their part to contribute to the success of this great play. I earnestly hope that my countrymen will be possessed by the spirit of this comedy and shall feel delighted in playing their part and ultimately feel satisfied at having helped the golden era of self-sufficiency, progress and prosperity dawn on the horizon of their motherland just as the curtain will have dropped on the stage at the end of the seventh Act or the seventh year.

Before I conclude, I wish to bring through you to the notice of this House what I regard as a somewhat ambiguous statement made by some Members of the Opposition benches. After expressing their dissatisfaction at the present bilingual State of Bombay, they demand the splitting up of the State of Bombay into two States of Samyukhta Maharashtra and Maha Gujerat. In their statement they have not clearly defined the term Samyukhta Maharashtra. But, I think they use it to mean all the Marathi-speaking districts of the present Bombay State. If my interpretation is correct—I hope it is so—I want to tell them and the hon. Members of this House that 8 districts known as Vidarbha do not at all want to merge themselves in the group of Samyukhta Maharashtra.

**Shri Nath Par (Rajapur):** This is not the first time you have failed to understand the sense of the people.

**Dr. M. S. Aney:** My hon. friend will show patience and, if possible, get the reply he wants.

They, on the other hand, demand the formation of a separate State of Vidarbha with Nagpur as its capital, if the question of the reorganisation of the present State of Bombay is going to be taken up by this House now or at any time in the future.

**An Hon. Member:** Why?

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**Dr. M. S. Aney:** The alternative will be not two State of Samyukhta Maharashtra and Maha Gujerat but three States of Vidarbha, Maharashtra and Gujerat, if not more.

**Shri Jadhav (Malegaon):** Your role is finished.

**Dr. M. S. Aney:** I only wanted to make this statement to clarify the position of Vidarbha in regard to the demand of Samyukhta Maharashtra by my hon. friends on the Opposition benches. And, I do not want to say anything further on this point in this House during this debate particularly.

Sir, I cannot conclude my observations without giving expression to a doubt which has been constantly rising in my mind as I was reading the President's Address. I feel that our India may be at the end of the Third Plan a palatial structure furnished with all the comforts and pleasure for which the flesh yearns. But, shall it prove an abode pure, worth and attractive for the Soul of India to live?—the soul beaming through the teachings of the Vedas, the Upanishads, the Gita and great teachers that wrote through Sanskrit, Pali, Magadhi and other Prakrit languages and also beaming through the sacred tradition coming from the ancient days of Siddha Kapil to the days of Rama-krishna, Parmahansa and Ravana Maharshi? Or, will that soul instead of being there, repair to the cottage of Sevagram or the Ashram of Pawanar? Shall our new structure carry in it a place for this rich Indian heritage or will it be found there as a wreckage? Sir, I leave that doubt to be answered by my brothers and sisters at the end of the Third Five Year Plan.

I end by commending the proposition of thanks for the unanimous approval of the House.

**Shri Rami Reddy (Cuddapah):** Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I thank you for the opportunity you have given me for participating in this discussion.

[Shri Rami Reddy]

The President, in his Address, has given the achievements that have been made by this Government during the present year and has also indicated the broad outlines of the future programme in the coming year

The achievements of this Government during the current year and during the last 10 years is, by no means, mean and the Government deserves congratulations on this account. But in regard to certain policies pursued by this Government I have to make certain observations, because, to my mind, the policy pursued by this Government in regard to certain matters is not all too happy.

First of all, I would like to mention about the regional development of industries in the country. It has been the declared policy of this Government that as far as possible balanced regional development shall be attained in regard to all the regions in the country. Andhra Pradesh is an essentially agricultural State. It has been urging for the provision of additional employment to the persons there. It has been urging for the establishment of some industries in the public as well as in the private sector. But, this Government, for some reason or the other, has not been condescending to establish any industry in that State. The Andhra Pradesh Government has been requesting this Government to establish a fertilizer factory. Fertilizers in that State are in very great demand and the raw materials necessary for starting a fertilizer factory are available in plenty in that State. The Andhra Government has also been requesting this Government to establish either a low temperature carbonising plant or a steel fabrication plant. But none of these has been set up there.

This Government has been declaring off and on that regional balance will be maintained. Even on the population basis the State of Andhra deserves some industries to be set up there. It ought to have received

some attention from this Government. But this Government has not condescended to establish any major industry there either in the public sector or in the private sector. Therefore, I request this Government to take proper steps to remove this imbalance in regard to the setting up of these industries. The whole country is concerned that the price of foodgrains is very high and that the poor are not able to purchase the daily requirements of life. This feeling has been voiced in both the Houses of Parliament and also in the country. The prices must be brought down. I am one with anybody who says that the prices must be brought down within the reach of the poor. The Government is taking some steps to bring down the prices and we appreciate that. In this connection, I want to mention one thing. Whenever the prices go up, there is a hue and cry throughout the country. But whenever the prices go down, there is no one to raise his voice in favour of the agriculturist or the farmer. It has been urged by the ryots throughout the country that minimum price should be guaranteed to the farmers but the Government has not so far taken any steps to do that and give the necessary incentive to the farmer to produce more. All the State Governments have been urging the producer to produce more so that there may not be shortage of foodgrains in the country and it is said that by the end of the Third Plan there is going to be cent per cent increase in food production. But the Government has not so far taken any steps to give the necessary incentive to the farmer to produce more. They have not given any additional facilities such as fertilizer, agricultural implements or such other things which are absolutely essential for the farmer. The farmer also requires some other things for his daily necessities: kerosene, cloth, etc. The price of these things has also gone up and this affects more than seventy per cent of our population engaged in agriculture. But the Government is not prepared to look to the

incentives that are to be given to the farmer whenever control prices are fixed. The Government does not take the cost of production into consideration. Sometimes they say that the figures are not available and at other times that it is very difficult to secure the figures. Sometimes they say that it may take a longer time to secure these figures. They say that they have taken the average price prevailing during the two or three years before for fixing the price of paddy and rice. The Central Government has not taken into consideration the cost of production, the use of agricultural implements, fertiliser cost, labour cost and all these things. They have all gone up but they are not taken into account while the control prices are fixed. I request them to take necessary steps to collect the data in regard to the cost of production and then fix the price.

Throughout the country, the topic of the day is co-operatives and village panchayats. There is the report of Balwantray Mehta Committee regarding decentralisation of administration. Andhra Pradesh has been the pioneer in regard to decentralisation of administration. Even as long ago as July 1958, they have formed panchayat samitis in all the districts. A Bill is now before the Assembly for the formation of panchayats and zilla parishads. We expect the Bill to be passed in the current session of the Assembly and zilla parishads and panchayats to be formed within a short time.

They are talking of co-operatives. Even here, Andhra has been a pioneer in the movement. This Government does not appear to be giving good encouragement to the State. Five co-operative societies had been formed as far back as three-and-a-half years for establishing Sugar Factories. Their share capital had been collected not from a few rich but from several hundreds of cane-growers, some three or four years ago. Till now no licence had been granted to these societies.

Every day the Government talks of co-operative societies and says that everything should be done through them. But some reason or the other is given. Foreign exchange, it is said, is not there. Some reason or the other is given for not giving them the licence. If they are really sincere about these co-operative societies, they should find foreign exchange, especially when it is a venture by several hundreds of farmers and not by a few rich people. They talk of more production and encouraging co-operatives. In these circumstances, they should not say that there is shortage of foreign exchange. They should find the foreign exchange necessary for starting these factories.

In regard to another aspect—Hindi—  
—I want to say just three or four sentences. It is said in the President's Address that the recommendations of the Parliamentary Committee may be placed before this House during this session. In regard to the introduction of Hindi there is agreement that Hindi shall be the official language of our country. There is absolutely no doubt evinced in the country agrees on that. In the South there is a large volume of opinion against the introduction of Hindi to replace English in the near future. There is a very large volume of opinion. It does not mean that we in the south are opposed to the introduction of Hindi. I am proud to mention in the House that many of the Southern States have introduced Hindi as a compulsory language in the secondary stage. No one is against the introduction of Hindi but people in the South are against the early introduction of Hindi. Heavens are not going to fall if Hindi is not introduced in the near future. They can wait for sometime. They should consider this is a democratic country and they should take into account the opinions and views of large sections of the public. South India consists of four major States. There is a large volume of opinion in all the States against the introduction of Hindi in the near future. Therefore, I request the Government to go slow in the introduction

[Shri Rami Reddy]

of Hindi. That is my request in regard to the introduction of Hindi by the Government.

Then, I want to bring a special feature in regard to my area to the notice of this House. The Cuddapah and Anantapur districts in the Rayalaseema area are very backwards areas. They are often visited by famines. Every three or four years, there is famine there. Even during the last year about 400 villages in these two districts suffered from famine. There were no crops and not even fodder for the cattle. The agriculturists had to part with those cattle at very cheap rates because not even fodder was available. Even during this year, in the Anantapur district about one-third of the area has been visited by famine. There are absolutely no crops. Fodder too is not available and people there are thinking of migrating to other parts of the country. No foodgrains are available and no fodder is available. Therefore, the agriculturist is not in a position to maintain even his cattle. So, he is thinking of migrating from the district, one-third of the people in the district are thinking of migrating away from those villages. Hence I request that immediate help should be rushed to these areas so that the people do not leave those areas.

In this connection I want to say a few words about the Tungabhadra high level canal. This project was envisaged to benefit these two districts. There is no other irrigation facility for these two districts. The agriculturist has to depend purely on rain. That rain is often uncertain. The rains fail every three or four years. So to avoid famine in these areas, this Tungabhadra high level canal was envisaged. In fact this project has been there under consideration for the last 100 years. Now the scheme had been estimated to cost about Rs 22 crores.

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

Shri Rami Reddy: Just a minute. The Prime Minister also had visited the Cuddapah district about six years ago when there was a severe famine there lasting for three years. He was a personal witness to the miseries and the plight of those persons in those areas, and the people held very high hopes that at least after the visit of the Prime Minister the Tungabhadra high level canal scheme would be sanctioned. But now it appears that the Government wants to sanction the scheme in two stages: the first stage costing about Rs 13 crores and the second costing about Rs 9 crores. If it is dealt with like this, if only the first stage is sanctioned, the Cuddapah district will be totally denied the benefits of this scheme. The people will have to wait for seven to eight years for the second stage to be taken up. It is only Rs 9 crores of money that may be saved by not sanctioning the whole scheme now itself.

My only submission is that to allay the fears of Cuddapah district, the whole scheme should be sanctioned though the expenditure might be spread over a number of years. By that process the people of the Cuddapah district could be benefited.

Mr Deputy-Speaker: The hon Member should conclude.

Shri Rami Reddy: I therefore request the Government to sanction the whole scheme to allay the fears of Cuddapah district.

Mr Deputy-Speaker: It has been suggested to me that since a large number of Members wish to speak, each of the Members hereafter may be given ten minutes to speak. So I will be calling those hon Members who feel that they would be content with ten minutes.

Shri Maniyangadan (Kottayam): It is unfortunate that immediately before I rose, we have been asked to limit our speeches to ten minutes each. Anyhow I agree with the Deputy-Speaker's ruling.

I am happy to join my hon friend Shri Kasliwal in thanking the President for the Address he has delivered to both Houses of Parliament. The Address of the President is not expected to detail all the issues that face the country. It is only expected that the President will deal with some of the important issues that face the country and also give a general indication of the manner in which the Government propose to move in order to find a final solution to the problems. Similarly, the activities of the Government in the preceding year may be referred to. So, because all the problems have not been touched, to say that the Address is unrealistic is, in my submission, to ignore the fact that the Address is not expected to deal with all the issues.

Here it has also to be remembered that the President has not confined himself to the period of one year just coming. He has referred to the coming two years of the second Five Year Plan and also to the third Five Year Plan. In paragraph 6 of his speech the President has said

"Our Second Plan is only part of the whole process of planned development of our economy. The steps we now take are but stages along the long and arduous road to planned prosperity and my Government through the Planning Commission, have already initiated consideration and studies of the Third Plan. It is hoped that by the end of the Third Plan, a sound foundation will have been laid for future progress in regard to our basic industries, agricultural production and rural development, thus leading to a self-reliant and self-generating economy"

So, it is clear that the President has before his eyes the period up to the end of the Third Five Year Plan.

Here it may be relevant to refer to the economic condition of our country during the beginning of the second Five Year Plan. We were undergoing such strain on the economy so much

so that in 1958, the President in his Address said

"the difficulties should be overcome, where necessary, by reconsideration and revision of methods and by planned mobilisation of resources, and not by either the abandonment or slowing down of the progress towards our objective."

Having in view the difficulties that we had already undergone during the earlier years of the second Plan period my submission is that the achievements of our country during the last three years are great, and we have to be happy that the Government did not falter under the heavy strain. As regards the future also there is no reason for being pessimistic.

As regards the different fields of development in the last year, the achievements are magnificent especially when we bear in mind the difficulties that had been undergone. So, the Address of the President contains a sense of performance and of fulfilment as regards the year that has gone by, and also as regards the future, there is a note of optimism. From this point of view, I have no hesitation in characterizing the Address as an inspiring one, especially because it creates a feeling in the minds of the people that our endeavours should be continued with added vigour and enthusiasm.

It is conceded that there is all-round progress and that the national wealth has increased. There was a criticism from the Opposition that the public sector is not given as much importance as is due and that the private sector has not been adequately criticized. As regards the duties and the responsibilities of the private and the public sectors, the Government spokesmen and the Prime Minister have often made the position clear, but from the criticism of the Opposition leader it seems that the private sector, according to him, has to be liquidated. I am, in this connection, led to think of what is being done by



[Shri Maniyangadan]

the Government of his party, it was only very recently that the Minister for Industries of the Kerala Government blamed the Central Government and the Planning Commission for not allowing the State Government to give the private sector more and more help. That Government is not satisfied with the facilities made available to the private sector for getting loans from the Finance Corporation, etc. They go into history, some 15 or 20 years back when Maharajas and Diwans used to encourage the private sector by investing Government money in concerns belonging to private individuals. On historical grounds, they demand that to continue

It was only the other day that this matter was raised in this House during Question Hour by my friends in the Opposition. They want that the resources of the State should be made available to the private sector, when their leader here says that the increased resources of the State should never be allowed to go into the hands of the private sector. I do not understand why they are speaking with two voices. In this connection, it is relevant to refer to the famous or rather notorious agreement that the Kerala Government made with Birla for establishing a rayon pulp factory there. That was referred to yesterday and so I do not want to go into the details regarding that.

The industrial policy of the State Government is also very clear as to what the attitude of the communist Government is regarding these matters. It says

"The Government of Kerala assures all encouragement and help to those entrepreneurs who are prepared to play their role in the economic development of the State. The Government will do their utmost to give all possible forms of assistance to industrialists in setting up and managing industries. They will provide

State guarantees in order to secure for the private industrialists credit from the Central Financial Corporations and other agencies of institutional credit. They will help to procure raw materials, equipments and other means of production and will assist the industrialists in exploring internal and foreign markets. The taxation and price policies of the Government will be so devised as to allow reasonable profit after providing for accumulation of capital at reasonable rates " and so on.

So what the Communist Government follows in Kerala is actually to encourage the investment of Government money in the private sector. But here they say that the private sector should never be allowed to thrive and all that. The leader of the opposition also characterised some of the Ministers as not falling in line with the policy of the Government and so they should never be allowed to continue as Ministers. I do not know to whom he refers—whether to State or Central Ministers. But I can point out one instance where a State Minister has managed to create a trust of all the land that he and his father owned just on the eve of the publication of the Land Reforms Bill, himself being the sole beneficiary.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: I am talking of some State Minister?

Shri Maniyangadan: Yes, a Minister in Kerala.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: It is not fair to criticise State Ministers here.

Shri Maniyangadan: I am not criticising him. The leader of the biggest opposition group, the communist group, said that some Ministers are trying to evade progressive legislation and reforms that are introduced by the Government. I was only speaking of a Minister in that State ..

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** The leader of the communist group is at an advantage that he can criticise the Ministers here, while the hon Member is at a disadvantage because he cannot criticise any State Minister here

**Shri Maniyangadan:** I fully realise that, I was just mentioning one instance, I do not know whether he has that instance in his mind. Now, that Minister is still continuing as Minister

As regards the Code of Discipline mentioned by the President, I may refer to a policy statement by the Kerala Trade Union Council. It says

" The existence of a communist Government in Kerala had placed certain responsibilities on the workers too. At this time of national reconstruction, it had become the duty of the workers to give a lead to the people. One of the factors, the statement said, that had stood in the way of workers so far in this direction was the existence of Governments which did not recognise the importance and the leadership of the workers in production. Though the same state of affairs continued in other States in India, the statement said, this defect had been rectified as far as Kerala was concerned."

They also announced that in Kerala, labour disputes should be settled without recourse to strikes, as it was in their own interest and because the Government in the State stood to protect their reasonable rights.

I do not want to go into details, but this reflects the attitude of the communist party with regard to the code of conduct. They are amenable to that only if it is in their Government, i.e. the communist Government.

With regard to the Plan, large amounts are spent through the State Governments also. I may submit that the success of the Plan has to be measured not by the amounts, but

by the achievements—projects completed, additional benefits derived by the people, etc. So, I suggest that some control should be effectively exercised over the spending of the large amounts. The mere fact that a large amount has been spent should not be the criterion for measuring the success of the Plan. The criteria should be the achievements and not the amounts spent.

As regards the other points, I have no time.

**Mr Deputy-Speaker:** He will get opportunity at some other time. As Shri Kalika Singh is not present, I now call Shri Prakash Vir Shastri.

14 hrs

**श्री प्रकाश वीर शास्त्री ( गडगाव )**  
 उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, इस समय में राष्ट्रपति के भाषण पर जा धन्यवाद देने की प्रक्रिया है उसमें सम्मिलित होने का यह मेरा पहला ही अवसर है। इसमें दो प्रकार के मते क्रम देखें। एक तो राष्ट्रपति को धन्यवाद देने के लिए और एक उन व्यक्तियों को जो कि कुर्सी पर बिजमाल होते हुए सदस्यों को बालने का समय देते हैं। वह आपको धन्यवाद देते हैं। लेकिन मैं परमपिता परमात्मा का धन्यवाद देना चाहता हूँ कि जिसकी कि कृपा से इस स्वस्थ वातावरण में हम अपने देश की समस्याओं पर विचार कर रहे हैं जब कि हमारे देश के चारों ओर क्रांति के बादल घुमड़ रहे हैं और कहीं-कहीं हलकी-हलकी और थोड़ी-थोड़ी वर्षा भी करती जाती है। मैं इस रूप से इस बात को निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि यह क्रांति का बादल जो चहार दीवारी पर घुमड़ कर हमारे लिए प्रदूषणवाचक स्थिति उत्पन्न कर रहे हैं, कहीं ऐसा न हो कि हमारी यह योजनाएँ जैसे कि पहली पंचवर्षीय योजना को हम पूरा कर चुके हैं और दूसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना अभी हमारी चालू है और तीसरी को हम बनाने की तैयारी कर रहे हैं यह हमारी योजनाएँ कहीं

### [श्री प्रकाश नीर शास्त्री]

फूटे हुए बड़े साबित न हो ? ऊपर से हम उन्हें बनने का प्रयास करते रहे लेकिन भ्रष्टाचार, अनैतिकता और कर्पण के छिद्र जिनको कि खाली करते चले जाये और वे कभी भर ही न पायें। इस प्रकार के बहुत से उदाहरण इस ससद् के समय-समय पर प्रस्तुत होते रहे हैं और राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण के सम्बन्ध में जो सदन में चर्चा हुई है और हो रही है उस में भी वे आये हैं। इस सम्बन्ध में मैं यह निवेदन करना चाहूंगा कि हमारी इन योजनाओं के लिए अत्यन्त आवश्यक बात यह है कि अगर इस देश में भ्रष्टाचार की प्रक्रिया को रोकना है तो उसके लिए फिर हमको अपनी दण्ड व्यवस्था को कठोर करना होगा। सुना जाता है कि चीन में भ्रष्टाचार की परम्परा हमारे देश से भी कहीं अधिक मात्रा में भरी हुई थी लेकिन उन्होंने अपने देश में इस पर प्रतिबन्ध लगाया और इन दण्ड व्यवस्था को बहुत कठोर किया। अभाग्यवश हमारे अपने देश में और समाज में कुछ ऐसे प्रवाहनीय और असामाजिक तत्व काम कर रहे हैं जो कि इस देश के व्यापार और शासन पर अपनी छाया डाले हुए हैं और उनका दुष्परिणाम यह है कि चाहते हुए भी हम अपने देश से भ्रष्टाचार को जितना शीघ्र समाप्त करना चाहते हैं, उतना शीघ्र भ्रष्टाचार हमारे देश का समाप्त नहीं हो रहा है।

दूसरी एक आवश्यक चीज जिस के कि सम्बन्ध में हमारे प्रत्येक सदस्य ने राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण पर धन्यवाद का जो प्रस्ताव उपस्थित हुआ है, उस पर अपने-अपने सलाहनाम प्रस्तुत करते हुए इस देश की खाद्य समस्या की ओर ध्यान आकर्षित किया है। मैं इस समय उन बातों की विस्तार में चर्चा नहीं करना जिनकी कि यहाँ पर चर्चा हो चुकी है।

परन्तु हमारे देश की खाद्य समस्या से सम्बन्धित हुए एक एक प्राणी भी है जिम्मेदार

कि और इस ससद् का और विशेष कर राष्ट्र-पति महोदय का ध्यान जाना चाहिये था। जब भी देश में खाद्यान्न का उत्पादन बढ़ाने की चर्चा होती है तो हमारा सब का ध्यान किसानों की ओर जाता है, मजदूरी की ओर ध्यान जाता है और थोड़ा बढ़ कर के खेती और हल की ओर ध्यान चला जाता है लेकिन जिस के कंधे पर यह सारी परम्परा ठहरी हुई है, मेरा अभिप्राय उस पूज्य प्राणी से है जिस को कि यह देश गऊ माता कह कर पुकारता है, और जिस के कि कंधे पर हमारे देश की सारी कृषि व्यवस्था निर्भर करती है, मुझे अत्यन्त दुःख के साथ यह निवेदन करना पड़ता है कि उसकी ओर हमारा ध्यान नहीं जाता है और निरन्तर गोवश का ह्रास होता चला जा रहा है। हमारा ध्यान अपने पशुधन की रक्षा करने की ओर जितना दिया जाना चाहिये नहीं दिया जा रहा है। बैलो द्वारा खेती कराने के जो आकड़े यहाँ प्रस्तुत किये गये उनके अनुसार एक बैल के कंधे पर १३ एकड़ भूमि का बोझ आकर पड़ता है जब कि प्रथम श्रेणी के बैलों की जोड़ी अधिक से अधिक साढ़े १० एकड़ भूमि का भार ही अपने कंधों पर ले कर सकती है। इस से आगे जो धरती रह जाती है उस में उत्पादन बढ़ाने के लिए दृष्टियों की ओर दूसरे प्रकार की योजनाओं हमारे देश में बनाई गई हैं लेकिन वे योजनाएँ इस भारत भूमि को देखते हुए इतनी अनुपयोगी हैं जिसका परिणाम यह है कि हम खाद्य की समस्या की ओर ध्यान देते हैं और धान का उत्पादन बढ़ाना चाहते हैं लेकिन जितनी शीघ्रता से उत्पादन को बढ़ाना चाहिये, उतनी शीघ्रता से बढ़ नहीं रहा है। उस मूक प्राणी का जैसे मैं ने पहले निवेदन किया उत्पादन बढ़ाने से धनिये सम्बन्ध है परन्तु यह दुर्भाग्य यह है कि उसका बोट नहीं है नहीं तो हमारे शासन का ध्यान उसकी ओर आकर्षित हो सकता था और राजनैतिक प्राणियों का भी ऊपर ध्यान आ सकता था। यदि इस मूक प्राणी को हम

इसी तरीके से उपेक्षा का विषय बनाये रहेंगे तो हमारी खाद्य समस्या सदा ही जटिल बनी रहेगी। हम यह नारे तो बहुत लगाते रहते हैं कि अधिक धन्न उपजाओ और अधिक धन्न उपजाओ लेकिन हम देखते हैं कि हमें बांझित परिणाम नहीं देखने को मिल रहा है। क्या आपने कभी यह भी सोचा है कि आखिर इसका कारण क्या है? आखिर हमारी धरती का दिमाग तो पाकिस्तानी नहीं हो गया है, खेत बही है, उनको जोतने वाला किसान बही है और हल भी बही है फिर हमें क्यों नहीं सफलता मिल रही है तो इस सफलता न मिलने का एक बड़ा कारण यह भी है कि हमारा ध्यान अपने देश के पशुधन को सुरक्षित करने की ओर नहीं जाता है और हमारे गोवश का निरन्तर ह्रास हो रहा है। आज हम देखते हैं कि हमारे देश में घी, दूध आदि की अत्यधिक कमी महसूस की जा रही है और इस सम्बन्ध में जो हमारी सरकार की उपेक्षणीय नीति रही है उस में यह कमी होना कोई आश्चर्य की बात बही है। देश में घी और दूध की पैदावार बढ़ाने के स्थान पर हमारी सरकार अधिक मछली उपजाओ, अधिक भूटे उपजाओ और अधिक भूगी और बकरिया पालो, इन चीजों की ओर ध्यान दे रही है और यह देश जो कि मदा से एक शाकाहारी देश रहा है उसको यह सरकार मासाहारी देश बनाती जा रही है। देश की जो अपनी पुरातन परम्पराएँ हैं, शाकाहारी होने आदि की, उनको बढ़ाने की दिशा में कोई प्रयत्न नहीं किया जा रहा है। मेरा निवेदन है कि इस देश की खाद्य समस्या को सफलता पूर्वक हल करने के लिए इस मूक प्राणी की ओर सरकार को विशेष रूप से ध्यान देना चाहिये और गोवश की उन्नति करनी चाहिये।

तीसरी बात जो मैं विशेष रूप से कहना चाहता हूँ और बहुत संक्षेप में कहना चाहता हूँ वह पाकिस्तान के सम्बन्ध में है। पाकिस्तान बनने के पश्चात् इस देश के अन्दर जो लेन-देन गये थे उन के सामने यह एक भाषा की

किरण आई थी कि वह जो संयुक्त भारत में मुस्लिम लीग द्वारा अहरीले प्रकार के कल-स्वरूप हिन्दू मुसलिम मतभेद उभरे थे और आये दिन हिन्दू मुस्लिम समस्याएँ हमारे सामने उपस्थित होती रहती थी, उनको यह भाषा होने लगी थी कि पाकिस्तान बन जाने के बाद यह मुसोबते हमारे सामने से टल जायेगी। लेकिन पाकिस्तान बनने के पश्चात् हुआ क्या? जिस दिन से पाकिस्तान अस्तित्व में आया है न तो वह स्वयं चैन में सोया है और न हम भारतवासियों को चैन की नीद सोने देता है। आज पाकिस्तान को बने ११ वर्ष होने को आये हैं लेकिन यह पाकिस्तान अभी तक हिन्दुस्तान की छाती में काटे की तरह लगा हुआ है और उस ने पिछले ११ वर्षों में हमको भजे और धाराम की नीद सोने नहीं दिया। जिस सुख और चैन की नीद का स्वप्न हम देखते थे वह हम इस पाकिस्तान के कारण अभी तक नहीं ले सके हैं।

पाकिस्तान निरन्तर हमारे शासकदल और देशवासियों के लिए सिरदर्द और चिन्ता का विषय बना हुआ है। उनकी ओर से लगा-तार और योजनाबद्ध हमारी सरहदों पर हमले होते रहते हैं। आये दिन इस तरह की घटनाएँ हमारे सीमा के प्रदेशों में होती रहनी हैं। अभी कल ससद् के अन्दर इस सम्बन्ध में एक प्रश्न उपस्थित हुआ था जिस में सरकार का ध्यान करीमगंज के ऊपर पाकिस्तानी हमले की ओर दिलाया गया था और करीमगंज पर उनके द्वारा इतना भयंकर हमला हुआ है जिसको कि माननीय प्रधान मंत्री ने भी स्वीकार किया। अब हमारी सरकार को इस सम्बन्ध में नीति यह रही है कि जब कभी इस देश की सीमा पर पाकिस्तानियों द्वारा हमले होते हैं तो उन के विरुद्ध पाकिस्तान सरकार को विरोध पत्र भेजे जाते हैं। मेरी समझ में अब तक बहुत अधिक विरोध पत्र पाकिस्तान को भेजे जा चुके होंगे। अगर कोई महत्वपूर्ण घटना हो जाती है तो हमारी सरकार की ओर से उस के लिये कड़ा विरोध पत्र भेज दिया

### [श्री प्रकाश वीर शास्त्री]

जाता है और जब कोई एक मामूली घटना घटित होती है तो उसके लिये सरकार की ओर से हमें यह जवाब मिल जाता है कि हमने पाकिस्तान सरकार के पास इसके लिये विरोध पत्र भेज दिया है। मेरा अनुमान है कि अब तक हमारी ओर से जितने विरोध पत्र भेजे गये हैं उनकी रट्टी को अगर बेच लिया जाये तो उस रुपये से एक विन्डिंग खड़ी हो सकती है। अभी तक हमने यही देखा है कि इन हमारे विरोध पत्रों का कोई परिणाम सामने नहीं आया है और हमलो में कोई भी कमी नहीं हुई है। अलावा उधर से हमारे विरोध पत्रों के जबाब में उनके विरोध पत्र भी हमारी सरकार के पास आते हैं और दुनिया की आंखों में धूल झांकने के लिए वे काफी तादाद में हमारे पास आते हैं जिन में तरह तरह के हमारे ऊपर आरोप और दोषारोपण किये जाते हैं। पाकिस्तान के अखबार भी आये रोज भारत विरोधी प्रचार करने में अपने कालम रंगते रहते हैं और पना नदी कहा कहा की बेसिर पैर की बातें लोगों को भटकाने के लिए अपने अखबारों में लिखते रहते हैं। जब भी हमारे देश में कोई होनी आदि का त्योहार आने को होता है तो पाकिस्तान के अखबार पहले से उसके लिए अपने कालम सुरक्षित रखते हैं और अगर देश के किसी भाग में कहीं विद्रोह का मामला भी कोई अप्रिय घटना हो गई तो उसको लेकर वे खूब शोर मचाते हैं। हम सम्बन्ध में यह भी ध्यान देने की बात है कि इन कुछ अप्रिय घटनाओं के कारण भी वे पंचमार्गी लोग हैं पाकिस्तान के जासूस हैं जो कि इस तरह की कही पर गड़बड़ करवा कर भारत को मारे-समार में बदनाम करना चाहते हैं। वहां के अखबार लिख मारते हैं कि इस साल होली पर भारत में अमुक-अमुक स्थानों पर भीषण दंगे हुए और जिन में से कि इतने हजार बेकसूर मुसलमान जान से मारे गये और इतने घायल हुए आदि। इस सम्बन्ध में यह उल्लेखनीय बात है कि एक आदमी ने इन पाकिस्तानी अखबारों में छपे

आंकड़ों पर विचार कर के बतलाया कि जितने मुसलमान हिन्दुस्तान में हैं अगर वे बार बार जन्म लेकर मरे तब कहीं जाकर पाकिस्तानी अखबारों में दी हुई फ़िगर्स सही हो सकती है। कहने का तात्पर्य यह है कि उधर इस प्रकार का हमारे खिलाफ चलत और झूठा प्रोपेगैंडा चल रहा है। अब स्थिति यह है कि पाकिस्तान की फ़ीजे हमारे देशवासियों पर जो कि देश की सीमा के प्रदेशों पर आबाद है उन पर गोलियां बरसाती है लेकिन यदि भारत की सेना के द्वारा कहीं पर कोई कड़ा जवाबी ऐक्शन ले लिया जाता है तो उस से हमारे प्रधान मंत्री महोदय को कष्ट होता है। हमारे नीतिशास्त्र में एक स्थल पर लिखा है कभी-कभी अधिक उदारता को शत्रु हमारी दुर्बलता समझने लगता है और हमारे नीति शास्त्र में इस बात को लिखा है

“पादाहतं पदुत्थाय मूर्धानमधिरोहति ।  
स्वराशदे शत्रुमान्पि देहिनस्तद वरं ग्ज ॥

जिस समय शिशुपाल भरी सभा में भगवान श्रीकृष्ण का गानिया देने लगा तो भगवान ने शिशुपाल को चेतावनी दे दी कि जिस समय तेरी १०१ गानिया जमा हो जायेगी, उस समय मेरे हाथों में तेरे लिए सुदर्शन चक्र आ जायेगा। जिस समय शिशुपाल ने ९९वीं गाला उनका दा और पास में बैठे हुए किसी सज्जन ने उनका कहा कि यह तो आपको निरन्तर गानिया देते ही चला जा रहा है तो उस समय भगवान ने कहा कि इसकी मति मारी गई है और यह मूल जो बकता जा रहा है उसे बकने दो लेकिन अन्त में भगवान श्री कृष्ण ने जब धैर्य की हद हो चुकी तो उन्होंने उसका सहार किया। कोई भी स्वाभिमानी व्यक्ति अपना देर तक निरादर होते नहीं देख सकता। रास्ते को धूल को ही देखिये कि जब कभी कोई आदमी उस पर जोर से चलता है तो धूल उस आदमी के सिर पर उड़ कर

पहुँचती है। इसलिए मेरा निवेदन है कि हमारी सरकार के इस सम्बन्ध में अपने स्वाभिमान पर आच नहीं आने देनी चाहिये और यह उचित नहीं है कि जिस तरह वह पिछले ११ वर्षों में पाकिस्तान द्वारा अपमानित होनी चली आयी है, आगे भी वैसी ही वह होती रहे।

इसके अतिरिक्त जो एक बड़ी समस्या और गम्भीर समस्या हमारे सामने उपस्थित है वह पूर्वी पाकिस्तान से यहाँ पर भाग कर भाग्य हुये शरणार्थियों की समस्या है। आज प्रयत्नोत्तर काल में उसका जिक्र आया और यहाँ पर बतलाया गया है कि सन् १९५० में हजारों की संख्या में हिन्दू शरणार्थियों को पूर्वी पाकिस्तान से हिन्दुस्तान में खदेड़ा जा रहा है। अगर उस सम्बन्ध में हमारे प्रधान मंत्री महोदय ने पीछे यह स्वीकार किया था कि एक महीने के अन्दर ५० हजार के लगभग आदमी इस समय पाकिस्तान से बराबर निकल रहे हैं। बड़ी तीव्रता के साथ पाकिस्तान के लोग निकल कर यहाँ आ रहे थे। उस समय हमारे माननीय गृह मंत्री सरदार पटेल यह दृश्य देखने गये थे, और उन्होंने पाकिस्तान के सामने यह बात रखी कि पाकिस्तान बनने के साथ हिन्दुस्तान का यह गांटी दी गयी थी कि पाकिस्तान में हिन्दू अल्पसंख्यक बन कर रहेंगे और पाकिस्तान को यह गांटी दी गयी थी कि हिन्दुस्तान में मुसलमान अल्पसंख्यक बन कर रहेंगे और उनकी रक्षा की जिम्मेदारी हमारी होगी। सरदार पटेल ने पाकिस्तान से कहा कि अच्छा तो यही है कि उन लोगों को अपने-अपने घरों में रहने दो और येन से गंटी खाने दो, लेकिन अगर निकालते ही हो तो जिनके हिन्दुओं का इधर भेजते हो उतने ही मुसलमानों का यहाँ से लेने के लिये तैयार रहो ताकि हम उन हिन्दुओं को यहाँ पर बसा सकें। तीसरी बात सरदार पटेल ने पाकिस्तान से यह कही कि अगर तुम अपने यहाँ हिन्दुओं को रखने के लिए भी तैयार नहीं हो और उनके बदले में यहाँ से मुसलमानों को लेने के लिए भी तैयार नहीं हो तो तीसरा विकल्प यही है कि जिन

आदमियों को तुम यहाँ भेज रहे हो उन के लिए हमको जमीन दो ताकि उनको बसाया जा सके। लेकिन आश्चर्य की बात है कि सरदार पटेल के देहावसान के पश्चात् किमी के सामने यह बात नहीं रही। मैं शासन का ध्यान इस ओर दिखाना चाहता हूँ कि जो डेढ करोड़ हिन्दू पूर्वी पाकिस्तान में गये हैं वे आज निकल-निकल कर यहाँ आ रहे हैं। मैं अभी उठर गया तो मैं ने सियालदह स्टेशन पर हजारों लोगों को ठठरियों के रूप में ये वहाँ पड़ा देखा। उस समय श्री मेहर चन्द खन्ना जी भी वहाँ उपस्थित थे।

पीछे हमारे प्रधान मंत्री श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू एक बार अमरीका गये थे। उस के बाद यहाँ पर अमरीका के उपराष्ट्रपति आये थे। उन्होंने मियालदह के स्टेशन पर हजारों की तादाद में पूर्वी पाकिस्तान में आये हुए हिन्दुओं को ठठरियों के रूप में पड़े देखा था। उस समय उन्होंने अपना एक वक्तव्य दिया था जो कि कलकत्ता के स्टेट्समैन अखबार में प्रकाशित हुआ था। उस में उन्होंने कहा था कि अगर पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू के अमरीका जाने से पहले अमरीका के राष्ट्रपति, जो कि उस समय श्री ट्रुमैन थे, अपनी आँखों से मियालदह स्टेशन का दृश्य लेते तो वह यह बात सोचने कि पंडित नेहरू का हवाई अड्डे पर स्वागत करने जाये या नहीं। यह अमरीका के उपराष्ट्रपति का वक्तव्य था जो कि उन्होंने उस समय मियालदह स्टेशन पर लोगों की हाँपन को देख कर दिया था। आज भी वही अवस्था है। ग्यारह सान हो गये सरकार अपना पुनर्वास विभाग बन्द करने जा रही है। पर यह समस्या हल नहीं हो रही है। यह समस्या अभी तक ज्यों की त्यों बनी हुई है। इसको हल करने का एक ही उपाय है और वह यह है कि जितने आदमी पाकिस्तान से हमारे यहाँ आ रहे हैं उनके लिए पाकिस्तान से धरती की भाग की जाये। इस में शासन के सामने किसी प्रकार का सकोच नहीं उपस्थित होना चाहिये।

[श्री प्रजापति श्री शास्त्री]

एक और आवश्यक बात है जिसकी ओर हमारे महारष्ट्र परिषद के मित्रों ने ध्यान का ध्यान खींचा है, और जिसकी ओर महागुजरात के माननीय सदस्यों ने सरकार का ध्यान आकर्षित किया है। आज हमारे नवीन सदस्य श्री बापू जी अणे जी ने भी किसी रूप में उधर सकत किया है। उन के साथ ही कल यहाँ पर श्री प्रताप सिंह दौलता ने भी पजाबी सूबे की माग की है। जिस समय श्री दौलता ने अलग पजाबी सूबे की माग की तो मैं प्रवाक् रह गया। अभी तक हम यह देखते थे कि कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी के सदस्य अकाली पार्टी को जो कि पजाब सूबे की माग करती थी सम्प्रदायवादी और कम्युनिज नामो से पुकारते थे। पहले मास्टर तारासिंह ही पजाबी सूबे की माग करते थे लेकिन आज हम देखते हैं कि कम्युनिस्ट सदस्य श्री दौलता भी अलग पजाबी सूबे की माग कर रहे हैं। जब मास्टर तारासिंह ने अलग सूबे की माग की थी तो सरदार ज्ञानी करतार सिंह ने जो कि उनके दाये हाथ थे यह कहा था कि पजाबी सूबा अलग किस के लिए माग रहे हैं क्योंकि इस भूभाग का ३५ पर सेट हिस्सा तो नम हो चुका है और बाकी हिस्सा भी नम होने वाला है। तो क्या अलग पजाबी सूबा लेकर लोगो को फाकाकशी कराओगे। आज जब पजाब के बहुत से सिख इस बात का विरोध कर रहे हैं तो हम देखते हैं कि कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी के नेता श्री दौलता यह माग लेकर सामने आते हैं। पर हमें इस पर आश्चर्य नहीं होना चाहिये क्योंकि सम्प्रदायी पार्टी की नीति यह मालूम पडती है कि "जैसी बहे बयार पीठ तब तैसी दीज"। हमें सन् १९३९ की बात याद है जब कि कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी कहती थी कि गांधी जी के व्यक्तिगत सत्याग्रह से क्या आजादी मिल सकती है। किन्तु जब उन्होंने सन् १९४२ में करो या मरो का नारा लगाया तो सभी देश तैयार नहीं था। सुभाष बोष के आन्दोलन को कभी उन्होंने

कहा था—कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी ने कहा था कि यह कौम के साथ गहारी हो रही है क्योंकि उस समय चिबिल और रूजवैलट के स्टालिन से अच्छे सम्बन्ध हैं। लेकिन जब जर्मनी के विभाजन के प्रश्न पर उन में आपस में मत भेद हो गया और इस प्रश्न पर चिबिल रूजवैलट का स्टालिन से विवाद हो गया तो कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी ने अपनी नीति को बदल दिया। अब कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी ने देखा कि मास्टर तारासिंह कह रहे हैं कि अकाली सीधे चुनाव लडेगे और हमारा कांग्रेस का साथ नहीं रहेगा तो सहानुभूति प्राप्त करने के लिए कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी के सदस्य अलग पजाबी सूबा बनाने की माग करने लगे हैं।

पजाब तो इस प्रदेश का नाम था जब कि इस में पाच नदिया बहती थी, रावी, चुनाव, झेलम, सतलज और व्याम। आज तो इस में केवल दो ही नदिया बहती है। इसलिए आज तो पजाब को दोआब कहना चाहिये। अगर आज मास्टर तारासिंह उन तीन नदियो के प्रदेश को भी जो कि पजाब से अलग कर दिया गया है मिलाकर एक पजाबी सूबा बनाने की माग करे तो हम उसका समर्थन करने को तैयार हैं। अगर आज हमारे प्रधान मंत्री उस तीन नदियो के प्रदेश को जो पजाब से अलग कर दिया गया है फिर से मिलाने के लिए अपनी तोपों का मुह लाहौर की तरफ मोडे और अगर उन की तोपों में बारूद न रहे तो हम बारूद की जगह अपने सिपाहियो को देकर उनके साथ सहयोग करने को तैयार हैं। लेकिन दुर्भाग्य है कि आज वह कल्पना ही नहीं। आज तो दोआब के लिये लडाई हो रही है।

मैं एक दूसरी समस्या की ओर आपका ध्यान आकर्षित करना चाहता हूँ जो कि आज पजाब में कुछ समय से चल रही है और वह भाषा की समस्या है। मुझे खद है कि इस प्रश्न को लेकर इस आन्दोलन के नेता को बदनाम

किया गया। यहाँ पर हिन्दी के प्रश्न को एक दक्षिण भारत माननीय सदस्य ने उपस्थित किया था। लेकिन उन्होंने उस प्रश्न को राष्ट्र-भाषा के रूप में उठाया था। उस प्रश्न पर तो राज भाषा आयोग की रिपोर्ट आने पर विचार किया जायेगा। आज पंजाब में यह राष्ट्र-भाषा का प्रश्न नहीं है। वहाँ पर तो यह मातृ-भाषा का प्रश्न है। राष्ट्रभाषा और चीज है और मातृ भाषा और चीज है। जब हम पंजाब में हिन्दी भाषा की माग करते हैं तो हम कोई नये अधिकार की माग नहीं करते। हम तो अपने पुराने अधिकार को अधुण रखने की माग करते हैं, उस अधिकार की जो कि हमें मिल्ख राजा रणजीत सिंह के समय में प्राप्त रहा और पीले दो सौ साल के अंग्रेज शासन में भी प्राप्त रहा। हम तो अपने पुराने अधिकार को चाहते हैं, हम कोर्ट नये अधिकार की माग नहीं कर रहे हैं। हिन्दी सत्याग्रह के नेताओं को यह कह कर बदनाम किया गया है कि वे हिन्दू और सिखा के अन्दर तनाव पैदा करना चाहते हैं। लेकिन यह हिन्दू और सिखों में तनाव पैदा करने की बात नहीं है। आप देखें की हम सत्याग्रह में सिख लोगों ने भी भाग लिया।

मिल्ख गुप्तों का जितनी मान्यता मिल्ख देते हैं हम उम में अधिक मान्यता और आदर उनको देते हैं। हम उनके सामने नन मस्तक है क्योंकि उन्होंने बड़े कठिन समय में हिन्दू धर्म और हिन्दू संस्कृति की रक्षा करने में अपना बलिदान किया था। उस समय जब कि चारों ओर से हिन्दू धर्म पर हमले हो रहे थे। तो हमारा सिखा से कोई झगडा नहीं है। मैं केवल यह बात फिर दोहराना चाहता हूँ कि मविधान में जब ३३ प्रतिशत वाली भाषा को संरक्षण प्राप्त है फिर पंजाब में हिन्दी को जो कि ५७ प्रतिशत लोगों की भाषा है वह संरक्षण क्यों प्राप्त न हो। आन्दोलन के बन्द होने के बाद हमारे माननीय गृह मंत्री श्री गोबिन्द बल्लभ पन्त ने चंडीगढ़, लुधियाना और करनाल के अपने भाषणों में हमको आश्वासन दिया

और पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू ने ६ नवम्बर को चंडीगढ़ में कहा कि ६० प्रतिशत में तो स्वीकार कर ली गयी है और जो १० प्रतिशत रह गई है, वह भी आपस में तै कर ली जायेगी। इस आश्वासन पर जो घनश्याम सिंह गुप्त ने जो कि एक गांधीवादी नेता है और जो उस आन्दोलन का संचालन कर रहे थे उसको बन्द करवा दिया। लेकिन अगर आज हमारे गृह मंत्री यह समझते हो कि उन्होंने अपनी चतुरता और कुशलता में इस आन्दोलन को दबा लिया और वह आन्दोलन हम ने कमजोरी के कारण बन्द कर दिया तो मैं कहना चाहूंगा कि यह उनकी भूल है। मैं उन नन शब्दों का उपयोग नहीं करना चाहता और न मैं उस भाषा को दुहराऊंगा जिसको कि यहाँ पर एक माननीय सदस्य ने उपयोग किया था कि अगर बम्बई सम्बन्धी महाराष्ट्र की माग को यहाँ मसद् में तै नहीं किया जायेगा तो उसको बम्बई की गलियों में तै किया जायेगा। मैं इतनी हलकी भाषा का उपयोग नहीं करूंगा। लेकिन मैं निबन्न शब्दों में यह निवेदन जरूर करूंगा कि अगर हमारे अधिकार की उपेक्षा की गयी, तो पंजाब में ऐसी घटनाये हो सकती हैं जिनकी कि अभी हमारे मन में कल्पना की भी सम्भावना नहीं है। इसलिए मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि उम प्रकार की अकल्पनीय सम्भावना के अस्तित्व में आने से पहले ही हमारे न्यायोचित अधिकार को हमें दे दिया जाये और उसकी अधिक उपेक्षा न की जाये। जिन तरह में कि बम्बई तथा आंध्र में द्वि-भाषी राज्य बना है उसी तरह नः व्यवस्था पंजाब में भी होनी चाहिए।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं अपने भाषण को समाप्त करता हूँ और आपने जो मुझे अपने अधिकार से एक दो मिनट का अधिक समय दिया उसके लिए आपको अत्यंत धन्यवाद देता हूँ।

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Before I call upon the next Member, I would like to say one thing I had requested all



[Mr Deputy-Speaker]

hon. Members not to exceed ten minutes, but both the hon. Members who have spoken have exceeded the time far beyond that limit. I would request hon. Members now that they should conclude their remarks within ten minutes. Shri Jhulan Sinha

Shri Jhulan Sinha (Siwan) I assure you, Sir, that I shall try to keep within the time allowed

Mr Deputy-Speaker Sir, I rise to associate myself with the Motion of Thanks to the President for the Address that he delivered to both the Houses of Parliament, and while doing so I would only confine myself to certain remarks made by the President in his Address and would not attempt or be tempted to rope in the whole thing for discussion. Two outstanding demands have been made in this House and I will deal with them first

There has been a demand from a very responsible quarter for setting up a national government to tackle the problem that has risen now in the country. Very humbly, Sir, I beg to differ from the sponsor of this idea. He is a very respected leader of this country and for a long number of years, we, Congressmen, have all been looking up to him for guidance and advice. I am sorry I differ from him on this point—I am referring to Acharya Kripalani. Two years ago the whole country went to polls. The 18 crores of voters of this country had to give their opinion on how this country has to be governed, whether it is to be governed on the lines set down by the Congress or on the lines set down by the other parties. The country has given a verdict. During the last two years, we, here as Members of the majority party have been carrying on the government of this country, certainly of course, with goodwill and co-operation of others who happen to be sitting on the other side. Now, it will not be up to us—that is

my opinion—to share the governance of this country with others whom this country rejected two years ago. But, as Members of this House it is their duty, bounden duty, to see that the government of the country is carried on in a proper way and in the best interests of the people inhabiting it. For that, our leader, the Leader of the House, has always been requesting them for co-operation and collaboration and asking them to help as far as they can. I wonder what is there to prevent them from offering that co-operation and collaboration in the spirit in which it is sought and not by asking to be associated also in the execution of the ideas that they put before this country. I am, therefore, Sir, definitely of the opinion that it would be very wrong for us, it would not be according to the verdict that the country has given to share the governance of this country with other who were rejected at the polls

The second thing that I would like to take up is the demand for the resignation of the hon. Food Minister. We have known him for all these years. He has always been working for ironing out the intricacies of the food problem. Sometimes nature is against us. Sometimes circumstances grow up which baffle all the attempts in this respect. I confess, Sir, I am not in a position to appreciate the demand made for his resignation as though he was the person who was standing in the way of a solution of the food problem in this country.

There are difficulties obviously, which we all know. I am sure hon. Members on the other side also know them. I can very easily understand certain personal motives or local grounds for asking him to resign, that is a different thing altogether. But in the interest of the country his resignation is absolutely unnecessary,

uncalled for and unjustifiable. We in this House have not elected any of the Ministers. It is only the leader of the House who has chosen his colleagues. So far as these colleagues command the confidence of that leader, it would be presumptuous on our part to ask them to resign. If they resign, they would be unjustified in doing so.

Sir, the problems of food are certainly very intricate, and so far as I have been able to understand the working of the Government of this country it is the Cabinet that takes up major policy matters. It is not that only the Food Minister is to be blamed for it. Even if the charge is thrust on him and his resignation is demanded, it will take us nowhere. So long as the Cabinet is there, so long as the Prime Minister is there who commands unstinted support and confidence of the whole country, it would be unwise and unnecessary for him to resign. It might satisfy the spirit of vengeance lurking in somebody's heart but that would not do any good to the country.

With these preliminary remarks, Sir, I would like to draw the attention of the House to paragraphs 8, 9 and 10 of the President's Address, where he has very rightly pointed out that the food problem is the backbone of the country's economy. I would not repeat all the three paragraphs here, but I would like to draw the attention of the House to only one part of it, where the President has been pleased to say that we had a very good rice crop and prices of rice have already recorded a marked fall. Sir, we have been living in this capital city. I would not refer to prices prevailing in other markets, but I would request any one of the Ministers who is interested in the matter to go to the President's Estate market, just behind North Avenue, and enquire about the prices prevailing there. I went to the market to convince myself whether the President has been rightly informed in the matter or he has been only informed by some such people who only confine themselves to the

remarks of the Secretariat and never go out to see things for themselves. When I went to the market I found that there was hardly any sort of rice worth consumption by human beings which was selling at a price lower than Rs 32 a maund. It may be a little lower at some other places where the cost of procurement may be slightly lower. I confess, I fail to see any justification for the rise in prices to such an extent especially when the country has had a bumper rice crop this year and the prospect for future is also bright in view of the good rabi crop that we expect to have in this country. On the one side we have had a bumper crop, we are having import from other countries and there is the prospect of State trading in foodgrains, but on the other side we have the phenomenon of rise in prices beyond the reach of the common man. This is a phenomenon to which I confess, I cannot reconcile myself. I would, therefore, request the hon Minister in charge of food portfolio to examine the matter a little more closely. I would not go out of my way and take recourse to suggestions that the other side has made by asking him to resign. I would only request him to examine the matter a little more closely and find out the reason why things have been moving in the way in which they are moving.

The other thing to which the hon President has referred and to which I want to address myself is the problem of State trading in foodgrains. I think there would be hardly any person of progressive views in this country who will not associate himself with the scheme, although it has not yet been finalised. But difficulties seem to have arisen in the wake of this decision of the Government. This is a thing which I fail to understand. The country has not yet embarked fully on the process of State trading in foodgrains, but the difficulties which are facing the country are enormous. It is not only the rising prices. You probably know the hon President's house is situated in my constituency. I do not know

[Shri Jhulan Sinha]

whether he knows it personally or not, but the difficulties there are that the stocks have been seized, frozen, the people are going without rice, without wheat and there is a good deal of difficulty facing them. When we make enquiries in the matter, we are told that the Government is preparing for the introduction of State trading in foodgrains. I welcome this scheme, and I have nothing to say against it, but I would like the transition period to be as short as possible. Government should take steps to see that the difficulties of the people are removed as soon as possible. In the meantime, if the introduction of the scheme goes on, it is all well.

Having said all this, I would say that I associate myself with all the good things that the President has put before Parliament. Neither have I the time, nor is it necessary for me to recount all those developments in the field of agriculture and industry and elsewhere that have taken place in this country and which the President has already mentioned in detail. I associate myself with the Motion of Thanks to the President.

श्री दुर्बलिन (सरबनर) उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, हमारे देश को जब आजादी मिली और उस के बाद यह रिपब्लिक बना उस वक्त दुनिया मे दो प्रकार की प्रणालिया थी। एक तो वैस्टर्न डेमोक्रेसी थी और दूसरे कम्युनिस्ट कट्टीज थे जिन मे सोवियत रशिया प्रधान था। बाद मे दूसरे देश भी इन मे शामिल हुए। हम ने वैस्टर्न डेमोक्रेसी मे राजनीतिक ढांचा किया जिन मे व्यक्तिगत स्वतंत्रता थी अपनी समाज बनाने की स्वतंत्रता थी अपनी पोलिटिकल पार्टीज बनाने की स्वतंत्रता थी ब्रेस की आजादी थी। पार्लियामेंट का तरीका था। एडल्ट सर्फेज की बिना पर चुनावो का तरीका था। चूकि इन सब तरह की आजादियों को हम ने पसन्द किया इसलिये इनको हमने अपने विधान में रखा। कम्युनिस्ट कट्टीज

मे जो वह तरीका है कि वहा एक ही पोलिटिकल पार्टी हो सकती है और उस को हटाया नहीं जा सकता है लोभो की राय से और वह एक तरह से परमानेंट पार्टी ही होती है और जो कुछ भी वह करे उसके बारे मे अपने विचार जाहिर करने का किसी को मौका नहीं है और उससे भिन्न पार्टी जहा भी हो उसको मारकाट के जरिये से, हिंसा के जरिये दबाया जाये और अपनी ताकत को बनाये रखा जाय, यह जो तरीका था यह हमे बिल्कुल पसन्द नहीं आया। लेकिन साथ ही साथ कम्युनिस्ट देशो का जो आर्थिक ढांचा है, जो समाजवादी ढांचा है, उसकी बहुत सी बातें हमको पसन्द आईं और इसीलिये हमने अपने देश में यह तय किया कि हम राजनीतिक ढांचा तो वैस्टर्न डेमोक्रेसीज मे लेगे और आर्थिक ढांचा माने का मारा न मही लेकिन बहुत कुछ हम उन देशो मे ले जो कम्युनिस्ट कट्टीज में है और हमने डेमोक्रेटिक माशलिज्म का एक नया तरीका निकाला। अभी तक जिन देशो मे समाजवाद कायम हुआ था वहा पर वह डिक्टेटोरशिप के जरिये मे हुआ मारकाट के जरिये मे हुआ। लेकिन इतिहास मे हमारा ग्रह पहला देश है जिस ने हम वान का दावा किया है और अब भी कर रहा है कि डेमोक्रेटिक तरीके मे हम यहा पर मोशलिज्म कायम करेगे और हम कर सकने है। इसको मे मानना ह हमने नाग तो बुलन्द किया और बहुत मे काम भी है। जैसे पब्लिक सैक्टर मे बड़े बड़े बाध बाधना कारखाने कायम करना बड़े बड़े स्टील प्लांट बनाना इत्यादि जोकि यहा पर समाजवाद की स्थापना मे काफ़ी मदद देगे। लेकिन मे कहना चाहता हू कि ये सब काम उस वक्त भी हो सकते हैं यदि हम समाजवाद के आर्थिक ढांचे को स्वीकार न करे।

मेरा निवेदन है कि हमारे देश मे सबसे बड़ा पब्लिक सैक्टर रेलवे है जो उस वक्त भी था जबकि हमारा देश आजाद नहीं हुआ था।

मेरा तो यह विचार है कि हम लोग समाजवाद की स्थापना की बात तो करते हैं लेकिन कुछ गम्भीरता कुछ सीरियसनेस समाजवाद को आने की दिखाई नहीं देती है। जो समाजवाद कहा पर हम खाना चाहते हैं वह, मेरे विचार में, इसलिये हथ नहीं ला पा रहे हैं कि हम इसको आन्तिकारी आन्दोलन का रूप नहीं दे रहे हैं जोकि हमें देना चाहिये।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, जब मैं चीन की तरफ देखाता हूँ जोकि समाजवाद की स्थापना करना चाहता है, चाहे वह दूसरे ही तरीके के करना चाहता हो, तो मैं पाता हूँ कि वहाँ के नेतागण चाहे वहाँ के लोगो से जबर्दस्ती ही कुर्बानी चाहें तो और ले रहे हो लेकिन वह बड़ी नेजी से इस लक्ष्य की ओर अग्रसर हो रहा है। जिस समाजवाद की हम अपने देश में स्थापना कर रहे हैं उसका चीन के समाजवाद से मुकाबला जब हम करते हैं तो बहुत ही निराशा होती है। मुझे तो ऐसा लगता है कि ऐसी हालत में हमारे देश में समाजवाद की स्थापना कभी नहीं हो सकेगी। आप चीन को लें। उसने अपनी आबादी को तीस तीस हजार के कम्यूस में बाट दिया है और उन कम्यूस में रहने वालों की तमाम जमीन, उनके रहने के मकान और यहाँ तक कि उनके कपड़े और उनके बरतन उनकी दूसरी जो हाउसहोल्ड प्रापर्टी है उस सब को इकट्ठा कर दिया। एक काम और उसने किया। वे लोग किसानों को कारखानों में भेजते हैं ताकि जमीन के साथ उनकी मुहब्बत न रहे। व्यापारी और दूसरे लोग जो हैं उन्हें खेती करने के लिये भेजने हैं ताकि उनको अपनी चीजों से मुहब्बत न रहे। इस तरह से तमाम जनता से उन्होंने त्याग करवाया है और यह सब काम जबर्दस्ती कराया है। उन्होंने सब को कह दिया कि एक स कपड़ा उन को मिलेगा, खाना भी एक सा मिलेगा इत्यादि। कहा पर तो इतनी बड़ी एफर्ट्स हो रही हैं, जबर्दस्ती से ही रही हैं लेकिन हमारे यहाँ कर इसके मुकाबले में बरा बरा सी बात को लेकर, 338 (A.1) LSD—6

मेरा बरा सी चीज को ले कर अगड़े कड़े हो पाते हैं और कहीं कभी हो जाती है, या कोई और बात हो जाती है तो और मज जाता है और अधिकारों की दुहाई दी जाने लग जाती है और कहन लग जाता करता है कि उनका हूनन हो गया और यह सुविधा नहीं दी जाती है और वह सुविधा नहीं दी जाती है। चीन की ७० करोड़ की आबादी है और थाप देंगे कि उनको कितनी कम सुविधाएँ मिली हुई हैं। उन्होंने हर एक आदमी को जो उसकी कजम्पशन की चीजें थी, कज्युमर मुहस कीं दो रुपये का चार रुपये मासिक की आदमी के हिसाब से घटा दिया। 'भ्रम' कीजिये कि दो रुपये अगर घटा दिया तो एक मास में १४०० मिलियन रुपये उनके पास हो गये। उस रुपये से वे जो चीजे बना रहे हैं, उनको बाहर भेज रहे हैं और विदेशी सिक्का घरीरह लेने के लिये इन चीजों को कास्ट-प्राइस से दो आना या चार आना स्पया कम पर वे बाहर भेज रहे हैं। इसका नतीजा यह हो रहा है कि अितनी भी साउथ ईस्ट एशिया की माकिट है, उस पर चीन धीरे-धीरे अपना कब्जा जमाता जा रहा है। भागे चल कर इसका क्या नतीजा होगा? आज जापान में प्राइवेट सैक्टर हैं और वह किसी भी तरह का नुकसान बरदास्त नहीं कर सकता है। साथ ही साथ जापान बिना उद्योग और व्यापार के जिन्दा नहीं रह सकता है। इसलिये अगर वह मुक्त नुकसान बरदास्त नहीं कर सकता है तो बहुत जल्दी वह बक्त आ रहा है कि जब कि जापान में या तो कम्युनिज्म होगा या फिर मिलिट्री डिक्टेटरशिप कहा कायम होगी। ऐसी हालत में वह ठहर ही नहीं सकता है। अपने देश की बात को अगर हम लें तो जो मैनुफैक्चर्ड चीजें हम बाहर भेजने की स्थिति में हैं उन में भी हम चीन का मुकाबला नहीं कर सकेंगे।

ऐसी सूरत में मेरा खयाल है कि जब तक हम समाजवाद को एक आन्तिकारी आन्दोलन

[श्री दुर्लभ]

का रूप हम नहीं देंगे, जब तक हमारा काम चलने वाला नहीं है। हमारी लेजिस्लेचर्स में, हमारी पार्लियामेंट में जितनी भी बड़ी-बड़ी पार्टियाँ हैं वे सब की, उनके कम से कम ६० परसेंट जो लेजिस्लेचर्स हैं वे उन पार्टियों की टिकटों पर चुन कर भाग्य हैं जो समाजवाद को स्वीकार कर चुकी हैं। इसलिये कोई बजह नहीं है कि हम अपने देश के अन्दर समाजवाद का एक क्रान्तिकारी आन्दोलन न चला सकें या उसको रूप न दे सकें। चूँकि समय कम है, इस वास्ते जो बातें भेजे दिमाग में हैं उनको मैं बिना व्याख्या के एक-एक करके आपके सामने रखना चाहता हूँ।

सबसे पहला काम जो हमको करना होगा वह हमारे विधान में फंडामेंटल राइट्स जो हैं उनमें हमें संशोधन करना पड़ेगा और संशोधन इस तरह से करना पड़ेगा कि फंडामेंटल राइट्स तो रहेंगे लेकिन एक शर्त बढानी होगी कि अनलेस दे मिलिटेट अग्रेस्ट वी नैशनल आर्कैक्टिव आफ सोशलिज्म। हम पहले भी जमीदारियों को खत्म कर चुके हैं, उनको एबालिश कर चुके हैं और उनको खत्म करते वक्त हमने जमींदारों से नहीं पूछा। इसके अलावा हमने और भी कई काम किये हैं। तो मैं समझता हूँ कि जब तक इन फंडामेंटल राइट्स में इस तरह का संशोधन प्रप नहीं रहे तब तक हम अपने समाजवाद के नक्ष्य को एक क्रान्तिकारी रूप नहीं दे सकेंगे।

दूसरा सजेशन जो मैं देना चाहता हूँ वह प्राइवेट और पब्लिक सैक्टर के बारे में है। हर एक आदमी जानता है कि सोशलिज्म क्या है। लेकिन अगर मींस आफ प्रोडक्शन कम से कम जो बड़ी-बड़ी चीजें हैं उनका मोनोलाइजेशन नहीं होता तब तक काम नहीं चल सकता है। आज हमारे यहाँ पब्लिक सैक्टर भी है और प्राइवेट सैक्टर भी। मैं मानता हूँ कि हम आज इस पोजीशन में नहीं हैं कि प्राइवेट सैक्टर को खत्म कर दें।

लेकिन हम यह तो कह ही सकते हैं, और इस बात को घोषणा कर सकते हैं कि आखिर में जितना भी प्राइवेट सैक्टर है वह पब्लिक सैक्टर में बदल जायेगा। मेरी सजेशन है कि हमको ऐसा ऐलान कर देना चाहिये कि आज जितना भी प्राइवेट सैक्टर है, जितने भी बड़े बड़े मींस आफ प्रोडक्शन हैं, वे सब एक मुद्दा से भागे—जो कि २० साल की या २५ साल की हो सकती है—पब्लिक सैक्टर में बदल जायेगा। साथ ही साथ आप यह भी घोषणा कर सकते हैं कि ज़ाये जितनी भी बड़ी बड़ी फॅक्ट्रियाँ आदि बनेंगी उन्हें भी इसी शर्त पर लाइसेंस दिया जायेगा कि इस पीरियड के बाद या २०-२५ साल के बाद वे आटोमैटिकली पब्लिक सैक्टर का रूप धारण कर लेंगी। साथ ही साथ जो डिप्रिसिएशन वगैरह है उसका भी हमें ध्यान रखना होगा जिससे आखिर में जा कर हमें टूटी फूटी हालत में चीजें न मिलें।

किसी भी समाज में जो मिडिल क्लास होती है वह बैकबोन आफ सोसाइटी होती है। मिडिल क्लास में यह बात धर किये रहती है कि उमकी जो आमदनी है वह थोड़ी है जब कि उमको एक स्टैंडर्ड रखना पड़ता है। साथ ही साथ ये जब अपर-क्लासिम के लोगों को देखते हैं और देखते हैं कि वे बड़े बड़े बगलोज में रहते हैं, कारे उनके पास हैं, उम्दा उम्दा कपडा वे पहनते हैं, तो जो छोटे लोग होते हैं उनमें जलन सी पंदा होती है और उनमें कुर्बानी का जो मादा होना चाहिये वह नहीं रहता है, वह खत्म हो जाता है। मेरी सजेशन यह है कि हमारी मिल्नों में जितना भी कपडा तने वह तीन रुपया गज से अधिक का कपडा न बने। बाहर भेजने के लिये आप जैसा कपडा और जितना कीमती कपडा चाहे तैयार करवायें लेकिन यहाँ कंजम्पशन के लिये तीन रुपये गज से ऊपर का कपडा तैयार नहीं होना चाहिये। इसका नतीजा यह होगा कि दफ्तरों में काम करने

बाला सेक्रेटरी भी वही कपड़ा पहनेगा जो कि उसके नीचे काम करने वाला पहनेगा और दोनों ही कपड़ करीब करीब एक जैसे होंगे। इससे दोनों में इक्वैलिटी की भावना आयेगी और यह नहीं होगा कि एक बहुत सुपीयरर है और दूसरा बहुत इनफीरियर।

एक सजेशन मैं यह देना चाहता हूँ कि हर एक आदमी चाहे वह बड़ा हो अथवा छोटा, प्राइम मिनिस्टर से ले कर छोटे से छोटे आदमी तक एक हफ्ते में कम से कम पांच घंटे श्रमदान के लिये दे और इन पांच घंटों में वह जिस तरह का श्रमदान भी करना चाहे करे। इससे हर एक आदमी में यह भावना पैदा होगी कि वह दूसरे से अधिक काम करे और साथ ही साथ उसमें यह संतुष्टि भी होगी कि जैसे वह देश के लिये काम कर रहा है वैसे ही दूसरे लोग काम कर रहे हैं वे भी देश के लिये ही कर रहे हैं। हमको हर एक आदमी को एक्सपर्ट करना होगा एक से अधिक कामों में। लोगों को हमें यह भी महसूस कराना होगा कि देश के लिये वे जो काम कर रहे हैं वही काम बड़े में बड़े लोग भी कर रहे हैं।

साथ ही साथ मैं यह सुझाव भी देना चाहता हूँ कि रेनवे में जो एयर-कंडिशनिंग है, उसको खत्म कर दिया जाय। इसी तरह से जो लोग बड़े बड़े बगलाज में रहते हैं, उनको अपने तकानों में दूसरे आदमियों को रहने के लिये मजबूर किया जाये। कार बगैरह वही लोग रख सके जिन को कि उसकी सख्त जरूरत है और उन्हीं को रखने दी जाये।

चाइना आज इतनी बड़ी सैक्रिफाइस कर रहा है, अगर उसकी सैक्रिफाइस का बसबा हिस्सा भी हम नहीं कर सकते तो मैं नहीं समझता हमारे यहाँ मोशलिज्म किस तरह से आ सकता है।

**Shri N. B. Maiti (Ghatal):** I rise to support the motion of thanks on

the President's Address. The Address has been characterized by certain hon Members as insipid and uninspiring. If a calm observation of the achievements of the last year, and pointing out to the goal that is to be achieved during the course of the next year is uninspiring, then I do not know what should be inspiring and what should be strong.

During the last year, in spite of certain failures here and there, there is no doubt that we have crossed many hurdles, and during the next year, we want to overcome the other hurdles that might be coming in the way.

In the course of the discussions during the last three days, certain questions, though important in themselves, have been given rather undue importance, and much dust has been thrown into the atmosphere to cloud the issues.

Taking, for instance, the question of the Bombay State, while making a demand for its partition or dividing it into two States, the leader of the Communist Party suggested methods which, from the manner and the tone in which he put it, were in the nature of a threat, that is to say, that his party would be taking the courses other than peaceful. But he did not suggest any constructive programme by which the two States could be formed out of the present Bombay State, nor did the leader of the Samyukta Maharashtra Party do so. The crucial question of the Bombay city was dealt with very superficially by him. He did not say to which State the Bombay city should belong. Similarly, the general secretary of the PSP, though he desired that these two States should be formed, did not clearly say how they could be formed.

**Shri A. V. Ghare (Jalna):** I want to know from the hon Member...

**Shri N. B. Maiti:** Keeping in mind the result of the recent elections...

**Shri A. V. Ghare:** I want to know from the hon. Member...

Mr Deputy-Speaker: Order, order. The hon. Member is not giving in.

Shri A. V. Ghare: I want to know from the hon. Member whether Gujerat has claimed Bombay city

Shri N. B. Maiti: keeping in mind the fact that in the recent elections, the Congress Party has come out very successfully, keeping in mind the difficulties that would ensue if that question is now reopened, and keeping also in mind the points that were raised today by Dr M. S. Aney that if that question is reopened today, then the question of Vidarbha also would be reopened because Vidarbha does not like to remain with Maharashtra, we have to think well before we accede to the demand that has been made by hon. Members here. All these questions are very delicate ones, and, therefore we should think over them carefully

Again, take the question of Goa. It was said that we are dealing with it in a rather lighthearted manner. The question of Goa is an international question, if I may so put it, and unless the international situation is eased or becomes favourable, it would be rather inadvisable on our part to thrust this question to the forefront and deal with it in a manner which may be prejudicial to us in the future. An attitude of what might be termed as masterly inactivity should be pursued in this case as I believe it is being pursued.

The question of Kashmir has also been raised here. The question of Kashmir is a delicate one and those parts of the Constitution that require to be put into effect there would, I believe, be put into effect by the present Prime Minister there, namely Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad. The question of the jurisdiction of the Election Commission and the Supreme Court has also come up during the course of the discussion. I have no doubt that the provisions in this respect would also be adopted there in course of time, as the necessity arises and as the time goes on.

The question of Shri Mathai has cropped up very prominently in the course of discussion both in this House as also in the other House. That question has been referred to the Privileges Committee by this House, and, therefore, it would not be decent to pursue that matter so fiercely. After all, Shri Mathai was an employee of the Government of India, and if we, the Members of the Parliament, spend so much energy over one rather unimportant question, then it might be said that we are losing the perspective. Therefore, that question should remain at rest as it is.

The question of Beru Bari has assumed very serious proportions. One Member opposite raised that question rather vigorously and vehemently. I am glad that in the Nehru-Noon pact, the question of exchange of the enclaves has been decided. We want that those enclaves which are in Cooch-Bihar and other adjoining districts should be exchanged with those that are now in Pakistan. As for the question of Beru Bari, I have no doubt that the Prime Minister would consider the unanimous Resolution of the West Bengal Assembly and Council and see whether the map on which he based his conclusion is wrong or not. We can rest assured that it would be properly considered.

So far as the question of rise in prices is concerned, it is a very serious matter no doubt. The Government of India and State Governments have adopted a policy of State trading both wholesale and in some States, retail also, as, for instance, in West Bengal. If I may say so it is a new jump in a new direction. It is a leap in the dark, but I have no doubt that it would succeed. But the business community and also the industrialists to some extent, are rather going against it and it is they who have created a situation by which rice and other things have become rather scarce and people are suffering.

I have no doubt that this question will also be solved.

In this connection, I would pay my tribute to the able manner in which the food situation is being dealt with in West Bengal (*Interruption.*) I mention West Bengal because the Food Minister there was unnecessarily dragged in in this House. I say from my personal observation and experience that Shri P. C. Sen is the best person for the job. He has dealt with the situation—he has been doing it for the last 12 years—in a very able manner.

**Shri Subiman Ghose (Burdwan):** He is the ablest Minister in bungling the food situation.

**Shri N. B. Maiti:** Acharya Kripalani has raised the question of the formation of a national Government. The question, as envisaged by Acharya Kripalani, leader of the Praja Socialist Party, is a very big question and it should be dealt with by the Prime Minister, because he is the person to deal with it, not I. But I would suggest one thing, that it is the parties who believe in the method of approaching things peacefully and constitutionally towards the common goal that could combine that could lead to the fulfilment of the objective of the nation, not the parties who have adopted different methods for achievement of the goal—and the goal is also different. If both these parties form a coalition, that would not succeed.

**Shri Jaipal Singh (Ranchi West—Reserved—Sch. Tribes):** Before you call upon the next speaker, may I make a very humble submission? It is in regard to the Chair. I would not like that the ruling you have given—it is not really a ruling—a few minutes ago should be misconstrued. The Chair is always the final authority as to whether a Member does or does not give in. As far as the Treasury Benches are concerned, it is almost automatic, whether they give in or do not give in; it is left to them.

But when it comes to others, it is for the Chair to decide whether an hon. Member has to give in or not, because if we leave it to the individual Member concerned, there will be pandemonium. The Chair must have the say. In the proceedings it somewhat mars the process of debate if it is left to a non-Treasury Bench Member in this House as to whether he gives in or not, because then the House as such, apart from the Ministerial level is—shall we say?—without the rule of law.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** There is nothing much that I have to say about it. If I had thought that there was something important, I might have asked the speaker who was on his legs to stop and attend to that. Because I thought that there was nothing very serious in the interruption that was being made, I told him that the other Member was not giving in and, therefore, he should kindly resume his seat. I have no quarrel with what the hon. Member has said.

**Shri U. C. Patnaik (Ganjam):** Before I go to my three amendments, I would like to refer to a very small matter which has been magnified by some hon. Members of this House on the ground of making money or supporting private financiers and so on. The question of the Special Assistant to the hon. Prime Minister was referred to by several Members on this side and also replied to by some Members on the other side. I would not look at the question from the point of whether he made money during this period or not, because there are several of our officers who are reported to have made money in some of the foreign transactions and kept it in Swiss banks which do not disclose the identity of depositors but maintain numbers which are confidential. I am not going into the question of whether any private capitalist has benefited or not, but I would request Government to look at this individual question not from the individual point of view but



[Shri U C Patnaik]

from the national security point of view, because there are many cases like that. I am glad that Government has accepted some of our suggestions regarding individuals whose activities or whose antecedents show that they are not very much interested in this country.

You might remember that on several occasions I had referred to some members of our Defence organisation who were not Indian nationals, who were in key positions and who were not furthering the progress of, say, engineering works or of ordnance factories. I am glad that Government has accepted some of our suggestions and terminated the contracts of service in some cases. But it is more a question of security of the country which has to be examined before a man gets into a key position or is allowed to continue there. You know that we had a lady from 53, Sunder Nagar, who was dumping so much of paper on us. We are glad that Government has at last realised that fifth column activities were going on from the metropolis of this country, and she has been brought to book. The same thing in the case of the great Shaikh Saheb who was carrying on anti-Indian activities. He was discovered at a late stage, and suitable action has been taken.

In all these cases, the country's security has got to be considered. Therefore, I would urge upon the Prime Minister and the Home Minister to see that whoever occupies a key position has his antecedents screened, his activities and approaches properly screened, because in western countries there is the attempt not merely of political supremacy but more an offence on the economic and cultural sides.

15 hrs

You know that in some countries, particularly in America, training is given to the Army staff. They are

taught the languages of different countries so that they can go in different capacities to those countries to launch and progress further their country's cultural and economic offensive and try to see that they are able to capture the people, as far as possible, from the cultural and economic points of view. They sometimes go as harmless organisations for cultural affairs and for various other things and sometimes as commercial agents, sometimes as scientists and so on. They try to keep in touch with the other countries, know their secrets and their approach and try to launch their cultural and economic offensive. Therefore, I humbly request Government to see that the people who come here or the people who are put in key positions are properly screened and their antecedents studied and their approach properly watched before they are put in key positions.

I do not know how much harm this person might have done or might not have done. But this is a fact that he was in a position where he could tell outsiders as to what is happening in this country, what is the approach of this country, what are the trends and developments and what are the lines on which the Head of the Administration is progressing. So, I do not agree with my hon friends on this side who have stated their views only on other matters. As an Indian I request the Government to see that people who are put in key positions are put there after their activities are properly watched.

Then, I come to the President's Address. I have moved three amendments relating to the three functions of the President. First is on the international sphere, second on the civilian side of our Administration and the third on the military side of the Administration. I would submit that though we have made some progress and very valuable progress in certain spheres, our approach and the effect of our work has not been commensurate with the effort.

For instance, on the foreign affairs side, in our international relations we have kept in view the Directive Principle of State Policy, article 51, and we are grateful to our Prime Minister that he has evolved the *Panch Sheel*, which, today, has caught the imagination of various countries. But there is some cost that was involved in the practical implementation of the *Panch Sheel* in relation to our immediate neighbours and our immediate problems.

The border raids of which we are reading every day, the raids against our schools, the raids against our hospitals and the raids against our countryside are going on from day to day. We are recording our protests. Our Collectors and District Magistrates are recording their protests with their counterparts on the other side. But, we have not been very successful in getting certain things done on the border and the border raids are continuing unabated or, probably, with growing intensity.

It is not so much the border raids that I am worried about. It is more about the preparations on the other side. It is their approach, it is their propaganda and it is their anti-Indian outlook. We are afraid that it is also a preamble to some bigger offensive. No good our being complacent about their guided missile bases. We have, no doubt, an admission from one of the American papers just a few days ago that U S has admitted about one of the guided missile bases in West Pakistan. But there are reports of a number of guided missile bases, and, we do not know what will happen if the guided missiles are utilised, not against China and Russia but against us.

Then, there is the question of modern weapons which are admittedly given to the other side by America, the NATO weapons and the bases in Goa. Unidentified planes have been flying from day to day in defiance of normal conventions over our territory in Jammu. We cannot but believe

that they are either reconnaissance planes or other planes which are trying to experiment as to what effect our L 70s, our fighters and other things are having.

These are things that are happening on our borders. It is true that our *Panch Sheel* is there and our country is trying to interpret and implement *Panch Sheel* in practice. But, then, we are not sure how our *Panch Sheel* is appreciated on the other side of the border and what will be the result.

In view of all these international problems, what have we been doing? It is true our Finance Minister went to USA and has been able to secure certain loans from the other country. It is true I will come to the loans later and tell this House if I get a chance today—if not on some other day—as to what type of things we are getting as loans and what payments we will have to make.

Apart from this, it is for our Ministers who go to America on a social or a political level to tell the other country that our country is friendly with them and that that friendship is gradually going down on account of the fact of military aid to Pakistan. It was for our country at the highest level to tell America that by this military aid to Pakistan she is losing the sympathy that she had in this country for the financial and economic aids that are being given because this country has to spend more and more on Defence.

I do not say that our Government is totally complacent about the preparations on the other side, we have seen that our Government does take notice of it, but not in the way in which some of us expect. For instance, in 1948-49, when there was trouble, we got all sorts of weapons from other countries. The Parliament did not know, the country did not know, but we got all sorts of weapons from other countries including moth-eaten blankets from some other country to cover

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our javans somewhere in Kashmir We got weapons and they refused to explode In one case, the anti-tank weapons were found by the technical experts of our country to have cracks over them and they had a tendency to explode inside the barrel, endangering our own countrymen That was a time when we made some purchases and we are still waiting to see what will happen to these weapons

" Again, we entered into contracts with certain Swiss firms That was the second phase of our danger, the second time when we faced danger Suddenly our Secretaries and experts went to a country and entered into a contract with a firm which did not have the know-how to manufacture that weapon We got them here and wanted them to manufacture some weapons and ultimately it was found that that firm had not the know-how to do that It is true that after 5 or 6 years, there was an enquiry by a very high level committee including a representative of our Defence Science Organisation, and they rather substantiated what was reported in the newspapers in 1954 that that weapon was a dud weapon and that it did not explode and that it was causing harm to our guns and our workers

The Prime Minister was kind enough to say during the last Session that a Committee was already appointed to examine it But, I understand that the committee has not yet been appointed and the committee is being appointed with the Deputy Law Minister as Chairman and two members who were associated with the previous enquiries on the subject and that it will sit shortly to examine these things

That was another phase of our national crisis which was taken advantage of by certain officers who probably might have deposits in Swiss banks—we cannot say—by cer-

tain officers who entered into contracts with Swiss firms That has got to be examined In 1957, we made, as I was telling the House, so many purchases We purchased so many ships which we read in foreign journals—*James Fighting Ships* and others We purchased so many aircraft which we read in magazines—*Aeroplanes, Flight* and *Airforces of the World*, and others But here in the House when we put questions, we are told that we are not going to be given information on these subjects That is another stage where the international crisis and possible entanglements from other countries have been taken advantage of I repeat that they have been taken advantage of by some people without taking this Parliament into confidence, this Parliament which is the sanctioning authority for the money to go in for foreign purchases of these moth-eaten, useless, defective and costly things which are dangerous to ourselves That is one way in which we are trying to solve the problem We are having article 51 in view We are not having any war psychosis At the same time every time that a crisis is anticipated we are not taken into confidence Somehow or the other huge purchases are being made and they do not come in the shape of purchases to the House but they come in various other ways I have been trying with the help of our Research Department to find out how these sanctions for these amounts are coming and till today we have not been able to find out the way in which the amounts are budgeted and the amounts are spent In all these international transactions, it is better to take the country into confidence Your strength should be the masses of the country, who will stand there in the event of an attack From that point of view, I have been appealing every time in this House that we should have a sort of a civil defence organisation where the civilians would be associated with defence matters Firstly, it would reduce the cost of military expenditure; secondly, it would reduce the

civilians in defence matters and thirdly, the association of civilians in defence in all the countries has been the panacea for military coups everywhere. In Western countries, the politicians are coming into power but not so much military men. It is so in the East because you do not have civilians associated with defence. They should look at it from that point of view.

I have recently been to Bombay and I have seen the Home Guards organisation there. It is not very much short of my idea of civil defence; it is about 50 to 60 per cent of my idea of civil defence. There is a similar organisation in West Bengal. When these are re-organised and re-modelled, they can be associated on the one hand with the village guards, on the other with the community projects, the Lok Sahayak Sena and also the Rifle Organisation and so we can complete a sort of a working organisation in our country. For instance, when you talk of Plans, you are talking of things and imports and all that. If you think in terms of civil defence or the organisation of civilians, I would ask you to organise them and mobilise them for defence in emergencies and for nation-building activities during the normal times. There will be reduction in your expenditure . . .

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

**Shri U. C. Patnaik:** I have not been able to finish even the foreign affairs side. I will now come to the internal side.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** I have given him double the time that was the limit today.

**Shri U. C. Patnaik:** Only two minutes. On the food production side, the country is importing food. We have so many experiments but still the prices are soaring up. There is the same difficulty on cloth side; and also various other aspects and the

foreign exchange. There has been a difference between our Commerce and Industry Ministry and the Ministry of Defence on the question of imports. They were trying to dump on us all sorts of things at a higher cost and the Defence Ministry has been trying to resist it. So, probably, this dispute between these two Ministries would solve the question of many of our imports. We have been going through all these agreements about loans and we have been getting loans. We do not know when we will repay and how we will repay and what the position is. Therefore, our imports should also be examined in the light of our country's necessities.

I would refer only to one problem that has been put up by one of the hon Members from Madhya Pradesh about the import of sleepers, eucalyptus sleepers from foreign countries. You are having sal sleepers in our railways which have 20 years' life. We are informed that sleepers of sal wood are the best. Madhya Pradesh, Orissa and northern Andhra Pradesh have got a belt of sal. There is no attempt to get sal wood and there is no co-ordination between the Agriculture Ministry and the other Ministries concerned regarding the production of sal wood or the supply of sleepers of sal wood. We require 70 lakhs of sleepers and we import mostly from Australia and they are eucalyptus sleepers, an inferior type and they cost Rs 30 per sleeper whereas in our own country we are not paying more than Rs 18 per sleeper, which is in fact better, more useful and lasts longer.

**Shri P. C. Borooah (Sibsagar):** Mr Deputy-Speaker, much has been said on the President's Address. I will confine myself to five points and I will be as brief as possible. In para 18, the President has said that the search for oil and natural gas was intensified and yielded promising results. In this respect we all know that oil has been found in abundance in upper Assam area but for a want of a refinery it has not been found.

[Shri P C Borooah]

possible to tap the oil. So far as the refinery is concerned, originally it was decided to have a refinery of 3 million tons capacity to refine the new-found oil in Naharkatiya and other areas. We do not know why Government could not accept the international expert committee's reports on the decision to have two refineries, one in Assam and another in Barauni.  
(Interruptions)

Mr Deputy-Speaker: The hon Member is not being heard, he may raise his voice or come nearer the mike.

Shri P C Borooah: About a year ago, a refinery with a capacity of 75 million tons was decided to be set up in Assam to refine the new-found oils in Naharkatiya, Hugriyan and Moran. At that time the information was that the expert committee had reported that there should be a refinery of 75 million tons at Assam and another refinery of 3 million tons or 2.50 million tons at Barauni. If we take a pipeline and connect it with the oil-fields to Barauni, it will be much more expensive than having one refinery in Assam of three-million tons capacity with a pipeline up to the distributing centre, Barauni. The difference in cost is about Rs 75 crores. We are yet to be convinced about how the country is going to be benefited by having two refineries, one refinery in Assam and one refinery at Barauni instead of one refinery at Assam with the distributing centre at Barauni. We have not been convinced of that.

Whatever it may be, leaving aside that question, about this refinery, let me say this. A decision was made about a year ago about the selection of a site. A team of experts was appointed and a Rumanian expert was associated with that committee. They visited and examined three sites: one in Kokrajhan near Pakistan border, another in Gauhati-Amingaon area and the third site at Silghat, a small town. The expert committee, after going through all the places, decided

that Silghat is the most suitable place for having a refinery. But we do not know what made the Government not to accept the experts' advice and the Government have again directed that very team of experts to select another site with the direction that the site must be between Gauhati and Amingaon. We do not know why this has been done, and this has delayed the whole matter of tapping new-found oil in that area. We have been straining our resources on the side of foreign exchange and are importing crude oil. At the same time, the loan advanced by Rumania is there, the interest is growing and the date of repayment is also near. In these circumstances, we want that the refinery issue should be settled early. As the Assam Government said, let the refinery be at Silghat because the international expert committee said that Silghat is the most proper place. We do not understand why it has not been selected, and instead a new site between Gauhati and Amingaon is going to be selected. That is why this whole matter has been delayed. I want that this matter should be settled expeditiously.

Coming next to the natural gas, I should like to say a few words. The President in his Address, has said, "Considerable reserves of natural gas have also been found in Naharkatiya Oil Fields". We know that Naharkatiya natural gas has been wasted and burnt down and only a small portion of it is dealt with by the Assam Oil Company at the refinery at Digboi. We can utilize all this natural gas for industrial development and for this purpose, the Government of Assam have said that there should be a fertilizer plant at Naharkatiya, so that it can utilize this gas. There are enormous possibilities for the fertilizer plant in Assam which has got 1,100 tea gardens which alone could consume the produce of the plant. The plant could become an economic unit. We want that the matter should be considered sympathetically, and if

possible, it should be started during the existing Plan period

Regarding my third point,—Naga affairs—which has not been touched by anybody up till now, I should like to say this The President's Address at page 3 mentions as follows

"The situation in the Naga Hills shows appreciable improvement Cases of violence and lawlessness have markedly declined The Nagas, generally, have appreciated the policy of my Government In May 1958 the All-Tribal Convention reinforced the decisions of the Kohima Convention of August 1957 Large numbers of Nagas who were previously hostile and has gone underground are now pursuing normal and peaceful avocations"

I am afraid that not all is quiet on the Nagas front and things will grow reverse if the Military is withdrawn I may with your permission read out two paper cuttings One of them is dated the 5th February, and the news is from Imphal It says

"An encounter took place between a patrol party of the Fourth Assam Rifles and the Nagas at Tusom Khunow on the north-eastern area of Ukhrul sub-division of Manipur on the morning of February 2, Sri J M Rama, Chief Commissioner of Manipur, told PTI today

In the encounter, one havildar and a sepoy of the Fourth Assam Rifles were brought to Imphal and admitted in the hospital, he said

After the encounter the patrol party raided the village and seized three Japanese rifles two barrels, two grenades and 41 fog signal cases from the village "

This was on the 5th February The other is about the 9th February That is also from Imphal It says

"Three hostile Nagas were killed in an encounter between a Mani-

pur Rifles patrol party and Naga hostiles at Cinamlong in Tamenglong sub-division of Manipur yesterday, reports received here today said

Thirteen hostile Nagas were arrested and a large quantity of fire-arms and some documents were recovered from their possession the report said

The Manipur Rifles suffered no casualties

Details of the encounter were still awaited"

There are reports coming from time to time So, everything is not going well there Whatever it may be, we are yet to see the effect of the separation of Naga administration from the Assam administration Any measure or action taken from this distant Delhi should be taken carefully, and we should be careful about the application of these measures so that the feelings of the Naga Hills people and also of the people residing nearabout the Naga Hills are not estranged We should be mindful of their minds also We should see how far the separation of the Naga administration reacts on the people, my view is that without the co-operation of the people residing nearabout the Naga Hills no permanent solution is possible

Another point is about the border incidents I need not say much about them since many things have been said about them already I have got a bunch of paper cuttings on this matter, which I collected this morning only There might be some missing, and every day we hear such things occurring which are communal These occur on that side But what have we been doing on our side? We send only protests and requests and we lodge strong protests This is what is going on We want that Government take some suitable effective measures, and the practise of lodging protests be brought to an end

[Shri P C Borooah]

Now, we can think as to what is the cause of these repeated border incidents. There is a volume of public opinion there that Pakistan wants not only to keep these disputes alive but wants to grab Assam, because formerly Assam was in Pakistan's dream or it was in their map. Now, they want to keep these disputes alive. At the same time, they are encouraging infiltration and infiltration is going on through Assam. It has been stated by the Chief Minister of Assam also in one of the congress meetings. They are thinking that a lot of infiltration has already taken place, and I think the next census will show that. After the next two census, I think most of the Muslim population in Assam will increase to such an extent, that some day Pakistan may demand that Assam should be annexed to their territory. We are believers in democracy, and we being believers in democracy, when they demand such a thing, at that time it will not be possible for us to protest against their demand. Then again, we are going ahead with all progressive measures, as for example the Hindu Code Bill and also family planning. I think these things are helping Pakistan. I feel that some day, the effect of these measures may also create position favourable to Pakistan and no wonder the population structure of the country may become such that Pakistan may be tempted to fall on Assam if the relationship of Pakistan with India remains as it is now. So, I request the genius brain of the Prime Minister and the other leaders to be alert in these matters and take the necessary action.

Shri Subodh Hansda (Midnapur—Reserved—Sch Tribes) Mr Deputy-Speaker, Sir, this is the first time I have the privilege to speak on a motion like this on the floor of the House and I do not want to make any other observation except the problems of the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. In the President's Address, there is no mention about the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes.

Shri Jaipal Singh: Shame!

Shri Subodh Hansda: There is no mention of their future programmes and hopes. Eight years have passed since they have been granted special privileges for their development and upliftment. We have stepped into the ninth year, but nobody can say what progress has been made so far. There is the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes to look into these things, but though he submits the report to us every year, that report is very rarely discussed in this House. This report contains mere facts and pictures.

Shri Jaipal Singh: Pictures and not facts.

Shri Subodh Hansda: I want to say that our facilities and achievements are not satisfactory. I would like to cite a few examples regarding the facilities granted to us since 1950. Some posts in the central and other services have been reserved for the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes people but whenever vacancies occur the candidates from these communities are always declared unfit or unsuitable for those services. Even for the Class IV railway service, where no other qualification is necessary except physical fitness, they are declared unfit. I do not understand when and where they will be declared suitable.

There is provision for granting scholarships for the students of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes, but the scholarships are awarded at the end of the financial year and by that time the students either leave the colleges due to financial difficulties or their names are struck off from the college rolls. For example, the students of the second and fourth year classes this year have been put to a lot of difficulties. They are prosecuting their studies facing a lot of hardships. So, I request the Government to award the scholarships in time, so that the students can prosecute their studies. I also request the Government to set up an Evaluation Board to assess what progress these communi-

ties have made so far, since the time they have been granted these facilities. This committee should also suggest ways and means as to how the funds allotted to these people will be utilised

Then, there is no mention in the President's Address as to whether the period of reservation for the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes will be extended beyond 1960. This is a vital question for us. We are rather worried when we hear the Prime Minister say on certain occasions that he does not like reservation. It may be his personal view but for us it is very vital issue. So, I want to know the reaction of the Government towards extending the reservation period beyond 1960.

Government is seriously thinking of the rehabilitation of the Pakistani refugees, I appreciate this move but there are refugees other than those from Pakistan. There are people who are displaced and dislodged due to the construction of big multi-purpose projects in the various parts of the country and the worst sufferers are the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes people. I know from the report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes that only very few families have been rehabilitated up till now and a large majority of them have not yet been rehabilitated. So I request the Government to take up their cause immediately. Besides this, there are hundreds of thousands of families who are landless and even homeless. They are living the life of nomads. The Government is no doubt trying to help these people but I think this move is not very satisfactory. With the abolition of the zamindari system in the various States I presume that thousands of acres of land will come into the possession of Government. I suggest that if these lands can be distributed to these people certainly a big problem can be solved. I hope Government will look into these things.

Lastly, the Language Commission's report will be discussed in this House

very shortly. I submit that Hindi should not be imposed in the non-Hindi-speaking areas so shortly, because that is a language which is complicated. It is not so much simplified as the common man can understand it. So, till it is simplified to such an extent that the common people can understand it, I request the Government to postpone the introduction of Hindi as national language in this country.

In the President's Address, there is a reference to the Naga situation. The President has said that the situation in the Naga Hills area is improving. I am glad to know it, but it would be better if the whole situation would have come under regular control. Similarly is the relation between India and Pakistan. In spite of the Nehru-Noon Pact, there is a regular firing on the border areas from the Pakistan side. I do not know why we should allow these things. I think the Government should take strong action to check up these things. With these words, I conclude my speech.

**Shri Bimal Ghose (Barrackpore)**  
Since I come under the ten minutes guillotine I should like to devote these minutes to say something on a subject which is agitating Bengal and which formed the subject-matter of an adjournment motion which I had moved and which the Speaker was enough to disallow, namely, the proposed transfer of the Beru Bari Union to Pakistan.

**Mr Deputy-Speaker** I will give him five more minutes in view of the promise on the adjournment motion.

**Shri Bimal Ghose** I probably will not take more than 12 minutes.

I do not think the House really appreciates the depth of feeling in West Bengal over this issue. I may say only this that important, urgent and serious as the food situation is, this House will be deluding itself if it thinks that the proposed transfer and the problem arising out of that are not equally urgent, important and



[Shri Bimal Ghose]

serious I do not intend to refer to the constitutional issue today, because we shall have a chance to refer to that if and when the Bill comes before the House, excepting to say that eminent jurists in my State think that this Parliament is not competent to legislate on this issue, and if we proceed we should try to ascertain the opinion of the Supreme Court under article 143

I want to confine my observations to three things (a) the merits of the case, (b) the procedure by which the agreement was arrived at and (c) the reaction on Bengal

About the merits of the case, I should like to say this (1) Under the Radcliffe Award, it was stated that if there was a discrepancy between the description and the delineation the boundary should be decided by the description stated, and according to that description Beru Bari Union came under the control and administration of West Bengal and it has been you should remember since 1948 under our control and administration (2) Pakistan had not raised this issue before the Bagge Tribunal which was concerned with unresolved disputes (3) As the Chief Minister pointed out in the Assembly, the procedure adopted by Radcliffe was to proceed thana-wise and there is no reason why in the case of Beru Bari Union it should not be followed (4) Beru Bari has been always in our possession Incidentally, I want to mention that the Prime Minister said here that in these exchanges we had gained very much because I believe he said that over 42 square miles came to us and we were going to give to Pakistan only 4 or 5 square miles But this creates a very false impression I want to know how much of the land which has been under our control and administration, not land under dispute has gone to Pakistan How much of the land that Pakistan was holding has come to us? If he thinks that out of land under dispute, 42 square miles which we were holding, which was in

our possession—for instance, Hili—has come to us, that is not a fair comparison I should like to know how much of the land that Pakistan was holding since 1948 has come to our possession as a result of this agreement and how much land that was in our possession has gone to Pakistan

Then, what is Berubar Union I should like to say here what the Chief Minister of West Bengal said in the Assembly about Berubar

"The area of Berubar Union is 8 75 sq miles, half of which, namely, 4 37 sq miles would be the amount of the area that would go to Pakistan The population of Berubar Union is 12,000 of which the number of Muslims is about 100 Of the 11,900 Hindus, about 8,000 are displaced Hindus from Pakistan When Berubar Union is divided in accordance with the Prime Ministers' Agreement, about 6,000 Hindus including 4,000 displaced Hindus will be in the portion that will go to Pakistan It is just possible that these 6,000 Hindus would come back to the Indian Union "

Then fifthly, there has been an agreement on enclaves as well But we should realise that if Berubar were not given to Pakistan some of the enclaves will not be enclaves and whether or not some of the enclaves would be enclaves would also depend the way in which we divide Berubar Union If we divide Berubar in a certain way some of the enclaves which are said to be enclaves today will not become enclaves That is all I have to say about the merits of the case

Then I come to the question of the way in which the agreement was arrived at When the agreement was announced here and there was a mention of it, the question was taken up in the Bengal Assembly, after the Prime Minister had spoken in the

Lok Sabha There the Chief Minister of West Bengal said that he had sent a telegram to the Prime Minister and the Prime Minister had answered the telegram in the following manner

"I was referring" (because he had corrected his statement made in the Lok Sabha in the Rajya Sabha) "to the boundary problems and said that we considered those at the official level first with Secretaries and Revenue Authorities advising us. Then the Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan met and considered the matter. Among the matters was that of the Berubari Union which both sides claimed as a whole. Thereafter I am reported to have said 'We accepted the advice chiefly of the Revenue Authorities and others of West Bengal that this might be done.' As reported this might create some misapprehension. I used this phrase broadly in the sense that we were consulting those people for all these problems. I was not thinking at the time of the Berubari Union only."

The crux of the matter is whether and if so, to what extent the West Bengal Government and the West Bengal officers were consulted on this issue. Now, on that issue even after receiving this telegram the Chief Minister of West Bengal stated on the 17th of December in the Bengal Assembly

Before receiving any reply to my wire I found on enquiry that our Revenue Officers gave no opinion regarding the points at issue, nor were they authorised to do so."

And the Revenue Minister of West Bengal said in the Legislative Council

"No decision was obtained from the Government of West Bengal and no advice was sought from the officials of West Bengal."

Now this is a portion of a territory attached to West Bengal and this portion under the control of West Bengal Government is being given away, under the agreement, to Pakistan without any consultation either with the West Bengal Government or its officers. That is what the West Bengal Government have been saying in the Legislature in West Bengal. If that is so—I do not know if that is so and I should be very much surprised if that is so—if that were so, then I should say not only has the Prime Minister been very much ill-advised by his officers here, but also he appears to have acted in a very irresponsible manner, if that is so—I said I am not sure that it is so. Because, I cannot imagine the Prime Minister not consulting the relevant officers or the Government concerned and giving away a portion of the territory that belongs to us to Pakistan. But that is the impression that the West Bengal Government is creating in West Bengal. So this matter should also be set right as to where the truth lies. The West Bengal officers who came here—it was astounding as Shrimati Renu Chakravarty said the other day—the Chief Secretary of the West Bengal Government made an announcement—officers do not make a statement, he did not make a statement—he told the press correspondent that no officers of the West Bengal was asked anything about this. Now this point requires clarification.

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru). May I Sir, say a word? I do not wish to reply to the question in detail. But first of all, I entirely accept what the hon. Member said that a case like this cannot be disposed of without the consultation of the State officers. It is obvious. It would be improper. But there may be misunderstanding, it may be there. But when we sent for the West Bengal Government's chief officers, it was obviously to consult them and not to

[Shri Jawaharlal Nehru]

keep them in the dark. It is patent it is possible. These matters have been pending for months and months. It is years, in fact. For the immediate issue too, they were brought here and they were consulted. I am not saying that what the Chief Secretary has stated in his statement is correct or incorrect but it is possible that some misapprehension arose between the parties talking about each other, that is they may give their opinion, not about the merits of the case but on some other matter. About the other matter that may have happened. But as to the principle that the hon Member has laid down about consultation, it is obvious that there should be consultation. Speaking for myself, I was completely under the impression that there had been and there was going on that consultation. Maybe, I was mistaken.

Shri Bimal Ghose: I am glad that the hon Prime Minister made this statement because the impression in West Bengal even today is that the West Bengal officers were not consulted and they have sought to create that impression.

Now I want to say only a few words about the reactions in West Bengal. As you will find, the West Bengal Government has spent a lot of money in developing this area. The Government of India has spent a lot of money in rehabilitating refugees in that area. Now, I do not understand why this should be given away. In the second place, this has one other effect. People who are on the border and that border has not yet been defined clearly, have become uncertain and unsure of their future because all of a sudden Pakistan may lay claim to any disputed area and we may give that away. So, this has become a very bad precedent. There is no sense of security for people who are inhabiting the border areas, particularly, where the border has not been clearly defined.

In the third place, what do we gain? Are we satisfying Pakistan or are we creating tensions in West Bengal? What is the good of trying this in this manner? I do not know if even the hon Prime Minister feels that he is satisfying Pakistan—I am sure he agreed with the merits of the case—but the general impression is that Pakistan was being tried to be satisfied at the cost of some portion of West Bengal where a lot of people would be uprooted and they will certainly come back into West Bengal. They will have to be again regarded as refugees.

The feeling in West Bengal can be described in the words of a member who spoke in the West Bengal Legislative Council. The words he used are not very happy, but this is what he said:

"Bengal has fallen on evil days. She is the cash price for purchasing lazy peace for the rest of India and is sandwiched between the greedy State of East Pakistan on the one hand and the getting-rid mentality of our Central Government, on the other."

There is a deep feeling on this issue in West Bengal and I hope the hon Prime Minister will take note of that. I will only end by saying what the Revenue Minister of West Bengal said in the Council. He said:

"I join with all sections of the House in requesting the Government of India to reconsider the position. We are really in a difficult position because inasmuch as we have spent large sums of money for developing this area and in having refugees settled there. It is not possible at this moment to unsettle the refugees again. All land communication will be disrupted if this portion of the territory is handed over to Pakistan."

I would again try to emphasise this

point namely, that unless we cede Berubari to Pakistan in a particular way some of the enclaves of Cooch Behar will not be enclaves. They will remain within Indian territory.

श्री पद्म-देव (चम्बा) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, राष्ट्रपति महोदय ने दोनों सदनों के सदस्यों के सामने जो सूत्र रूप में भारत के वर्तमान, भविष्य और भूत के ऊपर अपना अभिभाषण दिया, उसके लिये मैं उनका स्वागत करता हूँ। हमारे यहाँ राष्ट्र को विष्णु माना है और विष्णु के चार बड़े साधन हैं—शंख, चक्र, गदा और पद्म—पब्लिसिटी, यातायात के साधन, युद्ध की सामग्री और ईश्वर की चीजें। आज के संसार में कोई भी राष्ट्र न अकेले तौर पर जी सकता है, न पृथक् रह सकता है न अपने पड़ोसी राष्ट्रों के साथ लड़ झगड़ कर शान्ति के साथ रह सकता है और न ही किसी पड़ोसी के घर में घाग लगी देख कर खुश होकर अपने घर को बचा सकता है। इन सब बातों को देखते हुये हमारे राष्ट्र के नेताओं ने सारे संसार के साथ मैत्रीपूर्ण भाव अपनाया है। इसके लिये दूसरे देशों में दूतावास खोले गये, और हमारे प्रधान मंत्री, हमारे राष्ट्रपति और उपराष्ट्रपति विदेशों में गये, वहाँ पर अपने देश की नीति-कता और अपने देश के उसूलों और सिद्धान्तों का प्रचार किया और साथ ही उन देशों के नेताओं को अपने यहाँ आमंत्रित किया, ताकि वे अपनी छाँखों से देखें कि उन उसूलों और सिद्धान्तों के अनुसार हमारे यहाँ आचरण हो रहा है या नहीं। उसका परिणाम यह हुआ कि आज इस संसार में विष्णु का शंख—अपने राष्ट्र की दुँडुभी सर्वत्र बज रही है और जिस अहिंसा के साधन से हमारे देश ने स्वतंत्रता प्राप्त की, आज उसी उसूल को संसार के सामने रख कर संसार का पद्म-प्रदर्शन भी यह देश कर रहा है। कोई माने या नहीं, लेकिन वास्तविकता यही है। और आज उसका

नतीजा है कि संसार का कोई भी ऐसा बड़ा राष्ट्र नहीं है, जो हमसे मैत्री नहीं करना चाहता, हमारी सहायता नहीं करना चाहता, सहायता के रूप में या ऋण के रूप में कुछे दिल् से हमारी मदद नहीं करना चाहता। पाकिस्तान को भी निस्संदेह सहायता मिल रही है, लेकिन जिस तरह हम पहलवान को बाधाम-खिलाते हैं, ताकि वह कुश्ती के लिये तैयार रहे, उसी तरह से लड़ाई के लिये सामान और उनके देश में बेस बनाये जा रहे हैं। भले ही इस बात से हमें रोष हो, लेकिन एक तरफ संतोष भी है कि उसको उसी तरीके से तैयार किया जा रहा है, जैसे कि पहले हमारे यहाँ नार्थ-वेस्टर्न फ्रन्टीयर प्राविन्स को अंग्रेजों ने रखा था।

विष्णु का दूसरा साधन है चक्र। हमारे देश में यातायात के साधनों में—जल में, स्थल में और आकाश में—पूरी प्रगति हो रही है। जो लड़ता है, वह हार भी खाता है। इस सदन में बार बार रूलिंग पार्टी की गलतियों का जिक्र किया जाता है। इसमें कोई शक नहीं कि जब देश का भार उनके कंधों पर है, तो काम रहते हुये वह बहुतेरी गलतियाँ भी कर सकते हैं और गलतियाँ करते हैं, तो मानते भी हैं और उसमें किसी प्रकार का हठ नहीं करते हैं।

हमारे राष्ट्रपति ने अपने भाषण में विनाशकारी आयुधों की ओर भी संकेत किया है और उसके साथ साथ इस बात का भी संकेत किया है कि अपने देश में पर्याप्त संख्या में आर्डिनेंस फैक्टरियाँ काम कर रही हैं। इस वक्त हम सारी चीजों के लिये दूसरों के ऊपर आधारित नहीं हैं। अपने देश में भी हम इसके लिये प्रयत्न कर रहे हैं। जैसा कि नीति में कहा गया है—

संदीपते भवनेतु कृपलक्ष्म प्रत्युद्यमः

कृदशः

[श्री चंभूते :-]

घर में आग लग जाने, तो कुर्बान खीरने की बात नहीं है, बल्कि पहले ही से पूरी तैयारी की गई है। इसमें कोई शक नहीं कि हमारा देश किसी से लड़ना नहीं चाहता, लेकिन इसमें भी शक नहीं कि अगर समय पड़ता है, तो हमारे वीरों ने इस बात का परिचय आग के जलाने में भी मली भांति दे दिया है कि जहां उनके सुपुत्र किसी मुक्त की जिम्मेवारी पड़ी, तो उसको उन्होंने बड़ी सुन्दरता के साथ निभाया है और उसकी प्रशंसा के पत्र हमारी सरकार के पास पहुंचे हैं। मेरे कहने का मतलब यह है कि जो लोग दूसरे देशों को बचा सकते हैं, दूसरों की रक्षा कर सकते हैं, उनके बल पर किसी को भी किसी प्रकार का भी सन्देह हो तो उनको यह जान लेना चाहिये कि अगर दूसरे देशों के लिये कुछ कुर्बानी की जा सकती है या ज्यादा कुर्बानी की जा सकती है तो अपने देश के लिये तो अपना सर्वस्व ही कुर्बान किया जा सकता है।

18 hrs.

माननीय राष्ट्रपति जी ने जो अभिभाषण दिया है, उस पर २५३ संशोधन लाये गये हैं और ये संशोधन तकरीबन ७० विषयों की तरफ संकेत करते हैं। इनके अन्दर गोष्ठा, काश्मीर, पाकिस्तान इत्यादि का भी जिक्र किया गया है। यह भी कहा गया है कि हमारी हदों पर छोटी-मोटी हमले की वारदातें हो जाती हैं और उनका मुह तोड़ जबाब दिया जाना चाहिये। इसमें कोई शक नहीं है कि कभी कभी ऐसा विचार हमारे दिलों में जरूर आता है कि जो कभी दुष्टता करता है और जिस वक्त करता है उसी वक्त और उस स्थान पर तो कुछ न कुछ जबाब दिया जाना ही चाहिये। यह भी खयाल आता है कि कोई एक बप्पड़ मारता है तो वो चार बप्पड़ तो हमें जरूर उसको मार देने चाहियें ताकि आइन्दा किसी को बप्पड़ मारने की हिम्मत ही न

रहे। हम सत्य और अहिंसा के भी पुर्बारी हैं लेकिन जहां तक राष्ट्रीयता का प्रश्न है वह आत्मरक्षा का प्रश्न है, वहां हमको अपनी रक्षा खुद करने के काबिल होना चाहिये। इंदिरा ने भीमसेन को सिद्धन्ते बुने कहा था :-

अचन्ति ते भूङ्घियः पराभवम् न भवन्ति वे  
माया विष्णु मायाविनः ।

यानी वे मूर्ख लोग दुनिया के अन्दर अपना को पाते हैं जो दुष्टों के साथ उस वक्त दुष्टता नहीं करते। अगर सांप भ्रामिभय या बिच्छू धायेगा और हम अहिंसक रहेंगे तो वे जरूर काटेंगे। सत्य और अहिंसा हमेशा अच्छे लोगों के लिये, अच्छे मुल्कों के लिये, अच्छे पड़ोसियों के लिये होते हैं। यह भी होता है कि कभी कभी सत्य और अहिंसा अपने अनुकूल नहीं पड़ते हैं। लेकिन मैं इस बात को मानता हूं और हमारे प्रधान मंत्री जी भी इस बात को मली भांति जानते हैं कि आज के जमाने में अगर छोटी छोटी बात के ऊपर लड़ाई का एलान रकदया जाये तो मैंना बुलाये अपने देश के ऊपर आपत्ति आ सकती है। लेकिन साथ ही साथ मैं यह भी कहना चाहता हू कि जब कभी कोई ऐसा मौका आता है तो कुछ न कुछ तो थोड़ा सा ही सही, बल-प्रदर्शन जरूर होना चाहिये।

चौथी चीज मैंने विष्णु के पद के बारे में बताई थी और वह पद लक्ष्मी है। देश के अन्दर लक्ष्मी न हो तो देश कहां जायेगा? वह बिक सकता है, किसी के धागे मुक सकता है। लेकिन हमारे राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने अभिभाषण में इसकी उपाशा नहीं की। इस चीज को हमेशा ही उन्होंने अच्छे तरह से देखा है। पहली चीज सुराक की है। आकाश होने के बाद इस दिशा में कई कदम उठाये गये हैं और बाद, अच्छे बीज, बीक इत्यादि की तरफ काफी ध्यान दिया वह

है लेकिन व्यक्तिस्वतंत्रता की जो बोधी सी बात है वह यह है कि जहाँ पर हमारे राष्ट्र के नेता इस तरफ सोचते हैं वहाँ पर जो देश की बढ़ती हुई आबादी है उसकी तरफ भी पर्याप्त ध्यान नहीं दिया जाता। हर साल हमारी आबादी बढ़ती जा रही है और फैमिली प्लानिंग पर समय समय पर विचार भी होता है और यह सोचा जाता है कि अगर इस तरीके से हमारी जनसंख्या बढ़ती चली जाये तो देश को कितना खतरा पैदा हो सकता है। साथ समस्या को सुलझाने के लिये जहाँ परमात्मा की तरफ से नाना प्रकार की विपत्तियाँ जैसे बाढ़ इत्यादि आती रही हैं वहाँ पर मुल्क भी अपने प्रयत्नों में कभी पीछे नहीं रहा।

अभी जमीन के सम्बन्ध में कानून बनाने की बात चल रही है। अनाज के प्रशासकीय व्यापार का जिक्र किया गया है। इस तरह की बहुत सी बातें चल रही हैं जिनसे खुराक का मसला हल हो जायेगा। लेकिन एक बात जरूर है और माननीय प्रधान मंत्री जो इस बात को मानेंगे कि जो व्यापारी गेहूँ को दस रुपये मन के हिसाब से बेचता है वह हमेशा इस बात की प्रतीक्षा में रहता है कि मुल्क पर कब विपत्ति आये, कब संकट आये और कब उसका गेहूँ तीस रुपया मन बिके। जो लोग काश्मीर पर हमला करने वालों के लिये यह कहते हैं कि उनका सामना गोली से किया जाये या जो देश की तरफ टेढ़ी आंख से देखता है उसकी आंख फोड़ देनी चाहिये, वहाँ पर इन समाज के गहारों के बारे में कोई नीति नहीं बनी है। इनके लिये कौनसी गोली तैयार की गई है। हमारी सरकार हर एक बात को बड़ी धान्ति के साथ सोचती है लेकिन कभी कभी उसकी धान्ति की इस नीति को गलत समझ लिया जाता है और इसको नपुंसकता की निशानी मान लिया जाता है। लोगों में यह धारणा बनती चली जाती है कि जो बरबादी है करते चले जाओ, कोई पूछने

वाला नहीं है। इसका नतीजा यह है कि अनाज न मिलने के कारण लोग कभी कभी भूखों मरने लग जाते हैं। हाँ, हमारे नेता-गण निहामत ईमानदारी के साथ प्रयत्न कर रहे हैं और देश के निर्माण के कार्य भी हो रहे हैं।

भाचार्य कृपासानी जी ने बहुत सी कुर्बानियाँ की हैं देश के लिये, इसलिये जब वह पिछली बार इलीश्वान के लिये सड़े हुये थे तो कांग्रेस ने उनका मुकाबला नहीं किया—

श्री नाच पाई : करने से डरते हैं।

श्री पद्म बेब : उन्होंने कल अपने भाषणों में कहा था कि यह रूनिंग पार्टी हमारा सहयोग कहा लेती है। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि कई क्षेत्र हैं जहाँ लोग सहयोग प्रदान कर सकते हैं जैसे कोओपरेशन है, पंचायतों हैं या दूसरी ऐसी और चीजें हैं। मैं समझता हूँ कि सोशलिस्ट भी, कम्युनिस्ट भी इन क्षेत्रों में रूनिंग पार्टी के साथ सहयोग कर सकते हैं। लेकिन मैं देखता हूँ कि जब अनाज की कमी आती है तो ये सब हड़तालें करावने लग जाते हैं, लोगों को भड़काने लग जाते हैं। आज जब हम चीनी का निर्यात करना चाहते हैं तो ये लोग सि.नों को कहते हैं कि तुम हड़ताल कर दो और गन्ना मिलों को देना बन्द कर दो। जब हम कपड़ा बाहर भेजना चाहते हैं तो मजदूरों को हड़ताल करने के लिये भड़काना शुरू कर दिया जाता है। यही वक्त था जब कि उनकी मदद करनी चाहिये थी। लेकिन असल बात यह है कि जो उसूल जो नियम सरकार सामने रखती है उनका हमेशा ही बिरोध किया जाता है। कोओपरेशन का एक ऐसा कूट है जिसमें सहयोग प्रदान किया जा सकता है, पंचायतों को अधिक से अधिक अधिकार दिए जा रहे हैं, उनमें सहायता दी जा रही है और अगर दी जाये तो किने ही अच्छे नतीजे सामने आ सकते हैं। लेकिन आज होता यह है कि रोटी, रोखी कपड़ा इत्यादि के तारे

[श्री पद्म बेब]

लगाने जाते हैं और रोटी कमाने वालों को कहा जाता है तो तुम यह काम मत करो, कारखाने में काम करने वालों को कहा जाता है कि तुम कारखाने में मत जाओ और उत्पादकों को कहा जाता है कि तुम मिलों को गला देना बन्द कर दो। यह ठीक नहीं है।

यहां पर बहुत से लोगों ने चीन, जापान, जर्मनी इत्यादि देशों का जिक्र किया है। वहां पर सब काम अच्छी तरह से चल रहा है। वहां पर इस बात का झगडा नहीं होता कि मजदूर घाट घंटे काम करे या सात घंटे या छः घंटे। वहां पर तो सवाल यह होता है कि काम होना चाहिये, मुल्क के अन्दर ज्यादा से ज्यादा उपज होनी चाहिये। लेकिन वहां पर तो कानूनी गवर्नमेंट है, उसने ऐसे लोगों के लिये कोई कानून नहीं बनाया है जो इस तरह से लोगों को बहकाते हैं, इस तरह से लोगों को भडकाते हैं ताकि उनको अनुशासन में रखा जाये। मैं समझता हूँ कि हमने पिछले ग्यारह वर्षों में दो चीजों में बड़ी तरक्की की है और इन दो चीजों का मैं पहले भी इसी पार्लियामेंट में जिक्र कर चुका हूँ और वे हैं अनुशासनहीनता और अकर्मण्यता। हम काम करना नहीं चाहते हैं, अनुशासन के अन्दर रहना नहीं चाहते हैं। स्कूलों और कालेजों के अन्दर हड़तालें, कारखानों के अन्दर हड़तालें, किसानों के अन्दर हड़तालें, इत्यादि होती रहती हैं और ऐसा लगता है कि यह सारा मुल्क हड़ताल-स्वरूप ही हमने बना दिया है।

जो समस्याएँ हमारे सामने हैं, उनको हल करने के लिये सहयोग तो हर वक्त चाहिये लेकिन सहयोग के लिये लोग भागे नहीं आते हैं। आज निर्यात बढ़ाने और आयात को कम करने की आवश्यकता है। अगर जितनी भी योजनाएँ इस समय देश के अन्दर चल रही हैं वे पूरी हो जायें तो

मुल्क का स्वरूप ही बदल जायेगा। आप अगर पिछले दस वर्षों की तरक्की को देखें और उसका जायजा लें तो आपको पता चलेगा कि कितना निर्यात हमने बढ़ा दिया है और आयात कितना कम कर दिया है। हम मुल्क को बराबर उन्नति की ओर ले जा रहे हैं। लोहा, ताम्बा, तेल, पैट्रोलियम इत्यादि की खोज भी मुल्क के अन्दर चारों ओर हो रही है। बाहर से विशेषज्ञ भी बुलाये जाते हैं और उनकी इस काम में मदद ली जाती है ताकि इन चीजों की कमी को पूरा किया जा सके। औद्योगिक क्षेत्र में भी देश उन्नति कर रहा है। रसायनशालायें भी अपने देश के अन्दर स्थापित की जा रही हैं। राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने अभिभाषण में कहा है कि टेक्नालाजिकल इंस्टीट्यूट मद्रास में कायम हो चुकी है, युरेनियम धातु का कारखाना और इस किस्म की और चीजें अपने मुल्क में बनाई जा रही हैं।

उन्होंने अपने अभिभाषण में तृतीय पंच वर्षीय योजना का भी जिक्र किया है। उन्होंने कहा कि जो सिद्धान्त हमारे सामने रहेंगे वे वे हैं कि राष्ट्र की भाय को हम बढ़ायेंगे और दूसरे देश का औद्योगीकरण शीघ्रता के साथ किया जायेगा। तीसरे लोगों में व्याप्त बेरोजगारी को कम किया जाये और चौथे आर्थिक विषमता को कम करने की कोशिश की जाये। राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने अभिभाषण में उन सभी चीजों का जिक्र किया है जिनकी मौलिक रूप से देश को जरूरत है और सूत्र-रूप से उनको बयान किया है। जैसे मैंने कह ७० विषयों पर २५३ संशोधन अगर इन सभी चीजों का समावेश इसमें हो जाता तो कई महीने तो इसको बनाने में लग जाते और फिर उसके बाद इस सदन के माननीय सदस्यों को मालूम नहीं पड़ता कि कितना समय पढ़ने में लगता। उसके ऊपर अगर हम नये संशोधन लायेंगे तो फिर इस सिन्-

विके का कहीं घन्त नहीं होता । इसलिये देश के सामने जो मौलिक सिद्धान्त हैं उन्हीं को राष्ट्रपति महोदय ने रक्खा । उन्हीं की तरफ संकेत किया । हमारे सामने पूर्ण रूप से देश की स्थिति और उन्नति को रखा । इसके लिये मैं राष्ट्रपति जी का बहुत आभारी हूँ ।

**Shri Mahanty (Dhenkanal):** Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, the President's Address is encyclopaedic in scope and covers a wide range of subjects beginning from the objectives of the Third Five Year Plan to the exploration of interplanetary space, from maternity benefit to population control. It will be highly unrealistic to attend to all those issues within the short space of time that you have been pleased to allow. Therefore, I propose to address myself to one or two relatively more important aspects which have been highlighted in the President's Address.

In this context, I would like to invite the attention of the House to a statement made by the President in his Address in connection with national co-operation. I may better read out what the President has been pleased to say. He has said:

"Planning is a national undertaking requiring the efforts of the whole nation and the co-operation of all at every stage".

It is not that Acharya Kripalani had mooted the idea in course of this debate. I believe a lot of injustice has been done to him by fathering upon him this idea of national co-operation. For that, we have to address ourselves to President's Address, wherein the President himself in his wisdom had said that, for the fulfilment of this mighty national undertaking of the Second and Third Five Year Plans, national co-operation at all levels was necessary.

I congratulate Acharya Kripalani for the forthright and candid manner in which he has spoken out his mind

Now, it is left to the Government either to accept it or to reject it. If they reject it, it will not be open to them in future to harp on this theme of national co-operation. If they do not accept it, well, we wish them the best of lucks. If the Congress Party presumes that it has all the wisdom, it has all the capacity, it has all the foresight commensurate with the tasks lying ahead, well, we do not wish to stand in their way; nor is anybody anxious to crave the crumbs of the breads or fishes and loaves of office. It is not a question of office. It is a question of functioning at a level higher than partisan bickering.

In this context, I would like to invite the attention of the House to the fact that even in China, where the Communist Party has got a trained cadre of 60 million in a country with a population of 600 million. Today, the government is a coalition government. Therefore, it is no good running away with the idea that democracy means partisan bickering. Democracy means working at cross purposes when vital national issues are involved. Democracy also means functioning at a level higher than this.

Therefore, I would like once again to congratulate Acharya Kripalani for the manner in which he has clunged the issue. He has said that co-operation should not mean only co-operation at the level of advice or consultation. Co-operation should mean also co-operation at the level of execution

I may give here an instance of how this call for co-operation at the consultative level ends. An All-Party Food Committee was formed. In that All-Party Food Committee, when State trading in foodgrains was being discussed, there was a unanimous suggestion which was accepted by Government, that such traders as had got black records in manipulating food markets, in bolstering up food prices, in cornering foodgrains should have



[Shri Mahanty]

nothing to do in the pattern of State trading in foodgrains. I believe this suggestion was recorded in the Minutes of the All Parties Food Committee that was sponsored by the Prime Minister himself. But what happened? Those who have any experience of State Trading in foodgrains know that those very people are today functioning as agents of the Government. Therefore, even though there is a bumper paddy crop, still rice has disappeared from the Calcutta market; even though today, Orissa has got a bumper paddy crop, the peasants are not getting a fair price

Therefore, if you have only co-operation at the consultation level, it will result in this. You may be able to hoodwink the Opposition. You may be able to rope them round for your own benefit. But so far as the objectives of national co-operation are concerned, they will be defeated. I am glad to note that the President has said that 'planning is a national undertaking requiring the efforts of the whole nation and the co-operation of all at every stage'. But on the other hand, if the Congress Party feels that it has all the wisdom, intelligence and the capacity to undertake this task, so far as I am concerned, I wish them the best of lucks

Now I come to another aspect—agriculture. We have been pained and mortified to find that the horizon of self-sufficiency in food production has now receded not beyond the Second Five Year Plan but beyond the Third Five Year Plan. It is really disappointing to note that the President regards that the 'sound foundation of progress in agricultural production will have been laid only by the end of the Third Five Year Plan'

In this context, it is worthwhile to remember that during the First Five Year Plan, great emphasis was laid on agriculture and more than 13 per cent was allotted for agriculture. In

the Second Plan, 11.8 per cent of the total outlay was ear-marked for agricultural production. But today we find that even though we have invested all this money for increased production, even though during the last ten years we have imported foodgrains worth more than Rs. 1,200 crores, we are still far short of achieving our target. And today the Parliament is being told that agricultural self-sufficiency can only be attained beyond the Third Five Year Plan! I do not know if there could be a worse betrayal than this.

In this context today the situation is being confused by bringing in a controversy whether there should be co-operatives or farming under peasant proprietorship. With all respect to the proponents as well as the opponents, I would like to say that the issue has no real relevance to the situation in which we have been placed today. The fact has to be borne in mind that the per capita share of 0.98 acre of land in India is not going to sustain anyone. Therefore, any scheme of agrarian reform will have also to consider the question of agricultural co-operatives. But the fact has to be borne in mind that even though we have been talking of co-operatives during the last ten years, we have done pretty little. What stopped the Prime Minister from working out one or two co-operatives in his own constituency? What stopped the Food Minister from sponsoring one or two co-operatives in his own constituency which could have served as models, which could have inspired the peasants. But we have gone on talking without having much faith in it

Let us now study the experience of co-operatives in China. We had a discussion with Mr. Liu-Sao-Chi who was practically second in command on the subject. When we visited that country. We had asked him for his views on agrarian co-operatives. He

said—Even though we, Communists, had experience of agrarian co-operatives, even while we were in Yennan before the liberation of China took place, we had to wait eight long years to bring about co-operatives'.

Those who know the recent history of China must have known that even though the Communist Government came into power in 1948, the country had to wait for 8 long years to cover the entire country under agrarian co-operatives. They started with Mutual Aid Teams and gradually proceeded to co-operatives comprising of a few agrarian families to begin with and then to full co-operatives. And, of course, today the stage of communes has been reached. Therefore, it is no good starting a controversy over co-operatives versus peasant proprietary farms. The issue becomes entirely academic. With all humility I can suggest that it has no reference to the situation that we are in. The real thing is to educate public opinion. We should gradually teach our peasantry to take to these co-operatives. Those who imagine that by mere executive fiat or by mere governmental action they will be able to bring about co-operatives had better be warned in time. You are not going to bring about co-operation by compulsion. No amount of coercion or threat or no amount of speech-making is going to help us in the way to co-operation. For that we require devotion to this idea with all humility and with all the patience it deserves. I believe that it will be borne in mind by both those who support it and by those who oppose it.

The real issue then is not co-operation. According to me, the real issue is how to increase the per acre yield from our land. In this context, the following figures will be illuminating.

So far as rice is concerned, the yield per acre in Japan is 3,750 lbs., China 2387 lbs., U.S.A. 3,000 lbs., and in India it is only 700 lbs. I beg to

differ from those who believe that the magic of co-operation will increase food production overnight. Without the co-operatives we could have even increased food production. But what did we do? During the Second Five Year Plan we were supposed to have supplied improved seeds; during the Second Five Year Plan we were supposed to have provided irrigation facilities for lands thirsting for water. But, what did we do?

Anyone who analyses the achievements of our Second Five Year Plan in the agricultural sector will find that seed farms have not been established though lands have been acquired and though the people from whom the lands have been acquired have not been paid compensation and though the lands are lying fallow. They are yet to be established. We have created irrigation potentials through our small and medium irrigation projects; and, yet these potentials have not been fully utilised. I would like to know who is going to answer for all this. It is not that increased production lies in the magic of co-operatives or in peasant farming. What could have been done, has not really been done; whether we look to seeds, fertilizers or irrigation; and we have lagged behind the targets that we had set before us.

I have no time at my disposal. I would like once again to impress upon Government that on agriculture alone rests the destiny of the Second Plan but the Third Plan as well. Unless we address ourselves to that task with a realistic attitude, we will be ending ourselves in a wilderness from which even God will not be able to rescue us.

The Deputy Minister of Labour (Shri Abid Ali): Sir, a reference has been made during the course of this debate to the working of the Mines Department. In particular the North Khurja Colliery and the Chinakuri Colliery Accidents were mentioned. With regard to the former, I was also personally attacked that because only

[Shri Abid Ali]

eight persons were killed I felt that no enquiry was called for. That is not correct. I was in the Asansol area and the accident took place in Jharia, about one hundred miles away. When I learnt of this, I personally went to the mines along with the trade union officials and also officials of the Mines Department. Everybody, even the representatives of the HMS Union were satisfied that it was only an accident and no further action was called for. Therefore, the remark made about me was very unfortunate but there are some hon. Members who feel some pleasure in making statements which are far from reality.

16.29 hrs.

[SRI MATI RENU CHAKRAVARTY in the Chair]

Now, about the Chinakuri accident, an eminent Judge of the Calcutta High Court presided over the court of enquiry. An hon. Member of this House, Shri Samanta, and a very highly qualified and experienced technician, Shri Vitekar, were the assessors. None of the assessors had anything to do with the mines or with the Mines Department. All the facts which the parties wanted to place before the court of enquiry were placed. There were representatives of the ITUC, HMS and other trade union organisations. The allegations which are now being made were also placed before the Enquiry Committee and it has made a unanimous report. It was said that 216 persons were found missing according to the plan which was made by some union. It has again been said that 300 persons were missing. These factors had all been taken into consideration. The Committee came to the conclusion that 176 persons died and the dead bodies have been accounted for. Their relations have been traced and compensation had been paid. The difference is 124 persons missing. During all this period of one year, if 124 persons

died, their relations would have been somewhere. They must have approached some hon. Members who are making these fantastic allegations. They have not approached the Mines Department, nor the Industrial Relations machinery. Where are they? I request the hon. Members opposite, who make these fantastic statements to produce their relations. They can come and say that such and such relation was working in this mine on this day and he is missing and they may claim compensation. Certainly, we are here to help them. The statement that the enquiry committee report is not correct has no basis. Therefore, I hope that the hon. Members who make these allegations will stop talking in this way. They can produce the relations of these persons who have died if there are any, in addition to the 176 persons.

Shri T. B. Vittal Rao (Khammam):  
The Gorakhpur Labour organisation is there.

Shri Abid Ali: But they should be belonging to some village and there should be some relations.

16.29 hrs.

[SHRI JAIPAL SINGH in the Chair]

There were employees in this mine recruited through the Gorakhpur Labour Department and recruiting organisation. They have also been paid compensation.

Shrimati Renu Chakravartty (Basirhat): Is it a fact that there was a plan? (Interruptions)  
He has taken advantage of the fact that I could not put questions. I would like just to ask the hon. Minister to tell us whether the plan was placed as an evidence.

Shri Abid Ali: I have already made a statement about that.

Shrimati Renu Chakravartty: The plan says 216 persons.

**Shri Abid Ali:** Let her finish

**Mr. Chairman:** It is for the Chair to ask her to finish or continue, the Minister should not take the matter in his own hands

**Shri Abid Ali:** I said that she may be permitted to finish her say I said let her finish The request was made to the Chair, nobody else can be requested here for that

**Mr. Chairman:** I am glad the hon Member appreciates it

**Shri Abid Ali:** What I was submitting was that a union submitted a plan, saying that 216 persons were missing

**Shrimati Reau Chakravartty:** It is not our plan It is the plan which was taken out of de-watering How can it be our plan?

**Shri Abid Ali:** I hope she has finished I said that a union submitted the plan Now, 216 has become 300 A plan was submitted About that there is no dispute But I may submit that a court of enquiry presided over by a High Court Judge having considered this statement, with all the evidence that was produced there, has come to the conclusion that the number of missing persons was 176 I am again repeating that It is not 300 but 176 Their relations have been found Nobody has been able to trace the relations of the rest of the people, who are alleged to have been missing Therefore these statements are incorrect, absolutely unfounded and in fairness should not be made again

With regard to the dead bodies also, facts were placed during the Question Hour These dead bodies were not disposed of by the Mines Department or by the Labour Ministry These were disposed of according to the West Bengal police regulations We got the reports from them and we were told that objection has been taken to the mention of *smashan* and all that My statement was based on those reports certainly

**Shrimati Reau Chakravartty:** May I know who submitted to you the reports by the West Bengal Government?

**Shri Abid Ali:** Just now I am not able to say by whom the report was submitted But I am making this statement that the dead bodies were disposed of according to the West Bengal police regulations Of course, one can be reasonable only to reasonable minded persons If they are determined not to be satisfied I cannot help them. Unfortunately remarks were made regarding Shri Grewal, the Chief Inspector of Mines. I do not know how those were allowed Reference was made to his competence, this and that

**Shri T B Vittal Rao:** Certainly

**Shri Abid Ali:** Of course, he has got some relations in the Mines Department He has taken permission of the Government, and after that, the relations were appointed It is not that when a person becomes an officer in an area, no relation of his should find a place anywhere in the vicinity In case any such person who has been in the Mines Department is related to Shri Grewal and without permission of the Government, where permission was necessary, was appointed, if these facts are brought to our notice, certainly we shall look into them Also, no favouritism should be shown to any mine We are very careful about that

Regarding the rescue party also statements have been made As we have a fire brigade in Delhi, and as in bigger cities and towns, we have got a rescue party for the mine area As soon as they came to know of the accident in Chmakuri, they went down to the pit They were appropriately equipped with gas marks and all that When they saw that fire was on, they moved about as much as was possible for them. They could not get into the fire itself But when they found that no

[Shri Abid Ali]

more persons could be rescued, they came out, and after coming out, fire was coming, and fire started coming out of the pits. Then the mine was sealed and completely flooded. The hon. lady Member said that the Chief Inspector of Mines did not go into the pit. Could he go into the pits when there was fire? Flames were coming out of the pit. Therefore...

Shri T. B. Vittal Rao: Even in flames, there is a way, and there are methods of going.

Shri Abid Ali: According to the process, whatever was possible was done. The rescue party did go down.

I submit that all that is possible is being done by the Mines Department to minimise the accidents and their severity. Some Hon. Members say that the accidents should stop completely. Certainly they will stop when the working of the mines stops. So long as the mines work there will be some accidents, but as I have said, the attempt is to minimise the accidents and their severity. I hope hon. Members will again read the report of the enquiry committee, of which Shri Guha Roy, High Court Judge, was the President. The report is unanimous. What more can be done? If anything more than what was said before the court of inquiry comes to the knowledge of hon. Members justifying further investigation, we are here to go into it. But we do not want a repetition of what was placed before the High Court Judge, on which he had given his verdict.

Shri Bose (Dhanbad): May I know whether the Government has studied the report of the Chinakuri Enquiry Committee thoroughly and taken note of the various observations made therein?

Mr. Chairman: That question need not be answered just now.

Shri Warler (Trichur): Since time is short, I will only refer briefly

to the various points. Firstly, about the famine conditions both in food and fodder in the Anantapur district, this question has come before Parliament earlier in the form of a half-hour discussion. The reason for this is the project of the high level canal of Tungabhadra is not taken up sufficiently in time. This thing is recurring and I hope Government will take note of it.

Then, about the rising prices of rice and other commodities, especially in Kerala, the question is not one of stocks alone. The rising prices can be checked only if the Government have sufficient stocks in their hands to run the fair price shops that are spread throughout the State. The Food Minister stated that the deficit in the State is exaggerated, we have 140 lakhs of people and at the rate of 12 or 16 ounces of rice daily, you can calculate the requirements. The total comes to 14 lakh tons, whereas we produce only 7 lakh tons. So, simple arithmetic or common sense tells you that there is a deficit of 7 lakh tons. From the Tanjore and Andhra area, our merchants are getting about 4 lakh tons of rice. So, the balance of 3 lakh tons must be had from Andhra alone and the Government must be in a position to purchase that.

The State Government of Kerala cannot enforce a price fixed by the Central Government. Either the Central Government or the Andhra Government must purchase stocks at the fixed price. The Kerala Government cannot enforce that price fixed by the Centre. The Central Government not only refuse to come to the aid of the Kerala Government, but they in fact write to the State Government that if they give any price higher than the price fixed by the Central Government, it is considered illegal. An ordinary merchant can go to the market and purchase it at black market price.

Our Deputy Food Minister went to Coimbatore and he tried to purchase maida for which exorbitant prices were demanded. So, the State Government cannot go to Andhra and do an illegal act. They do not know what to do. The Central Government ought to have gone to the help of the State Government. In fact, there is a rumour recently that instead of going to the aid of the Kerala Government, the Central Government write to the State Government of Andhra that no such facility to purchase at a higher price should be given. It is there clear like a writing.

The Deputy Minister of Food and Agriculture (Shri A. M. Thomas): With regard to the difficulty that is said to have been experienced by the State Government, the State Government has been assured that in case they find any difficulty to purchase at the controlled rates, directives will be issued to the millers and the stockists, as the case may be, to sell to the Kerala Government at controlled rates. What more do you want?

Shri Warrior: That is why I said it is rumoured. It is for the Central Government to deny it totally and categorically. I said there is a rumour in the State of Kerala that the Central Government wrote—it is not on the air which can be washed away—to the State Government of Andhra that no facilities should be given. It is now for the Central Government to deny that categorically.

Now in this Parliament in reply to a question the Central Government stated that Andhra had a surplus of 9 lakh tons. According to the Andhra Government the surplus is 6 lakh tons. Now both are right and both are correct. But in between them 3 lakh tons are smuggled away. The Andhra Government gives the figure after smuggling and the Central Government includes the smuggled figure also. So, both are correct and

both are right. But in between the Kerala Government suffers, because there are only 6 lakh tons to be procured.

Now the Central Government is proposing to procure through the Andhra Government about 4 lakh tons. After that, how much is the surplus? 2 lakhs. Then there was a misleading statement, though not very intentional—it was passed off like that, that is all—by the Food Minister in Parliament that there is a surplus of fine and super-fine rice in Andhra. I just want to know whether the surplus of super-fine and fine varieties of rice in Andhra comes to 4 lakh tons. If it is only fine and super-fine rice, we do not want it. But is it a fact that there is so much of surplus? I do not think there is so much of surplus. If that is the surplus, we do not want that fine and super-fine varieties. But will we have a surplus purchasable from Andhra to the tune of 3 lakh tons at least? Will the Central Government guarantee that much? If the surplus is 4 lakh tons or more, can we at least have 2½ lakh to 3 lakh tons for our fair price shops to check the rising prices?

In this position, if the Central Government is not coming to our aid, then the whole situation, especially in the lean months that are ahead, will be very pitiable and not only the State Government of Kerala but also the people of Kerala will be put to a lot of difficulties. So, in the ultimate analysis one can say that the zonal system has been scrapped in practice. The South zone has got a surplus only in Andhra, because Madras and Mysore are just self-sufficient. Andhra alone can support us. If that is also debarred, if all the surplus stock from Andhra is taken by the Centre, we will be in a quandary. I will not call this discrimination. It is for the Central Government to say what it is.

I will now come to the next item. About industries also we have to complain that the entire South is always neglected. Here I will only refer to the State from which I come. The

[Shri Warior]

locational distribution suggested by the States Re-organisation Commission has been ignored completely, as far as my State is concerned. The State is giving aid to certain industries whose produce are necessary for the whole of India. In case those industries are closed down, we have to import them and spend so much of foreign exchange. When the State Government comes to the aid of those industries, the Central Government, the Planning Commission, the Registrar of Companies, the Reserve Bank and all of them come in and say, "You should not go for their aid because that particular industry is not within the sphere of the Plan." The industry is one of the most important chemical industries in India.

Then about the rubber industry. Three licences were given of which two are operating outside the State. 90% of the rubber is produced in Kerala. Of course, one licence was given to a man in Kerala knowing fully well that he has no funds to run it.

Then about the lemon grass oil, you know that it is produced in Kerala. The new factory is set up in Poona. How much will transportation of rubber and lemon grass oil and other raw materials from Kerala to other areas cost? I do not mind others getting some industries but in cases where the raw material is there. The question of transport has also to be considered. All these things are transported by the railways which are always crowded and wagons are always difficult to get. These industries are denied to that State.

About the ship-building yard, I would like to say that it is still hanging fire. We do not have any assurance. We do not know where we are. The expansion of Travancore Minerals and their getting the quota of ferrous and non-ferrous metals is another point that I would like to refer to. I know there are certain smithies and

blacksmiths shops in Kerala who alone in the whole of India produce certain parts of machinery which otherwise we have to import. Let the Government take cognisance of these facts and come to some conclusion about the disparity that is there in our State.

16.47 hrs.

#### BUSINESS ADVISORY COMMITTEE

##### THIRTY-FIFTH REPORT

Shri T. B. Vittal Rao (Khammam):  
Sir, I beg to present the Thirty-fifth Report of the Business Advisory Committee.

16.48 hrs.

#### MOTION ON ADDRESS BY THE PRESIDENT—contd.

Mr. Chairman: Shri Ansar Harvani.  
After him I will call Shri Khadilkar.

Shri Ansar Harvani (Fatehpur):  
Mr. Chairman, Sir, I join my hon. friends, Shri Kasiwal and Shri Joachim Alva in thanking the President for his Address. But at the very outset I want to draw the attention of this House towards the pathetic food condition in my State of Uttar Pradesh. The recent *Padayatra* that I performed in my constituency, which is just in the neighbourhood of the constituency of our great Prime Minister, has filled me with deepest pathos with disgust and shame. Most of the people in those areas are going with one meal a day. Most of the people in those areas are on the verge of starvation and if immediately some relief is not rushed to Uttar Pradesh, I am afraid that those hands which were raised to vote for us may be paralysed due to malnutrition.

In the year 1952 on the 2nd of October when our great Prime Minister, only a few miles away from this House in the rural areas in the District of Delhi, had inaugurated the